

Encounter and Engagement with Curricular Material Culture
in Multicultural Educational Contexts

By

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Abstract

The number of immigrants entering Canada annually is projected to rise to 333,600 by 2035 (Statistics Canada, 2010). This migration increase also means an upsurge in newcomers in Canadian classrooms, which creates pedagogical challenges and concerns (Canadian Teachers' Federation, 2013). These students arrive in Canada either alone, or with their families, as refugees from war torn countries or other natural disasters, or as children whose skilled parents are searching for better educational and economic opportunities (Hastedt, 2016). These students face many socio-economic and pedagogical challenges in the Canadian classroom (Canadian Teachers' Federation, 2013). Moreover, these learners bring with them cultural experiences different from those of their Canadian counterparts. As they enter the Canadian classroom, they encounter an unfamiliar power-laden education system rife with all forms of discrimination. The teachers, most of whom belong to the dominant group are then tasked with interpreting curricular material culture for and instruction of these diverse learners. This process is influenced by the teacher's own realities which exist within the broader privileged positions. This research study thus applied intersections of critical multicultural education theory and Pierre Bourdieu's major concepts of habitus, field and capital, to respond to the research question: *How might encounter and engagement with curricular material culture in educational contexts unfold for culturally diverse individuals?* Findings indicated that the teacher participant operated within a hegemonic position. She reproduced those same values that are promoted by dominant communities within a pluralistic classroom environment. The teacher occupied a position of power and the students being the minority accepted their subordinate position and opted to take on the dominant ideologies. A critical multicultural educational approach is proposed if the contexts are to achieve balance of cultures.

This inquiry took the shape of a qualitative case study in which three major concepts advanced by Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984), habitus, field, and capital, were juxtaposed against the experiences of four culturally diverse participants in a Grade 10 high school foods studies classroom in an urban setting. These four participants included one Caucasian teacher and three migrant students in her classroom, from three different countries. Data were collected from interviews with each of the four participants, observation of the actual lessons in the food studies lab, and document analysis of the curriculum materials such as the program of studies, teacher plans, student workbooks, and recipe books used by the teacher and students.

Participants discussed their learning experiences around food and related curricular material culture inside and outside the classroom. The transcripts identified recurring themes intersecting or paralleling participants' experiences. The teacher participant shared the challenges and strategies of having to constantly navigate the needs of diverse learners in her classroom and steer them towards learning from a mandated curriculum. A habitus that resonated with the mainstream Canadian culture was key to her success. The learners described their constant (re)positioning as they adapted their habitus when they traversed the various fields between classroom and home. The curriculum documents revealed more of a standardized curriculum created within a mainstream Canadian cultural field that each individual, no matter the cultural capital background, had to fit into.

This study underscored the constant internal mobility that diverse individuals, in this case, immigrant students, experience as they encounter different contexts, particularly in education. Teachers can either be a bridge connecting previous learner experiences to the content so as to aid learning, or, they can be gatekeepers and disregard the students' past experiences thus delegitimizing it. Teachers, however, find themselves in a dilemma as they are expected to

implement a mandated curriculum to students from multiple backgrounds. Attending to individual students' cultural needs in a diverse context presents as a challenge, so finding a balance is key for teachers to support learning. Curricular material culture was highlighted as an untapped teaching/learning tool which needed to be attended to in the pedagogic process, especially in multicultural contexts. Inviting students to attend to curricular material culture encourages students to connect previous knowledge to what is being taught, thus creating space for multiple ways of knowing. This approach can be a fall back place for teachers as they bridge various learning environments for students.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Miriam Nassozi Sekandi. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project name “The pedagogy of food: Engendering intercultural understanding in classrooms” No. Pro00028135, November 29, 2012.

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To my colleagues who shared ideas, thoughts, and comments that helped shape this study, thank you so much. To my mother Mrs. Gertrude Sekandi, sister Anne-Lydia, and brother Timothy, Niece (Jewel) and Nephews (Samuel, Jordan and Manzi), thank you for not giving up. My husband James, and my children, Pauline, Stephen, Linda, and Victoria (born at the start of this journey), thanks for your patience when I became selfish and had to push to the end. To Daddy, watching from heaven, it is done! Finally!

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Glossary of Terms

Immigrant - An immigrant is a person who resides in but was born outside of Canada. This definition excludes temporary foreign workers, Canadian citizens born outside Canada, and those with student or working visas. (Statistics Canada, 2010).

Migrant - Any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is (International Organization for Migration, 2017).

Newcomer - A person that has recently arrived in a place or joined a group ("Newcomer," 2017).

Diversity - Uniqueness of each individual, recognizing individual differences. Diversity can be along the dimensions of culture, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, age, physical abilities, religious beliefs, political beliefs, or other ideologies (Diversity Initiative, 1999).

Culture - The characteristics and knowledge of a particular group of people, defined by everything from language, religion, cuisine, social habits, music and arts (Zimmerman, 2017).

Material culture - The tangible manifestations of a culture, or objectified cultural representations (Berger, 2009).

Mainstream culture - Also referred to as the dominant culture or Canadian culture, is the way of life that is held within the majority of people residing in a society, or the culture that seems the most "normal" to those that live in a specific area of the world – in this case Canada (Junker, 2012).

Chapter 1

From Unawareness to Awareness to Inquiry

This chapter paves the way for the critically-informed, qualitative case-study research constituting this doctoral dissertation. It recounts my personal and professional journey toward being a reflective and critical professional educator. Starting with my childhood cultural socialization, I share my past pedagogical experiences as a Uganda student and teacher learning and working in a colonial-informed educational system, culminating in my discomfort with conforming to dominant ideologies, leading to this doctoral research. The chapter title says it all: *from unawareness to awareness to inquiry*. The chapter concludes with the research question and study delimitations.

Retracing my Pedagogical Past

My journey into discovering the world of material culture began with recognizing the need to confront the dilemma of teaching home economics, a practical subject, with scarce resources in Uganda. During that time, I taught secondary school (i.e., junior and high school equivalent) foods and nutrition, textiles and clothing, and home management. Teaching food and nutrition was an enjoyable experience, probably because of my early childhood experiences with food preparation. I learned how to cook as a 10-year-old and in later years, I prepared most of the family meals when I came home for holidays from boarding school. I prepared mostly traditional meals that had been passed down the generations, taught to me by our house help, my mother and other older female relatives. For me, food was more than what I cooked or ate. Food nourished my ancestors' bodies, which eventually became me.

I started attending to recipes, including their role in learning, during my secondary school years. When I became a home economics teacher and later a teacher educator, I experienced a transformation from being a product of food that my ancestors ate, to a cook that created recipes beginning with simple dishes to full course meals. I also became a pedagogue who shared my skills with the students who walked through my classroom door. This awareness of my place in the metaphorical food chain became more apparent as I was poured from one pot to another across continents, other ingredients added to me, eventually creating a stew with ingredients from various cultures.

During my early years as a student, I was always fascinated by life's ingredients in the form of objects around me. To me, things not only contained the stories of those individuals who created them, they *were* the story. As objects were handed down the generations, a story was handed down. Each generation that received the object also added to the storied object and the story of the object. As the object was used and reused, it facilitated the creation of more stories by the users. In the kitchen therefore, I considered the pots, pans and other utensils as storied objects dependent on the person engaging with them. As well, the ingredients for preparing various meals were considered material objects that contained the stories of production, processing, distribution and preparation. I was aware that foodstuffs were produced with a cultural component to them. Some were harvested earlier, others later and were produced for either commercial or domestic use. The last person at the end of the chain prepared the food with cultural knowledge that had been passed down generations, thus joining the storying journey of the food and related objects, in the physiological journey to becoming part of the person. That person was culturally formed, physiologically and socially, from the material objects he or she interacted with and/or ingested.

As I collected various ingredients for use in the kitchen as an adult, I became aware of the cultural food production and preparation skills that had been handed down the generations to me. One particular food could be prepared in different kitchens by individuals from different cultures with separate results. This was evident in my teacher training practical classes where we were provided with a main ingredient to make a meal, such as meat. As students from multiple tribes, we prepared the meat using different cultural methods and utensils producing multiple results. Such experiences revealed the depth of material culture such as food and its related stories. We were able to produce a collage of these cultural stories with the same ingredient.

I was also a hands-on and crafty person, constantly tinkering and engaging in arts and crafts, crocheting, knitting, and baking. Growing up in scarcity, I did not have many materials at my disposal, thus I saw everything around me as a potential material for my next project. To me, each storied object could be drawn on to write more stories of experience depending on what I was making.

Again, this interaction with the objects was culturally informed. The knitting, crocheting and baking were probably introduced during the colonial times and later replaced the more

traditionally-grounded arts and craft activities such as weaving, mat making, basket weaving, and pottery that I had learned as a child. It is those much earlier experiences that got me interested in using my hands to make 'stuff'. Later on, I started reflecting on what the 'stuff' actually meant. Unfortunately, because of the colonial influence, many of the deeper cultural activities mentioned above were lost and replaced by the more Eurocentric ones such as baking, knitting and crocheting. It is these later activities that were promoted in the school curriculum and supported by parents.

This situation is evident of the strength of the formal school curriculum in driving the cultural direction of society. The skills taught in schools end up being practiced informally at home. Most parents want their children to succeed academically; thus, children are encouraged to practice what is learned in school. The challenge that arises is whose culture is being promoted in school. What learning is viewed as academic? In our case in Uganda, it was not our original culture but one that was imposed by outsiders. Why people accept having a culture imposed on them and, in turn, become proponents of that culture is partly what this study explores.

After secondary school, I joined a teacher training college to become a home economics teacher. I was now positioned to extend my colonially-shaped self and share it with my students through skills and knowledge. What I did not attend to as a student, but was rudely awakened to as a teacher, was the rigid mandated home economics school curriculum. I had to follow this curriculum 'to the letter,' regardless of my thoughts or feelings toward it. The entire home economics curriculum was infused with British culture, which was residual evidence that Uganda was a former British colony. The curriculum required the preparation of Euro-western dishes, techniques for cleaning surfaces such as tiles, terrazzo, linoleum, and so on. The material things that were promoted in the curriculum contained the stories of the colonial masters, not the cultural stories that resonated with the students' backgrounds. Students were expected to extend the stories of these objects, but were not actually told they were doing so. At the conclusion of their program, students were required to demonstrate, in a practical examination, proficiency at skills that had nothing to do with their real life cultural ways of knowing, but those with a Euro-western foundation. They needed to show that their stories had been merged with those of the objects in a national exam that was taken by all home economics students at the end of their

Ordinary Level (i.e., junior high school equivalent) and Advanced Level (i.e., high school equivalent). Student failure meant teacher failure to pass on the mandated curriculum to the students. It appeared as a failure on the teacher's part to shed his/her cultural story and that of his/her students, for the colonial story that was supposed to be taken up.

I taught in an inner city school where most of the students came from low socio-economic status families. These students' home encounters with food in their homes were far removed from the ones being taught at school. Most students prepared local foods using traditional methods at home. My classes had anywhere between 40 and 80 students per class, and at one time I had 92 students in a single class. This was a challenging situation considering that home economics is a hands-on subject that demands individual student attention if the mandated skills are to be taught and learned. The school foods lab in which lessons were taught was built during the British colonial rule, and it was fully equipped with Euro-western-style equipment and utensils. As a student, I too was taught how to prepare Euro-western dishes, as well as clean and maintain various surface materials in a Euro-western-style facility using Euro-western-style cleaning detergents and procedures.

As a teacher, I was taught that I had to teach the preparation of dishes such as queen cakes, Spanish omelets, white sauce, spaghetti Bolognese, and Swiss rolls, as mandated by the curriculum. I learned this during my time as a student. I had been programmed to ignore my own cultural objects and attend to the colonialists' material culture. The expectation was for me to pass on the newly acquired story about which objects and skills are superior. Many students were unfamiliar with the appliances and equipment in the lab, as most of the equipment used was nonexistent in their lives or homes, for example, fish slicers, egg beaters, blenders, food processors, cookers, and deep fat fryers. At the end of their program, these students were expected to pass the practical and theoretical national examinations by demonstrating the skills and knowledge prescribed by a Euro-western curriculum. By not acknowledging our material culture in the classroom and upholding that of the colonialists, I became an object that was used to end the cultural story of our material culture and perpetuate that of the Euro-western material culture.

This pedagogic experience did not sit well with me. I was cognizant of and perturbed by the disconnect between the students' real-life experiences and the curricular content presented to

them. However, I did not have permission to veer from what was mandated, prescribed and centrally controlled by the government. Moreover, my personal educational experiences did not support pursuing such questions, let alone confronting the authorities. My cultural and educational experiences did not cultivate a questioning and challenging attitude particularly of superiors. I had been schooled the same way as my students, except in college where the curriculum was not centrally controlled by the government. As a student, I was expected to be like a sponge, to soak up what was taught without question, and hopefully be assimilated by the education I received. As a teacher, I was mandated to pour into my students the prescribed curricular ingredients with a focus on the final tasting in the form of externally-set examinations.

Awakening to Material Culture

When I became a teacher educator years later, I found my voice . . . or so I thought. I tried to stir up the pot and mix up the ingredients in unconventional ways, but I was continuously stifled by my superiors in the education system who were determined to maintain the status quo. I therefore focused on the pre-service and in-service teachers in my classes. I encouraged these novice pedagogues to attend to the materials, resources, and ingredients they used during the practical projects and to search their immediate environment for alternatives to use in my classes instead of spending money on buying supplies. I emphasized the concepts of creativity, innovation, and improvisation. I challenged them to think deeply about the materials that they would bring into the classroom in relation to their cultural contexts and that of their own students, and the role of these materials in the pedagogical process. But they too were faced with the dilemma of preparing their students for the national exams. Thus the cycle continued.

When I journeyed to Canada, I brought parts of my nutritional heritage with me, physically and physiologically, embedded within me as skills and as pedagogical sources. As I undertook my master's degree program, where I was drawn to the area of material culture, which resonated closely with my experiences, cultural values, and beliefs. My appreciation for the significance of curricular material objects and the endless possibilities in which these could be interpreted, and how they affected student learning, increased. I was not obliged to follow any specific academic prescription. I could be myself and my way of *reading the world* had meaning, even when it was different from others' viewpoints. I was also encouraged to find personal cultural connections with all the materials and resources. This approach was valuable for me. I realized that regardless of who determined the material culture in the classroom,

students were expected to attend to and develop personal connections with it within their learning spaces. Such material culture included recipes, curricular texts and documents and the equipment and resources used in a classroom. Students may or may not have previous experiences with these or similar material objects. Allowing such connections to be made is useful in making sense of the learning process and how one relates with peers with similar or different cultural experiences. Material culture has thus increasingly become significant in my academic and research interests, particularly its place in teaching and learning in culturally diverse contexts. I have also learned that questioning and searching for meaning from objects is important. I can decide which ideas to take up and embrace and which ones to leave out, depending on how I connect with them and what they add to or take away from my understanding.

Inquiring into Curricular Material Culture

Raising my children in Canada and supporting them through their school experiences whilst experiencing my own, constantly jolts me back to culturally diverse students' experiences in learning spaces and how teachers use material culture to foster these experiences. I recognize the significance of these experiences, particularly in situations where students undergo different forms of hybridity (McLeod, 2000) in an increasingly globalized world. When my son, at 11 years of age, went to his first class in Canada, his teacher did not inquire about him or his country of origin, or find out what my son knew generally about Canada or about anything else. Instead, a few individuals were identified to show him around the school. This gesture, whilst seemingly kind and thoughtful, struck me as odd because it appeared as though what my son knew or was before coming into this classroom did not matter. He was here in the present without a past. This situation felt similar to what Ugandan students experienced when they had to learn a Euro-western home economics curriculum without question.

Thus I wondered, with the increasing cultural demographics in today's Canadian classrooms, how many newcomer or migrant students are stripped of their identities by teachers not attending to their past experiences as a pedagogical starting point. What and whose world is (not) represented in the classroom? Who makes the broader decisions that determine whose world is in and whose is out? I questioned how overtly attending to these culturally diverse experiences and incorporating them into the pedagogical process could enhance learning. What would it be like for students to see material culture that resonates with them in the classroom?

As Ramsey (2004) suggests, students need the teachers' guidance to rethink any assumptions the students may have, to broaden their knowledge about the world and individuals other than themselves. I believe teachers have an opportunity to explore Ramsey's suggestion to use material culture in the classroom as a tool to support learning along with the students' personal resonances with the material culture.

During my assignment as an instructor in the teacher education program at my current Canadian university, I encountered the various high school Career and Technology Studies (CTS) programs of studies. I pondered over the language used in the mandated program of studies. Terms such as "basic," "Canadian Heritage Foods," and "International Cuisine," as used throughout this program of studies, were, for me, 'lumps in the gravy' that I felt needed to be dissolved. Basic for who, I wondered. To what did Canadian heritage refer? As a country of immigrants, whose foods qualified to be part of Canadian heritage? International cuisine? How did newcomer and migrant students connect with these references? These concepts reminded me of my own classroom experiences back in Uganda, which were disconnected from the students' real life. This study was thus born out of a desire to find out how students and teachers in Canada experience culturally-diverse educational contexts and the place of curricular material culture in the process.

To complicate my inquiry further, I recognize the increasingly porous Canadian border which, because of global events such as natural disasters and wars, allows in more people from various parts of the world. Although some people migrate to find a better economic life, many others take refuge from difficult circumstances. Most who migrate for economic reasons are usually in the middle class in their countries of origin and can afford the costs of moving to Canada. Generally, Canada is known for admitting "significant numbers of highly educated migrants, whose children do well in school" (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2012, p. 34). But when these students get to Canada, they lack the cultural knowledge and skills and equivalent social economic status to be successful (OECD, 2012).

This academic cultural gap varies for people depending on their economic class or refugee status. Many individuals who come to Canada as refugees may not have formal schooling. These individuals are both economically and academically disadvantaged. The classroom

cultural compositions are therefore an assortment of colorful vegetables in a salad. There is a contemporary urgency for the curriculum to attend to this increasing diversity of learners and to consider how and where each learner fits into the pedagogic process. The teacher is considered to be the mediator of both these student-learning experiences and the curricular material culture they encounter in the classroom. How the teacher approaches this process is also a focus of this study.

Research Question

I recognize that this doctoral journey, undertaken in a different culture and country from where I first attended to curricular material culture, has led me to inquire further into myself and reflect on others with possibly similar curricular experiences as mine, both students and teachers. I therefore ask the research question for this journey: *How might the encounter and engagement with curricular material culture in educational contexts unfold for culturally-diverse individuals?* This dissertation is my inquiry into the experiences of culturally-diverse individuals in the field of education and the place of material culture in the pedagogical process. Specifically, I draw on Bourdieu (1977, 1984) to make sense of how individuals' habitus enables them to position themselves within the educational field in relation to capital. My focus is on the interactions among newcomers and migrant learners in cultural and educational contexts, their teachers, and the curricular material culture. Figure 1 represents how I envision the connectedness of these three areas in this study.

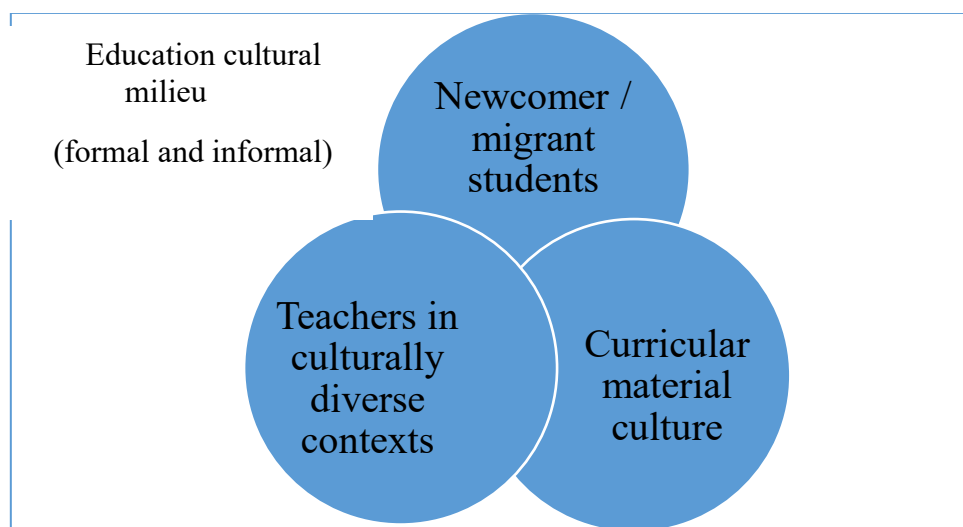


Figure 1. The relationship among the study's research components.

Study Delimitations and Assumptions

Study delimitations are things that are controlled by the researcher before the study takes place. They constitute justified research design choices (Simon, 2011). While conducting this study, I was aware of and recognized some of my personal limitations:

- (a) I was an immigrant parent who arrived as an international student to Canada and was aware that my personal experiences informed how I approached this study (explained throughout this chapter),
- (b) Having been a teacher in Uganda, I was aware of how I had been affected by the education system so I felt a need to fix things. I used this *need to fix* lens often as I conducted the research,
- (c) My study included only newcomer and immigrant students, not mainstream Canadian students or even marginalized First Nations students. The former experience the most blatant culture shock (pun intended) when they enter the Canadian school system,
- (d) The study was conducted with Grade 10 students because the higher grades were preparing for exams at the time of the study,
- (e) The study pragmatically took place in one school with one teacher, however future studies can draw on multiple schools and teachers for possible different viewpoints,
- (f) Exploring this phenomenon necessitated a critical pedagogical and research lens focused on revealing power in societal institutions that leads to oppression and subordination.

The next chapter identifies and explains the literature drawn upon to support the research question guiding this study: (a) multicultural education including critical pedagogy as a response to the continued increasing diversity in schools and (b) material culture.

Chapter 2

Exploring the Literature

The previous chapter mapped out my pedagogical journey leading me to this study and particular research question. In this chapter, I explore the various debates that have arisen in the field of critical multicultural education and critical pedagogy research as a response to the continued increasing diversity in schools. Understanding the concept of multiculturalism is the core of this study because newcomers, immigrants and migrants contribute to the phenomenon of many cultures living together within one nation. I draw on the literature about material culture (the tangible manifestations of a culture, or objectified cultural representations) and its implication for diversity and pluralism among people. I conclude the literature review with a discussion of the concept of material culture and a discussion on how multiculturalism manifests in dominant and subordinate groups' positioning and interaction within multicultural educational contexts, and critical pedagogy as a possible response.

This is followed by Chapter 3, *Theoretical Framework*, where I explicate Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, *capital* and *field*. These theoretical concepts help to explain and understand how what people know and have embodied into their identity (*habitus*) affects how they position themselves within various settings (*fields*, replete with power relationships), and how they draw on different types of capital to navigate these fields, including immigrants and newcomers in the Canadian education system.

Understanding Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism comprises two words. *Multi* means more than one, and *culturalism* refers to people living and forming within cultures (i.e., shared beliefs, values, customs, practices and behaviours). The concept of multiculturalism goes back as far as people of different linguistic, cultural, religious, racial, and generational differences have existed, and is therefore believed to be a normal human experience (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997). These differences occurred at inter- and within-group levels and of course rules and expectations were developed to guide how these interactions occurred. It was imperative that this pluralism be managed to ensure cordial interactions with minimal conflict (Vertovec, 2010). Power dynamics were always at play to determine who dominated the group, but not all dynamics were fair to all members.

As regional migrations turned into international migrations, particularly across continents, cultural differences became more pronounced with calls to newcomers to abandon their cultural origins and assimilate, thereby minimizing or eliminating differences. The opposite effect however occurred in cases of colonialism where people whose countries were more industrialized, travelled to less-industrialized localities and proceeded to dominate them. The locals were forced, in their *own* settings, to denounce their cultures and take on that of the dominating groups. The migrants, who were also the minority, dominated the locals and influenced the local leaders to take on dominant ideologies. This occurred mainly in Africa, Asia and North and South America and continues today in economic, political, educational, and social sectors.

This form of migration (i.e., colonialism), where the powerful immigrant minority dominates an entire nation or peoples, is not fully explored under the history of multiculturalism. What is explored within the multiculturalism discourse is the policies that govern immigrant and ethnic minorities, whether they are leaving their nation or being oppressed within their home nation. This manipulation continues in various sectors where the overarching national policies advocate for multiculturalism but the localized policies are still permeated with ripples of domination (Kymlicka, 2012; Vertovec, 2010).

Debates on multiculturalism in Canada have arisen ever since the inception of multicultural policies in the 1970s. Many of these discussions have focused on issues of race, culture, and gender (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004; Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014). Minimal to no attention has been accorded to material culture and its place in multicultural relations particularly in educational contexts, a strong contribution of this doctoral research. In the next section, I will explore the concept of multiculturalism and the various debates that have arisen around it, followed with Canadian multicultural policies and how these have affected the educational experiences of newcomer and immigrant children. I will then make the case for curricular material culture as a possible moderator of these debates.

Defining Multiculturalism

The term multiculturalism originates from the word multicultural, which simply means many cultures. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defined culture as “the integrated pattern of

human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations” (“Culture,” 2017).

Sociologists often define culture as the sum total of ways of behaving that a society or group builds up - the pattern it expects its members to live by. This includes the group's ideals and values and, especially, its means of creative expression- its language and its ways of communicating both internally and with the wider world. (Williams, 1986, p. 26)

A culture provides people with an anchor and an identity within their local environment. Culture also refers to “the way in which a group of people respond to the environment” (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014, p. 6). When people from different cultures live together, multiculturalism comes into play. It is a philosophical position in the form of policies or initiatives that countries or societies establish to facilitate the interactions between individuals from *different* cultures (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014; Vertovec, 2010). Grant and Ladson-Billings (1997) recognize pluralism within communities and the need to reflect this diversity in all structures. This means that the demographics, values and educational goals, should reflect multiculturalism. Sometimes newcomers and immigrants, or local citizens may be oppressed by a small hegemonic migrant group, (as in colonialism). Kymlicka (2010) proposed “first and foremost...developing new models of democratic citizenship, grounded in human rights ideals to replace earlier uncivil and undemocratic relations of hierarchy and exclusion” (p. 101). This approach would ensure that any existing friction and unease between groups, would be addressed. Diversity should be present in all of society’s institutions, including educational institutions (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997), and should be constantly revised (Leistyna, 2002).

Cultural belief systems are not static, which means that culture undergoes constant change. Consequently, multiculturalism is also constantly being redefined as new knowledge is uncovered, and as people continue to cross borders resulting in changing demographics and cultures. There is a general recognition that multiculturalism does not have finality, and there is nominal pushback against hegemonic attitudes. Unfortunately, some scholars have misconstrued these shifts in multiculturalism and renamed it post-multiculturalism. I feel that the ideas posited in post-multiculturalism should have been part of multiculturalism in the first place. I will expound on this later.

In a bid to define multiculturalism, various scholars have approached it from political perspectives, namely conservatives, liberals, and radicals (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014). These perspectives present conflicting views on multiculturalism. Conservatives approach multiculturalism with an “Us” and “Them” attitude, “Us” being whites (with null culture) and “Them” being all the non-whites (with culture). This position is problematic because of the assumption that whites have power over non-whites. Multiculturalism is then projected onto non-whites as the ones *with* ethnicity and culture (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014). Such mentalities continue to this day. I occasionally meet individuals who claim to love meeting multicultural people *like me* (reflecting the assumption that they do not consider themselves to be part of the multicultural fabric). The people who embody these positions tend to take the stance of being in power positions, making it appear as if I have simply been permitted or let into their space. Multiculturalism then appears as if it is ascribed by the dominant culture onto minority cultures or groups.

Ghosh and Galczynski (2014) cautioned that, “[w]hiteness cannot remain invisible and outside the framework of multiculturalism... multiculturalism is a right to difference” (p. 3). Difference is a human reality. Everyone is implored to recognize and appreciate difference in both internal environments within each one of us, and the external environments that influence who we are. Some of these differences, such as sex and race, are beyond anyone’s control, and others, such as ethnicity, culture, gender and class, are ascribed by society. These characteristics are outside the control of an individual as well, and are key components of one’s identity. They could determine how much power one has in society, depending on the systemic structure and how much leverage one has therein. . Being white is as present as being non-white in the multiculturalism discourse and practice (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014). Unfortunately, this mentality has penetrated governing policies of institutional structures including educational institutions, which demands for a critical pedagogy approach in analyzing these contexts.

Ghosh and Galczynski (2014) point out that Liberals tend to dismiss difference, but recognize that we are all equal; that is, everyone has the same privileges, rights, status, and opportunities as others. This mentality also undermines the identities of the individuals from different cultures because, in reality, we *are* different but we are not equal. Non dominant groups

experience repeated structural discrimination through institutions, policies and societal structures, both directly and/or indirectly, while the dominant enjoy more privilege).

Radicals on the other hand emphasize *respect* for cultural differences, particularly values, behaviors, ways of learning and socio-cultural practices (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014). However, respect alone is not enough if elements of power and control are maintained within institutional structures. The radical approach recognizes difference as a reality, and rather than reproduce exploitation and inequity, a radical multicultural education “stresses respect for cultural differences, values, behaviours, ways of learning, and socio-cultural practices” (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014, p. 2) Radicals hold that all groups should be valued regardless of race, gender and class (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004; Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014). As a result of the outdated and skewed definitions of multiculturalism that concentrated on non-euro-westerners, other critical multicultural education scholars (Kymlicka, 2012) have rebutted any unfair positions and are considering more wholistic approaches to multiculturalism.

Contextualizing Multiculturalism

Historically, multiculturalism has been closely linked to broader global movements, particularly the human-rights revolution (Kymlicka, 2012). People from various tribes and cultures have coexisted around the world, which makes multiculturalism a natural experience wherever pluralism is found (Grant & Ladson-Billings (1997). Scholars, however, have traced multiculturalism to the post World War II revolution, a period characterized by accepted practices such as, colonialism, racism, sexism, etc., where groups of people exercised domination over others. At that time, both domestic and foreign policies upheld these biased approaches (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014; Kymlicka, 2012). This form of multiculturalism was also evident in areas where colonialism was ubiquitous. Some people from European countries, for example, considered themselves to be superior and set out to colonize people in other geographical regions. An example is Uganda. Prior to British colonization, it was a region with various tribes living alongside and interacting with each other, without one necessarily dominating the other. When the colonialists coalesced all of these tribes into one country, ignoring tribal boundaries, friction started to occur among the different tribes.

This combative way of life characterizes most of current day Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. These European actions were also evidenced in Canada, Australia and New

Zealand where they came as settlers. Instead of living alongside the natives (now called First Nations), the Europeans simply dominated the locals with the aim of getting them to abandon their cultural practices and take on the persona of the new settlers (i.e., assimilation). How so few individuals managed to invade other places and take total control of the land is baffling, until one understands their patriarchal and hegemonic ideology, informed by manifest destiny (i.e., the attitude that, because of who they were (people and institutions) they not only could, but were destined to, expand their territories) (McDougall, 1997). Unfortunately, these lands have continued to be occupied by descendants of the European settlers, and the systems in place tend to continue to favor them.

Post-World War II has been characterized by oppressed nations' efforts to obtain independence from the colonizers (e.g., Uganda obtained independence from Britain in 1962). This independence increased opportunities for international movements, some of which were a result of civil wars in those nations. The late 1960s thus were characterized by the struggle for freedom and recognition of multiculturalism by minority groups. Canada, for example, has had an influx of immigrants since the 1970s, increasing pluralism in the country in terms of ethnicity, religion, race, language and culture. With this upsurge of diversity, a constant challenge has been how to respond without demanding assimilation from immigrants. After groups that were affected challenged the status quo, several policies were drafted including the 1971 Federal Multicultural Policy, the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Kymlicka, 2012). These policies continue to be revisited at both federal and provincial levels to meet the ever-changing demographic demands. Multiculturalism is thus a work in progress, which evolves continuously as social realities change (Kunz & Sykes, 2007). This evolution informs the various approaches in multicultural education which in turn affects implementation of multicultural policies in Canada especially within the education sector.

Multicultural Education in Canada

Canada is recognized as the first western country to attain an official multiculturalism policy that successfully addressed its cultural pluralism (Kymlicka, 2012). It is also the only country that has multiculturalism as an explicit part of its constitution. Grant and Ladson-Billings (1997) described multiculturalism as a “philosophical position and movement” (p. 182), asserting that educational institutions should be central in perpetuating this philosophical

movement (see also Ghosh & Ali, 2004; Ghosh & Galczynski 2014; Kirova, 2015). Not surprisingly, this process often elicits opposing representations of multiculturalism's theoretical and practical perceptions (Leitsyna, 2002). In a bid to redefine multicultural education, Ghosh and Galczynski (2014) recognized that it “allows full development of the potential and critical abilities of all children regardless of their ‘differences,’ ... it is not only for minority groups” (pp. 2-3). They further asserted that multicultural education should challenge privilege, and engage a wholistic approach to the school culture while eliminating barriers, and transforming institutional structures.

Multicultural education should challenge all forms of structural discrimination in various societal institutions (Leitsyna, 2002) such as schools. These challenges could be addressed within the curriculum, the teacher recruitment process, school culture and values, and general decision making about how these institutions are governed. In Canada, educational institutions are partly tasked with facilitating dialogue, developing and implementing policy recommendations for multicultural education, and acting as custodians of the processing and integration of immigrants (Kirova 2015). Unfortunately, these educational spaces are not without their flaws. In some cases, they perpetuate what they should be alleviating (Ghosh & Ali, 2004). Much of Canada's curricular content represents hegemonic positions and therefore privileges those who are in mainstream culture, meaning teachers unwittingly become passive distributors of information, whose teaching methods are far removed from learners' realities (Leitsyna, 2002). Curriculum design ideas are said to originate from parents and teachers, but the nature of the current content reflects systemic imbalance as evidenced in various programs of studies (Alberta Education, 2017). The pre-service teacher and school curricular do not reflect the spirit of multiculturalism that they are expected to promote. Equality of all students in education, and public and economic participation of immigrants, is a myth in Canada.

That being said, an exoticized approach can be observed in current societal structures, where newcomers and immigrants are expected to safeguard their cultural clothing, cuisine and music, while safely sharing them with others (Kymlicka, 2012). In schools, this manifests as teachers getting students to find information about another culture's food, clothing or music, expecting them to extrapolate perceptions of that culture from these artifacts. Kymlicka (2012)

explained that this approach toward multiculturalism has been dismissed as superficial and misleading:

- (a) It disregards the economic and political disparities experienced by immigrants within the communities they inhabit,
- (b) It may not distinguish among the intergroup diverse practices that are safe and unsafe to perpetuate, and potentially trivializes cultural differences,
- (c) It may assume static culture and not acknowledge the reality of ever changing cultural practices that undergo constant change as individuals interact with others over time,
- (d) Finally, the selection of specific cultural features to learn about or preserve may ignore the internal power dynamics within the group, such as age and gender.

As a result of these disparities in the multiculturalism discourse, some scholars have opted to claim that we are currently in a period of post multiculturalism while others insist that we are yet to make that progress - the initial multiculturalism was misconstrued (see Kymlicka, 2012).

Critique of Canadian Multicultural Education

The Canadian federal government has no direct control over provincial education due to constitutional arrangements, yet multiculturalism is a federal policy (Kirova, 2015). This disconnect has led to conflicting approaches to multicultural programs across the provinces and territories (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014). Each province has a unique composition of diversity. For example, British Columbia has many immigrants from Asia, Alberta recently had an influx of refugees from war-torn Syria, Quebec receives immigrants mostly from Francophone countries and recently from the United States and allegedly due to President Trump's immigrant policies; and the Northern provinces and territories have a majority of First Nations peoples. The distinctive plurality found in each province and territory creates a multicultural social fabric, which leaves the provincial and territorial governments to interpret the federal policy to meet its specific demographic needs. Some scholars have expressed disappointment in Canada's multicultural policy, claiming that it is unclear, theoretical, and not inclusive enough to allow for equal participation in education and democracy (see Ghosh & Abdi, 2004; Kirova, 2015).

Within the shifting stances of multiculturalism, Kirova (2015) noted that educational institutions are considered appropriate sites to propagate and mediate the discourses on multiculturalism in Canada. However, other multiculturalism proponents (e.g., anti-racist theorists and multiculturalists) cannot seem to agree on how to approach the process, including a failure to eliminate institutional and systemic racial discrimination (Kirova, 2015). Elsewhere, Leitsyna (2002) presented four different approaches for implementing multicultural education. First is teaching the exceptional and culturally different, an approach that focuses on assimilating students from multiple backgrounds into a standardized dominant public school system. Secondly, a human relations approach where tolerance and unity are encouraged, and stereotypes challenged through universalized experiences. Thirdly, utilizing single group studies that refer to lived experiences of disadvantaged individuals that uncover the existential realities of a particular group toward self-realization. Finally, some multicultural education proponents focus on cultural diversity, culturally compatible teaching approaches, and transformation of the entire education system. The first three approaches in particular appear to be devoid of addressing what is at stake in achieving multiculturalism – a *critical approach* to systemic discrimination that challenges not only educational structures, but political, social and cultural injustices, at local, regional, national and global levels. The next section will address this.

From Multicultural Education Toward a Critical Pedagogy

Multicultural Education

Leitsyna (2002) defined multicultural education as an approach that “encompasses educational policies and practices that attempt to affirm cultural pluralism across differences in gender, ability, class, race, sexuality, and so forth” (p. 12). Such educational practices require commitment to supporting “cultural diversity, native cultures, universal human rights, social justice, equal opportunity...and equal distribution of power [within the social fabric]” (Leitsyna, 2002, p. 12). Educators are expected to embrace practices that help students acquire skills and knowledge to recognize multiplicity, question stereotypes, acquire and apply cultural codes in different situations, appreciate each groups’ contribution to the broader society, educate themselves about their learners’ experiences, and challenge systemic bias inherent in education materials and curricula. This critical form of education requires educators to apply “culturally compatible” (Leitsyna, 2002, p. 12), student-centered approaches that reflect learners' needs and realities. Diversifying the teaching staff, and including the community in the education process,

are considered additional practices that can be used in critically-informed multicultural education to “transform the entire academic environment and not just the curriculum or the attitudes of individuals” (Leitsyna, 2002, p. 13).

Critical multicultural education then becomes a cyclical approach that allows systemic transformation to be influenced by learners’ contributions, stemming from teachers recognizing the injustices in the broader narratives that exclude or distort the learners’ realities (Leitsyna, 2002). Some storylines (narratives) continue to misrepresent the everyday realities of both majority and minority groups, and increase the gap between the groups, thus shaping public knowledge. Teachers should be tasked with not only teasing out information from diverse students, their parents/guardians and communities, and infusing (better yet, integrating) that knowledge into broader curricula. Teachers should engage these parties in the reflective process on the broader narratives about systemic injustice. By so doing, teachers learn from students’ contributions, reflect on their own practice, and identify ways to apply new insights into their teaching (Leitsyna, 2002). This critical stance enables teachers to use their power to leverage change in education by engaging and empowering learners and their communities to challenge existing systems and change the grand narratives and representations that perpetuate discrimination (Giroux, 1994). For clarification, a grand narrative refers to the collection of ideas that people have come to know that profoundly affect the way society is organized, people’s roles in that society, and the power relationships among institutions in that society. It is what one has always been told and takes for granted.

Leitsyna (2002) proposed teacher-student conversations about “omissions [and] structured silences” (p. 27) in the curriculum, and the historical reasons behind them. Such an approach makes *the how* of teaching as important as what is taught. Leitsyna (2002) referred to this as “having theory work through students not on them” (p. 27). This critical approach requires teachers to recognize their dominant position, and be willing to relinquish their dominant position and power. Through shared spaces and learning, teachers can engage students in challenging the status quo and transforming the education system through a self-reflective and collaborative co-creation of a narrative that reflects both parties’ reality. To expand critical multiculturalism and enrich this study, it is imperative that a critical pedagogy is advanced.

Critical Pedagogy

Teaching should not be seen as simply a set of skills and methods that one learns to use to convey subject matter. This is a profession that many individuals undertake without recognizing that it is part of a broader process known as pedagogy. Pedagogy in itself has political and moral connotations, which means that a teacher is not just a channel of knowledge, but a participating agent. The knowledge, values and skills taught in schools are part of a system that exists beyond the students, teachers, classroom and schools. A critical pedagogy gives permission to the teacher and student to ideally take up their power and embrace freedom to participate in their learning (Giroux, 2007). This participation can be achieved by rejecting notions of subversion and embracing the freedom of agency while securing the future. Giroux (2011) describes this approach as critical pedagogy, which he acknowledges, originates and is expanded from the works of other scholars particularly, Freire (1970).

Critical pedagogy focuses on “an attempt to be discerning and attentive to those places and practices in which social agency has been denied and produced” (Giroux, 2011, p. 3). It is the result of a struggle within specific contexts and addresses questions of who is in charge of knowledge production, and how does this knowledge end up in specific social groups. Critical pedagogy invites critique and calls on educators to identify and interrogate ongoing interactions within educational contexts and the direction of the education they are delivering. Giroux points out that there is always a dominant power behind the scenes which determines what is considered to be knowledge, based on neo-liberalism or free-market capitalism. Giroux (2011) describes his work as “grounded in critique” (p. 4). This stance requires an examination of power and control and how these affect society. These issues are mostly driven by the market, or the business culture in the society. In education systems therefore, the market will determine the educational objectives that end up in the curriculum and, ultimately, the subjects that are promoted in schools. Teachers thus become perpetrators of the system when they emphasize testing as a way to ensure that the objectives are achieved. Giroux sums it up as “[t]eachers are deskilled ... knowledge is viewed as a commodity, and students are treated reductively as both consumers and workers” (p. 3). This systemic disempowerment of teachers and students must be critiqued and this study seeks to do that.

Critical pedagogy can be applied in investigations of how classrooms are structured as (re) production sites for social, cultural and political values, and how the goals of education are

linked to this structuring. This examination should occur at the elementary, secondary and post secondary levels, and engage students and teachers at all these contexts. Giroux (2011), in his departure from a traditional pedagogy, develops the theory of critical pedagogy as a way of challenging the status quo that creates “subaltern histories, class struggles, and racial and gender inequalities and injustices” (p. 4). The theory Giroux (2011) advances invites students and teachers to participate in a critical dialogue that challenges the systemic structures within various contexts and interrogates experience, knowledge and power within these contexts. Teachers are called upon to exercise reflectivity and reflexivity in their practice, particularly, how they could use their positioning on the power grid to challenge dominant pedagogical practices. This process includes asking why they do what they do, whose interests they serve, whether they are aware of the complex context within which they do their work (Giroux, 2007). Teachers and cultural workers must see themselves as social agents, and attend to their own role in the system by creating activism (Kincheloe, 2007). By virtue of their position, they are tasked with building the future and as critical pedagogics, can choose a socially just future especially for the students.

Teachers could also empower their students by creating conditions in which students can reflect on existing narratives and offer an informed critique as well (Giroux, 2007). They are challenged to teach learners to be critical of the curricular materials in a way that recognizes and questions dominance of power and cultivate empathy towards others who may be suffering as a result. Learners should be encouraged to identify where they can contribute to the content (Giroux, 2007). Education should provide students and teachers with the agency to participate actively in the creation and transformation of knowledge and values within society and not just consume it (Giroux, 2011). Learners have to be able to connect their personal experiences including culture, and values, and connect these with their learning. Students need to be enable with opportunities to advocate for their own learning by being critical and find meaning in the subject matter.

Kincheloe (2007) points out that critical pedagogy should be approached in a rigorous manner and anyone should be allowed to participate in the process. Individuals who engage in critical pedagogy are “public intellectuals, public activists” (Kincheloe, 2007, p. 10), and should communicate with various audiences. However, Kincheloe (2007) notes that not all people are able to hear the message on critical pedagogy and, as such, critical pedagogy does not hear from

them as well. Marginalized individuals, such as immigrant students, have a lot of information to share and, using critical pedagogy would help in disseminating these messages (Kincheloe, 2007). Since the system tends to silence these people, they not only fail to voice the experienced injustices but also miss the empowering message that it is possible to engage in critical pedagogy. The dominant groups that have more access to the information about agency are able to decide whether to suppress, which often happens, or express themselves to their advantage.

Critical pedagogy demands that marginalized groups receive a platform to air their views and be heard (Kincheloe, 2007). A classroom with diverse learners from multicultural backgrounds and languages is an example of a possible site for research and analysis of critical pedagogy work. Multiple cultures are rich with knowledge and can enrich the education sphere with knowledge if given a space and voice. However, if they are dismissed because they are not part of the main stream and there is no follow up with critical questions as to why this is so, is evidence that critical pedagogy is being ignored. A prime example of what should be included in the critical pedagogy discourse is curricular material culture which I address in the next section.

Material Culture

The term *material culture* refers to the tangible manifestations of a culture or objectified cultural representations. Every culture creates, uses, consumes and trades physical objects; also known as artifacts, things, stuff, or items). The physical aspect of any culture is called material culture, which manifests as , architecture, household items, clothing, food, and other matters of substance with which people surround themselves. The term material culture references intangible activities such norms, rituals and behaviors associated with the creation and use of physical objects. These “material facets are central to an understanding of culture and social relations” (Woodward, 2013). Before describing the concept further, I will share a personal story of my encounter with material culture. It illustrates the “intertwined, and often dialectic, relationships between people and things” (Woodward, 2013).

Encountering Material Culture – A Personal Story.

During my master’s program in the Department of Human Ecology at the University of Alberta, I encountered the term material culture for the first time. This concept was useful in explaining phenomena that I could not name in my previous academic experiences. The concept of ‘material culture’ resonated with my personal interests in material objects and how individuals

from various cultures experienced them. Unfortunately, the term and area of material culture was not present in academic conversations at the time I studied and taught in Uganda. I eventually used the theory of material culture in my Canadian-university master's research, which examined individuals' experiences with bark cloth, a cultural cloth in Buganda, central Uganda (Sekandi, 2008). I explored how the Baganda (the people of Buganda) negotiated their interactions with this cloth in the wake of globalization. Moreover, the bark cloth was being exported outside Uganda, while textiles from other countries were imported into the country. This drew the people closer to the foreign fabrics while distancing the local people from their cultural bark cloth, which they considered to be inferior. Despite this global textile technological advancement, some individuals in Uganda continued to make, use, and/or engage in economic activities involving bark cloth in more localized and informal settings. I concluded that, through formal education teachers and students should be able to challenge the grand narrative that privileges dominant knowledge, and suppresses other sources of information. For immigrant students, such an approach could promote the exploration of and / or maintain a personal connections with specific material culture and related knowledge. Such approaches would ensure that no significant information from any culture would be lost through systemic silencing of knowledge at the expense of the privileged few.

Material Culture in Education

A critical pedagogical approach to material culture, particularly in educational contexts, is important, especially when interrogating concepts of power and systemic discrimination. The system tends to favor cultural knowledge from dominant groups. Thus the material culture that makes it into the classroom in form of pedagogical resources (e.g., curricula, textbooks, learning materials) may not be representative of the teacher and student population or their experiences (Giroux, 2007). If the content taught is intended to propagate dominant views, then the examples and teaching materials tend to emphasize the reproduction of these narratives, and disregard those that do not fit the mainstream narrative. Material culture from non-dominant groups may be missing in the educational arena. In order for such material culture to be included in the dissemination of knowledge, existing systemic practices that shut out this material have to be strongly challenged using critical pedagogy (Giroux, 2011). Including non-dominant information could not only preserve generational cultural knowledge that newcomer learners bring with them into the learning spaces, but also provide broader learning opportunities for all groups. In that

spirit, this study uses a critical education approach to challenge the existing power dynamics that emerge within educational fields, as culturally-diverse students encounter *curricular material culture* within the Canadian school system.

As a Home Economics/Human Ecology educator, I recognize that material culture (e.g., sewing machines, and food preparation and cooking equipment) makes up the classroom teaching materials. However, I notice that there is insufficient engagement with how material culture shows up or is attended to, in education today, particularly in multicultural learning contexts. More people are crossing borders around the world, which, in turn, has changed the classroom compositions in Eurowestern countries, making them more culturally diverse. This movement of people means that students with multiple and varied cultural backgrounds, social economic statuses, and religious beliefs find themselves sharing a more homogenized curriculum in the same educational spaces. This ‘single-lens’ approach to education is symbolic of systemic failures to recognize minority groups as potential contributors to broader education. Providing opportunities for multicultural education would expose students to multiple learning opportunities from, and not just about, other participants (Suleiman, 2004). A critical pedagogical approach to education would reveal existing systemic imbalances, and, elicit questions about how the education systems caters to the increasingly multicultural students populations.

In Canada, newcomer students experience curricula and curricular texts that reproduce Euro-western culture as the dominant ideology, presenting others as the subordinate (Wiggan & Hutchison, 2009). Material culture can be useful physical evidence for teachers and students to use to create spaces and opportunities to challenge, question and interrogate the existing educational system. Such approaches not only enhance the learning process, but also breakdown dominant narratives that privilege stories from some cultures and undermine others (Leitsyna, 2002). Material culture can also be used to connect with the learners' community outside the classroom, where grand narratives exist. If any change is to be addressed, it should be linked to the broader society so as to create a holistic political, societal and cultural change (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014). Teachers are well positioned to support these conversations in their classrooms, and, encourage a balanced dialogue between the students in their classrooms, and the decision makers at the curriculum development level. But teachers need to care to do this.

Material Culture in Focus

This study places a critical pedagogic lens on material culture. Specifically, I draw attention to the power dynamics inherent in teaching materials (e.g., texts, tools, objects, and other resources) that are used in, and those that are deliberately (even subliminally) left out of, the teaching-learning process. Were (2003) posited that an object can enhance active learning if it relates to the students' individual experiences. The object is “a tangible link between what is learnt...and how it relates to the outside world” (Were, 2003, p. 32). In the education arena, the curriculum or program of studies is determined at a political level intent on reproducing specific narratives that preserve positions of cultural dominance (Vertovec, 2010). The content, methods, teaching materials and resources are carefully crafted to promote those privileged positions (Milner, 2010). Most curricula contain cultural nuances representing the context in which the curricula were created and, the broader systemic ideologies of what learners should perpetuate (Kymlicka, 2002). Students whose cultural experiences closely resonate with the context, content and curriculum tools find themselves at an advantage (Bourdieu, 1993). These learners have higher chances of success because they can connect with the cultural context of the educational material and can relate to examples, language, and referenced material culture. Additionally, they are supported by the system that created these educational contexts.

Material Culture in the Education Arena

Briefly introduced earlier, the definition of material culture has evolved over the decades, depending on what is globally at stake at the time and the specific field of study of any the scholars attempting to define it (Woodward, 2013). Material culture has been referred to as “the outward signs and symbols of particular ideas in the mind” (Schlereth, 1985, p. 1). The resultant creations are educational materials and curricula as well as systems of discrimination (Ghosh & Ali, 2004). These curricular materials could include or exclude learners depending on how the teacher chooses to use them. Exclusion could occur if a learner does not connect with the curriculum materials or content or the teacher does not engage the learner in a way that bridges this gap. An included learner would recognize most of the materials and he / she would resonate with the context of what is being taught.

Over the decades, American anthropologists have categorized material culture into three major forms: (a) the ideological, which is evidenced by oral or written data (such as curricular

texts); (b) the sociological, which takes the form of observational human behavior (such as classroom interactions between learners and teacher and the educational materials); and (c) the material, which is evidenced by tangible objects (such as teaching materials). The consensus amongst scholars across disciplines, not just anthropology, is that material culture underscores the complex interrelationship between physical objects and human behavior (Berger, 2009; Glassie, 1999; Miller, 1999; Schlereth, 1985; Woodward, 2013). People create materials based on their thoughts and intuitions of how they envision themselves against others. The materials are created for them, as interpretations of their world. Studying the objects reveals details about the creators, and the culture in which they are embedded.

Glassie (1999) scrutinized the term *material culture*, pointing out the oppositional state of the terms “material” and “culture.” He noted the controversy of material things being tangible, yet representing culture, which is intangible. For culture to be recognized by others, it needs to be translated into tangible objects or material culture. Glassie (1999) described this transformation as “culture made material” (p. 41). These multiple conceptualizations of material culture emphasize its complexity; however, the consensus is that material objects are created and appropriated within cultural contexts. When education materials are designed, there is a cultural component infused in them, with the intention of producing learners acquiring culturally-required values from the contexts in which the materials were generated. This is regardless of the learners’ cultural background or if the materials resonate with them. Aside from the creator, each individual who comes into contact with an object relates to it based on the cultural information he or she has obtained in the past (Were, 2003). Individuals from the dominant group who are privileged to have their ideas represented in the materials will connect with them more readily than individuals whose cultural stories are missing from the materials.

Berger (2009) defined material culture as “the world of things that people make, and things that we purchase or possess” (p. 16). This definition is consistent with earlier definitions from other fields of study that concentrated on the process of artifact production and use and the collection of artefacts linked to specific cultures or parts of human environments, deliberately modified for cultural use (Schlereth, 1985). Various pieces of material culture have traversed cultural and geographical borders and can now be found throughout the world. Similarly, multitudes of individuals have become diasporic, encountering material culture in cultural

contexts that are not their places of origin. However, not all these materials make it into the public domain. If they do not support the reproduction of the dominant ideologies, they are either repurposed to suit these views, or used as museum pieces for economic gain, for example. Either way, the dominant culture is the beneficiary.

Material culture can be located in different spatial and temporal contexts as the author, producer or user (Hodder, 1994). However, in the thousands of cultures across the world, not all forms of material culture will survive beyond the contexts in which they were created. Those artifacts whose storyline resonates with the most powerful groups will thrive across cultures and borders. Artifacts, or physical manifestations of cultural values and beliefs, provide “a means of understanding better the societies and cultures that produced the objects and used them” (Berger, 2009, p. 17). At the same time, individuals from other contexts encounter and connect with those same objects differently. Dominant groups might dismiss what is different if it does not serve the purpose of promoting their values and ideas. As the surviving and thriving material culture is appropriated in different contexts from where it was produced, different individuals from environments not linked to the material culture interact with it, creating shifts in the way this human-material culture connection occurs (Hodder, 1994). Modifications occur in how the materials are used or the meanings assigned to them or even in the continued production, mainly to benefit those in power, particularly for political and economic benefit.

In the education arena, educators select the teaching materials, equipment, and resources for classroom use from an experiential perspective of how they connect and interpret these objects to facilitate teaching and learning (Were, 2003). Most of the connection is based on the grand narratives that have been culturally reproduced and embodied by educators and others in decision-making positions (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997). Students encounter the material culture presented to them by their teachers, and connect with it (or not) on a personal and cultural level. This resonance can be based on which group to which the students belong. Either they are from the dominant group, and have that specific material culture as part of their everyday lives, or the disadvantaged group who is unfamiliar with the material culture beyond the classroom.

Written texts and artifacts have also been referred to as “mute evidence” (Hodder, 1994, p. 110), signifying that people eventually assign meaning for and/or of the material culture, based on their personal experiences. A critical multicultural education approach can be helpful in

exploring these meanings, and questioning the sources of students' experiences with the material culture, as well as what influences the meanings they assigned to the material culture. As well, any stereotypes can be challenged and shared learning can be promoted through this process (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997). Therefore, teachers need to attend to how each individual student relates to the curricular material culture and assess the implications for pedagogical practice. In a situation with culturally-diverse learners, particularly if they are newcomers or recent migrants to a host country, experiences and connections to different forms of material culture may vary depending on learners' previous experiences. These students may have experienced the material culture they find in the classroom, but used it differently at home. Or they may have never encountered the classroom material culture, which disadvantages them in the learning process.

Noddings (1992) suggested the following principles for approaching the pedagogical process: "care for self, for intimate others, for associates and acquaintances, for distant others, for non-human animals, for plants and the physical environment, for the human-made world of objects and for ideas" (p. xiii). She invited educators to encourage students to explore the world of objects, including their forms, origins, and functions in relation to the students' way of life, interests, and capacities. Culturally-diverse students respond to objects or material culture depending on their personal experiences and previous encounters with the object within contexts of power and dominance. In order to interrogate material culture and its hegemonic representations, teachers need to attend to these experiences as starting points (Ramsay, 2004).

Material Culture Texts and Artifacts

Material text should be interpreted in context (Hodder, 1994). The writer and the reader of the text might assign different meanings to it based on their respective ideological backgrounds, which makes exploring the historical context crucial when working with textual material culture in a classroom. Hodder (1994) further asserted that "text and context are in a continual state of tension, each defining and redefining the other, saying and doing things differently through time" (p. 112).

In relation to this study, the curricular texts, particularly the program of studies and textbooks, should be analyzed in relation to the culturally-diverse students' experiences and ideological contexts. As the audience changes, so do the meanings assigned to the curricular

texts (Hodder, 1994). This change is significant as more culturally-diverse learners encounter these texts. A Euro-western text written from a position of dominance will inform the students how important their story is or is not, based on whose story, context and examples make it into the text (Milner 2010). This representation will also be reflective of the broader societal stance, which further clarifies to the learner how valuable or not his/her culture is in the new context. Critical multicultural education calls for a transformation of curricular texts as a response to demographic changes (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014). These texts cannot only be reflective of the diversity within educational spaces and still act as critical interrogation sites and conversation sites on issues of inclusivity and/or exclusivity.

In addition to text, Hodder (1994) described physical artifacts as “the intended and unintended residues of human activity” (p. 113). The materials used in educational contexts have been created or appropriated by humans. Their production and use are infused with ideological, cultural and social stances, based on how the individuals creating and interacting with the artifacts have been socialized. Like texts, these objects have to be interpreted in context. In a culturally-diverse classroom, curricular material culture is approached by both teachers and learners through their respective cultural lens. However, whose lens gets to be the *take away* during the learning process depends on how closely they resonate with the materials and the cultural context in which they are used. Curricular material culture generally has to be approached with an awareness of the context of creation, production and use, and its positioning within the broader context (Hodder, 1994). This is significant because the implications that the dominance or not of a particular material culture could be misconstrued as being superior to other forms thus perpetuating a false hegemonic culture.

In summary, this chapter recounted two bodies of literature as they pertain to the research question: (a) multicultural education including critical pedagogy as a response to the continued increasing diversity in schools and (b) material culture. The next chapter expounds on the theory underpinning this study, Bourdieu’s (1993) theory of social and cultural reproduction (*habitus*, *field* and *capital*).

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework

This research theorizes critical multicultural education and critical pedagogy through a Bourdieuan lens. Bourdieu (1993) concerns himself with how individuals situate themselves within a field (i.e., a setting in which agents and their social positions are located). Positioning in society depends on which group one belongs to (i.e., whether dominant/majority or subordinate/minority) and how much power one possesses. Critical multiculturalism and critical pedagogy, both recognize the imbalances within societies and systems, and that these must be interrogated. Both theoretical approaches challenge power imbalances that may arise when particular groups tend to dominate power centers, (e.g., white, male, middle class, heterosexual) (Ghosh and Galczynski, 2014). As well, these power centers could be politically based and affect systems such as the education sphere, thus creating systemic discrimination and unfairness. This chapter therefore seeks to explore Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital and how they aid in understanding systemic structures and interrelationships.

Pierre Bourdieu, a French scholar, has impacted various fields of study, including education. Swartz (1997) described Bourdieu as a "conceptual strategist" (p.5) who rejected the notion of subjective and objective binaries. Bourdieu advanced the theory of social and cultural reproduction, which he used to explain how decades of social stratification have impacted generations (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014), and created societal imbalances in which some groups exert control over others. Bourdieu identified the significant role of formal institutions in propagating social inequalities leading to systemic discrimination, particularly through educational intellectuals and institutions. Their actions were a response to a societal need to distinguish between groups or classes of people (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014; Swartz, 1997). Swartz (1997) asserted that, for Bourdieu, the "struggle for social distinction" (p. 6) is a basic tenet of human survival. This distinction manifests itself in power relations amongst individuals, society, and institutions, especially educational institutions. According to Swartz (1997), Bourdieu's emphasis centered on ways in which power relations emerge amongst individuals and groups as they struggle over resources. Bourdieu holds that the dominant majority controls institutional resources, including basic grand narratives that determine what values and beliefs are propagated in society. The system is structured to benefit the majority and keep them in control, while the minority's values and beliefs are suppressed and their contribution and access

to capital and resources are limited. This struggle for privileged power and control is a major cornerstone in Bourdieu's work (Swarz, 1997), and is a central theme in this study.

Bourdieu (1993) recognized culture as a pivotal point for social reproduction. In an educational study such as this, it is imperative to interrogate the relation between culture and power relations thus using a critical lens. Bourdieu (1993) described culture as a form of capital (i.e., a force or underlying principle that determines the rules of socialization). How capital plays out in a culturally-diverse educational environment focuses this study. Cultures that are considered the powerful majority tend to control resources and narratives by creating societal rules to economically and politically benefit them, and ensure they do not relinquish their power. Discrimination occurs when those who do not belong to the dominant group are deficient of what is required to be part of it (Ghosh & Glaczynski, 2004).

Within educational contexts, the curricula, textbooks, examples, teaching materials and many of the intellectuals represent the dominant groups (Leitsyna, 2002). Bourdieu's concepts habitus, capital and field also known as "theoretical utensils," were developed as tools to understand the power relations (hunter, 2014, p. 3). These tools offer a "theory of embodiment" (hunter, 2014, p. 3) to help create an understanding of deep-seated systemic forms of social power disparities and devise means to break away from these dominant ideologies. Like all influential scholars, Bourdieu's work was informed and re-applied by various philosophers, researchers, and academics around the world.

Bourdieu Caveat

Before I continue to delve into some of his work in relation to this study, I will raise a caution that Bourdieu provided to those of us who choose to draw on his work to enrich our ideas. In *The Social Conditions of International Circulation of Ideas*, Bourdieu (1999) pointed out that writings that are disseminated outside their original social and cultural contexts have to be carefully approached as:

they don't bring with them the field of production of which they are a product, and the fact that recipients, who are themselves in a different field of production, re-interpret the texts in accordance with the structure of the field of reception, are facts that generate some formidable misunderstandings and that can have good or bad consequences. (p. 221)

Bourdieu (1999) implored scholars to attend to how importing ideas and texts could alter the original idea that the author intended, thus reassigning meaning to the original text. As a migrant scholar myself, attempting to draw on his work, I will be cognizant of this caution; however, I recognize the parallels with and intersections of his work with mine.

Susen and Turner (2011), in an effort to document Bourdieu's complex theoretical and conceptual legacy, categorized his work as: Multithematic, multidisciplinary, intellectually eclectic, empirically grounded and theoretically informed, and politically committed. This eclectic scholarship makes Bourdieu quite elusive and challenging to assign to only one paradigm. I recognize that his focus on power relations spans multiple fields and can be applied to any system or society where discrimination occurs. This is evidenced by Susen and Turner's (2011) point that Bourdieu's work was never limited to one particular topic or research area, which demonstrated a "commitment to the idea that critical social scientists should resist tendencies towards the specialization of research programmes . . . and the construction of power driven empires" (p. xx).

Bourdieu's work has also been recognized as possessing multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary roots, outlook, and impact (Susen & Turner, 2011). He believed that social scientists should avoid separating disciplines with distinct boundaries. Dividing fields of study means introducing difference and therefore creating stratification, which introduces concepts of dominance, power and control among fields. To eliminate such sources of discrimination, Bourdieu drew on several intellectual schools of thought to inform his work including Sociology, Philosophy, and Anthropology, demonstrating that no field of study is superior to another, and each field could benefit from his concepts.

Bourdieu is known to have had a great impact in the field of education (Hunter, 2014; Swartz, 1997), an area where a society's ideologies are propagated. The content and curriculum carry with them narratives that represent the values and core beliefs of the dominant group from one generation to the next (Leitsyna, 2002). The saying "education is power" (anon) is used loosely but accurately reflects Bourdieu's position on education. Those in power connect readily with the content as the examples and story lines resonate with their own realities. Education can be used to discriminate against the minority groups by the way they are storied by the dominant group through their narratives. Because the minority's stories are different from the mainstream,

they are misfits. This failure to fit into the main storyline is a source of discrimination and deeply affects learning.

Bourdieu's work is considered eclectic, a demonstration of his openness to various competing schools of thought. This allowed him to challenge dominant ideologies and oppose those who considered their ideas as superior. This effort challenges scholars to consider "cross-fertilizing the conceptual tools and theoretical presuppositions of rival intellectual traditions" (Susen & Turner, 2011, p. XXI), and not necessarily simply dismissing them, which is a characteristic of the powerful majority. Bourdieu advocated for a blurring of disciplinary boundaries by social scientists in similar fields, so that they could cooperate toward a common goal of solving problems caused by social stratification. Bourdieu endeavored to ground his work both empirically and theoretically, with an emphasis on praxis and reflexivity, approaches that he encouraged other scholars to adopt (hunter, 2014). Again, this was a demonstration that empirical and theoretical components of social science can be unified without one dominating the other (Susen & Turner, 2011).

To Bourdieu, social analysis could only occur with a strong focus on practice. This is because social science stems from the subconscious and informs us of why individuals behave the way they do, as well as how people are affected by the social spaces they occupy (hunter, 2014) and the power they have while in those places and how it impacts their choices and actions. His work generally pivoted around three major concepts: habitus, field, and capital.

Major Concepts in Bourdieu's Work

To augment the critical multicultural educational approach previously discussed, this study draws on three of Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1990, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2008) theoretical concepts: habitus, capital, and field. I use these concepts to develop a critical understanding of how the dominant and subordinate groups position themselves and interact within multicultural educational contexts. Bourdieu (1984) recognized that these key ideas were critical in social cultural human interactions and could be used to understand who, how, and why individuals relate the way they do in various contexts.

Habitus, capital and field emerge from Bourdieu's (1977) understanding of power as culturally and symbolically shaped, and constantly relegitimized through the interplay of agency and structure. He cautioned that these three concepts, in addition to practice, should always be discussed concurrently to provide substantial meaning (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Edgerton

& Roberts, 2014). It is imperative that social inequalities and power dynamics be explored when studying how individuals experience and interact within multicultural educational contexts. These three concepts are useful in studying such situations. In the next sections, I expound on habitus, capital and field and how they inform this study, noting that although they are discussed here separately, they coexist within human social interactions. I weave practical examples into the explanation of each concept, making the concepts come to life.

Habitus.

Bourdieu (1993) described habitus as “that which one has acquired, but which has become durably incorporated in the body in the form of permanent dispositions” (p. 86). Earlier, Bourdieu (1977) defined habitus as “this immanent law . . . laid down in each agent by his [sic] earliest upbringing, which is the precondition not only for the coordination of practices but also for the practices of coordination” (p. 81). Bourdieu considered habitus to have a historical component to it, but at the same time, an innate or embodied capital that a person may possess and draw on when circumstances similar to those that abetted the development of the habitus are recreated. He described it as “history turned into nature” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78).

In more detail, habitus is responsible for how individuals react in situations similar to the original social contexts to which the individual was first exposed. The initial occurrence elicited a particular response, so when a similar situation is experienced, the individual responds as he/she was initially conditioned (Bourdieu, 1977; Sato, Gittelsohn, Unsain, Roble, & Scagliusi, 2015). Consider someone born a heterosexual white male, a member of a dominant group. His responses in situations would likely occur from a position of power and privilege. Discriminating against non-white and/or females and/or homosexuals may come naturally. Moreover, he might not even consider anything wrong unless he has been exposed to some form of critical multicultural education that allows him to question his position vis-à-vis others. Habitus is therefore structured by, and structurally represents, the social environment in which it is developed. The individual and society are considered to exist in relation and not in opposition to each other (Bourdieu 1977; Sato et al., 2015; Swartz, 1997), and these relations are more about who has the power and who does not.

Acquisition of Habitus. Approaching the concept of habitus requires a central focus on “the embodied individual” (Noble, 2013, p. 344). Habitus is innate capital (Bourdieu, 1993), and is embodied and internalized within an individual’s cognitive structure based on his or her

positioning within and perception of the social world (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Edgerton & Roberts, 2014; Husu, 2013; Noble, 2013). Such perceptions could be perpetuated through systemic structures, for example, the concept of the third world, a phrase used so often within academia and other social contexts that many people accept it as it is rather than challenge its hegemonic premise. The notion of the “weaker sex”, in reference to women, was so over used that, for a long time, women uncritically accepted it as a description.

Such dispositions are acquired and learned early in one’s life through “class-specific experiences of socialization” (Swartz, 1997, p. 102). These socially-constructed ideologies are created by the dominant group as a way to differentiate themselves from, or discriminate against those in, subordinate groups. To reiterate, habitus manifests as natural ways of expression, practice, or actions and generates those actions, perceptions, and attitudes corresponding with the conditions of initial production (Husu, 2013; Noble, 2013; Swartz, 1997). They become the *normal* in society. To illustrate, how individuals react or respond to others of a race different from that of the dominant group will depend on the stories that have been passed down the generations about the subordinate group.

A lasting habitus is produced from a lasting action (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Long after the cessation of the learning situation or pedagogic action through which the habitus is acquired, the habitus remains because it is internalized. However, when an individual encounters unfamiliar conditions, the habitus adapts and becomes cumulative and generative. This means that habitus cannot be static but is modified by changes in routines and procedures depending on the conditions encountered (Bourdieu, 1993; Jorgensen, Gates, & Roper, 2014; Noble, 2013). A change in social context, for example, could create a shift in one’s habitus if there is a disconnect between the social conditions in which the habitus was developed and the one the individual is experiencing at the time.

Critical multicultural education is an example of an approach that could influence a shift in one’s habitus. The status quo would have to be challenged and policies would have to change. Instead of education being transmissional, a banking method (Freire, 1993), where knowledge is just poured into the heads of the learners regardless of their own thoughts. Critical education sites become sites of contestation where discrimination is challenged, no single group’s ideas are adopted as the societal norm, and social injustices are confronted through a critical lens (Leitstyna, 2002).

Individuals with similar socialization structures or life opportunities, such as class, are thus said to exhibit similar habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; Edgerton & Roberts, 2014, Swartz, 1997). This similarity is commonly manifested in both dominant and subordinate groups. An individual will respond to situations based on how much power he or she has to ensure success in a structured society and how closely his or her habitus resonates with that of the society. Bourdieu (1993) called these individuals *agents* who do not follow specific rules or norms but act strategically to respond to the social contexts based on their dispositions (see also Swartz, 1997).

Grounded in their habitus, some individuals will assume they were born to dominate others, while individuals in the subordinate positions may embrace them and use derogatory terms, coined by the dominant group, to refer to themselves. For example, many people refer to their country of origin as a *third world* country, and even defend this label. Ironically, the term usually suggests a low level of industrial development compared to developed nations (First World), when in fact the country being referred to as *third world* may have a richly developed cultural and linguistic history. Such beliefs are seen as engrained in the way one approaches life and emerge as one encounters different circumstances, depending on how much power one has and the possibilities at one's disposal. Moreover, many of these dispositions (such as attitudes) can be transmitted from one generation to the next through a socialization process (Swartz, 1997).

In educational contexts, learning is determined by the way one's habitus has been shaped over time. A learner's success is also largely dependent on the way a school parallels his or her habitus with the field (Jorgensen et al., 2014). The more closely aligned the student's habitus is with the school practices, the higher the chances of success for the learner. In an environment where students belong to the dominant majority, their habitus is cultural capital: a white male student whose first language is English in a class where it is also the language of instruction, taught by a white male teacher using a curriculum and examples that resonate with the male student's personal experiences. Such students would have a greater chance of achieving educational success because their habitus and the educational milieu are in sync. They would be more likely to pursue further educational opportunities, be more engaged in school activities, and more easily connect what is taught in school with the outside world.

On the other hand, a newcomer female Muslim student whose first language is not English, despite being the top student in her former class in her country of origin, may struggle

to understand the language of instruction, the content and context of what is taught in addition to experiencing gender and religious discrimination. The struggle for newcomers to Canadian schools (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004; Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014), and for First Nation's students who may not be part of the mainstream, is clear. Their habitus would be disrupted and not easily reoriented. In such situations, if teachers do not attend to the pluralism in their class by employing critical educational strategies to challenge the status quo, they will become another proponent of structural discrimination that determines who belongs and who does not (Swartz, 1997).

Amongst migrants, however, the experience of being uprooted from their familiar social contexts, where their habitus was structured, and then re-rooted in a new setting, creates a disorientation that, at the same time, requires a reorientation as they settle in the new environment. Not only are they in a totally new cultural context but the social structures that they are familiar with do not exist in their new location. For example, within their countries of origin, these newcomers might have been in the dominant group, which is why they could afford to immigrate to Canada in the first place. When they get to Canada, they respond to their new environment with their known habitus. They quickly realize that they are in an unfamiliar field, and a shift occurs that now places them in a disadvantaged position. Back home, they may not have had to strive for their position, but in Canada, they now have to struggle and position themselves differently.

The unfamiliar subordinate position is uncomfortable, with the newcomer unable to “win” because the dominant group controls the field. The newcomer's habitus then undergoes change so he or she can negotiate their way in that new field (Bourdieu, 1993; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). This is evidenced by many immigrants who have been unable to practice in their fields of education (e.g., medicine, law), yet they were trained professionals in their countries of origin. Many have opted for re-skilling, or simply taking lower paying jobs that do not require the use of their foreign credentials and professional skills (Guo, 2007). This habitus shift demonstrates the fluidity of the habitus and the reality of the body, which Noble (2013) described as the “means through which we re-orient ourselves in relation to the social field, and thus to new as well as old circumstances” (p. 344).

Habitus can adjust, adapt, and be incrementally modified depending on the expected chances of success. This process requires one to draw on the available resources and past

experiences. Habitus is not static and cannot be contained; as circumstances demand, habitus can be modified for practical purposes (Bourdieu, 1993; Edgerton & Roberts, 2014; Swartz, 1997). Critical multicultural education can be useful in modifying the habitus through questioning the world views that influence how the habitus is formed, confronting and deconstructing the ideologies that influence the formation of these narratives, and challenging structural discrimination (Leitsyna, 2002).

Migration rates are high in Canada, meaning the cultural landscape of schools and classrooms is continually being reshaped, and the migrants' habitus transformed and continuously modified. There may not even be enough time to stabilize in each transitioned state as students realize that they are disadvantaged in every context; school, community, and home. At home, they often experience parental and family pressure to quickly adapt, learn English and perform well in school. In the community, their peers may be able to obtain employment, but if one lacks the language, let alone how workplace contexts unfold, seeking employment may be intimidating. Attempting to keep up with each individual subject area, with curricula infused with systemic discrimination, the sites of struggle in classrooms are multiple for these learners and their habitus is not likely to have prepared them for the chaos.

Noble (2013) responded to such situations with the concept of the transformed or *transformative habitus* based on the continuous intercultural negotiations as a "pedagogical process" (p. 346). As newcomer students experience the multiple sites of contestation, their habitus experiences continue to be molded with each new encountered experience (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). Noble (2013) described this as "learning to live in a new place, means learning to grapple with the differences of a new setting. In making oneself at home, the migrant finds a way to live in a new place, but also becomes accustomed to a sense of disorientation" (p. 349). Immigrants encounter this feeling of disorientation on a daily basis, forcing them to learn to navigate experiences as they arise.

Swartz (1997) posited that "[t]here may be gray areas where uncertainties about life chances are internalized that do not fit the fundamentally dichotomous boundaries that Bourdieu's concept of habitus presupposes" (p. 107). This study examines one of those gray areas. Migrants' habitus is continually restructured as they encounter various structures that do not resonate with their habitus. As they enter a new socio-cultural context, alongside other immigrants and mainstream individuals, they experience a constant navigation of habitus

(re)construction. The continuous reformation of habitus depends on how closely aligned one's habitus is to the conditions of the field in which one is situated (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). The closer one is, they say, the less likely one is to experience a transformation in the habitus. There may be some level of interference with the habitus, but the response to change will depend on how much change is required. In a context with multiple cultures and on-going migration, individuals find themselves at various points in the habitus structural change process. An example would a student from a country where English is the official language. Because of linguistic similarities, such a student's habitus would more closely resonate with the Canadian landscape. This multiplicity in the classroom may compel teachers to advocate for social justice so that no students are "falling through the cracks" due to systemic discrimination.

This study partly focuses on the intersections of the different habitus of culturally diverse individuals in educational contexts and how their experiences unfold in the wake of systemic marginalization and grand narratives that propagate power and control. Habitus has been interpreted in multiple ways within the human sciences (Swartz, 1997). Of relevance to this study is viewing habitus as constituting social narratives that individuals acquire through experiences within social structures. Because the stories inherited about self and others can influence differences in habitus, people's responses to situations will be determined by their positioning and how much power they have. Also of interest in this study is how teachers respond to the diversity in their classrooms, schools and general community and the need to interrogate their teaching practices as part of the broader knowledge-disseminating fabric.

Capital

Capital is the force or underlying principle that determines the rules of socialization, understood to be the process of learning how to successfully function in a society (Bourdieu, 1986). The socialization process is likened to a game with rules that each person has to follow. Each person who joins the "game" takes time to learn the rules. During this stage, that person is the newcomer, at a disadvantage over those who have learned the game earlier and know how to play and succeed (Bourdieu, 1986). This disadvantaged position is subordinate and the advantaged position is dominant. Similarly, newcomers to Canada enter the educational contexts that are already infused with systemic bias and discrimination against minority groups. These subordinate groups may be unaware of this social injustice directed toward them. They struggle to learn the new culture that permeates every aspect of the education system and the broader

society (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014; Leitsyna, 2002), which is infused within social interactions. Bourdieu would say they lack the *capital* to move them to a more privileged position in the new field.

Bourdieu (1986) theorized that capital occurs in four forms. (a) *Economic capital* refers to the financial resources obtain through ownership of something; (b) *cultural capital* occurs in the form of knowledge and practice possessed by the dominant group, which can be transformed into economic capital and/or institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; (c) *social capital* includes social connections or networks; and, (d) *symbolic capital* occurs as resources available to individuals that accord them respect, reputation, prestige or recognition.

Cultural Capital. This form of capital exists in embodied, objectified, and institutionalized states (Bourdieu, 1983). In the embodied form, capital presents as deeply entrenched attributes of the mind and body that are not only acquired in school but also cultivated over an individual's lifetime. If one belongs to the dominant group, besides the structural capital, one has the values, language, mannerisms and general experiences within the environment in which one was socialized. Newcomers would presumably lack this form of capital, placing them at an immediate disadvantage. Embodied capital is described as the, "external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus" (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 245). The habitus, therefore, is manifested, embodied capital (Jorgensen et al., 2014). A person belonging to the dominant group would be privileged with this form of capital.

In its objectified state, cultural capital is transformed into physical or material form (Bourdieu, 1983). Cultural goods can either manifest materially as economic capital or symbolic capital. An individual thus requires economic capital to obtain cultural objects, but needs embodied cultural capital to inform the latter's proper use. In order to convert cultural capital to economic capital, one has to understand the market and produce goods that will sell. Without the knowledge of how a culture works, it is almost impossible to know which products to avail on the market, due to a lack of knowledge of that culture. Symbolically, one may not even know how to present ideas that may be understood in a new context. A newcomer's embodied capital will be different from that of mainstream individuals, meaning product or service representations from an outsider's perspective may be misinterpreted. Moreover, one may even lack the platform to express one's ideas. Conversely, a newcomer may lack the knowledge of how systems such as markets work. In the education system, this can be a challenge in a context such as a foods

studies classroom where equipment and other materials, as well as food products, may be unfamiliar.

In its institutionalized form, cultural capital can manifest as educational qualifications. As mentioned earlier, many newcomers have struggled with having their foreign credentials recognized in Canada, regardless of country of origin (Guo, 2007). This is no different from Canadian classrooms where learners are placed in classrooms according to their age regardless of how much education they have. To illustrate, some learners from war-ravaged countries have little to no education. Placing newcomer teenagers, who have no knowledge of the English language, and have never accessed any formal education, into a high school in Alberta dooms them to failure even before arriving in Canada due to no fault of their own. The system shuts them out of obtaining any form of embodied, cultural or institutionalized capital, while their peers have a higher chance of succeeding in high school and beyond (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004). Such a student is likely to drop out of school due to frustration. Failure to provide critical multicultural education intervention in such situations will widen the gap between those in positions of power and privilege and those in disadvantaged situations.

The previous scenario illustrates Bourdieu's (1997) concept of position taking, which is how individuals, also referred to as actors, position themselves within the field of power in relation to capital. As a reminder, field refers to the setting in which agents and actors and their social positions are located. As exemplified, individuals are disproportionately positioned based on the cultural or economic resources they possess at the time of new habitus. The distribution of economic or cultural capital amongst individuals and groups can affect all other fields of struggle they are experiencing. In some fields (settings), cultural capital may emerge more dominant than economic capital and vice versa. Depending on which field emerges as more dominant, the actors' positions in the field will differ. For instance, an individual may occupy a more dominant position within the economic capital field, but may have less leverage in the cultural capital field. An example could be a new immigrant moving to another country as a business entrepreneur. He or she may have economic capital but lack cultural capital. This situation places him or her in a disadvantaged position. This difference explains social stratification. Swartz (1997) stated that, "the greater the difference in asset structure of these two types of capital, the more likely it is that individuals and groups will be opposed in their power struggle for domination" (p. 137).

Swartz (1997) described action as “the product of class dispositions intersecting with the dynamics of particular fields” (p. 141). When people enter a field and encounter the capital therein, their habitus will be useful to determine what action to take. Depending on how closely connected their habitus is to the capital, they will proceed to position themselves in the field by drawing on their habitus. The field, however, has other individuals or actors as well who may not give up their positions easily to the new entrant. The positions taken by each actor are influenced by their respective habitus. “It is through the habitus that agents perceive a horizon of probable choices, tastes, preferences, styles or stances” (Ferrare & Apple, 2015, p. 47). The habitus will thus determine which position they occupy and how or whether they may choose to alter their position in the field.

In a dominant society, newcomers may be welcomed but are expected to play by the rules of the host country. But because they lack the habitus or capital to adapt quickly and easily, they are unfairly pushed to the outskirts of the field. Consequently, a struggle for access to capital arises. If their habitus resonates with the main interactions that are valued within a specific field, they will likely be more successful in how closely positioned they are to the capital. Students who are not part of the mainstream are disadvantaged at the point of entry into the education field. They have to work hard to develop the capital required to gain favorable positions in the field. This positioning may never occur because of the systemic discrimination within the broader society.

Field

The third major Bourdieusian concept is field, which is “a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). Fields are broad spaces where relational power struggles occur among individuals, groups, and organizations when people are competing for positions over control of finite resources (Ferrare & Apple, 2015; Noble, 2013; Swartz, 1997). Husu (2013) described fields as systemic spaces in which individuals, through their habitus, recognize and take advantage of opportunities for access to, aspirations, and expectations of capital. To recognize opportunities, one has to be part of the dominant group as one resonates with the context. A newcomer student might not recognize opportunities nor have the understanding of how the field works.

In the field are the individuals or actors (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) who compete for positions around certain forms of capital in relation to how much cultural or economic leverage

or capital to which each player has access. Actors locate themselves within the field (setting) based on their habitus and how much power they have in the field. Power is determined by the capital actors have, with the aim of outsmarting their opponents. They need to “reduce competition and to establish a monopoly over a particular subsector of a field” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

The relational networks among these individuals, groups, and organizations are influenced by the latter’s hierarchical positions within the field. Swartz (1997) also noted that fields “can be inter- or intra-institutional in scope” (p. 120), and are not necessarily limited to a single institution. Bourdieu (1993) recognized that every field has challenges that new entrants have to try and identify as they attempt to “break through the entry barrier, and the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out competition” (p. 72). This struggle represents circumstances in which each individual attempts to either maintain his or her own position or shift his or her position to increase opportunity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

To that end, Noble (2013) recognized the fluidity of the field boundaries and, in some cases, with multiple overlaps, and possibilities of being shared by one individual at a time. Fields are multi-dimensional, multi-functional spheres operating on multi-level scales (Noble, 2013). The structure, though, is based on, “the state of power relations among the agents or institutions engaged in the struggle” (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 73). Educational contexts are fields infused with and structured by dominant ideologies, and they function as reproduction sites of societal grand narratives. As newcomers enter these spaces, they struggle for some form of control but, they do not have the same access as those who are privileged.

Most struggles within fields arise from accessing and/or needing to control the economic and political capital that a state uses to regulate its structures (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Actors within the field contest for hierarchical ownership of the resources (Ferrare & Apple, 2015; Swartz, 1997). Individuals with more control of the capital can exercise power over those with less. The field, therefore, provides a space within which the location of actors in the hierarchy is clarified based on the nature and quantity of capital they possess (Bourdieu, 1992; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1993; Swartz, 1997). Actors find themselves located either in dominant or subordinate positions within the field. Due to the relational nature of the actors' positioning in the field, any movements of one actor’s position results in the movements of other(s). Thus, struggles occur as dominant actors try to maintain their positions, while subordinate actors

attempt to gain more favorable positions (Bourdieu, 1992; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1993; Swartz, 1997).

In the field, individuals adopt different kinds of strategies including conservation of their capital, succession or proliferation of and subversion or changes to the rules so they can participate (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Swartz, 1997). Those in privileged positions may use conservation strategies to maintain and revel in their positions, while other actors, particularly those that are new in the field, may use succession strategies to try and occupy more privileged positions (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Actors who do not hope to benefit from privileged groups usually take on subversion strategies whereby they struggle to get rules changed to their benefit. Critical education provides opportunities to challenge the existing rules at political, social and cultural levels so as to give all participants an opportunity to participate in shaping a shared reality (Flynn, 2010; Suleiman, 2004).

Each field has its own rules and structures - thus individuals within a field adapt to it based on their understanding of the rules (Bourdieu, 1993; Noble, 2013). No matter the position of the actors, there is a “tacit acceptance of the rules of the game,” and actors struggle when rules are broken or boundaries are overstepped (Swartz, 1997, p. 125). The rules should be fair to all players. However, if the existing rules favor one group, there is need to reflect on the process and find ways to challenge them. Thus disadvantaged groups do not have to resign to their fate. Finding out who put the rules in place, and to whose benefit, as well as how they can be changed to allow for more equal or fairer participation. In field of play, people normally find implements or props that assist with playing the game. This could be a ball in the case of field sports, pieces for board games and, in educational contexts, it could mean curricular material culture. These curricular objects play a significant role in the reproduction of social and cultural values (i.e., the grand narrative), but they can also be important sources of information regarding power and privilege when used as forms of embodied capital.

In summary, this chapter described the basic tenets of Bourdieu’s theory of social and cultural reproduction (i.e., habitus, capital, and field). This theory will be used to interpret the qualitative findings generated from the research design protocol developed for this study and explained in the next chapter. Figure 2 illustrates the relationship between these three major concepts:

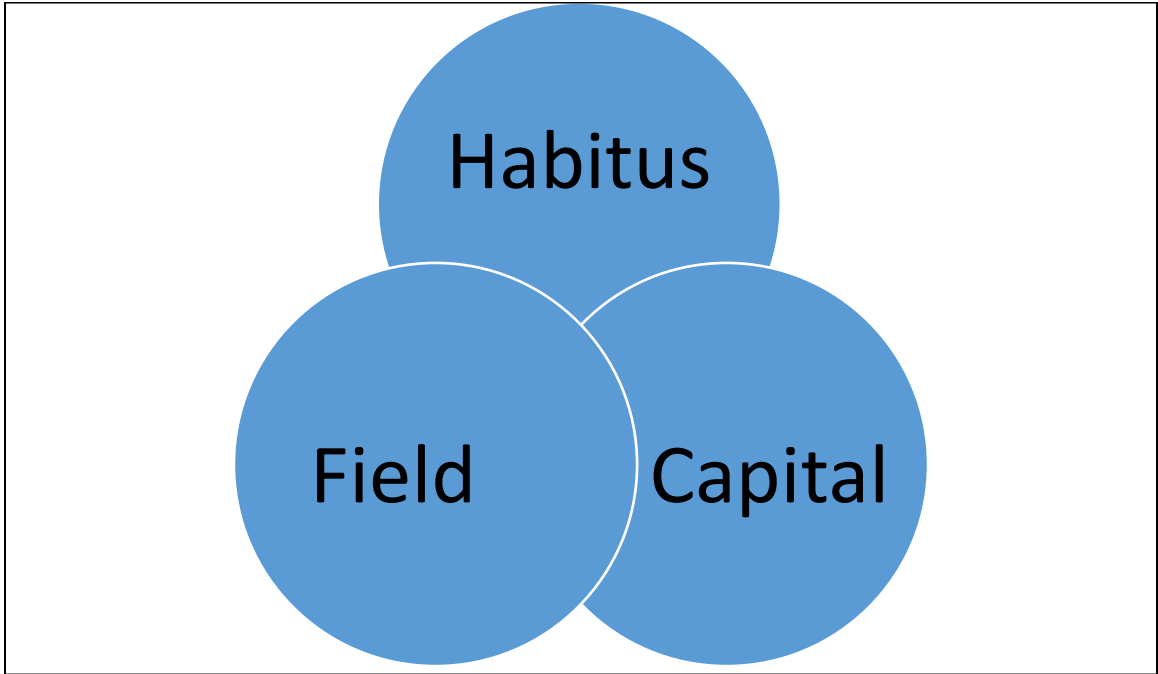


Figure 2. The interrelationship among Bourdieu's major concepts.

Chapter 4

Methodological and Method Considerations for the Study Introduction

This chapter explores the methodological background for the study, which draws on the case study research design grounded within a qualitative research paradigm, referred to in some instances as the interpretive or naturalistic research tradition (Merriam, 2009). Figure 3 illustrates the location of this study within the broader qualitative research paradigm. An in-depth explication of the qualitative case study research strategy used in this study is provided, including the site selection and access, sampling, data collection, data analysis, ethical protocol, and the role of the researcher. Detailed description of how this study is situated within the broader qualitative research is also documented.

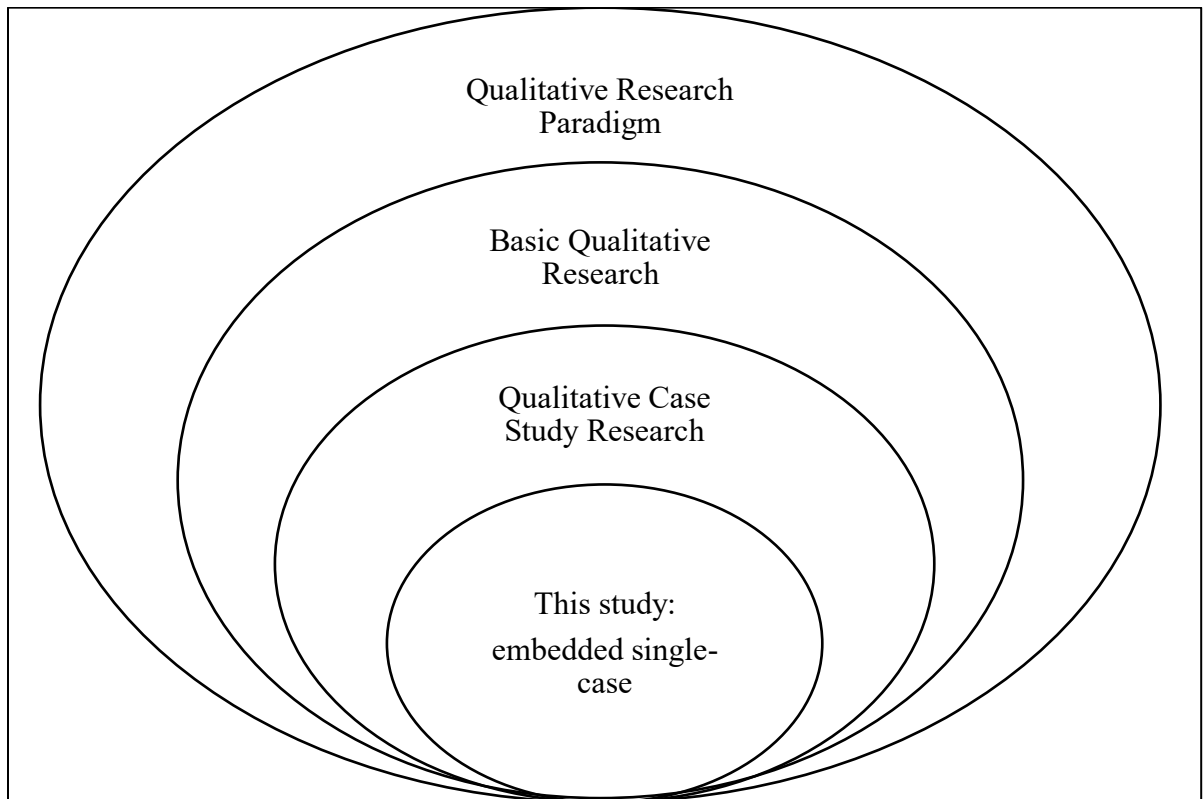


Figure 3. The paradigmatic location of this study.

Basic Qualitative Research Paradigm for this Study

This study takes the form of a basic qualitative research within the field of education. This kind of research conceptualizes a phenomenon from the participant's view point, and

recognizes meaning as constructed when individuals encounter and engage with phenomena. The research focus is on “how people interpret their experiences ... how they construct their worlds, and ... what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (Merriam, 2009, p. 23). Essentially, a basic qualitative study seeks “...to understand how people make sense of their lives and their experiences” (Merriam, 2009, p. 23).

When conducting basic qualitative research, sampling strategies are usually non-probability in nature (e.g., purposive, snowball, theoretical, critical case). Data collection methods usually take the form of interviews, observations, or document analysis or in some combination of these methods. The theoretical framework underlying the study informs the research question. In this case, the theoretical framework is Bourdieu’s social and cultural theory of power and change. The analysis process requires mining the data for recurring threads, themes, or patterns, and interpreting the findings, yielding “the researcher’s understanding of the participants’ understanding of the phenomenon of interest” (Merriam, 2009, p. 24). Given the meaning-making process that participants undertake to understand their lived experiences with the natural world, basic qualitative researchers aim to unearth and interpret those meanings.

Individuals experience, understand, and derive meaning from phenomena, at a personal and social level. This qualitative study is grounded in the concept of experiential understanding (Stake, 2010). Specifically, how culturally diverse individuals experience learning resources and materials in a shared educational space. This study is supported by Merriam’s (2009) view that qualitative, naturalistic, or interpretive research aims at “understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (p. 5). As these individuals encounter the educational spaces, they bring with them preconceived notions and ideas of what the educational space should be like, as informed by their previous cultural experiences. These experiences could be close to what the participants expected or far from it. As a researcher, the fundamental tenets of this research methodology attended to were, obtaining insight and understanding participants’ lived experiences through their own cultural lenses.

This approach required that the inquiry process occur within individuals’ natural environments, the foods lab or classroom in this study, rather than in a controlled laboratory settings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Punch, 2009; Stake, 2010).

Interacting with the participants in this space was useful in unearthing their personal interpretations of their educational experiences in a natural classroom/lab setting without interfering with their experiential process of meaning making.

Qualitative research is broadly concerned with understanding individuals' experiences from their perspectives – a process known as interpretation. Interpretation enables individuals to continuously create personal meaning as they (re)construct and (re)experience their world. Humans are unique entities comprising “the researchers...the interpreters ... the readers of reports” (Stake, 2010, p. 36) and, significantly, the study participants. Humans are at the center of the qualitative research process and the researcher is considered “the primary instrument for data collection and analysis” (Merriam, 2009, p. 15). To be effective, however, researchers immerse themselves in the participants' natural environment with the task of making sense of the participants' interpretation of their world.

It is not uncommon for the researcher to enter the field with pre-conceived notions of how the world works. Being aware of these assumptions, and how they affect the research process, is important to ensuring trustworthy data, meaning it is transparent and open to critical thinking by readers. Trust means acceptance of the truth of a statement. Triangulation, the use of multiple data collection strategies, is helpful in ensuring trustworthy data and addressing issues of confirmability, which is the researcher's neutrality vis-à-vis any bias going into the research process (Stake, 2010). Qualitative researchers strive to take their continuous interpretation of the triangulated data and inductively glean recurring patterns, themes and threads to answer their research questions. In concert with spending a considerable amount of time in the field, the resultant product of a qualitative study is a rich, thick, and detailed description of the researcher's insights into the inquiry (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2010). A comprehensive account of the process is then detailed in the final report, that is, an audit trail of the researcher's decisions about participants, data collection, analysis and related activities or thick description.

Qualitative Case Study Research for this Study

This section details the research design protocol developed and implemented in this study, conducted in 2013-2014. It is organized by the fundamental stages involved in conducting qualitative case study research: research questions and study relevance, study context, site selection and access (including a description of the CTS food studies curriculum), sampling,

instrument development, data collection, data analysis, exiting the field, ethical considerations, and my role as researcher.

Respecting the qualitative research criterion of dependability, related to reliability, I strived to provide sufficient information so others can repeat my research design protocol in *their* context, but not necessarily get the same findings (Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2009; Johnson & Christensen, 2012). I begin with an overview of the overall research design protocol.

Overall Research Design Protocol

Case study research (CSR) could be “a single case study (or a small set of cases) with an aim to generalize across a larger set of cases of the same general type” (Gerring, 2007, p. 65). While the case or situation is approached individually, the findings could be representative of similar situations elsewhere. This particular study took the form of a single, basic qualitative case study with an emphasis on culturally diverse participants’ experiences within a high school classroom environment following Gerring (2007) and Stake’s (2010) advice. A single case study may involve “a detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of documents, or one particular event” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. 58). The single setting was the food studies classroom within a high school within which the participants interacted with each other and with curricular material culture. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) akin to Stake (2010) also endorsed the single case study because of its intensive focus on a specific phenomenon and deep analysis and interpretation. Although not necessarily representative of the larger picture (i.e., all foods studies in high schools in the province or country), the single case may provide a broader understanding of the whole following rigorous scrutiny. This is possible when the complexities of the case are teased out without necessarily drawing sweeping conclusions across cases (Gerring, 2007; Kennedy, 2006).

Asking the Case Study Research Question(s) in this Study

Stake (2010) observed that, “a question cannot be conceptualized without some thought of method and place of study” (p. 74). The context in which the question is explored is as important as the method used to obtain the information. Stake (2010) further noted that although the research question directs the focus of a study, the qualitative researcher goes back and forth between the question, method, and place during the formation of the research idea. Qualitative research questions are designed in expectation that they will change and evolve during data collection and analysis, and are usually prefaced with what or how because these words convey

an open and emerging research design (Creswell, 2009; Yin, 2003). In formulation of the research question for this study, I considered the nature of the information I sought, how I intended to obtain this information and where I hoped to get answers to the question. All these wonderings occurred during the formation of the research idea. Specifically, I sought to find out *how* the teacher read, interpreted, and balanced the curricular material culture with the knowledge and experiences of culturally-diverse students, and *how* the students navigated their meaning-making within a shared educational context. I was able to approach potential participants, a teacher and three of her students, attending the same class (Grade 10) and in the same high school. I sought for meaning and understanding from the teacher and students and assessed this information from a personal and a social experiential level through the participants' cultural and experiential lenses, as well as through my own perspective.

Yin (2003) explained that the research question dictates whether a case study is the most appropriate research design. If the question is prefaced with “how” or “why,” case studies are appropriate because they do not require the researcher’s control over variables and they focus on contemporary events. This study was guided by the following research question: *How might encounter and engagement with curricular material culture in educational contexts unfold for culturally-diverse individuals?* This study was considered to be an explanatory case because strived to discover and examine how culturally-diverse learners responded when they encountered and engaged with Canadian curricular material culture (e.g., curriculum, textbooks, learning resources).

The single unit of analysis in this case study was individuals experiencing an event that is not yet well defined in the literature (Yin, 2003), that being how newcomer and immigrant students navigate their first encounter and engagement with the curricular material culture of a food studies lab, interpreted through a Bourdieusian theoretical lens. The research design reflected what Yin (2003) called an embedded case study. This entailed one single case comprising attention to subunits. To that end, the sample comprised four participants per se (subunits): one teacher and three newcomer/migrant students (to be discussed in the next section).

Embedded case study designs often require the researcher to use different data collection techniques for each unit and subunit of analysis. Respecting this tenet, this study used student and teacher interviews, classroom observations, document analysis (i.e., curricular material

culture) and field notes. Once the data were collected, I employed a specific general analytic strategy, the *case description*, appropriate when the study has no theoretical propositions (Yin, 2003). This analytical strategy involved developing a descriptive framework for organizing the reporting of the case study: the teacher's experience, the individual students' experiences, and then an integrated discussion of how they collectively navigated the curricular material culture within a multicultural context (see Chapter 5).

In this study, the findings appear as themes emergent from a thematic analysis of the qualitative data. In the discussion chapter, the findings are interpreted through the Bourdieusian lens and existing literature cited in Chapter 2 (Yin, 2003). The recommended reporting format for an explanatory case study is the *linear-analytic structure*, used in this study. It employs a familiar sequence of headings and subheadings: literature review and research question, methods (sampling, data collection, analysis), findings, discussion, and conclusions (Yin, 2003).

Study Relevance

The study is relevant because of the increasing cultural diversity in Canadian classrooms. Moreover, classrooms are rife with a mixture of mainstream Canadian students and first and second generation immigrants. The latter group of students is mostly newcomers. With the increasing refugee situations around the world, there are increasing numbers of migrant learners in schools. These new immigrants add to the diversity of classrooms, with this research seeking to discover how they experience these educational contexts. Included within this milieu is curricular material culture: program of study, textbooks, workbooks and worksheets, technological media (DVDs, CDs, videos), and other resources that teachers use to engage learners during the delivery of the mandated curriculum.

This case study was designed to address observations of educational phenomena with a focus on direct interactions among and experiences of culturally-diverse participants within a shared educational setting (Merriam, 1988; Sharan, 1988). This study sought responses to the research question: How might the encounter and engagement with curricular material culture in educational contexts unfold for culturally-diverse individuals? It sought to find out what it is like for individuals from non-Canadian backgrounds to engage with mainstream Canadian curricular material culture in a home economics classroom. Sub-questions included, what messages does exposure to this material culture send to both main stream and migrant learners? What is it like

for teachers to engage diverse learners with a singular curricular material culture? What does having a Euro-western curricular material culture say about the broader educational field?

Study Context

As a home economics educator, I am aware that the home economics subject area is quite broad. In Uganda, it comprised three major areas: foods and nutrition, home management, and clothing and textiles. I was a double major student during my home economics teacher training program, taking all three major areas plus sub-areas such as economics, physics in the home, bio-chemistry, food chemistry, and agriculture.

In Uganda, home economics was part of the broader vocational education program. While in Canada, I quickly realized that what was referred to as vocational education in Uganda, is termed Career and Technology Studies (CTS) in Alberta. There are different courses under the CTS umbrella, including food studies, textiles and clothing, and human sciences, which are close equivalents to the same components of home economics in Uganda. During my Master of Arts in Textiles and Clothing at the University of Alberta, I focused on the sub area of material culture. This area was not only about textiles and clothing but inclusive of all material objects or things.

Undertaking this doctoral research challenged me to draw on material culture theory again and juxtapose it within the education field. Having done extensive work around textiles and clothing during my masters' degree, combined with my prior experience as an all-round home economics teacher, I felt it relevant to expand my knowledge and explore another area by focusing on food studies for this study, one of the three large CTS subject areas. Alberta schools also offer various occupational areas, which made it possible for me to conduct the study in food studies.

I spent some time examining the Alberta Education foods program of studies (POS). This process occurred during my lesson preparation to teach university undergraduate teacher education CTS courses, with the CTS POS as one of the resources. I observed how pre-service student teachers approached the POS and how they interpreted it and prepared course materials around it. During this time, I informally asked the students about their interpretation of the POS. Many of them expressed a disconnect with some of the learning outcomes that appeared quite generic across the various CTS courses.

As part of the teacher education course curriculum, I facilitated intercultural competence and diversity workshops to prepare the students for the pluralism in today's classroom. During the discussions, we explored their understanding of cultural diversity in relation to the students these pre-service teachers would meet in the schools. Following the diversity sessions, I noticed a shift in the students' interpretation of the POS and their subsequent lesson planning strategies. Their lesson plans, unit plans, and student learning guides contained increased examples of different forms of diversity, including multiple global cultures. Recipes were more open and allowed for increased student input instead of only teacher-prescribed recipes.

But something was missing. These pre-service teachers did not challenge the status quo of the curriculum, even when it was clearly representing Eurowestern ideologies. To them, newcomers were here to learn in the new environment. In fact, during some of my course evaluations, the students expressed that I was focusing too much about diversity and not the content. To them, issues of diversity were separate from the content. This friction, which I caused by discussing diversity, seemed to stem from a privileged position whereby students from the dominant group or mainstream culture were uncomfortable with the idea of infusing external ideas into the dominant narrative. To them, I was not supposed to make changes to what was in place.

When the pre-service teachers returned to the university for their call back session – the half way point of their field experience (i.e., practice teaching) – the dominant discussion point was about the student diversity they encountered in their classrooms. The pre-service teachers described the complexities of planning and delivering lessons for diverse classrooms settings and were grateful for my diversity workshop. They also shared how they tried to get the students to do work but were unsuccessful because the students were disengaged.

It is possible they were not resonating with their students' realities as these pre-service teachers expressed that students should not bring their personal issues to the classroom. When operating from a point of privilege, everything falls into place because of the conspiring dominant, grand narrative. But for diverse learners in Alberta schools, other issues were going on in their lives that were not helped by the pre-service teachers' pressure and expectations. Their learning could not 'fall into place' because it was disrupted.

My experiences with the pre-service teacher education students prompted me to challenge the existing systemic narratives of discrimination that have culturally-diverse students

struggling to connect with educational contexts and content. I wanted to examine teachers' approaches and interpretations of these multicultural environments. The foods studies class provided an appropriate and familiar environment for me as a possible site for this study. Food is as diverse as people on the planet and people connect with food in different ways. Food studies classes employ a wide array of curricular material culture (e.g., recipes, produce, stoves, cooking equipment). I envisioned a culturally-diverse food studies classroom as a rich and valuable site to explore the intersections between the teacher-student-environment-curricular material culture complex.

Career and Technology Studies (CTS). Part of the research study context is the specific curriculum to which the study is anchored. Hands-on food study resources and lab materials were a key focus of this study, including what they represented and how students did or did not connect with them. Of interest was how students from multiple ethnic backgrounds engaged with curricular resources created from a dominant perspective, as well as how the teacher challenged or reproduced these dominant ideas.

In more detail, the Alberta Education (2009) CTS curriculum (including food studies) was designed to develop and promote knowledge and hands-on skills amongst high school students. These skills were intended to be transferable to their everyday living and to increase their opportunities for employment following high school. The CTS program lends itself to community resources and makes it possible for students' interests to be identified based on the economic benefit of the broader needs. The CTS generally provides life skills to students within and outside the dominant workplace. Students have some say in determining how and what they learn based on personal preferences, but these have to be in line with the political and economic needs at both provincial and federal levels.

The CTS program comprises five clusters representative of occupational areas aligned with the National Occupational Classification (NOCs) system identified by the government of Canada: (a) Business, Administration, Finance and Information Technology (BIT); (b) Health, Recreation and Human Services (BIT); (c) Media, Design and Communication Arts (MDC); (d) Natural Resources (NAT); and (e) Trades Manufacturing and Transportation (TMT). Each cluster consists of a number of occupational areas that are linked to specific areas, with 28 occupational areas in total. Within each occupational area is a group of courses that students can select from and explore in schools where CTS is offered, creating and following a personalized

pathway within their interests. Students can use a set of courses to map out an academic journey in which they choose to explore a particular pathway, specialize in a particular area, or earn a credential.

CTS courses are levelled; that is, they are introductory, intermediate, or advanced, and are not by grade as commonly noted in other subject areas outside CTS. Each one-credit course within each level requires about 25 hours of instruction. In some cases, prerequisites must be met before proceeding to the next course (Alberta Education, 2016). Figure 5 shows the CTS compass, which summarizes the Alberta Education CTS field. The central focus is presented as *learners' interest* but as they explore the field, learners focus on a specific area in line with the NOCs, which is ultimately their interest controlled by the grand narrative. The NOC area of study that learners choose determines the skills they obtain to make them employable in a particular field of work; thus sustaining the broader, dominant system. Ironically, the student is positioned at the core of the CTS diagram, when it should be the dominant system (the NOC).

A lot of planning and organization is required in CTS courses to ensure that each student's selections are met and competencies achieved at each level. This creates a more complex dynamic between teachers and all students, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds that are unfamiliar with the dominant cultural context within which the POS and the NOCs are set.

Food Studies Curriculum.

The food studies curriculum is set within the non-apprenticeship occupational area of the Health, Recreation and Human Services (HRH) cluster. At that time of the study, the foods program of study had just been formalized by Alberta Education. Prior to the formalization, the CTS curriculum was being taught from grades 7 to 12 in various junior and senior high schools. With the formalization, clear guidelines and programs of study were provided for level 10 (Introductory), 20 (Intermediate) and 30 Advanced. I determined Grade 10 or introductory level to be an appropriate starting point for the study. I decided to study how the teacher introduced curricular material culture to the learners and observe their engagement with it.

The food program of studies has up to 45 courses from which students and teachers can select to plan pathways. However, in many situations, such as the one in which I conducted my study, the teacher selects the courses at each level, ensuring all prerequisites are met and hours of instruction are fulfilled. By taking control, the teacher ensures that the students do not veer off

the prescribed narrative. In some way, teachers may not realize they are part of a system of discrimination that ensures students follow the same rules regardless of their interests.

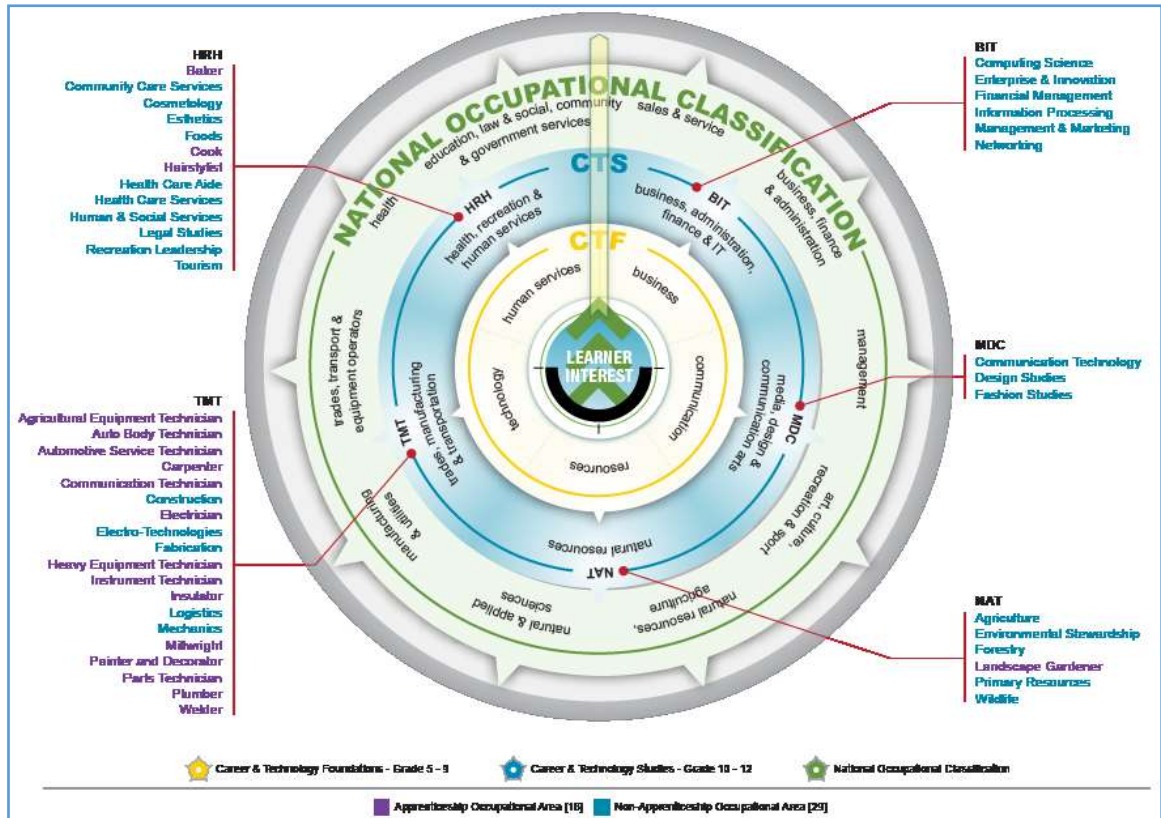


Figure 5. The CTS/CTF Compass (Alberta Education, 2009).

Because foods is considered an optional class, the timetabling in schools will take different forms. At my research inquiry site, food studies was offered as a semestered program (i.e., September to January or February to June) or it was offered over the full year (i.e., September to June). When the course was offered for a semester, only three of the 45 possible food studies courses could be taken in Grade 10, with classes taught every day. For the full year, food studies was taught every other day and five of the 45 courses were offered in Grade 10. The teacher determined which courses were offered. For the semestered program, these were: FOD1010: Food Basics, FOD1020: Contemporary Baking, and FOD2060: Milk Products and Eggs. For the full year, in addition to the three semestered courses, the teacher added FOD2180: Vegetables and Fruits, and FOD2190: Grains, Legumes, Nuts and Seeds.

Site Selection and Access

Merriam (1988) recommended qualitative case study research as “an ideal [research] design for understanding and interpreting observations of educational phenomena” (p. 2). In educational contexts, CSR can be used to focus on the individuals or actors (Stake, 1995) and how they interact with and amongst each other within a setting with other possible foci being procedures, processes, policies, curricula, leadership. This research inquiry was set in an urban high school within a large school division in the province of Alberta, Canada. The school had over 2,000 students and offered a wide variety of programs, including CTS foods studies. Permission to access the schools was initially sought from the School District Superintendent (see Appendix A). The study took place in a Grade 10 food studies lab during regular class times and teacher-specified days. Most of these classes had a theoretical and practical component within the same lesson. The decision to conduct the study in a Grade 10 class was solely the teacher’s. Some of the reasons she cited were that Grade 12 students were preparing for exams and her Grade 10 students would be more cooperative than Grade 11 students.

My initial intention was to conduct the study in at least three schools but teachers in two schools declined the invitation to participate (see Appendix C). To explain, initially, I selected three different Alberta composite high schools with strong CTS programs within a large school district. I anticipated that these multiple sites would provide cross-case comparisons (Firestone, 2006), which would ensure transferability and dependability of the findings (Creswell, 2009; Stake, 2010). If they all agreed to give me access, it would mean three teachers and nine students. I delivered invitation letters (see Appendices B and C) to the three school administrations requesting permission to conduct research in their schools. Two weeks later, I received a response from one of the food studies teachers expressing willingness to participate in the study. Apparently, the administration had contacted her, and informed her of my request. I followed up the other two sites with a phone call and was informed that they had decided to decline to participate in the study; hence, they did not contact the home economics teachers in their school. This is a prime example of the power of gatekeepers and site access in research (Given, 2008).

With this turn of events, I opted to do a single embedded case study rather than a multi-case study as originally planned (Yin, 2003). A single case study with embedded units still enabled me to collect the information I need to answer the research question. I was confident that

this one site would provide information to answer the research question because the phenomenon under study was unfolding at this site (Given, 2008). As well, single cases are appropriate when the researcher wants to garner a broad understanding of the whole phenomenon following rigorous scrutiny. This is possible because the researcher can tease out the complexities of the case without necessarily drawing sweeping conclusions across cases (Gerring, 2007; Kennedy, 2006).

Sampling: Invitation to Participate

Merriam (2009) clarified that the case is the single unit or entity to be analyzed and that it has to be “intrinsically bounded” (p. 41). There has to be a definite number of participants, a limit to the observations, and a time frame to obtain data. Case study units can also include groups, programs, events, activities and processes. Merriam (2009) recognized that if, in fact, there is no limit to what the study covers, it does not qualify as a case study. The sample for this study included one food studies teacher and three of her grade 10 students. These individuals were best positioned to share their lived experiences within the food studies classroom setting. Gagnon (2010) explained that such situations are appropriate for CSR because of its focus on participants’ experiences within a specific context. Moreover, the phenomenon being studied is usually created by and influences the context, such that one cannot be studied in isolation of the other. The teacher and students’ experiences could not be explored without the food studies context, which supports Gagnon’s (2010) and Yin’s (200xxx?) observation that the phenomenon and context are indistinguishable in real life situations (Gagnon, 2010; Yin, 2003).

I met with the potential teacher participant, who was assigned the pseudonym Rowena, and received her formal written invitation (see Appendix C). As explicated in the consent letter, I again explained my research to Rowena, particularly my interest in learning how she (a) read and interpreted the food studies Grade 10 program of studies and (b) developed and selected curricular materials for her learners. I also explained my intention to work with some of her students. Using my inclusion criteria, Rowena purposively identified three of her students based on their unique position in the field (her classroom) (Gerring, 2007; Merriam, 2009) as newcomer/migrant students who were reliable, and would hopefully participate in interviews based on their classroom attendance patterns. This deliberate selection of students revealed the power and control that the teacher had over her students (Leitsyna, 2002) and over me as the researcher.

I later met each student individually and explained the intention of my research, particularly my interest in their experiences of how they interacted with the food studies curricular materials and resources in their multicultural classroom. I provided the students with assent forms to sign, and consent forms (see Appendix D) for their parents to sign as a formal acceptance to participate in the study (Stake 2010). For clarification, assent refers to an express willingness to participate in research by people who are, by definition, too young to give informed consent but old enough to understand the proposed research in general, its expected risks and possible benefits, and the activities expected of them as participants (National Institute for Mental Health, 2000). These signed documents were returned to me within a week.

All four study participants were from different cultural backgrounds: Rowena, the teacher, was Canadian born and the three students were from Vietnam, India, and Egypt. The newly-migrated students were definitely straddling cultures; that is, their culture of origin and their new Canadian culture. The teacher represented a more dominant Canadian experience as she and her parents had been born and raised in Canada. She connected easily with the broader educational system of which she was a part. Multiple perspectives toward the curricular objects used in the classroom and learning in a different cultural context were evident. Deeper background information on the student participants is provided in the Findings chapter. They were also assigned pseudonyms to protect their identity and their contributions (Merriam, 2009).

All four participants were viewed as sub-units within the single, embedded case study (Yin, 2003). Although not all the students in the classroom were involved in the study, these three students and their teacher, Rowena, were observed in their natural class setting interacting not only with each other but with other students in the class, and with the curricular material culture. To meet the qualitative criterion of authenticity (realness for participants), I report specific statements about only the four people I studied (for how they see their world), rather than the entire Food Studies classroom (Creswell, 2009).

Sample Size. The researcher has to make an informed decision about who should be considered relevant study participants based on their uniqueness to the research question, the case and the transferability of their experiences (Gerring, 2007). By transferable, I mean applicable in other contexts (Creswell, 2009). I purposively identified the participant population for the study (Merriam, 2009), including a teacher who had taught food studies for five consecutive years at the same high school and three newcomer/migrant students from that

teacher's class. This sample size was deemed sufficient because these participants were judged as able to provide information to answer the research question and fulfill the study's objectives. The sample correlated with my limited resources, the time available for the study, and the participants were readily available (and willing) for the study.

The small sample size is justified because power in qualitative research comes from the thick descriptions of participants' lived experiences (Ary et al., 2010); in this case with curricular material culture related to the CTS Grade 10 foods studies course. This study population provided a field that had the teacher in a position of power and control, who would be involved in knowledge transfer and the execution of broader structural decisions within the education system. The teacher volunteered to participate in the study and, using my inclusion criteria, she selected three students from her class for the study (Gerring, 2007; Wellington, 2000). They had to be newcomer/migrant students who could reliably fully participate in interviews based on their classroom attendance patterns.

Researcher as Participant

Some scholars agree that the core principles of qualitative research include focusing on meaning and understanding and recognizing the researcher as the primary data collection instrument who also interprets situations based on personal experience (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2010). The qualitative case study research method fronts the researcher as the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. This "human instrument" (Merriam, 1988, p. 19) is the medium for data mediation. Merriam (1998) pointed out that the researcher as a human instrument is affected by and/or can affect the research context. For example, as the researcher, I interpreted the context (i.e., food studies lab) based on my previous experiences as a home economics teacher who had taught foods and nutrition. Additionally, being an immigrant, I encountered the curricular material culture and participants with my cultural lenses. These personal experiences permeated my interpretation of the research process.

The researcher can also read the situation as it unfolds during the data collection process and change approaches accordingly referred to as an emergent research design (Creswell, 2009). In this study for example, I had planned to conduct multi-case studies, but this was not possible. I therefore had to adjust my study to reflect the single case. As the study progresses and the researcher processes the data, he/she could interpret data from a previous session and use it to

inform the approach during the next session within the same study. Subsequent interviews could help to provide clarity from participants' previous interview responses.

Reflexivity. Because they are the primary research instrument, researchers have to practice reflexivity, which involves self-critique and disclosure of what they bring to the research, especially their predispositions. They need to address personal and professional connections between themselves and participants, the sites or settings, and the research topic. Previous and ongoing relationships can create difficult ethical issues and power imbalances. The research design can easily become compromised and overly biased. Researchers should recount how they interacted with study participants, and their reflections on those interactions. The ultimate objective is to provide evidence that the participants' voices were privileged rather than the researcher's (i.e., authenticity) (Creswell, 2009; Leckie, 2008). In this study, I provide my personal delimitations and assumptions in Chapter one.

Instrument Development.

Four instruments were developed for this study. I conducted the interviews using an unstructured or informal approach, with open-ended guiding questions from an interview guide that I developed for each of students and teacher (see Appendices E and F). The student's interview guide comprised 17 questions, moving from their experiences in and observations of diversity in their foods classroom, through opinions on how their teacher or peers influenced their expression of their food experiences and culture, to their engagement with documents used in food studies (i.e., curricula material culture). The teacher's interview guide comprised 13 questions organized around three main areas: her opinions of curricular documents used in the food studies course, her observations of and opinions about diversity changes in schools and her classroom, and her thoughts around intercultural understanding. Both guides ended with my ability to pose questions in response to some of their answers. In addition to the interview guides, I developed an observation protocol (see Appendix G) which I used when recording what I observed in the classroom. This helped ensure dependability as observations would be recorded instantly. *Dependability* means the findings, conclusions, and interpretations will be supported by the data; readers will be able to depend on the study (Merriam, 2009). This protocol guided my observations, amongst other things, opportunities created for students to relate their previous experiences with lesson content, how students interacted with food and related equipment, and what content was being taught (e.g., curricular material culture). Finally, I created a curriculum

document analysis worksheet for (see Appendix H) to use when I analyzed various curriculum documents (examples of curricular material culture). I sought insights into what the document revealed about multiple interpretations of food and related material culture, allowances for multiple student food-related experiences, and evidence for promoting diversity and intercultural understanding.

Data Collection

Stake (2010) underscored the importance of constantly oscillating between the research question, the method, and the research location or place (i.e., an emergent research design). He posited that whilst all three factors are important, the research question helps to focus the study. My research was guided by the question: *In what ways (how) might encounter and engagement with curricular material culture unfold for culturally diverse individuals?* I used a critical multicultural education perspective, with a Bourdieusian theoretical lens, to examine the interactions between individuals from multiple cultural backgrounds, and curricular material culture. Within the critical multicultural education framework (Leitsyna, 2001), I examined how the teacher and students interacted and the power dynamics within these interactions; how much voice was given to the students to share their experiences with the curricular material culture; and whether there was space in the curriculum for these learners to contribute their knowledge. During the interviews I listened and observed the teacher's responses for reflectivity and reflexivity about the amount of power and control she had over her students, and if she had agency to change the status quo (Giroux & McLaren, 1994). I drew on Bourdieu's (1977, 1986) theoretical tenets of capital, habitus and field, to explore the positions occupied by each participant within the broader education field. I attended to how the teacher used her habitus as capital to maintain her dominant position and how the students' habitus was used and/or altered in their ways accepted their positions of subordination in relation to their access to capital Using an embedded qualitative single-case study research design, I identified three methods to collect data from each of the embedded sub-units, to obtain and triangulate the data (Yin 2003) and ensure trustworthy data. I used individual interviews, classroom observation, and document analysis (Merriam 2009) (see Figure 6), plus field notes. These methods were used to unearth and interpret how participants negotiated their experiences within a culturally-diverse educational space. This process occurred as the participants undertook the task of making sense

of their encounters and engagement with each other, and the curricular material culture within the classroom.

Interpretation of participants' behavior through their lenses is supported by case study research while using multiple methods to arrive at different viewpoints (Yin, 2003). This data triangulation process is characteristic of case study research. Interviews prompted oral responses from the participants, observations allowed me to see non-verbal cues that participants elicited during their interactions and the interviews, and document analysis afforded me access to some of the curricular material culture that formed the base from which the class was being taught.

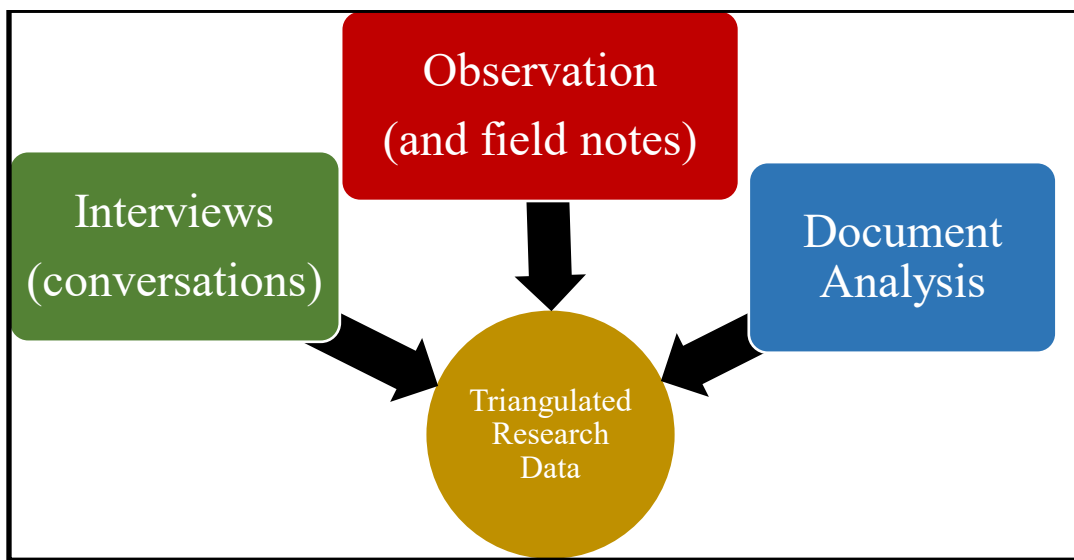


Figure 6. Triangulated data sources used in this inquiry.

I assumed an observer as participant role wherein my activities and intentions were known to the group, but I did not participate in the activities. This role allowed for close access to participants, but not necessarily to all the information they had (Wellington, 2000). My role as a research instrument became more apparent the longer I interacted with the participants. I created space in our conversations for the participants to make meaning of material culture in their classroom. During the lessons, I focused on observing the participants in their pedagogical context while developing my own interpretations of the interactions in the classroom, and jotting down notes followed with field notes (Lofland & Lofland, 1999). These interactions were between the student participants and the teacher, as well as between the participants and the

curricular material culture. Undeniably, I entered this environment with my own pre-conceived notions and assumptions about the participants' experiences. As an immigrant, a former home economics student, a trained home economics teacher, and a passionate intercultural educator, I had my own experiences with being a newcomer entering a foreign educational context and encountering new curricular material culture. However, being aware of these assumptions was useful to minimize any interference with my interpretation of the classroom observations and ensure credibility. This process entailed (re)locating and (re)positioning myself as I (re)constructed and (re)experienced the events each time I encountered individuals and curricular material culture in that classroom (Stake, 2010). As noted, my reflexivity and sensitivity to this aspect of the research design contributed to confirmability and credibility. The data triangulation process also helped to expose and attend to my prejudices. I generated ideas and questions during the observation process that I wrote down and pursued during the one-on-one interviews (Merriam, 2003). I observed the student participants in their relations with the teacher, with each other, and with other students and the power dynamics within these interactions. I found the direct observations that took place in the lab to be quite informative because I was able to see and hear the participants' verbal and physical interactions, and study how they all related to one another. This process provided a more concrete experience (leading to richer and thicker descriptions) and a springboard for the individual interviews (Merriam, 2003). To facilitate observations, Rowena provided her timetable for when it was appropriate for me to be in her class. She excluded test days, school-wide activity days, and some of the days when she covered just theory. Rowena taught one day of theory followed by two days of practice lessons. She invited me to classes that had a combination of both theory and practical components. Because most of her lessons ended at lunch time, I agreed with Rowena and the students to have our one-on-one conversations during the lunch break. By conducting these conversations at this time, no one would have to miss class and we could talk over lunch.

Individual Interviews.

Individual interviews or conversations were held with each of the study participants (i.e., one teacher and three students) (Merriam, 2009). These interviews focused on obtaining evidence of participant-lived experiences as well as non-verbal cues, including perceptions, which reflected general grand narratives (Wellington, 2000; Yin, 2003). The initial conversation with each participant entailed explaining my study and the approach I would be taking. I

explained that I would be sitting in on some of the classes, observing the participants, taking notes, and looking at the students' workbooks, the teacher's plans, and course plans. As mentioned, permission to observe and interview participants and to analyze documents was obtained in the form of consent from the teacher and students' parents, as well as assent from the students themselves (see Appendix D). The participants and I agreed on how, where, and when we would meet for the interviews. As noted, the food studies classes were held every other day and the teacher had her classes planned out as theory and practice days, test days, and clean up days. My presence in the classroom was based on which days she was comfortable having me around despite that I wanted to be present every day that the class was taught. A couple of days coincided with school activities such as field trips, which affected the teacher's planning. On those days, two of the student participants were absent for their interviews. The teacher would inform me in advance when attendance would be minimal and would advise me not to come in. Aside from a courtesy, I viewed this as a subtle way for her to maintain power and control of the classroom, which is typical of powerful individuals maintaining control of resources in the field (Ferrare & Apple, 2015; Noble, 2013).

The teacher's interviews lasted between 40 and 45 minutes and the student interviews lasted on average about 30 minutes each, depending on how much time the students had before their next class. Four interviews per participant were conducted, giving a total of 16 formal interviews (i.e., three teacher participant interviews and nine student participant interviews). Sometimes participants walked up to me during the labs and shared information that was not captured on audio but was recorded in my field journal.

The individual interviews were conducted at the end of the lessons while the rest of the class cleaned up. This timing worked well because all students had to leave shortly for another class, not just the study participants. I conducted four, 30 to 45 minute to one hour formal interviews with each participant by the end of the 12-week data collection process, all based on participant availability. This timeframe ensured the rigor required in obtaining sufficient information from the participants in order to make this study credible and dependable (Creswell, 2009; Stake, 2010), as I took advantage of every opportunity I had to collect data. Interviews with Rowena, the teacher participant, were conducted after the students had left the classroom and during her spare period. The student interviews were held in the foods lab and/or foods lab

office when the lab was busy and noisy, to avoid distractions and possibility to compromise confidentiality of participants..

The four interviews with each study participant that took place over 12 weeks were arranged so they were progressive, enabling me to slowly build trust with the participants, starting with an interest in what they did before asking questions to obtain comprehensive views on the broader systemic narratives within the educational system, and to gain depth (Kymlicka, 2012; Merriam, 2009). The second set of interviews, following the first introductory conversations, was focused on obtaining general information about participants' interest in the subject area, the role of their families in orienting them to the subject, participant interactions with each other, and their relationships with food and related material culture outside the food studies classroom. Third, subsequent interviews addressed observed classroom activities and behaviors and interactions and experiences with curricular material culture within the classroom contexts. Fourth, I concluded with sets of interviews about the curriculum, how the participants connected with it and connected previous cultural experiences to it, and how it influenced their subsequent interactions with the broader community and subject areas.

Following each formal interview, as per the tenets of an emergent research design (Merriam 2009), I developed more questions based on the participants' responses and my observations of their classroom activities and interactions. I carefully probed and prompted where necessary to elicit deeper and more detailed responses. I sought to understand their perceptions, opinions, values, and attitudes (Merriam, 2009). I obtained rich audio documentation of participants' views, thoughts and experiences to guarantee credibility and dependability of the research process and findings. All interviews were audio recorded with the participants' permission (Merriam, 2009). Initially, the process of recording created a bit of nervousness for the student participants. The initial nervousness revealed an uncertainty usually displayed by individuals occupying positions of subversion in a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). When I reminded them that none of what they said would be shared with their teacher, they eventually relaxed and shared their experiences without hesitation. After the first conversation, they were more relaxed in the three subsequent interviews.

Member Checking. The interview data collection process concluded with the end of the school year (June 2013). I used the summer period to complete the transcriptions. I returned to the school the following year (March, 2014) and reconnected with the teacher. She arranged for

me to meet the student participants who were now in grade 11. I was able to share the transcripts with them for verification, known as member checking (Merriam, 2009). This strategy contributes to authenticity, meaning I represented all views of all participants. And my voice did not supersede their voices. The student participants were less shy but were surprised to see me. They took their transcripts home for the weekend and returned them the following Monday. They offered no corrections or amendments to their transcripts, so I started with the analysis process.

Classroom Observations

As mentioned before, data triangulation ensures trustworthy data (Stake, 2010) (see Figure 6). Recorded classroom observations were used to observe the power dynamics between the teacher and students. Before explaining the observation protocol, I will describe the classroom setting in which the observations took place.

The Foods Lab Setting. The lab was divided into sections (see Figure 7). On one side, lengthwise, was a row of four large tables with eight chairs around each table. This part of the lab was where the theory part of the lessons was carried out. On the other side were four sectioned kitchens, each equipped with a stove, sink, worktops, refrigerator and drawers in which equipment was stored. In the center front wall was a white board on which the day's activities were projected. The projector was secured to the ceiling. At the center front of the room was a table where the teacher put out shared ingredients for the day's lab. Each group member had one representative with a tray to collect the ingredients from the main table. The teacher's table was to one side of the front of the classroom with the student tables.

My seat was directly in front of the teacher's table, closer to the wall. Behind me were two chest level cupboards. On top of the cupboards were boxes in which the students' workbooks were kept. These workbooks were distributed at the beginning of each class. The day's section was filled out and returned at the end of the class. A prescribed day's work ensured that the teacher controlled the learning process. Along the right-hand wall near my vantage point was a row of shelving where larger pieces of equipment were stored after use during the practical session. An adjoining storage room on the right-hand side of the room contained additional equipment and material storage. This storage room was connected to another foods lab that led into to the shared teachers' office on the other end of the second foods lab. Because it was quieter, the teacher's office was used for some of my interviews with the

student participants. In the main lab, on the right hand backside of the classroom was the main entrance to the lab (i.e., the door). Further back were appliances such as the fridges, freezer, washer, and dryer (see Figure 7).

Normal classroom routine. The teacher normally began the class with a brief introduction to the day's topic and allowed students to complete some work in their workbooks related to the day's content. She revisited the required equipment and available ingredients for their recipe and the method to be followed during the lab. Students then broke out into their previously-assigned kitchen groups. None of the study participants shared the same group. The students only took a recipe book and a lab sheet with them to their kitchen. Everything else remained at their table. Each group had three to four students, depending on who had come to class that day, and each member had a previously assigned role. For example, one group member would get a tray and go to the front of the classroom and collect the ingredients required for their recipe, while another student started the sink water for washing the dishes, and another student collected the equipment.

As the students started the lab, the teacher attended to each kitchen, pointing out safety concerns, correcting cooking procedures and dealing with discipline issues. Students were actively involved, asking clarifying questions and responding to the teacher's questions or concerns. At the end of the lab, the students plated their food and cleaned their kitchens. The teacher circulated around each kitchen and assessed their food items by touching, tasting, or both. The students tasted their food within their groups, filled out a product assessment sheet, and returned it to the teacher. The teacher compared her assessment with theirs and gave them feedback and a mutually-agreed mark. She kept the assessment sheets. Each separate class lab had slight variations but most of them were organized the same way and the students seemed conversant with the routine.

Field Notes. These are first-hand sources of data in case study research. Similarly, and in addition to interviews, observations can be used to triangulate data because they provide more information about a phenomenon and "add new dimensions for understanding either the context or the phenomenon being studied" (Yin, 2003, p. 93). Observations often take place in the participant's natural environment and researchers must first obtain participant's permission to be observed. However, researchers can also conduct observations during interviews or conversations and sometimes during document analysis. Researchers may use observed

incidents to develop interview questions or to interpret issues that participants may not readily share (Merriam, 2009).

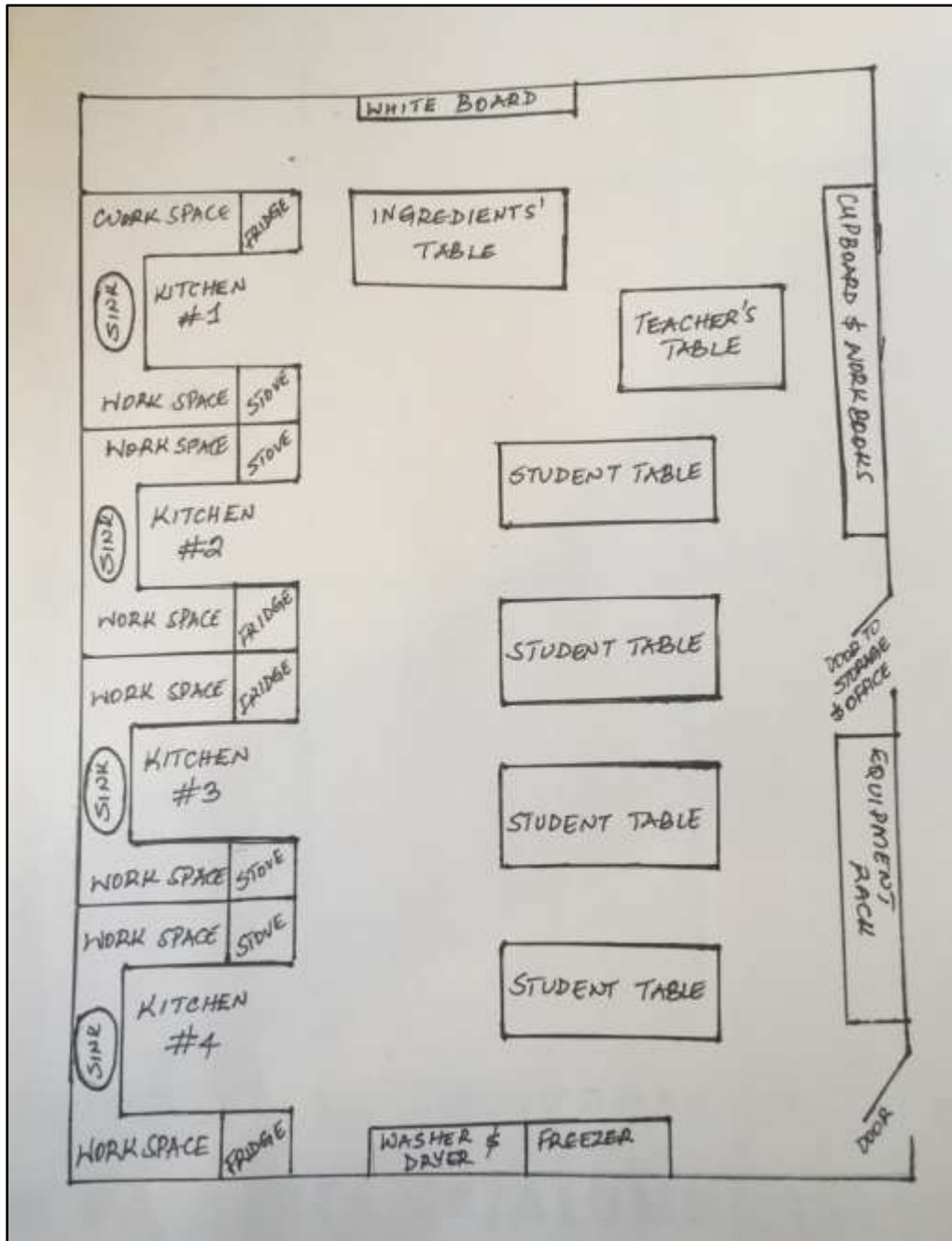


Figure 7. The lab setting in which classroom observations were conducted.

In qualitative research, observing is more than ‘just hanging out’ with the participants. Researchers have to collect narrative and words articulated by the participants about their lived

experiences so they provide a complete description of the behavior in a specific, natural setting. Merriam (2009) noted that, “observation is a research tool when it is systematic ... addresses a specific research question ... is subject to the checks and balances in producing trustworthy results” (p. 118). Observations cannot be random because observers, specifically participant observers, see and interpret phenomena as it occurs.

In this study, observations occurred during the food studies lessons, which were offered every other day, during the interviews with the participants and when conducting document analysis. I attended two to three classes per week over the 12 weeks, a total of 25 days altogether, depending on which day the class had a lab. My observations were dependent on the research question, the study’s purpose and objectives, and the ability of the participants to be observed. Observers should have a guide of possible observation points, depending on the research question. Merriam (2009) proposed having an observation checklist similar to the interview checklist. Some likely observation elements include: (a) the physical setting—a complete description of the physical environment; (b) the participants—who they are and how they are connected, as well as how they organize themselves; (c) the nature of activities and interactions with each other; (d) the types and content of conversations and with whom they speak, who speaks, who listens; (e) subtle unexpected occurrences and nonverbal cues and behaviors; and (f) the researcher’s own role in the space and thoughts about what is going on. There is no time frame or specific pattern in which any of these six specific observations must take place, as long as the researcher attends to most or all the aspects of the observation setting (Merriam, 2009).

Based on the above recommendations I recorded my observations on the observation protocol (see Appendix G) as first-hand data during the lesson and immediately after conducting the interviews. I recorded what the participants were doing and how they interacted with each other and other students. I took note of how engaged the students were or not, how the teacher navigated the classroom, the type of content taught and how the student participants responded to it, their jokes, what they said and when they chose to be silent, playfulness and general engagement in the classroom. Through my observations, I was able to recognize behaviors and listen to participants’ perspectives on how they positioned themselves within this multicultural environment. I noted the examples the teacher used and identified the grand narratives that were reflected through her examples. I also noted the students’ responses, particularly their failure to

challenge any of views the teacher presented. Observation and recording supported my understanding and interpretation of how the participants positioned themselves through their interactions with each other and the curriculum within a multicultural context and what this means for a broader multicultural education field (Kymlicka, 2012). I recorded, in my journal, any immediate interpretations of what I had observed (Krathwohl, 2009; Lofland & Lofland, 1999; Merriam, 2009).

Krathwohl (2009) suggested that while in the field, a good observer needs to develop high sensitivity as well as empathy and detachment. Boostrom (1994) referred to this position as “subjective without being self-focused” (p. 54). The result is that the observed become significant in unexpected ways. It is important that this stance be sustained during the data collection phase. The observer should not take things personally. Instead, he or she should be as passive and unobtrusive as possible, and follow the routines of the participants, being friendly and interested in what they are doing. This approach mitigates the participants’ self-conscious feelings of ‘being watched’ (Merriam, 2009). I took on this persona of being unobtrusive but interested in the participants’ activities. Sometimes I walked around the lab with the teacher’s permission and observed the student participants at their work stations, asked them a few questions and returned to my seat.

While all the field activities are unfolding (i.e., life is being lived out at the site and context), the observer conducts the essential tasks of observing with concentration and taking field notes (and reflective notes) (Krathwohl, 2009; Lofland & Lofland, 1999; Merriam, 2009). The observer may not know at the beginning what will be most important to collect as data, so it is vital to observe and record as much as possible. This is what I did. I took all the notes I could and kept some mental notes which, later on in the day, I fleshed out in my journal. Sometimes I used one word to describe my feelings. At other times I drew sketches, but in both instances I would rewrite the notes in a clearer format after my in-class activities. I used some of the classroom/lab observations during the participant interview sessions as springboards for more questions with the participants. I

My journal included the date and time and was divided into four sections: (a) the setting, (b) the actor or participant being observed, (c) my immediate observations of the participants, including quotes and comments, and (d) my feelings about what I observed. Due to personal commitments, it was not easy to follow up with this process later. Knowing this, I used a few

moments after each observation session to write my observation notes while seated in my car in the school's parking lot. Going through the process of reflecting on the lesson I just observed, and jotted down notes while my memory was fresh, made it easier for me to reliably recall what had occurred in the classroom (Krathwohl, 2009; Lofland & Lofland, 1999; Merriam, 2009).

Per the tenets of an emergent research design, I have to recount how my presence in the study setting might have impacted data collection and changed the research design (Creswell, 2009). In the beginning, it was difficult to focus since it was a new environment for me, and nostalgic memories and feelings were being conjured up. However, I eventually felt comfortable and focused on the study. My presence in the study setting as the researcher, observing the participants within their "natural environment", and recording what I saw, provided me with rich experiences that informed both the data collection and interpretation process.

I was an observer, meaning my activities and intentions were known to the group but I did not engage in any of the classroom activities, simply attending to the entire surroundings (Wellington, 2000). I observed how the class was organized, where the materials were placed, where the students sat, where the teacher sat, and how the students were grouped in their kitchen activities. I observed the teacher-student, student-student and teacher-student interactions. I also attended to teacher and student interactions with curricular material culture including all materials and equipment, ingredients, classroom texts and workbooks, calendars, and technology.

All these observations occurred within the natural classroom/lab environment (see Figure 6, p. 86). Generally, I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible so that my presence would not affect the behavior of the participants and others within their immediate environment (Merriam, 2009). At first, the student participants and other students would glance at me curiously, but eventually, as I became a common presence in their classroom, they appeared to relax and sometimes offered me food from their cooking class.

Field Note Taking. Krathwohl (2009) described field notes as "the observer's records of what has been observed." This exercise "should begin as soon as the project gets underway" (Krathwohl, p. 271). Clandinin and Connelly (2000) described field notes as raw, detailed recordings of the researcher's life story of their personal experiences in the field. Field notes can be taken chronologically or routinely. They can be loaded with detail such as field experiences or activities, informant comments, sketches or drawings of the field environment, conversations,

gestures, accents, and facial expressions. Other details include the researcher's or observer's feelings, reactions, ideas, actions, and any issues that may have arisen and possible solutions.

The researcher's reflective component of the field notes takes the form of "feelings, reactions, hunches, initial interpretations, speculation, and working hypothesis" (Krathwohl, 2009, p. 131). This reflection is separate from the factual observations of the field, site or context. Generally, the researcher should create a vivid description for the reader so as to elicit feelings of actually being present in the field with them. Field notes are another form of raw data used as part of the data analysis process (Merriam, 2009).

Lofland and Lofland (1999) said note taking involves the recording of mental notes, jotted notes, and full field notes. Taking mental notes involves a conscious effort to remember certain details such as number of people, physical setting, and who made what comment. These supplemental mental notes are quick reminders of what took place. A conscious effort to take mental notes is useful to prepare for the written observations (field notes). Jotted notes are hastily written for later reference. They can include the date, time, place, and purpose of the observation and who was present. They can also include participants' phrases, quotes, and key words. A sketch of the observation site can also be useful to situate the participants during the observation (Merriam, 2009). Full field notes should be intentionally written at the end of each day or after the observation period in the form of a dated log. Data from field notes should be easy to read because they are analyzed later. Writing promptly minimizes forgetting details but requires personal discipline and time (Merriam, 2009).

The amount of field notes that get recorded will depend on how engaged the observer is in the participants' activities. With more involvement, less might be recorded by the observer as participant, who may rely more on memory, opting to record their notes afterward. There is no guarantee how much is remembered, an issue that is exacerbated because the observer's presence may influence the study environment. Merriam (2009) cautioned that being conscious of these effects could help the observer better navigate the field with respect for the participants, and record their observations.

Document Analysis.

Complementary to interviews and observations, document analysis may be conducted as a form of triangulation during a case study. According to Wellington (2000), documents are "social products and therefore objects of analysis" (p. 110). Most documents, unlike interviews

and observation data, are not created with the research question or study purpose in mind. Instead, they are created prior to the research and are more or less relevant to the research question. Unless they are the sole data source for the study, documents cannot be assessed in the same way as participants because the former mostly provide clues for reference during interviews and observation (Merriam, 2009). Secondary documents that existed before the study cannot be influenced by participants or the researcher because they are “a ready-made source of data” and can take the form of “written, visual, digital [electronic media], and physical material relevant to the study at hand” (Merriam, 2009, p. 139). Documents can be classified as artifacts or material culture (Gagnon, 2010; Yin, 2003) or as “objects in the environment differentiated from documents that represent some form of communication (e.g., official records, newspapers, diaries) . . . letters . . . poems, songs . . . photography . . . film and video” (Merriam, 2009, pp. 139–140).

Merriam (2009) categorized documents into public records, personal documents, popular culture documents, visual documents, and artifacts or physical materials. Public records include “official, ongoing records of a society’s activities” (p. 140) such as records of births and deaths, census, educational program records, and government documents. She pointed out that public records can provide themes and ideas to be explored during interviews or observations, but can also be primary sources of information in and of themselves.

Personal documents are usually first-hand narratives of someone’s experiences and are usually written in the first person. Examples are diaries, letters, and photo albums. These may reveal in-depth information about an event. Personal documents are considered subjective although they can be reliable to provide evidence about the author’s beliefs, perspectives, and attitudes but not necessarily what happened. Popular culture documents, or public entertainment material, reveal information about society at a particular point in time. Examples include mass media such as television, radio, newspapers, and the internet (Merriam, 2009).

Visual documents, such as film, video, and photographs, have lately been categorized separately as they capture moments as they unfold. Photographs hopefully reflect what the photographer intended to capture. Artifacts are “physical objects found within the study setting” (Merriam, 2009, p. 146). These artifacts include all the tools and physical objects needed for everyday living within the study setting and inform the researcher about the lifestyle and culture

of those who used them. Merriam also included “physical trace material” in this category as evidence of the life led by the participants (e.g., footprints, wear on floor tiles or books, trash).

Primary documents are generated during the study, “prepared by the researcher or for the researcher by participants after the study has begun” (Merriam, 2009, p. 149). These researcher-generated primary documents provide more information about the study and participants. These documents can take the form of a participant diary or a participant’s life history reflecting where she or he was at the time of the study. These documents can also be photographs taken by the participants, the researcher or both.

Because they may not have been produced for a particular study, secondary documents may appear disconnected from the study. Therefore, researchers have the responsibility of identifying the materials most relevant to the study objectives and research questions, accomplished by looking to the setting for clues (Merriam, 2009). The researcher needs to ascertain the reliability of the information source, and determine whether it is a primary or secondary source. This process is embedded in the research journey because the researcher is required to investigate the source and authenticity of the document, the audience, and reasons why it was written. During the analysis of the document, the researcher seeks to establish the writer’s intentions and locates other documents that might corroborate or dispute the document under study. The researcher should develop a coding system and take photographs or videos of the documents so they can be archived. The coding or depiction of the documents can then be systematically analyzed using content or thematic analysis. The focus, however, needs to be on the nature of the data and not its quantity (Merriam, 2009).

Document analysis has its challenges and strengths. Documents not produced for a study present the challenge of irrelevance and incompleteness. The information may not be as detailed as the researcher wants it to be or it may be in an undesirable format. Determining the authenticity and accuracy of the documents could also be a challenge. However, as Merriam (2009) posited, documents could provide the best information for a research question in some cases. Many documents can be easily obtained within a short time. Their data could “furnish descriptive information, verify emerging hypotheses, advance new categories and hypotheses, offer historical understanding, track change and development, and so on” (Merriam, 2009, p. 155). Documents are considered to be stable and are not altered by the researcher’s presence as

would occur during interviews or observations. Merriam described documents as “objective” and “unobtrusive” (2009, p. 155).

Finally, a collection of curriculum documents was analyzed to triangulate the data with the study participants’ interviews, classroom observations, and my notes (Merriam, 2009). The documents accessed in this research included the Alberta Education Program of Studies, which are governing documents, as well as teacher-created year plans, course plans or modules, lessons plans, student recipes and workbooks. The CTS food studies program of studies was available in electronic form, while the teacher-participant documents were in hard-copy text form. The course plans or modules were created based on the program of studies, the student work books were generated from the course plans, and recipes from the course plans and food studies program of studies (see Figure 7). Because all of these curricular documents were produced within a cultural context, they were classified in this study as curricular material culture (Gagnon, 2010). These curricular texts were interrelated, demonstrating how ideas are reiterated and emphasized at every level to maintain institutional and structural and discrimination (see Figure 8).

Most documents were secondary sources and not necessarily created by the teacher participant herself, or were created in collaboration with her colleagues for purposes of consistency across the grades in her school. The documents were produced following Alberta Education’s objectives outlined in the food studies CTS program of studies. The Alberta Education (2013) documents provided a general overview of the entire CTS curriculum and cultural context within which the documents were created and what narratives were to be passed on using these cultural tools. The documents clearly revealed their inherent power in controlling how a teacher was to teach within a specified time frame. For example, each unit or course had to be taught within no more than 25 hours.

My research question was continually at the forefront while reading the documents: *In what ways (how) might encounter and engagement with curricular material culture in educational contexts unfold for culturally diverse individuals?* Specifically, I sought to explore the contents of existing curricular documents that had direct relation to the research question. These documents were useful in enriching the data, making the study *credible* and *dependable*. The documents also acted as reference points during the interviews and observation sessions.

These curricular texts provided deeper and broader insights into the grand social narratives on power and control contributing to the critical multicultural debate.

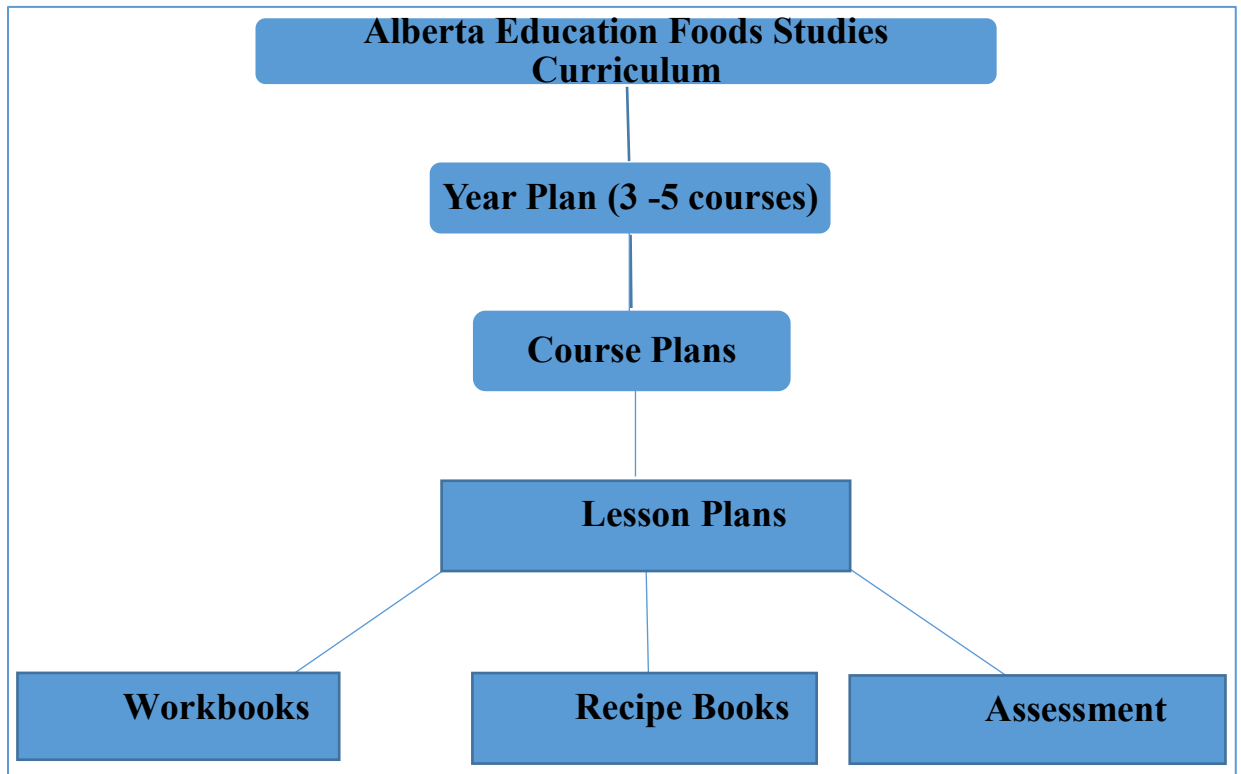


Figure 8. The relationship and top-down power flow among analyzed documents.

As a teacher educator of pre-service teachers enrolled in a university in Alberta, I introduced the program of studies to these university students so they could themselves create curricular documents such as course plans, student learning guides, and lesson plans. During my teaching of pre-service teachers, I learned that the CTS program of studies did not address individual student's cultural needs. So, as I examined the teacher participant's documents with a researcher's perspective, I used a critical multicultural lens to examine and analyze them in an effort to find out how they attended to diverse students' considerations.

As mentioned earlier, the food studies program of studies is an Alberta Education document. Although Rowena had no direct influence in creating it, she had to interpret it for her students. The other documents, as Rowena revealed, were creations and/or modifications from past documents created by other teachers and then recreated in collaboration with her Foods teacher colleagues. This collaboration, according to Rowena, ensured uniformity in her school

across grades, regardless of cultural background. The only documents created primarily by her were lesson plans.

With permission from Rowena, I obtained copies of some course plans, as well as some workbooks and recipe books. I downloaded the high school food studies program of studies from the Alberta Education website. I used the curricular document analysis worksheet (Appendix H) and followed with creating a relationship coding system for all the documents as shown in figure 7. As I coded and analyzed the documents, I sought evidence of ways in which power, control and structural discrimination were embedded in the documents and how these concepts influenced opportunities for culturally-diverse students' voices as they engaged with the content.

Data Triangulation

Qualitative research (especially case studies) usually employs data triangulation, which entails using multiple data sources in an investigation to produce understanding. The idea is that one can be more confident with a finding if different data collection methods lead to the same finding (Creswell, 2009). Triangulation is helpful to validate the data and minimize researchers' prejudices (Stake, 2010). Using data triangulation protocol, qualitative researchers are able to take their continuous (re)interpretation of the data and inductively glean recurring themes and threads to contribute to the meaning making process of both participants and researchers. For this process to be successful, researchers need to spend considerable time in the field or with those experiencing and recounting their take on the phenomenon.

The resultant final product arising from data triangulation and its analysis in a qualitative study is a rich, thick, and detailed description of the researcher's insights into the inquiry (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2010). Stake (2010) asserted that a rich description "provides abundant, interconnected details, and possibly cultural complexity, but it becomes *thick* description if it offers direct connection to cultural theory and scientific knowledge" (p. 49).

Ethical Considerations

Qualitative research requires the researcher to enter a participant's personal and emotional space. Stake (2010) pointed out that this proximity can be intrusive and participants may feel a violation of their privacy zone. He noted that privacy can be "relative and situational" (p. 205) and that boundaries can shift in a very short time period. This fluidity of boundaries could cause problems for researchers as they try to navigate limits that were not set earlier. Stake therefore admonished researchers to "honor privacy even when our participants fail to" (p.

206).

Various institutional ethics review boards have been established to protect the violation of research participants' privacy, including the University of Alberta Research and Ethics Management Online (REMO) and the Edmonton Public School Cooperative Activities Programs (CAPS). These ethics review boards establish rules for researchers to follow, but said rules are not consistent enough across institutions to ensure the adequate protection of participants from "unnecessary harm" (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). They further stated that these review boards employ an individualistic framework, characteristic of western cultures, which creates challenges with studies conducted in collective cultures that may follow a different protocol. Researchers have to be mindful of how they will meet the requirements of a western review ethics board and the cultural norms of the research setting. Researchers are obligated to protect the participants from "dangers of exposure, humiliation, embarrassment, loss of respect and self-respect" (Stake, 2010, p. 206) as the process unfolds and participants' vulnerabilities are exposed.

Stake (2010) further noted that researchers have to take extra caution and anticipate areas where privacy may become an issue for the process. "Anonymity is weak protection" (Stake, 2010, p. 207) because researchers sometimes provide thick descriptions of their study, wherein the participant's identity becomes clear. Researchers are cautioned to do whatever it takes to avoid collecting information that is private and unrelated to the research question. As I prepared the thick, rich descriptive research report, care was taken to be as anonymous as possible when describing the setting and the participants.

Because this study required me to enter participants' personal and emotional spaces, I obtained the relevant ethical permissions. Specifically, I applied to the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board (REB# Pro00028135) and CAPS. Permissions were granted from both agencies. Exploring the unknown within the participants' feelings and attitudes toward things beyond their control (i.e., the curriculum informed by the grand narrative) meant that I had to be careful not to overstep my boundaries or place the participants in a situation where they would have to violate personal boundaries. I had to honor the participants' privacy. I applied for ethics permission to the relevant research ethics boards, which are designed to protect participants from any harm that may arise out of their involvement in research studies.

My Role as Researcher

As the primary instrument for this study, I actively participated as the research designer,

data collector (including interviewer) and data analyst (Merriam, 1988). I identified the research site and obtained permission from the school to gain access and conduct the study. I gained informed consent from study participants. The data collection process then entailed negotiating my entrance into the field (Given, 2008), conducting interviews, and then adapting them, based on each participant. Twice a week for 12 weeks, I observed interactions between the teacher and the three student participants, within a larger classroom context. Additionally, I analyzed the curriculum documents that the teacher and student participants used in the classroom.

My direct involvement in this research process, including a rigorous approach to data collection, which entailed data triangulation (Stake 2010), was used to ensure *dependability* and *authenticity* in this study. Respectively, I strove to ensure that others can depend on the articulated research design and attendant findings, and that I accurately represented the participants' reality (Creswell, 2009).

During the data collection process, I was cognizant of my past experiences as a home economics student and later as a teacher who had spent countless hours in a foods lab. My presence in this context created a conflicted nostalgic feeling of returning to a familiar yet foreign space, but this time I had no control over the activities unfolding in the classroom. I could see myself oscillating between the students and the teacher, almost a ghostlike feeling as I walked alongside each one of them and anticipated the next steps. I was an insider on the outside (Merriam, 2009). Not only was I not part of that class, my educational experiences were from a continent away. I was transported back in time and then to the present.

As I went through my own reflexive process of dispositioning and repositioning within the classroom field, I had to focus on providing a *credible* account of the participants' lived experiences (Stake, 2010). To that end, I had to recognize my biases, how they affected my behavior, and account for them during data collection and interpretation. My reflective journaling efforts addressed both *confirmability* (my neutrality when interpreting data), and *credibility* (getting a full answer to the research question) (Creswell, 2009, Stake, 2010).

Exiting the Field

Marshall and Rossman (2006) provided some useful advice on how exiting the field can be done safely and respectfully. Alerting the participants that the process is about to end, and sharing with them what the next steps will be, are useful steps to ensure that the relationship between researcher and participant remains courteous. Thank you notes, keeping in touch via a

mailing list, or sharing articles or photos from the study can help temper the exit process. My time in the field with the four study participants came to an end when the school's examination period began in the second week of June 2013. Given that I was not going to the school on a daily basis, but rather when the teacher wanted me in her classroom, my exit was made easier. I was able to bid them farewell in June 2013, with a promise to return with the transcripts in the fall or winter of 2013 so that they could verify the information therein. As indicated earlier, when discussing member checking, the exit strategy seemed to work because I was positively received by the three students and the teacher when I finally returned in March 2014.

Chapter 5

Research Findings: A Menu of Stories

In this chapter, I present the findings from a thematic analysis of the triangulated data base created for this study. As explained in the methods chapter, I employ a *case description* approach when presenting the findings (Yin, 2003). This entails the following descriptive framework for organizing the reporting of the case study: (a) the teacher's experience, (b) the individual students' experiences, and then (c) an integrated discussion of how they collectively navigated the curricular material culture within a multicultural context. I share the culturally-diverse study participants' experiences with curricular material culture lived out within an educational context.

Using Bourdieu's theory, I particularly focus on how they continually navigated their positions when confronted with cultural differences that challenged their habitus and positions of power. I then attempt to identify common threads (themes) that connected the participants' stories, demonstrating the constant negotiation of positions within a shared cultural context. The teacher participant was born and raised in the Canadian context. However, the student participants were recent immigrants to Canada and had made it their home. Although they all recognized it as *home*, each experienced it differently. Nevertheless, there were common threads that connected their stories, and these become the foundation of the case study.

Entering the Time Travel Machine

I preface this *case description* approach by providing a brief preamble of my own experiences with, and assumptions and perceptions of, this research enterprise and what this meant for me as a migrant learner, former classroom teacher, and a teacher educator. Acknowledging my point of view contributes to the confirmability of the findings because it involves ensuring *neutrality* when interpreting data (i.e., self awareness and control of one's bias). Appreciating that values are central to the research process, I still have to be sure the findings can be *confirmed* or corroborated by others (i.e., my values did not take over). Confirmability is the extent to which findings are shaped by the respondents themselves, rather than the researcher's bias.

I was not prepared for the intense nostalgia I experienced as I entered Rowena's classroom, what I came to see as a *time travel machine*. This experience allowed me to oscillate between different points in my life as a home economics student, home economics teacher in

Uganda, and later, as a substitute teacher and a teacher educator in Alberta. As I experienced the metaphoric time travel, I grappled with those recollections and the task at hand. I kept reminding myself that I was there to collect data with a research question in mind. I also had to focus on exploring the dynamics of how the participants interacted with each other and the curricular material culture within the broader culturally laden educational field. Below is an excerpt from my field notes:

Monday April 1, 2013: Day 1 in the research field:

Today I sat in Rowena's classroom, I felt like a fly on the wall . . . She had offered me a seat in a vantage point near her desk . . . I had a full view of the classroom, of two of my participants . . . one was missing . . . she did not make it to school today . . . my thoughts drifted . . . will she be reliable? How will she share what she has not experienced? I watched Rowena give instructions to her class. I watched as Raj and Gloria (pseudonyms for the student participants) took in the instructions. My mind drifted off to my days as a home economics teacher, how I structured my class . . . hmmm very similar! Like Rowena, I placed all ingredients at a central desk at the front of the classroom. I too would insist that only one student per group collect all ingredients . . . each student had to have a tray so they could collect all ingredients at once . . . but Rowena is lucky, she has a smaller class compared to mine. Mine was twice as large . . . harder to organize . . . she had five kitchens so the groups could spread out . . . I had stations with very limited cooking facilities . . . Oh well.

This time capsule experience felt very real to me. My assumptions, preconceptions, and previous experiences as a home economics teacher and, prior to that, as a student in Uganda, and now a migrant doctoral student, strongly influenced how I experienced and read the research field and the data.

I observed that Rowena's food studies lab was equipped with materials and resources that would resonate differently with any newcomer student, depending on how he or she had previously encountered them. The three months (12 weeks) I spent in Rowena's Grade 10 food studies lab exposed me to how *she* negotiated and bridged cultural spaces with her students who were from three different parts of the world. Rowena smoothly and fluidly negotiated the interactive spaces between her and her students and the curricular material culture. Overall, I was able to determine, from our conversations and my observations, that Rowena was well aware

of the diversity in her classroom and did what she could in her capacity to attend to the varying needs of her learners, whilst drawing them into the shared Albertan program of studies content.

Participants' Experiences with Food

This section briefly describes the final sample for the study, one female teacher and three students (two female and one male), anchored in how they came to be in the foods studies classroom. They were each assigned a pseudonym to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. In order to break the ice and create an entry point into the interviews (conversations), I asked each of them about their experiences with food and how they ended up in the foods studies classroom. I drew on some of the techniques learned during my master's degree where I used narrative inquiry as a research methodology. With this technique, I was able to frame the historical context in which the participants located themselves in relation to foods studies. The participants' stories enabled me to understand how they each identified and positioned themselves within the broader education field.

During the interviews, I further explored the participants' out-of-school cultural food experiences. I also investigated how the culturally-diverse participants transitioned into and out of the formal educational context on a daily basis. In the following text, I provide more detail on the four study participants. I provide excerpts from my conversations with the participants that detail their experiences.

Rowena – The Teacher-Participant

Rowena's journey into the kitchen began in her childhood; however, she said her memory of its inception was too long ago to recall. She did not have the opportunity to take a foods class in school but was confident of where her encounter with learning about food occurred:

I never took foods in high school so everything I learned with food was what I learned at home.

Rowena relied on her mother's culinary training to develop her personal food-related skills. Rowena vividly remembered helping her mother in the kitchen, particularly in her early teenage years:

When I got to junior high, high school, I would help her start dinner so I'd get things prepped for her so when she came home she had less to do or sometimes I would even make the dinner. Probably towards the later part of high school and university I'd

help and I'd just sometimes make most of the meal for her to help her out.

Rowena's mother played a key role in introducing her to the kitchen and sharing the culinary skills she had learned from her own mother. Rowena indicated that her mother was quite creative with recipes and would happily teach her:

We'd make pastas or recipes that she'd find and tried out and some of our family's favorites.

Rowena also told stories about one of the family-favorite recipes that she had still continued to prepare years later. She had mentioned it briefly off record but was able to share more during the interview:

I was telling you about that one Christmas dish that my grandma used to make and it's called roulade and it's a meat dish, a special cut of meat, I don't know what the name of the cut is and then you put in ham and bacon and onions and mushrooms, salt and pepper and you roll it up, so it's like a rolled meat dish. That's something we make at Christmas that my mom has taught me how to make . . . we make it just for Christmas, just for special occasions.

Not only was Rowena's encounter with food material culture facilitated by her mother, she was able to reconnect to intergenerational learning about food in the family through her grandmother's recipes. Making these dishes on special occasions ensured continued engagement with the material culture of the family food recipes and strengthened her skills in the kitchen. Unfortunately, Rowena's grandmother passed away before she could learn directly from her, so she learned some of her grandmother's knowledge indirectly through her mother.

Rowena's journey as a foods pedagogue did not lead directly to the foods studies classroom. She had not taken food studies or home economics in high school and did not immediately gravitate to being a foods studies teacher. During her selection of university courses, Rowena selected courses from several departments:

I went into the university and I wanted to be a pharmacist and realized that I really sucked at organic chemistry and so I started researching different areas. I had taken a bunch of classes from different faculties in my first year and I found that I really liked some of the nutrition classes, so I started kind of looking in that direction and thought of maybe being a registered dietitian but that you needed organic chemistry for. So I started doing a little bit more digging and found the human ecology department and

discovered that they offered a program with nutrition and then you could also do an Ed. degree to be combinatory. So I went into that thinking if I don't like being a teacher, I can at least have my other degree in human ecology to kind of back it up. So I ended up really liking my practicum and found myself here.

For Rowena, a teaching career was not a first choice but she stumbled upon the Human Ecology degree, and five years later... we were having this discussion.

Rowena was in her sixth year of teaching when I met her during this study. She was immersed in a culturally-diverse school setting, which challenged her pedagogical approaches as she engaged students with the foods curriculum:

In any one class you could probably have 25 kids and they're from 15 different countries, so very, very diverse.

This diversity calls for mindfulness on the teachers' part because they have to attend to the various learners in their classrooms, particularly newcomers to the country who may be unfamiliar with the culture, including that in the classroom.

Student Participants

There were three Grade 10 food studies student participants, one male, and two females from three different nations (Vietnam, India and Egypt).

Gloria. Gloria was a visiting female student from Vietnam and considered Canada her home at that time. She lived with a Canadian host family. Her cooking experiences were limited and she said that her parents never let her into the kitchen. She described her experience in the Canadian foods class:

I never actually done cooking and a lot of stuff back in my country in Vietnam so I find it interesting.

At 16, Gloria did not have much previous cooking experience because in her culture, she was not expected to cook until she was considered an adult and close to getting married:

The kitchen is kind of an off area for me . . . according to my parents and grandparents, they are like really Asian and stuff and they keep saying that it's not safe for me to go into the kitchen . . . if I am still in Vietnam probably when I get into university so at like 18 or 19.

In Canada, she was able to experience the kitchen with both her host family and Rowena's class, both of which she seemed to enjoy. Even then, Gloria was unprepared for the deep involvement

of her host family's children in the kitchen:

I thought that they were children, they were in 7th or 8th grade, they are already making like cookies so it was new to me . . . they were making dinner for their families.

This was a cultural difference for Gloria that she had to negotiate, particularly when she encountered the material culture involved in cooking:

I tried to help but I wasn't very familiar with the stuff in the kitchen . . . like how the oven works . . . the setting of the ovens . . . we didn't have ovens back in Vietnam . . . we just cooked with pots.

This experience exposed Gloria to a cultural gap in learning, which could be a reality for many students who are new to Canada. Gloria shared some of the differences in the material culture in the Canadian classroom from what she was accustomed to in Vietnam:

Here, people use exact numbers and stuff, but back in Vietnam they just kind of like, looking at it, kind of like estimating, that kind of stuff.

She compared the two experiences and decided on which she preferred:

I want exact . . . I guess am good at maths so I can follow the recipe . . . it's easier this way.

For Gloria, the use of measuring cups reinforced her mathematical abilities and she was able to reposition herself within the lab field by making cross-curricular connections and finding the whole process supportive to learning.

Gloria expressed awareness of the diversity in her class and her school and seemed content with it:

There like a lot of people coming from a bunch of ethnic groups . . . people are really open . . . really accepting, because this is a public school. I used to go to a public school back in Vietnam but there was like no foreigners whatsoever there . . . but people are more relaxed and open to new stuff here, so they accept.

She felt comfortable in her school environment and seeing others from different countries and cultures may have helped with developing this comfort level. The experience of studying in a diverse environment made learning easier for her and made her feel comfortable with being part of the multiplicity as an insider and not outsider.

Raj. Raj was the only male student-participant in this study. He was from India and had been in Canada for five years. He was quite soft spoken, punctual for our interviews and, despite

the open-ended questions, he provided brief answers. Raj did not take food studies in junior high school, joining the Grade 10 food studies class that semester. He described his experience in the classroom as:

...really great, I learned a lot.

His description of his home efforts at cooking were the opposite of his food studies classroom experience:

...it's different. I'm a bit sloppy, I just mix whatever.

Raj's home and school kitchen experiences seemed in opposition. His description of his mother's role in supporting his culinary skills could be the reason why he just mixed whatever:

She doesn't make me do anything, so I don't think she cares.

From his perspective, the person who demonstrated cooking skills and ensured that he practiced them exhibited care. In this inquiry, he said it was Rowena, the teacher he encountered at school, who actually cared that he learn cooking skills.

Raj seemed to have a disconnect between home cooking and school cooking. He almost had no specific description of his Indian mother's approach to cooking except:

... Complicated . . . too much stuff.

He preferred to stay away from the kitchen at home, and said his mother did not push him to engage in any cooking. He explained that she made a variety of dishes and he was eager to partake in the meals she cooked:

Indian food, like curry . . . whatever my mom makes, I'll eat it . . . Sometimes she'll make pasta and stuff. She tries different stuff.

Even though Raj's mom experimented with different recipes, she did not engage him in the kitchen. He admitted to eating out in Mexican restaurants or Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC). Raj was an interesting participant to witness because of how he crossed intersecting borders and, in this case, home, school, and eating out and the constant positioning and repositioning of himself in the food studies field.

Sadia. Sadia had lived in Canada for six years and was originally from Egypt. She had taken some food studies classes in junior high and continued with these studies in high school. She described the experience of being in a food studies class as “*fun*” and her idea of fun in this context was:

...being with your friends and interacting with them.

Her home cooking experiences were quite minimal, as she described:

I don't cook Egyptian food but my mom does and I can kinda know how to do it. In Egyptian food there is no recipe, you kinda put stuff together and it just comes out the way it is, magical but I can't do that.

Even though Sadia had the opportunity to engage in the kitchen activities at home, it appeared that she chose not to do so. However, she opted to attend the food studies program in school. I found this interesting because she seemed to turn away from her cultural food by being a part of the preparation process, and opted for mainstream classroom cooking where she made different kinds of food from another culture. Again, the oscillation across fields, that is, from the home to the educational or school environments, moreover between different cultural locations, was evident in Sadia's world. The classroom introduced her to, and substantiated for her, procedures that were different from what she experienced at her Egyptian-Canadian home:

I'm so used to like measuring and my mom's like just put this much . . . it's so confusing . . . they don't use a cup measure they just use a normal drinking cup and just put in the rice thing and I was like put 1 cup into how much cups water, 2 cups and then the different cup and it is so confusing.

These differences provided two separate worlds for her which bracketed her understanding and learning generally, and about food and its related materials, specifically. She, however, found the home cooking appealing even though it was a world in which she lived yet deliberately excluded herself from partaking in the food preparations:

you just make something amazing. But I can't 'cause I'm so used to like specific procedure and specific cups and spoons and all that stuff. I'd die for Egyptian food . . . there's like a lot of different stuff you put in though. . . . it is so full of taste like blue cheese is amazing . . . also with sweets it's so tasty and then like Canadian food is so like mild, it doesn't like have taste in it.

Sadia's seemingly conflicting worlds, and continuous border crossings and repositioning within different worlds, like Raj, made it possible for her to occupy both spaces seamlessly on a daily basis as she moved back and forth between her Canadian food studies classroom and her home. She embraced each when she encountered it with a passion. She ardently described one dish that her mom prepared, while giggling and shaking her hands:

It's like cheese and you leave it to sit there for like a really, really, really long time

and then it tastes really, really strong . . . We call it Gudna . . . People don't like it. I love it. We make a jar at home and whenever we have like meat or something like that we take it out and put it on the side and everyone digs in. I wish we would have that here all the time.

Similar to Raj, the two worlds for Sadia appeared compartmentalized thus emphasizing how culturally-diverse individuals who live in multiple, complex worlds experience the process of border crisscrossing as they continuously position, disposition, and reposition themselves within the various fields and how this process affects learning, particularly in a new and foreign context. How do their earlier experiences prepare them for such encounters? What does the position taken mean for these individuals who are continuously on the move between, for example, home and school?

Thematic Findings

In this section, I present themes that emerged from my observations and conversations with Rowena, Gloria, Raj, and Sadia. Per the protocol for reporting thematic analyses, I use a combination of excerpts (verbatim quotations from the data) and my inferences from the data of the evidence of a theme (Ary et al., 2010). This chapter contains just findings, with their interpretation set out in Chapter 5.

I present Rowena's implementation and the students' (Raj, Sadia and Gloria) encounter and engagement with the CTS food studies program, and using its attendant curricular material culture. The themes that emerged from analyzing Rowena's and the student participants interview transcripts and my associated field notes included: (a) Participants' navigation of the multicultural buffet in the classrooms, (b) Rowena's challenges in engaging learners, (c) strategies to overcome these challenges, (d) teachers' perception of student's engagement with curricular material culture, (e) straddling cultures within a shared cultural context, and (f) student responses to Rowena's efforts as a curricular material culture interpreter.

Participants' Navigation the Cultural Diversity Buffet

Working with culturally-diverse students requires a high awareness of and sensitivity to difference. This effort demands attention to the student interactions with each other and with the teacher, as well as with curricular material culture. As an observer it was not clear to me how Rowena attended to the cultural differences in her class and if she created any opportunities for students to relate previous cultural experiences to the content. She treated all students the same

and did not discriminate or create divisions amongst them. Most of the spoken instructions were generic. However, when I spoke to her I discovered that a lot of planning had gone into the preparation of the classes and some consideration had previously been made to accommodate such differences in the classroom at the beginning of the year. Rowena expressed a good awareness of the diversity in her classroom and what accommodations she made. The diversity in her classes included religion, physical ability, and learning styles, to mention a few. She explained how she responded to this diversity, most of which was substituting specific ingredients to accommodate different students, but in other cases, she made different accommodations:

There are some adjustments for example, people that can't eat pork . . . I had one girl that was Orthodox Christian so for part of April and May she wasn't able to eat anything that came from an animal. So during those times it's an easy fix, she makes the food, she just doesn't eat it. So she'll prepare it with a partner and then the other people get to eat it. So there is that and there is the accommodations if they can't have pork or they can't have beef or sometimes we'll substitute in an alternative meat.

In some cases, Rowena was not logistically able to respond to individual student needs:

Things that we don't adjust to like halal because halal is very complicated at doing certain dishes, and so if we are cooking something that needs to be halal, again they can make it, they just don't eat it because it's in foods 10, we probably have about 15 Grade 10 classes and to accommodate for all those classes is a logistical nightmare.

The number of students in addition to the varying cultural and other diverse needs of the learners was a challenge. Although not all student needs were met, Rowena's efforts to recognize and respond to the differences were not lost on the students. For Gloria, who was a visiting student from Vietnam, the lab groups that Rowena created were useful for her acculturation into the Canadian foods classroom. She shared her experience:

I got really like a nice partner and it help a lot . . . We kind of divide up who gets which ingredients . . . for the first few times, I was not familiar with, for example, baking, because I've never done it before, so I kind of messed up with the measuring spoon and cups, so I learned a lot from my partner, they helped me to read the measuring and that kind of stuff and get familiar with that.

Gloria's experience could be the experience of many migrant students unfamiliar with Canadian

curricular material culture and the need for a cultural bridge such as Rowena or a lab partner was significant. Gloria also shared that sometimes the teacher called on individual student experiences with food. These invitations were opportunities for students to share parts of their culture in the learning process:

We don't have that much theory class, but my teacher will always ask like anybody that has experience with food at home that's related to the class then we gonna share it if we want to, so I learned from the experience.

Raj, another student participant, who had been in Canada for about five years, also found the group work a useful strategy:

There's all different types of people in our class. In my group, I'm pretty sure there's three different kinds in my group, so it's really good . . . some groups will have four, some have two, some have three . . . you have different people every time. On the module, like baking module, we're in the same group for the whole time, and then a different module we'll be in a different group for the whole time.

Amongst two to three individuals of different cultural groups, there is a wealth of cultural knowledge that could be shared within the group. Switching the groups around provided an even richer experience.

Raj also recognized the teacher's efforts at accommodating dietary needs:

Most of the time she already knows, because we fill out this form in the beginning, but if she doesn't know, she just puts beef out. Like doesn't remember, you just tell her that you can't eat beef and she'll give you an alternative, like if she asks you if you can eat chicken or turkey, she'll replace you with that, or soy.

The diversity amongst learners presented Rowena with an opportunity to encounter, read, and interpret the Canadian food studies curriculum with an inclusive lens and identify alternative ways to respond to some of the differences in her classroom. The challenge then became how to find a balance between student diversity and curriculum structure. Grade 10 high school foods studies curriculum is an introductory level course at which students are introduced to and familiarized with the curriculum. If they find Grade 10 or the introductory courses engaging, they may continue with intermediate and/or even advanced courses taken in grades 11 and/or 12. Grade 10 teachers like Rowena have to devise means of developing and maintaining interest amongst the large number of culturally diverse students and a very structured curriculum in order

to keep the interest levels up in this optional class. This balancing process definitely presented its own challenges.

Rowena's Challenges of Engaging Learners

This theme has four sub-components: large number of students, structure of the curriculum, keeping learners engaged, and lack of textbooks. These four issues comprise the core challenges involved in engaging learners in a culturally-diverse classroom where the teacher is teaching the dominant, mainstream food studies curriculum using curricular material culture.

Class Sizes. Being able to facilitate student learning and engagement with curricular material culture in a diverse setting was a concern that Rowena raised as the biggest challenge:

...just so many classes . . . we usually have three classes running and two labs, so that means there is always a class that's in here and a theory classroom . . . our numbers are really high, really high, highest in the whole school.

The challenge for Rowena, therefore, became how to balance the large number of students, approximately 20 – 25 in each class, while delivering the mandated curriculum with individual students' needs in mind. The Alberta CTS food studies curriculum was structured, generic, and written from a Eurowestern perspective. It required teachers to interpret it for their diverse learners. Attending to individual student needs, in addition to balancing the program and ensuring all curricular learning outcomes were achieved, was something Rowena had to be constantly mindful of. The workbooks and recipe books (curricular material culture) were standard and based on the mandated curriculum:

...the size of the program, 22 classes, I get a grocery order every week delivered here and so for kids to be choosing their own recipes that would be a grocery nightmare. Well, that is many people. So the recipes are very set for a reason.

Not only did she have to plan for her classes, Rowena had to be considerate of her teacher colleagues who taught other streams of the same classes:

There is only so much that you can accommodate, especially in a big school because I think if I was the only teacher teaching in a school and I was the only one teaching foods, I might be able to accommodate a little bit more, I'd have more time, less people to worry about. But when there's 19, 20 classes then you just can't accommodate all of them.

Creating projects for culturally-diverse Grade 10 food studies learners was not an option

for Rowena. She described it as a:

...logistical nightmare . . . in Grade 10 we don't really do any projects, there's just too many kids . . . so many classes, and we usually have three classes running and two labs, so that means there is always a class that's in here and a theory classroom . . . and so there isn't that flexibility of time.

I believe that projects would be a great way to explore cross-curricular learning and the diverse cultural knowledge and experiences that her students bring into the classroom. But such approaches would be overwhelming with such large numbers, in concert with collegial accountability. Fortunately, in CTS foods classes, the teacher does not teach the entire curriculum but selects a limited number of one-credit courses to teach, as long as all prerequisites are met. This structure presented relief for Rowena because she could, in good conscience, focus on those units that were manageable under the circumstances:

I think in some areas of Alberta you might choose different modules, there is that farm-to-table module that would be interesting to do, but with the amount of kids that we have here, I don't think I would ever be able to do that.

If she had her way with manageable class sizes, Rowena would possibly consider offering some courses that were great for exploring diverse cultural experiences with food and related curricular material culture. Otherwise, large classes seemed to impede teacher creativity, especially in Grade 10. However, it seemed a different story in Grades 11 and 12:

In Grade 11 we do a project that relates disease to food. So a food-related disease such as celiac disease, lactose intolerance, anemia, and they have to relate food to that disease. So that's the only other project we do with them besides, in terms of research projects, there are also some cake projects that we see in Grade 12 where they have to make a creative cake. A 5-day project that would do that. Other than that we don't do any projects, there's just not enough time, not enough space to actually give them the time to research a project properly.

In addition to the large numbers, actually fitting in the time to pursue projects with Grade 10 students was almost impossible. Despite the intent of the CTS compass (see Figure 4), letting students individualize their learning seemed unmanageable. Teachers found themselves unable to engage students in ways that supported the student-curricular material culture encounter, because they had to complete the mandated curriculum so students could receive their course

credits.

Curriculum Structure. Rowena raised the concern that the curriculum did not provide much room for a teacher to explore and include alternative approaches to exploring content because. Rowena noted that:

the curriculum is actually quite specific in a lot of areas. They need to make these types of cakes and so the curriculum, there's not a lot of room to just be like, OK I want to do this, this, and this. There is specific skills that you do want to cover, certain skills that they want to cover.

Such prescriptive criteria did not provide room for teachers to attend to individual cultural learner needs or interests in adapting recipes to personal tastes. For an introductory class, a set way of doing things had to be followed, with almost no room for creativity. Such stances run the risk of stifling students' motivation to continue with food studies in higher grades.

The CTS foods studies 10 curriculum was organized in a way that made it possible for the teacher to choose which courses to teach. The teacher did not have to teach the entire curriculum; instead he or she could decide which three to five one-credit courses would be taught in the year. Rowena shared:

There's so many different modules to choose from that really the teacher chooses the modules. So some teachers may never do International Cuisine because there's so many other choices that you can choose. If it's enough? I don't really know.

Attending to culturally-diverse curricular material culture student needs is not necessarily a focal point for foods teachers when they have to work within a prescribed curriculum. Additionally, for Rowena, the distribution and number of courses across the three levels (introductory, intermediate and advanced) presented another curriculum structural challenge:

The 10 and 20 level courses, there's lots of choices, the 30 level it's a little bit too much theory in my opinion compared to cooking. And at that level the kids wanna do a lot more cooking than theory. And the theory's a little bit dry. So the 10 and 20 yes, 30 not so much, I'd rather see more practical skills that they need to gain rather than theoretical.

She did not envision the course load as well balanced in terms of theory and practical skills across the levels. The students seemed to connect with the content, which she wanted to respect.

Curriculum structure appeared significant and important for Rowena. As she planned

and delivered the foods curriculum, she envisioned it as:

Grade 10, it's really learning the basics skills, so how to cook pasta, how to cook beef, how to be safe when you are cooking meats, what are the different types of grains, like they are learning very basic skills that they can then build on in Grade 11.

I wondered what she meant by basic and for whom? I inquired further because I was aware that what was basic for one person may not be the same for another. Rowena explained that:

Basic, I guess in the culinary world. On TV if you watched any of the baking competitions, so if you went into one of those you need to know basic skills, you need to know how to use your knife, you need to know basic safety and sanitation, how to safely prepare food, what procedures to use, skills like making a roux and the fact that a roux is a base for a béchamel, knowing what a dice is, how to dice something, how to cook rice, how to cook potatoes, just very basic things that you could use as fundamentals to make more elaborate dishes based on these skills . . . Well, I think a lot of the basic skills though have evolved from different cultures, like the French have put a lot of the cooking trends like a roux is originally a French cooking term and that's kind of been infiltrated into North American cooking and styles. I think the basic skills are things that might not be basic in other countries but in North America that's kind of the accepted. You need to know these certain things to make these types of recipes, so it depends on the recipe . . . For example, in Japan, they have very different tools that they use for making the rolls. They have their makisu which is the bamboo woven mat and that's a tool that they need to use to make that but in North America we wouldn't know what to do with that tool if we didn't know how to make sushi. I think it's very cultural, but I think in North America, it's kind of an amalgamation of a few different things.

For Rowena, part of CTS food studies curriculum structure was to learn the fundamentals that one needed before preparing more elaborate dishes. However, I am left wondering. If the basics were structured for North American recipes, then what happened to the basic culinary knowledge that students may have brought with them into the classroom from their homes or countries? How are the students' previous experiences with food acknowledged through the curriculum? Do these experiences matter?

There seemed to be a set way that a teacher had to approach the content and related material culture. The curriculum was presented as a universal pedagogical construct with basic

specific skills that had to be covered. I wondered how the teachers attended to diverse learner needs within a fundamentally Eurowestern curriculum and how culturally diverse learners negotiated these educational curricular spaces. Rowena shared with me her thoughts on this:

Potentially, right now, there is definitely diversity but a lot of the kids still in the classes, their parents might not have been born here but they are born here and so they see themselves more as Canadian than they do as another culture and I think that for them, to fit into our society, it's important to learn certain things. And then they can maybe use some of those things at home to work with multi-cultural recipes that they might make with their parents.

Rowena envisioned these educational happenings as opportunities for border crossings that culturally-diverse students could take advantage of, so as to experience Canadian culture without necessarily abandoning their own.

Rowena highlighted the collective efforts she and her colleagues made in consistently delivering a consistent culturally mainstream program for all students and the strength in teamwork:

The program does have a lot of restrictions but it does have a lot of strengths. The fact that we all do work as a team, we all teach the same thing, all the kids are getting the same recipes, the same information, you know it's a really strong program and our numbers are really high, really high, highest in the whole school.

She seemed to believe that having a lot of students taking the program, even while the content was uniform across levels in all the food studies classes, was a good indicator for success. Again, I was left with questions. If the basics were structured for Eurowestern cuisine, what happens to the basic culinary knowledge that students from other parts of the world brought into the classroom? How would lack or presence of familiar experiences (dis)connect with the learners' previous experiences with food? How would the students perceive their cultural heritage foods as they encountered an educational experience that excluded those foods? What would it mean for teachers such as Rowena to provide multiple learning opportunities for these culturally diverse learners? I delve deeper into these and more questions in the next chapter on discussion and analysis.

Engaging Learners. Rowena described the experience of engaging students during theory lessons as quite challenging. According to her, most students “*just wanna come, make*

food, eat,” but not necessarily connect with the curricular content. She felt that students did not take seriously the theory-related curricular materials, such as workbooks. Even though she included curricular materials such as “*videos, worksheets, crossword puzzles, notes so that they’re getting information from different types of sources rather than just straight writing,*”

Lack of Textbooks. Another challenge she faced was the lack of foods studies textbooks. Rowena really had no formal curricular text to follow. Instead, she had to create materials such as student learning guides or workbooks for the students’ use:

We use an OLDS textbook, Foods for Today, only in Grade 10 . . . I use that very scarcely, just because they are old, we can’t afford to buy new textbooks.

I asked her if she was doing any cross-curricular projects to supplement her teaching and she replied:

To be honest, the size of this program really restricts that kind of stuff. Just so many classes, and we usually have 3 classes running and 2 labs, so that means there is always a class that’s in here and a theory classroom . . . and so, there isn’t that flexibility of time to do cross curricular stuff like that. Again I am gonna go back to, if I was the only teacher teaching in a program, I would have so much more freedom . . . I would definitely look at doing more of that stuff, but the size of this program, we really gotta cater just to the needs of the program and meeting, making sure that our kids are getting their share.

I could tell that deep down, Rowena, as a teacher, would love to do more with the CTS food studies program but had various restrictions that placed a strain on her exploratory abilities. While too many kids were a good sign that students generally had an interest in food studies, the same large number of students presented challenges for the teachers such as exploring different pedagogical practices. In a way, Rowena was restricted from doing more as a messenger who had to deliver the prescribed curriculum. Systemically, she was in a subordinate position and, could not go against what Alberta Education had set out to be taught.

Rowena’s Strategies for Engagement and Encounter with Curricular Material Culture

This theme has three sub-components: streamlining curriculum delivery, structuring the teaching, and flexibility. These three issues comprise the core challenges involved in ensuring student engagement and encounter with the dominant, mainstream food studies curriculum using curricular material culture.

Streamlining Curriculum Delivery. To counter the challenges of engaging culturally-diverse learners, Rowena devised ways in which she would maximize efficiency in teaching and learning. This process entailed a lot of preparation prior to the start of the year, with all food studies teachers in this school using a similar approach and sharing curricular materials. This preparatory effort ensured that all students engaged in the same activities across classes. Rowena attended to the food studies program of studies and recognized that, *“in parts of the module it says you need to do one multicultural recipe so we try to do at least one per module so they are getting a little bit of that.”* Her way of infusing some non-Eurowestern experiences into her classes was to include one non-mainstream Canadian recipe and then follow the rest of the curriculum to the letter, as co-planned with her colleagues.

Using this strategy, despite the large numbers in the classroom, students were able to access at least one cultural dish per course, albeit the recipe was provided by the teacher. Students were not provided with the opportunity to identify their own recipes:

They don't get to make their own recipes, like bring recipes in because there is just too many kids and it would be a grocery nightmare to try and do all these different recipes so it's very structured . . . because of again the size of the program, 22 classes, I get a grocery order every week delivered here and so for kids to be choosing their own recipes that would be a grocery night mare. Well, that is many people. So the recipes are very set for a reason.

Selecting the recipes for the students was an attempt to solve the numbers-resources issue. Making multiple concessions would ultimately be challenging if teachers had to attend to individual learner needs, despite this being the very intent of the CTS compass (see Figure 4).

Structured Teaching. In order to manage the high number of students in her class, Rowena resorted to a structured approach to her teaching, done in conjunction with the entire team of food studies teachers. They used structure to control the number of students including how many could be accommodated per class, because accommodating each individual student's needs with 22 classes was almost impossible. The large class sizes were said to be characteristic of Grade 10. Grade 10 was also the introductory level in the food studies curriculum. This was the stage where students got excited about the course and decided whether or not to continue with food studies in Grades 11 and 12. Students in Grade 11, or the intermediate level, got the chance to take units such as *International Cuisine*. Such a unit provided opportunities for

students to explore foods studies from various parts of the world. According to Rowena, students “*can do a project on whichever country they want and sometimes they will choose a country that they’re from . . . to explore their culture and then share it with their classmates*”.

Not all students were able to continue with foods beyond Grade 10 so they missed out on the *International Cuisine* unit. For migrant students or newcomer students, such one-credit courses were opportunities to strengthen their cultural connections and identity and share parts of their culture with their classmates. The approach taken to structure the delivery of courses meant that most students did not partake in one-credit courses offering the same opportunity to explore non-mainstream dishes unless a teacher made a deliberate effort to include them.

Finding that balance between large classes and delivering the right content required a high level of organization by Rowena. In one of the lessons that I observed, Rowena provided different types of milk, such as 1%, 2%, and soy milk, as options for the students. In a way, she was able to make some adjustments that would not drastically affect the shopping, but still provide reasonable variations – from the teacher’s perspective. She also made an effort to include one cultural dish in each course:

We do have some multi-culture recipes kind of interspersed into our modules. For example, in the grains module in Grade 10 we do what’s called a mapo tofu dish and it’s a tofu dish that comes from Japan. So that’s a cultural dish that we do.

Interspersing a few cultural dishes from around the world into the mandated curriculum was a way for Rowena to facilitate student encounter and engagement with curricular material culture in a diverse learning environment.

Flexibility. Finally, as a response to the diversity in her class, Rowena demonstrated flexibility in accommodating some students’ dietary restrictions based on religious but not all cultural needs. She was open, sensitive, and empathetic toward students and responded to ‘manageable’ food requests. This flexibility enabled Rowena to demonstrate her recognition and respect for some forms of diversity, a strategy that resonated with her students. This flexibility, however, was limited by class sizes and a possible grocery list that would spiral out of control if all cultural needs were met.

In one of the classes that I sat in on, Rowena was teaching about cheese. She played a video about the origins and types of cheese. I wrote down my thoughts about this in my field notes:

When the video started playing, I was unsure of what to expect. It was a video about cheese around the world. The origins of cheese. The different countries where cheese is made. The different types and processes of making cheese around the world. I thought 'wow!' When I taught Foods and Nutrition, I relied on text books. We did not have access to videos. Oh well! But then as the video played on and later ended, I realised that they had not mentioned the type of cheese we made in Uganda. The one my mother-in-law is famous for! Hmmm . . . what does this mean for immigrant students when the knowledge they come with to class from their past experiences is not reflected in the curriculum. Does this invalidate that knowledge? It is great to learn about others, but what about what I know? What happens to that knowledge when it is not represented as part of the formal curriculum?

When I asked Rowena some of these questions she said:

If the student only takes one food class you're only giving them a glimpse into the food culture and the food world . . . they need to be educated at home as well.

She recognized that learning about food went beyond the classroom and was a more global phenomenon. She felt further learning could take place at home, school, in the community, and through the media. She did not go into the issue of how students learned to bridge the food-related knowledge obtained outside and within the school.

The potential for cultural knowledge sharing in a foods classroom is high. Most foods teachers switch groups around because students tend to stay with their friends, which can be disruptive and interrupt the learning experience. Constantly shuffling students into different groups as topics changed facilitates multiple interactions in this unique educational space. Rowena, too, engaged in this process by changing the lab groups with each new course. The shuffling of groups might be a successful strategy for many foods teachers; however, with culturally-diverse students sharing the same class and curriculum, the dynamics can be very interesting with varying results. Inadvertently, Rowena created a fascinatingly rich scenario. The students actually approved of these groupings, as expressed by Gloria:

I got really like a nice partner . . . I kind of was not familiar with, for example, like baking, coz I've never done it before, so I kind of messed up with the measuring spoon and cups, so I learned a lot from my partner, they helped me to read the measuring and

that kind of stuff, and get familiar with that.

The partnering was successful, especially for students who were unfamiliar with Canadian food material culture. Migrant students such as Gloria were able to learn through the partnering or groupings on a more one-to-one level alongside their peers who had lived in Canada longer and may have been more familiar with the curricular material culture. However, for Sadia, who had been in Canada for six years, the teacher-arranged groupings presented a challenge:

Being put in groups is not really that fun anymore. At the beginning of the year we got to pick our own so we kinda had friends around us, but when you are like with different people it is kinda hard to communicate.

The length of time that one has been immersed in another culture will determine one's comfort level in integrating into a new group that one has not chosen, such as a class learning group. Sometimes, the groups provide opportunities for students to connect, but in other cases, the experiences can be negative. For some newcomers, connecting with the familiar helps them deal with the foreignness of the material culture. This was probably what happened with Sadia. During my observations, I noticed that she was withdrawn and actually missed class a lot, which complicated scheduling interviews with her. This discordance in the way students may connect within the classroom cultural material will be taken up further in the next chapter where the findings are discussed.

It's not that often because we don't have that much theory class, but my teacher will always ask like anybody that has experience with food at home that related to the class then we gonna share it if we want to. So I learned from the experience . . . she does share her experiences at home and then she asks students to share.

This pedagogical approach is expected of teachers generally. However students like Sadia appreciated it because it drew on student experiences in class. Unfortunately, the approach was not necessarily used as a response to the cultural pluralism in the classroom. It is common practice for teachers to engage students.

Teacher's Perception of Students' Encounter and Engagement with Curricular Material Culture

Rowena presented an interesting interpretation of her students and their attitudes toward foods studies. According to her, there was a disconnect between student learning and the experience of eating or tasting:

Most of the kids just wanna come, make food, eat. They don't really care about the learning that goes behind it, and that's really evident in the theory portion of class. They'll do the things they have to, but they don't really take a lot away from it. I think it's just the mentality of the kids, I don't think they're at that stage where they're like oh, this is really interesting, I want to learn more.

To Rowena, the students did not relate what was learned theoretically to the finished product. They followed the recipe but with the end goal of eating, not necessarily learning. Could this be a flaw in the pedagogical approach? How are students able to make those connections between theory and practical? Gloria supported Rowena's observation and expressed that sharing one's experiences with food is not the teacher's sole responsibility; students, too, have a role to play:

I think it is my responsibility to share and talk to people, but I am kind of reserved, so it's not easy for me like to strike a conversation and then start talking about food and experience, yeah well I guess if I want to talk about it, people will listen.

Gloria was aware of the possibility of discussing these experiences and appeared ready to do so if space was created within the curriculum for this to happen. Otherwise, she preferred to blend in with everyone else.

Rowena also provided an interesting reason why Grade 10 students took her class:

They see food studies as a class that's their break from the day, their break from math or social and they don't see it as a real course to learn from, they are just here to eat . . . a lot of kids here just really, like, they like watch the Food Network, they wanna learn how to cook, they wanna learn how to make some things for themselves, they wanna eat.

Rowena did not see the Grade 10 students as taking her food studies class seriously. She did not see it as a place where learning was at the forefront of students' minds. However, she felt that the Grade 12 students took her class for different reasons than the Grade 10 students:

Most of the Grade 12s that take it, take it because they like to cook . . . it's their kind of break from the day, and they love cooking but they may not necessarily wanna pursue it as a career.

To Rowena, the Grade 12 students took food studies a little more seriously than the Grade 10 students. She recognized that several students considered food studies as a safe space or sanctuary to which they could escape. For students to recognize the foods class as a "break from

the day . . . from math or social” demonstrated the power of the subject or the food or the context in which food studies as a subject area unfolded. This realization created opportunities for this teacher to examine her role as a food studies teachers and her place in the students’ learning process.

I asked Rowena how she felt about the learners’ encounter and engagement with the curricular content:

They connect to the cooking part, they don’t connect to the theoretical part . . . they don’t really care about the learning that goes behind it, and that’s really evident in the theory portion of class, they’ll do the things they have to, but they don’t really take a lot away from it.

With the challenges of large classes, a structured curriculum, and not much time within the timetable, Rowena’s obligations seemed to be firmly laid with meeting curricular objectives:

I look at the program of studies and make sure that we’re covering everything in there. Then also make sure that it relates to our recipes too, so making sure that we’re covering anything that relates to cooking so that they’re finding connection in theory.

When I asked Rowena about including course objectives in the recipe books and student workbooks, she did not seem to agree that the objectives should be built-in. Instead, she preferred to have them in her theory presentations when she introduced the content:

I wouldn’t necessarily put them in the booklet . . . a lot of times kids just read . . . they don’t even pay attention, they’ll read it quickly . . . when I’m introducing a module I’ll have all my power point slides . . . I’ll have the learning objectives, what we’re gonna learn for the day up . . . and that way I can put the learning objectives up for each day . . . rather than them just being in one spot.

For me, even having the course objectives in multiple places and available for students to refer back, to made sense. When I asked Rowena whether these objectives could be useful if included in the printed curricular materials as a reference point for students, such as in the workbooks, she said:

I definitely see value in it, it’s just something that hasn’t made it in there yet . . . I definitely know that in older modules they have been in there . . . again, it takes a lot of time to read the booklet, that’s just one thing, we focused more on curricular . . . time wise, most important is getting stuff that we can use for teaching . . . that’s definitely

something that would be good to go back and put into the booklets.

She admitted that more could be done, but there seemed many roadblocks to getting certain things in place. Again, time featured as a barrier in trying to facilitate all that needed to be learned according to the preplanned CTS food studies program of study.

Teacher's Attitude Toward Students' Learning as a Cultural Process

Rowena shared her views on how she envisioned learners' encounters and engagement with curricular material culture. She did not consider learning about food studies as a cultural process:

I'd probably have to say no, I don't think that's cultural, like there's only that one module where you actually bring culture and talk about the culture and food. And in that the kids are lazy, and if you get a good intellectual class they might learn something from it, but most kids just do the project just to get it done, they don't really learn a lot from it. I don't think kids are really, some are interested in learning, but I don't think there's that innate desire to really learn about how the culture and the food are affecting each other.

Rowena's response caused me to reflect upon the role of the teacher in supporting student encounters and engagement with curricular material culture. If other teachers recognize learners as "lazy" and "not interested in learning" or "lacking the desire" then how do they respond to such student attitudes? In culturally-diverse classrooms, could failure to connect with the content be the reason why learners come across as disinterested or only focused on eating? What is the pedagogical role of the teacher in fostering student engagement? How could teachers get students interested in what they are learning? In what ways could students' personal experiences be connected with the content? Whose role is it to support the connection process? I delve deeper into these and more questions in the next chapter on discussion and analysis.

Nevertheless, Rowena had some useful ideas on how teachers could support students' learning, particularly in food studies contexts:

Making them more accepting of other foods. So they might think well sushi's really gross, well, let's try it, you make it, we'll try this variation, and get them more interested in trying foods of other cultures. I wouldn't say that it would change their view on people of other cultures, but maybe change their view on the acceptability of food and different types of food.

For Rowena, food and culture were separate; however, she was right in that getting students to

try a variety of foods would influence the students' palate and not necessarily change their connections with other cultures. Rowena pointed out:

I think that how people see food is very individual . . . I see food differently than how students see food. And each student is going to see food differently . . . for example, looking at obesity. When people are obese they see food sometimes as like a clutch, or maybe they stress eat, and they see food differently than maybe like an anorexic person. So everybody has a different view on food and I think at a high school level in foods class I think it makes a very small difference on maybe how they see the rest of the world. I think that eventually, I think that knowledge of food may affect them later on and they'll start to become more accepting but I think it's all gonna need to work together.

Again, Rowena's view of food seemed to be connected more with dietary needs and not as a cultural construct. This differs from my experiences. I believe that food as material culture is significant right from the planting or production process to when it becomes part of the body. Each stage of production, processing, preparation and/or consumption has some cultural connotation. Many of the social, cultural, economic, and political issues around food are power laden. For example, whose recipe makes it into the recipe book? What foods are available and affordable and therefore will be bought for the class? Which recipes or procedures are mandated in the curriculum? What is the nature of the content being studied and who determines it? An examination of these questions can inform us about the power structures within the educational context. Power dynamics eventually impact the comfort levels of diverse learners within pedagogical spaces and how these learners connect with the curricular material culture therein. These issues are discussed in Chapter 6.

Student Responses to Rowena's Efforts as a Curricular Material Culture Interpreter

Constantly shuffling students into different groups as topics changed, facilitated multiple interactions in this unique educational space. The potential for cultural knowledge sharing in a foods classroom is high. Most foods teachers switch the groups around because students tend to stay with their friends, which can be disruptive and interrupt the learning experience. Rowena too engaged in this process by changing the lab groups with each new course. The shuffling of groups might be a successful strategy for many foods teachers, but with culturally diverse students sharing the same class and curriculum, the dynamics can be very interesting with varying results. Inadvertently, Rowena created a fascinatingly rich scenario. The students

actually approved of these groupings as expressed by Gloria:

I got really like a nice partner . . . I kind of was not familiar with, for example, like baking, coz I've never done it before, so I kind of messed up with the measuring spoon and cups, so I learned a lot from my partner, they helped me to read the measuring and that kind of stuff, and get familiar with that.

The partnering was successful, especially for students who were unfamiliar with Canadian food material culture. Migrant students such as Gloria are able to learn through the partnering or groupings on a more one to one level alongside their peers who have lived in Canada longer and may be familiar with the curricular material culture. However for, Sadia, who had been in Canada for a few years, the groupings presented a challenge:

Being put in groups is not really that fun anymore. At the beginning of the year we got to pick our own so we kinda had friends around us, but when you are like with different people it is kinda hard to communicate.

Depending on how far into the integration of another culture a person is, will determine his/her comfort level in blending into a new group that he/she has not chosen. Sometimes the groups provide opportunities for students to connect, but in other cases, the process could provide a negative experience for a learner. For some newcomers, connecting with the familiar can help to deal with the foreignness of the material culture. This is probably what happened with Sadia. During my observations, I noticed that she was withdrawn and actually missed class a lot which complicated scheduling interviews with her. This discordance in the way students may connect within the classroom will be taken up further in the next section in which the results of this study are discussed further.

Sadia, however, appreciated her teacher Rowena's occasional efforts at drawing on student experiences:

It's not that often because we don't have that much theory class, but my teacher will always ask like anybody that has experience with food at home that related to the class then we gonna share it if we want to. So I learned from the experience . . .she does share her experiences at home and then she asks students to share.

The ability to recognize the cultural diversity in her class was quite notable in Rowena's practice of facilitating student encounter and engagement with curricular material culture. Such approaches from a teacher can be appreciated by students. Whether a teacher recognizes the

impact of sharing experiences on learning particularly in a culturally diverse educational context or not, could be explored further.

Curriculum Document Analysis

As explained in the ethics section, I obtained consent from Rowena to examine the materials and resources that she used in her teaching. I saw her teaching calendar, which doubled as her lesson plan. I was not permitted to make a copy of it. I was, however, provided with copies of the Grade 10 course and the expectations information sheet, recipe books, lab evaluation worksheets, and student learning guides or workbooks for use in document analysis. These secondary documents were in addition to the existing food studies program of studies, which I had access to from the Alberta Education (2013) CTS website. No primary documents were created in this study.

Rowena provided me with more information about some of the curriculum documents used in her classroom:

The recipes were there before I came here, so the booklets were there, and then over the last 5 years we updated recipes a lot depending on things like cost, how long it takes to make the recipe. If we found it was too short or too long, it just didn't work. In the Grade 10 level we teach the basic skills that we kind of build on in Grade 11. So we try not to overlap recipes from grade to grade, we build on their skills.

None of the reasons for updating the curriculum were based on the nature of students in the classroom or that students were increasingly from various cultural backgrounds. I wondered what it was like for the students who could not see themselves represented in the curriculum and what that meant for them? For the students who recognized their food culture in the curriculum documents, did they notice the absence of their peers' cultural food in the curriculum? What were the broader curricular implications of a skewed curriculum?

As explained earlier, I created a curricular document analysis worksheet (see Appendix H) to help with analyzing the types of documents consulted in this study. When I examined the documents, some questions emerged and were later explored during the interviews with the participants.

CTS food studies curriculum document

This is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 under *Study context*. The CTS food studies curricular document was located under the HRH cluster or Health Recreation and Human

Services occupational area, one of 28 occupational areas in CTS. The HRH cluster is one of the five CTS clusters and is made up of eleven subject areas including food studies. Notably, food studies has 46 1-unit courses from which the teachers and select what to teach. Each course is levelled, Introductory, Intermediate or Advanced. Some courses are or have prerequisites and a description of each course is provided. As well, the general outcomes of each course are provided, including specific ones and more general ones which require *basic* competencies. The teacher develops their lessons from the general outcome and ensure that they complete at least 22 hours on instruction for each course. 30% of the time is expected to be spent on theory and 70% on practical work.

Teaching Calendar

Rowena showed me her calendar but did not permit me to make a copy of it. It also doubled as her lesson plan and had subtopics and names of recipes written on it. She was the sole audience of the calendar and therefore had full control, which is as it should be in the current curricular context. The calendar had a heading of what was to be taught that day, which was a short phrase or word and a recipe if it was a practical day. She had “theory” or “lab” written on each day and no school days were also indicated. It did not have a lot of detail such as what objectives were being achieved that day or the resources and materials to be used.

I asked Rowena how she came up with her calendar she indicated that it was years of experience that guided her and that she “*created it based on the outcomes in the program of studies.*” From my limited reading of her teaching calendar, I discerned that she had taught the course multiple times and had a sense of what she was teaching, so she did not need a lot of detail. She had a strong handle on the course in general.

Student Workbooks

Rowena gave me copies of the Grade 10 student workbooks for both the semestered food studies program and the full-year program to use as part of the document analysis. Three workbooks were used in the semestered program and five in the full-year program. Of the five workbooks used in the full-year program, three were identical to those used in the semestered program. The workbooks included FOD1010: Food Basics, FOD1020: Contemporary Baking, FOD2060: Milk Products and Eggs, and FOD2180: Vegetables and Fruit. Food Basics was the first to be covered, whether it was a semestered or full-year class. Below is a journal entry from one of the lab days.

Monday April 29th 2013, Day 11 Journal entry

The students have just finished a lab on eggs. There is still some time before the bell goes. After they cleaned up their kitchen, got their assessment done, they went to the workbook bin and picked out their workbooks. Again, these stayed in class and were never taken home as they might never make it back to class, as per Rowena. Raj is working on the table closest to me, Sadia is on the back table chatting occasionally with her neighbor and Gloria is scribbling away in the workbook. I go over to Sadia. She stops talking and starts working on her work book. I pull up a chair next to her and she smiles. She is working on a mix and match exercise, which she finishes quickly then flips through some pages and I notice some gaps. I ask her how come there are gaps, she says she was away and doesn't need to fill that. "its also just a work book to fill up time as we wait for the bell". A few minutes later I return to my seat. I wonder....just a workbook to fill up our tme? Has Rowena considered why she gives the student the workbook? What is it meant to be. Did she tell them it's a time filler or they figured it out themselves? The decisions we make as teachers and how they are perceived by our students can be interesting. Something to follow up with Rowena in our next interview!

The workbooks were created for use by the students during theory class time and were labelled with the course name and number. On the cover page was space for the student's name, teacher's name, day, period, and kitchen number, as well as the school name and year the workbooks were revised. On the inside was a collection of worksheets, many of which were fill-in-the-gap type that required mostly recalling rather than analysis or synthesis of concepts.

The work books were crated from the program of studies and Rowena eliminated the year plans and course plans but incorporated their content into the workbooks. There was no indication why the documents were created or the objectives (save for the obvious inference that they were to aid students as they learned food theory) or why students were taking any of the courses or the activities and how they were to transfer the information from the workbooks into real-life scenarios. There was a reference to a previous teacher's work on which the workbooks were based. One workbook referenced one textbook. Aside from that, there was no further evidence of curricular documents that were referenced in preparation of the workbooks.

I did not see any indication of why the students were using the work book, opportunities for students' independent perceptions or interpretation of the course content. Instead, the

documents covered and required students to fill in, for example, basic ingredients, equipment, definitions, matching activities, fill-in the blank, and one page for a quick review of the unit under study. Each workbook had the same end-of-booklet reflection questions, which focused on students' favorite recipes in the course but not why or how the recipes could be improved, what new techniques the students learned in the modules, how the lab group could be made more efficient, or what the students did at home to transfer the knowledge of food studies.

I found the last, reflective question interesting considering that, in the beginning, there was no set up for expectations of students transferring any knowledge. I felt that the workbooks had the potential to reflect more clearly the depth of each course and to create opportunities for culturally-diverse students to explore the content in a more personalized way. I did not see much evidence how the culturally-diverse students could connect the information in the workbooks with their cultural experiences. Most of the information presented was generalized, with terms such as "basic" and "contemporary baking" which could mean different things in different cultures.

The matching activities required one correct answer (as do most matching questions), for example having specific places to store fruits and vegetables such as refrigerator, and using paper towels to dry leafy vegetables. Students who were not raised in Canada, but came to class with previous experiences with fruits and vegetables, had no indication of any recognition of their previous knowledge or experiences. For instance, not everyone has paper towels or a refrigerator for food storage; instead, they likely devised other means of preparing and storing fruits and vegetables. These alternative ways were not explored or recognized in the workbooks. A lot of the information in the workbooks was useful in occupying the learners' time and keeping them on task; however, the workbooks were not used as cultural, exploratory learning tools (nor were they intended to within a mainstream dominant curriculum).

Recipe Books

Each recipe book corresponded with a one-credit course. So each student received a recipe book at the beginning of each course. The recipes were pre-planned and each student received a copy of the recipe book. However all recipe books were kept in the classroom, so they were handed in after the lesson. The students knew exactly which recipes were being followed during each course. Each topic had one specific recipe that the entire class followed. They did not have any option or input. This was part of the organization that Rowena put in place to

manage the large class numbers and structure her program. She saw this consistency as part of the strength of the program:

the program does have a lot of restrictions but it does have a lot of strengths. The fact that we all do work as a team, we all teach the same thing, all the kids are getting the same recipes, the same information you know, it's a really strong program... because we are so uniformed and consistent with what we teach, it builds a strong program, our kids who wanna take it they respond to that.

All students across each grade worked through the same recipes, even when they had different teachers. It was interesting how conditioned the students were when it came to working with recipe books:

Thursday April 11, 2013, Day 5 Journal Entry

Today's class Rowena was covering "Milk and Milk Dishes". At the front of the class she had the ingredient table already set up. The students came in as I was entering the classroom and I noticed Raj with his ear phones dangling from his ears, and he gave me a smile. He sat down in his usual space, one table away from where I was, to my left. Gloria was already in class when I arrived. She was seated at the front table where she normally sat. Sadia was no where to be seen. And she had promised to be here for our interview after class. Rowena started the class with a short lecture on milk and the different uses, and quickly went over the recipe for that day. . The students sat and watched in silence. No one asked any questions. Even when she asked if there were any, no one responded. After about ten minutes, Rowena told the students to get into their respective kitchens. The groups split up. One student went for the recipe books, another started the water in the sink, another picked up a tray and collected ingredients from the front. At this point I got up and went to look at the ingredients' table when Raj went to collect for his group. There were different kinds of milk for his group. 1%, 2%, soy milk, almond milk. There was variety. Raj picked the soy milk. I asked him why. He said he preferred it to regular milk. It had a cool taste. Gloria, the leader of her group, picked up the recipe books and started leading her group through it. She sounded confident. When I went over to her a few minutes later, she told me she loved reading recipes. She did not have to think much to use them. Everything was there. It was easy to follow. I went back to my seat and wondered what "easy to follow" meant for Gloria. We would delve into

this with her in the interview. But still, is education meant to be easy and what should easy look like? Once it doesn't engage the brain to question, it nice and easy? Hmmmmm is this what recipe books are for? Make things so easy that one doesn't have to think.

That experience with recipe books had me questioning why teachers bring recipe books in the classroom, especially when students do not contribute to the recipes. Yes recipes make things easier, but does that mean one is not supposed to think or make adjustments to a recipe? Rowena did not discuss any modifications or invite student input. She probably had found out over time that students would not question what was in the recipe, or what was given by the teacher.

Lab Sheets

Thursday April 11, 2013, Day 5 Journal entry

The lab was coming to an end. It was almost lunch time, studnets had completed their pudding (a milk dish). Rowena was seating at her desk, waiting for the students to bring their samples of what they had made. I sat nearby and watched as the class cleaned up. I noticed Raj was being playful. He would glance in our direction and smile. One by one the groups came to Rowena for grading of their product. The leader handed her an assessment that the group had completed, and Rowena looked it over, looked at the product and gave a grade. Then it was Gloria's turn, she handed in her group's assessment and Rowena gave them a mark – 4/5. Gloria and her group left, sat down at their table and ate their pudding. I asked Rowena how she arrived at the mark and she said she had watched the process as they made it so she knew how it would come out. I asked her about the group's self-assessment mark, she said, she considers that too. "Most students are genuine" she says, "they are even harder on themselves"

The lab sheets that Rowens's students used for product analysis after each lab. The lab sheet had a section for the purpose of the lab, standards for the product, definition of terms, evaluation of taste and appearance, safety considerations, food groups represented as per Canada Food Guide, ingredients and their functions as well as a reflection on what could be changed if the recipe were to be re-done. The lab sheets required a lot of information from students. If they wished to make personal connections with the activity, the opportunity was there in the reflection section, but Rowena did not address this when assessing. Rowena later explained how the lab sheet worked:

So, five people have one lab sheet, this isn't an individual thing, so a lot of times only one person will fill this out per lab, and then they'll switch and the next day a different person will fill out so, this reflection is a more personal reflection whereas this you kind of fill out for the group. And by the way you see one person's perspective, perspective of the whole group, and this is actually very interesting to read at the end, for example, in contemporary baking a lot of times . . . well, it's good to see what labs they kind of like . . . a lot of times you'll find that one of their favorite recipes was the date squares, like, they are still opposed to it, and then they make it and they find that it's really good and then, that is one of their favorite recipes . . . very interesting to see what they want and what they like . . . we put that, so that they can evaluate their work in the lab really, say, did they make a good product. Let's say they burnt something, next time they'll probably change a step of how they did it, maybe . . . they messed up the ingredients, maybe they realized they'd have added spice to it, to spur them to reflect on, on their product.

Rowena's expectations from the lab sheet were mainly to gauge interest in the recipes and identify what the students liked or did not like. The lab sheets were a guide to identify any mistakes that may have occurred during the food preparation process and to evaluate how these mistakes could be avoided in future. The students used the same assessment sheet format for each lab. The lab sheet was simply a lab and final product assessment document. It did not address whether students' cultural experiences with food influenced their assessment of the lab.

Tying the Pieces Together

The data from this study were categorized into threads based on the challenges faced by the teacher when facilitating the encounter and engagement with curricular material culture amongst her diverse students, the approaches taken to combat the challenges, and student and teacher perceptions as well. Notably, Rowena expressed satisfaction with how she smoothly ran the program, regardless of the challenges that presented themselves. Trying to anticipate the challenges and devising means to counter them before they occurred was a proactive approach she used. Rowena recognized the team effort with her fellow teachers that was needed to effectively run the program, including standardizing all documentation. The student participants, on the other hand, endeavored to fit in with what was offered to them and recognized the teacher efforts in doing so. In the next section, I provide an in depth discussion of my findings using

Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) concepts of habitus, capital and fields to make sense of the different ways in which the culturally diverse participants or *actors* (Bourdieu), used curricular material culture to situate themselves within the educational field.

Chapter 6

Data Analysis

In this chapter, I describe the thematic analysis process and how it was utilized in data analysis. I also make the case for this study in my discussion of findings, drawing on the critical multicultural education literature and Bourdieu's conceptual framework documented in Chapter 3.

Thematic Analysis

The research design employed a thematic analysis to identify, analyze and report the triangulated data set (i.e., transcribed interviews, classroom observation documentation, curricular documents, and my notes) (Boyatzis, 1998). Drawing on Braun and Clarke (2006), I ensured a rigorous approach by clearly stating that this study took the form of a basic qualitative case study and spelt out all the necessary steps during the design process to align it with knowledge management. Within this study, I assume a constructivist stance (Dewey, 1998), which examines the way society shapes the lived experiences of individuals. I then use a deductive approach for this thematic analysis which means that the research question was significant in driving the literature. Lastly, I employ a latent approach to identify and analyze themes for ideologies underlying why people said what they said (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Several scholars (i.e., Aronson, 1994; Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Owen, 1984) clarify that a thematic analysis is rather a recursive process and not linear, allowing a researcher to oscillate as needed throughout the analytical process. This takes time. Six phases as recommended by their models were used recursively during the analysis. These included, 1) getting familiar with the data, 2) coding, 3) theming, 4) refining themes, 5) Defining and naming themes, 6) producing the report. In the next section I will describe these phases in more detail and explicate how I approached each phase.

Phase 1: Getting Familiar with the Data. This phase involves transcription i.e. a verbatim account of the audio recordings, including verbal and non-verbal (e.g., coughs, silences, sighs, shrugs) utterances, as well as punctuation (e.g., commas, dashes, and periods). This process requires that the researcher/analyst listens to the audio recording several times before and when reading the transcript, and make necessary changes. The final data set could then comprise of any of the following: interview transcripts, documents, reflective journal notes, and

field notes from direct observations.

The analyst then reads the documents repeatedly and thoroughly, searching for meaning, and patterns. Note taking and marking potential areas using methods such as highlighting, flagging with sticky notes, making notes or summarizing in the margins helps in cross referencing and keeping track of ideas. Some scholars use the right hand column to record emerging themes, or insights that may appear in the subsequent second, third or even fourth readings. The analytical process is enriched if the analyst is also the same person who conducted the interviews and transcribed the data. This requirement however is not mandatory. The result is a collection of disconnected quotes or excerpts from the entire data set. These quotes are then labelled with a code word (Phase 2) then later refined to generate themes (Phases 3-5). Phase 1 does not involve theming although the analyst has a sense of these themes which are revisited during the recursive process (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In this study, I had a data set comprising of interview transcripts, reflective field notes from observation, and curricular documents (i.e., Alberta Foods studies curriculum, year plans, course plans, lesson plans, student workbooks, recipe books and assessment sheets). I conducted the interviews in person and transcribed the data. I listened to the audio recordings repeatedly while reading through the transcripts, and coded these by highlighting using different colors and making notes using colored pens and sticky notes, while identifying common ideas and themes. I then did the same with the curricular documents and my reflective field notes.

Phase 2: Coding. This step involves making sense of the collection of quotes and excerpts from phase 1. Coding in data analysis entails organizing the data into meaningful groups known as *codes*. These codes are symbolic representations of information and in thematic analysis, take the form of words. They could be paragraphs, sentences or phrases. To code information is to recognize an *important moment* that captures the richness of the phenomenon, and encoding it without necessarily interpreting it. Coding could be done using computer software or manually.

Thorough coding entails a systematic process of combing through and attending fully to each data set. The analyst identifies interesting aspects of the data that may form the basis of repeated patterns, later themes. It is important to generate as many codes as possible. It is recommended to keep memos during the coding process, detailing why a code was created or changed, and any thoughts as you coded. In the end, the analyst has a long list of codes that have

been identified across the entire data set. The analyst also has quotations as evidence for each code, and the quotes are now condensed to two or three words.

In this study, the coding process entailed identifying words or phrases in interviews and reflective field observation notes that corresponded with the research question. For example, personal experiences with material culture, for both teacher and students, navigating encounters with curricular material culture. In the curricular documents, I identified areas where individual experiences and engagement with curricular material culture were supported (or not). The result was 25 codes which were used in the next phase.

Phase 3: Searching for themes. The analyst uses the code list generated in phase 2, which is a list of words backed up by quotes and excerpts from the entire data set used to sort into clusters representing potential themes. Aronson (1994) describes themes as concepts or trends that emerge from reiterative readings of written documents. Individually, these fragmented ideas may not appear meaningful but could be so, collectively. Patterns begin to develop and the participant voices and experiences once woven together, yield themes (Kaufman, 1992). Some codes could easily represent broader themes, while others fall under sub-themes, and some may appear disconnected and can be classified as miscellaneous (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Further engagement with the themes is needed to refine them into candidate themes and sub-themes.

Theming in this study required me to identify codes that were connected across the data sets. I drew on critical multicultural literature as well as Bourdieu's (year) concepts to guide the clustering as well as the research question. For example the teacher and students experiences in some ways were connected with family, opportunities for engagement with curricular material culture, and general attitudes towards teacher/students, subject matter, and education system.

Phase 4: Refining themes. This phase calls for data within each individual theme to coalesce into a meaningful whole, while clearly distinguishing each theme from the others. The analyst reviews the raw data by rereading it and ensures that the themes work with the data set. All data, coded and un-coded, generated from phase 1 is reviewed, candidate themes reexamined to ensure nothing is missed. New coding could occur to enrich existing themes or merging of themes may occur at this stage as well and some new themes or sub-themes may emerge. Owen (1984) proposes as a guideline that a theme should (a) indicate that the same thread of meaning is found even when different words are used by participants (recurrence criterion); (b) contain

key words, phrases or sentences are repeated throughout the data set (repetition criterion); Krueger (1998) and Morgan (1998) propose two additional criteria: (c) the frequency or how often a topic is discussed; and, (d) the extensiveness of the comments within the data set, meaning the number of people who mention the idea. Owen strongly asserts that a theme does not have to meet all of the criteria to count as a theme. But, these criteria help the analyst judge whether the evidence is strong enough to characterize a recurring, unifying idea that participants articulated during their communication as a theme.

Phase 5: Naming themes. In this phase themes are named, defined and described. Each individual theme tells a story with extracted quotes. In this phase the analyst will be able to tell if a theme is too big, small, or need for more sub-themes. The analyst can also describe the scope and content of each theme, and a final name is given to the theme. A thematic map could be used to show how they are interrelated.

Phase 6: Producing the report. The final report showcases an analysis that transcends a description of the data. The themes are analyzed and translated into a narrative that outlines, justifies, exemplifies and illustrates the themes with verbatim extracts from the data. An argument for the findings in relation to the research question and reviewed literature are made. The final write up (which undergoes many revisions and drafts) is a concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive account of the findings. A story emerges within and across each theme and sub-theme vis-à-vis the research question. Redrafting is time consuming and calls for re-reading and reflecting on how the analysis and flow of the narrative can be improved to ensure a rigorous account. Braun and Clarke (2006) offer further insights into preparing a rigorous account of the analytical claims in the final report: (a) research questions should not be used as themes, (b) the data should not be paraphrased or quotes stringed together without any analytical narrative, (c) use quotes that provide compelling evidence of the theme so as to avoid anecdotalism, and (d) make sure the analytical claims align with the stated form of thematic analysis.

Phases 4-6 were approached by clustering based on the themes emerging from specific data sources (i.e., teacher, students and curricular documents) with the reflective field notes woven throughout the various themes in the final analytical report. Guided by the research question, literature and theoretical framework, major themes were arrived at or named and the final report crafted after several revisions.

The Case: Analysis and Discussion of Findings

The research question was used as the anchor for the analysis and discussion of select findings that were used to develop this single, embedded case: How might encounter and engagement with curricular material culture in educational contexts unfold for culturally-diverse individuals? In this chapter, I use a critical multicultural education lens alongside Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) basic concepts of habitus, field, and capital to expound on select findings and reflect on the broader implications of this study on phenomena within educational contexts. The result is a case study of one teacher and three students enrolled in a Grade 10 food studies class in Alberta. This case is important and significant because it is the first of its kind, paving the way for future lines of inquiry into the phenomenon of culturally-diverse learners encountering and engaging with mainstream curricular material culture informed by the grand narrative within the broader education field.

As I read Bourdieu, I developed an understanding of his three concepts, relationally and contextually (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) within a critical multicultural education theoretical framework (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014) (see Chapters 2 and 3). This chapter develops the case by illuminating different aspects of the findings: Rowena, the teacher; the three culturally-diverse student participants, and how Bourdieu's three theoretical concepts can be used to reveal the interplay within the participants' shared experiences as well as with the curricular material culture within the broader power-laden context. Per the tenets of qualitative research, my personal reflections are interwoven into the case narrative, respecting the requirements for confirmability, credibility, and authenticity. Respecting Bourdieusian theoretical concepts, the body of this unique case comprises four parts: teaching from habitus, learning from habitus, positioning within the field, and positioning with and for capital.

Teaching From Habitus

Rowena presented as a very interesting participant. I struggled with the retelling of her experiences because I found her words contentious. Part of my struggle stemmed from my background being an immigrant and my personal experiences in a Canadian classroom as a newcomer, as well having raised immigrant children and supported them through their own journeys in the mainstream Canadian education system and culture. Moreover, I had previously taught Food Studies classes just like Rowena. I found myself in the hyphenated insider-outsider or third space (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), empathizing with Rowena while at the same time feeling that she could do more.

She was already positioned as part of the dominant group and had access to both the diverse learners and the system that created the learning (i.e., the Alberta Education system that designed and implemented the CTS compass (see Figure 4)). As an outsider looking in, I was not in a position to influence her decisions at that time. Whilst Rowena made a few concessions for her learners, for example in allowing for a few religious dietary substitutions, she pushed back strongly when I asked her about cultural considerations for her learners, and whether the curriculum was a cultural process. The system did not have space for external knowledge (Leitsyna, 2002). Rowena had been born and raised in Canada. Being white and mainstream placed her in a position of power, making her well suited to propagate knowledge that supported dominant ideologies (Leitsyna, 2002).

Turning to Bourdieu's concepts, the system, which also influenced the formation of Rowena's habitus, ensured that there were specific, prescribed methods by which different foods had to be prepared and basic safety methods to follow when preparing food. This seemingly natural approach to teaching foods studies manifests as historically-ingrained dispositions that an individual embodies and are elicited under specific circumstances (Bourdieu, 1997). Rowena's views, for example, on "*very basic things that you could use as fundamentals to make more elaborate dishes*" (such as knife skills, safety and sanitation, and food preparation safety) were deeply set within her and she could not see these practices in any other way. This was the narrative within the dominant group to which she belonged, and anything different was not basic (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004).

Rowena implied that basic kitchen skills were learned in a more formal culinary setting and recognized as the generally accepted practices in the culinary world. To her, what she was teaching, were partly universal processes that she learned through earlier socialization, and practiced throughout her life and what she had learned in school as the recognized "proper" way of doing things in the kitchen. What had been taught to Rowena outside school could be paralleled with what the student participants were learning at home. But to Rowena, what was accepted in North American kitchens was also considered basic. Rowena displayed what Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) described as a lasting habitus that has been internalized and survives long after the experience in which it was learned has passed. In educational contexts with multiple learners, each bringing with them various skills and knowledge into the classroom, the response of teachers is quite important in these situations. Whether teachers consider this

learner information and choose to either incorporate it into their teaching, or disregard it, could affect student engagement in the classroom and affect learning. Such situations draw significant attention to teacher education, particularly, in cases where classroom compositions become more multicultural. Teachers should be encouraged to attend to their lasting habitus, and, the formal curricular material culture accessible to them, vis-à-vis that which is absent, and what this means for pedagogy.

Notably, from her submissions, Rowena's habitus, and that represented by the formal curriculum, were closely aligned. This is most likely a common phenomenon for teachers whose cultural background resonates with the mainstream culture in which they are teaching. Such teachers may demonstrate a deeply entrenched habitus that has been transmitted intergenerationally through socialization as an informal form of knowledge (Swarz, 1997). Most individuals as noted by Swarz (1997) may "reproduce those actions, perceptions and attitudes consistent with the conditions under which it was produced" (p. 103). These situations could present a cultural blindness that prevents one from "seeing" what needs to be addressed or what is not working. Teachers may find themselves maintaining the status quo and pushing against any changes that may be arising in their classrooms as a result of changing demographics. An example in Rowena's case is the need to attend to religious preferences. As the multiplicity in the classroom increases, so does the need to re-examine how to accommodate these learners. Most people will cling on to the known rather than venture into the unknown, and for teachers, being in a privileged position can be beneficial but also a disadvantage. It is a favorable situation as they get to decide what is taught in the classroom based on the mandated curriculum, but also unhelpful when trying to engage diverse learners from various cultural and educational backgrounds. As individuals in dominant positions, teachers should be more reflective and reflexive and effect changes including being agents of change and advocating on behalf of students.

In this study, the student participants expressed mostly contentment with their teacher's approach in the classroom. The students' subversion in the field was quite interesting as they focused on the teacher during the brief lecture, and silently filled in the student workbooks without questioning the teacher why these were being filled out, or even raising any comparisons of what they had previously experienced. The cultural privilege and power that the Rowena inadvertently had over her students was notable. The pluralism in her classroom could be framed

as a disruption of her normal but because of the dominant support, she was able to reinforce what she had learned about food as a child. Even by talking to Rowena one could feel her power from the decisions made with determining what courses to teach, what recipes to prepare, and what materials to buy. The students clearly had no say. One wonders whether teacher's teach content, or students. Admittedly, as per Rowena comments, planning for diverse learners could be a monumental task. This is more so if the teacher does not plan in advance and identify ways to include the learners' perspectives by hearing from the learner's themselves. In some cases, where the learners have bought into the grand narratives of being inferior to another culture, they may not want to be seen or heard so they may opt to just learn the new mainstream info. This is where the teacher becomes creative and invites the learners to share what they already know without exoticizing them.

Rowena's story of how she became a food studies teacher is demonstrative of how her habitus enabled her to be successful in the field. She had, what Bourdieu (1986) described as, embodied cultural capital in form of a habitus that aligned with the institutional structures. Although she was not initially interested in being a food studies teacher, Rowena knew of the possibilities of exploring various fields, and she eventually embraced the field of education. Rowena's story is evident of her journey as she positioned herself in the broader educational field. She eventually made it into the food studies classroom as a Human Ecology university student because she recognized the rules of the field and knew she could change courses if she found her current course unsatisfactory. This was because she had cultural and social capital that enabled her to recognize the rules of the game. Husu (2013) described rule recognition as existent in field spaces where individuals can recognize and take advantage of opportunities because of their habitus. Rowena knew when to get out, how and when to switch around subject areas and explore until she found what she enjoyed studying. Pursuing her practicum in a school where there was a probability of being hired was strategic in that a cultural insider with a resonating habitus would see the value of hiring Rowena (Bourdieu, 1993). A newcomer into the culture may not have known about the strategic selection of schools for their practicum and how it might align with the possibility of being hired.

It is more probable for someone with a habitus that resonates with the dominant field or mainstream culture, to navigate a field and influence change to accommodate any inequalities in the pedagogical process. Teachers who are born and/or raised in the same country or culture as

they are teaching, (e.g., Rowena in Canada), are in a vantage position to empathize with and advocate for their learners. This would mean informing the education governing body of discrepancies in the curriculum that leave learners disconnected from the content. Failure to recognize the newcomer students' complex struggle, both within and outside the classroom, implies that the teacher does not care. Symptoms of complacency may appear, because it is a culturally-comfortable space for the teacher, and he or she may not be open to making changes that accommodate the cultural differences in the classroom. Rowena was an example of such a situation. She was in familiar territory where all was comfortable for her. When she had to make provisions for dietary substitutions, Rowena was able to respond based on what worked for her, and not necessarily her students. Within the dominant Canadian culture, there are individuals with dietary restrictions such as lactose intolerance, vegetarianism, and celiac disease, all of which are catered for in the CTS food studies curriculum at some point. Such considerations were easy to incorporate in Rowena's classes because they were familiar in broader Canadian diets. When I asked her about cultural considerations or diets that were more ethnic or religious, she regarded those as unmanageable. Teachers might view tailoring their teaching to new students as bending or breaking rules of the field. Some teachers may see this adjustment as losing control over or reducing their power and handing it to the newcomers in the classroom, although Rowena's comments did not explicitly indicate this.

Finding oneself as a teacher in the midst of a classroom, surrounded by culturally-diverse students, whose habitus is different, invites systemic scrutiny of the education field. While, in most cases, teachers are expected to follow the mandated curriculum, usually grounded within a dominant discourse, they may not even recognize the disconnect that persists between learner possibilities and their realities. I recall going through my own teacher-training journey. We were told to always consider the students' needs as we planned our classes. Aside from the complexities of finding out what students needed, we also had to follow the curriculum, which was often disconnected from the students' lived situations. I was able to make those connections for the students because I enjoyed teaching that way; however, the annual examination did not have room for learners' specific needs and I would have to revert to the mandated curriculum to ensure their outsider-defined academic success.

Rowena's approach was not only reflective of a broader disconnect that exists between teachers and their students, particularly newcomer or migrant learners. It was also indicative of

the power and dominance of teachers over their students in general (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000) in conjunction with a lack of culturally-responsive approaches to teaching (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Teachers are supported by the mandated curriculum, which is grounded in mainstream Canadian culture and the grand narrative. They have control over the environment within which learning takes place. They determine what information enters the classroom as they interpret and deliver the curriculum for learners. In Rowena's case, there was no space for culturally-relevant content to make it into the classroom before the dominant or mainstream content did. The curriculum called for at least one multicultural dish to be included in the curriculum and Rowena determined which dish it was. Rowena disclosed that students were invited to share other cultural information in only one specific course—International Cuisine—in Grade 11 where students did not decide but were assigned specific countries to research. Ferrare and Apple (2015) would describe Rowena's power dynamic as control of the capital in the field because of her dominant position.

Teachers may inadvertently act as gate keepers by keeping students' cultural knowledge out of the school curriculum because of what Bourdieu (1977) referred to as unconscious internalized reactions or a "series of moves which are objectively organized as strategies without being the product of a strategic intention" (p. 73). The teacher is mandated with delivering the prescribed curriculum and, ensuring that the overall curriculum goals are achieved. However, as teachers interact with learners they should be able to tell if the learners are connecting with the content or not. Teachers may also be able to identify the barriers experienced by the students in the classroom, and make recommendations to the governing body to address these barriers. Teachers actually need to *care* about the students, be critical of the curriculum they are delivering by recognizing and questioning the deficiencies embedded in the curriculum. The teachers can also propose ways to proactively address the challenges. This can be done either by incorporating inclusive teaching strategies, or bringing the matter to the attention of the relevant authorities. Rowena did not envision herself as the agent of change, instead, she was a proponent of the status quo and focused her energies on supporting the mandated program whose contents resonated with her habitus.

Such a critically unchallenged approach requires an interrogation of the role of teachers in curriculum development and delivery. If their habitus is to be challenged, teachers need to be reflect on their learners' challenges and experiences. Curriculum design should focus on

responding to solutions for these challenges. Additionally, teachers need more room for flexibility to accommodate new experiences from multiple sources, such as increased newcomer students in the classroom. Increased in-service training on intercultural education would be useful in equipping teachers with competence skills to make the necessary adaptations to their habitus and their approach to receiving and delivering the curriculum. To move beyond an entrenched, Eurowestern-informed habitus, teachers need assistance to recognize that which is not part of the mainstream curriculum and assisted with how to move forward.

Some of the curricular material culture that Rowena used in her classroom included recipe books and student workbooks. These, she said, had been created by previous teachers and were already in place when she started working at the school. “When I got here and all the documents were created and I edited them to make them better and in my opinion they are kind of the best ones that work for our program.” The recipe books contained recipes of dishes that corresponded with each course. Once Rowena and her team approved these resources, they fundamentally remained the same to complement the occasional curriculum changes from Alberta Education. These material documents, which took the form of objectified capital (Bourdieu, 1983), were put together for the students, not with the students. The teachers’ approval was all that mattered, strong evidence of the curricular power that teachers have over their students, although some teachers do not seem to be aware of this. Moreover, the teachers within Rowena’s department approved the curricular documents as modified. They were able to come to this agreement not only because they shared the same powerful positioning in the educational field but because they shared similar habitus. Bourdieu (1990) described this as individuals who share a “system of dispositions common to all products of the same conditionings” (p.60). No one critically questioned these documents. Teachers at Rowena’s school seemed to find the content within the documents aligning with their habitus; therefore, there was no need to challenge them or make changes (except to keep them up-to-date with Alberta Education’s changes).

Rowena expressed the importance of each student in her Grade 10 class needing to acquire “basic skills” before moving on to other parts of the curriculum. To her, there were universal basic skills that one needs to survive in the culinary world. This universalization of concepts is typical amongst dominant groups in a field aimed at keeping new entrants in the culture in subordinate positions (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Swartz, 1997). This is

problematic because basic skills could be construed differently depending on one's culture. Every culture has a unique approach to food production, preparation, serving and handling that could be considered basic for that culture. Rowena had been taught her basic skills at home and, to her, they were the "normal" way of doing things. When the curriculum called for the teaching of the same basic skills, Rowena did not question them. She knew exactly what they were (they were entrenched in her habitus) and proceeded to teach them as she had learned them. To her, these were basic skills that anyone who sought to engage in the culinary world had to have, regardless of cultural-informed habitus.

By approaching teaching the way she did, Rowena assumed that the students had come into the classroom with no basic food-related skills (Eurowestern or otherwise). They may not have been actively involved in food preparation at home, despite being exposed to basic cultural food knowledge and skills at home. Taking this stance negates the knowledge that students bring with them into the classroom, and makes it appear as though the teacher is the only source of knowledge. Freire's (1993) banking critique of education as a method where students brains are empty and the teacher fills them, illustrates this approach. The three student participants described how their mothers engaged with food in the kitchen and each expressed that they had an idea of the way food was prepared in their culture. Rowena did not consider creating spaces for such knowledge in her classroom. Because of her social and cultural capital, Rowena unconsciously used conservation strategies, which were a strong part of her habitus, to preserve the subject matter as prescribed by the curriculum. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) described such actions of dominant players in the field, as protection of capital. Players could even go to great lengths to develop succession methods and / or manipulate the rules to preserve not only their positions, but the cultural capital.

Had she allowed the culturally-diverse students to co-create the knowledge and skills in the classroom, in a culturally-responsive manner (Villegas & Lucas, 2016), Rowena would have seen what parallels or intersections of cultural practices around food existed. She would have been in a position to question her understanding (habitus) of the food studies curriculum. Such a critical approach would be beneficial for providing feedback to curriculum designers regarding content and its applicability to students. This is where the teacher acts as a bridge and finds a balance between the different sources of knowledge, thus supporting students by recognizing the value of their cultural knowledge in the educational field.

When a teacher invites students to question and (re)interpret the curriculum, students engage more readily in the process, which enables them to negotiate their positions within the educational field. However, in this case study, the teacher's cultural materialism / habitus was retained and the content from the students' cultures was not effectively engaged with. Again, it was her way of preserving the cultural capital such as the basic skills in food studies, and maintain how she and her students were positioned in the field (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Student Learning Through Habitus

Habitus can adapt and become cumulative as one immerses oneself in a new and unfamiliar environment, particularly one which is different from the original socialization context of an individual (Bourdieu, 1993; Jorgenson et al., 2014; Noble, 2013). This adaptive change tends to occur when an individual shares opportunities with the new social group, enabling the individual to integrate into the group. How fast one is able to become accustomed to the new environment (i.e., experience a change in habitus) will depend on how much power one has in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

In this study, the newcomer students entered the educational context with a habitus that was different from that of the learners and the teacher from the Canadian culture. Each newcomer students' habitus was shaped by the culture of origin or their initial socialization. A disconnect can occur as soon as they enter the educational field or classroom when they do not recognize familiar ways of doing things. These newcomer learners with less social capital compared to their classmates, regardless of their positioning in their country of origin. In this case study, as the newcomer students encountered the curricular material culture in the Canadian educational context, they continued to concurrently practice their culture at home. This practice created, what I refer to as, two parallel habitus within each of those students, used as a way of negotiating between their emerging mainstream cultural integration and their original cultural way of life. Noble (2013) described this experience as learning to live in a new place at the same time one is getting used to being disoriented. The newcomer students' reality, therefore, becomes a life of chaos, as they encounter it in every field.

Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) initial empirical work focused on French and Algerian contexts whose primary differences laid in the socio-economic, class, or status and less on cultural dissimilarities. In addition to the socio-economic component, this case study examined

Bourdieu's concepts within a multicultural context whereby individuals whose habitus, cultural values and norms, histories, and geographies were varied in relation to the mainstream context in which this case study occurred. Aside from the three student participants, who were born outside of Canada (i.e., Egypt, Vietnam, and India), only the teacher participant, Rowena, had a habitus that resonated closely with the Canadian culture in which she was born and raised.

Her classroom, however, was quite culturally diverse. The socio-economic component within a multicultural context was worth exploring. Bourdieu (1977, 1984) posited that individuals in a higher socio-economic class tend to have a habitus that is more closely aligned with the systems of governance and therefore are more likely to succeed. In newcomer or migrant situations, it is mostly individuals in a higher socio economic class that can afford to migrate to another country or travel as a visiting student because they can afford the high migration fees involved. Such was the case with Gloria. Nonetheless, moving to a new country can be disruptive for such students, despite their privileged socio-economic status in their country of origin. They face challenges with their habitus and their capital in the new field.

Moreover, there are migrant learners for whom socio-economic status plays a minor role in the development of their habitus. Canada is recognized as accepting large numbers of war-driven refugees, many of whom end up in the education field as students (Hastedt, 2016; Statistics Canada, 2010). Such learners may not have had their socialization and habitus development occur as a result of conflict. Regardless of one's social economic status, war can be disruptive and survival becomes the ultimate goal. When such students find themselves in a classroom such as Rowena's, their habitus manifests with strong survival skills and, as Noble (2013) stated, they are accustomed to chaos. These students may consider Canada to have saved them from war, and look up to whatever they are learning either as the universal truth, and end up accepting what is taught by taking a less privileged position in the field, or they may simply block out what is being taught as a survival mechanism.

Migrant students who were in a higher socio-economic class, and moved to Canada in hopes for a better life than what they had, can also be less privileged. The new Canadian culture is sufficiently different from theirs, thus making it impossible to question any parts of the education field or see any shortcomings and instead, embrace them fully. Students in this study decided to focus on learning the new knowledge in an environment that was different from the one in which they were socialized. Their habitus would adapt to these, originally unfamiliar,

conditions, and evolve. They started to even consider their own cultural food-related knowledge as less relevant, with no permanent place in Canadian culture and in their future lives. Success for these students would manifest as acquiring the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and power by learning what is mainstream and integrating into the new culture, eventually occupying dominant positions in the various fields.

Bourdieu (1977, 1984) usually drew from and illustrated his points using theories from cultures, where he was originally immersed. When he developed his theory, the current increase in global migration was not as evident, with individuals from multiple cultures living in shared spaces. This case study capitalized on that complexity, whereby culturally-diverse learners converged in shared fields and contested for positions and cultural capital. The key part of this contestation is that many of these newcomer learners did not take part in the decision to move to the new environment. They had no choice. Now, despite their varied backgrounds, once they entered the Canadian school system, they were taught from a common curriculum, which supported a particular and different capital and habitus. At the end of their school day, these learners went home where the chaos ensued as they juggled parts of their original culture and the newly-learned culture. These students constantly straddled and nurtured two or more fields on a daily basis. As they did so, their habitus was in continual fluidity and adaptability.

The three student participants, for example, mentioned that they did minimal to no cooking at home; yet, in class, they actively took part in cooking despite that it was mandatory. Participants mentioned that their mothers (not fathers) were actively involved in the kitchen at home. In the classroom, where this research was conducted, both male and female students were equally involved. One could clearly observe a situation where a shift in habitus was occurring as students' gendered ideas of who should be in the kitchen were introduced to the possibility of men and women occupying or sharing the experience.

The student participants mentioned that the equipment and dishes prepared at home were different from those they encountered in the foods studies class (i.e., the curricular material culture). For example, they noted that their mothers did not use standard measuring equipment as was recommended in class. Instead, the mothers used their eyes and hands to determine how much of each ingredient was needed. This is an example of how individuals from other cultures do things differently from the basic methods upheld by Rowena. There is an emphasis on the differences in how multiple cultures approach food preparation based on habitus. At the same

time, a questioning of which one is right or wrong (if any) and who determines what is right or basic and what is not.

With formal education, such informal approaches are minimized and eventually lost if not incorporated in the formal education system as alternative ways of knowing. Ultimately, the student participants admitted to preferring the use of measuring equipment used in class, something they had seen for a shorter time than the estimated hand measures that had been used by the mothers. This acceptance might have been supported by the inferior position that they opted to take within the new cultural field. Further exploration of the fluidity of their habitus is prompted by this case study as well as the chaos experienced by newcomers or migrants.

Positioning Within the Field

Bourdieu understood fields to be broad spaces where relational power struggles occur among individuals, groups, and organizations when people are competing for positions over control of resources (capital). Fields have stakes (i.e., capital) and actors or players (i.e., families and individuals) who possess the habitus that will enable them to recognize the rules of the game (i.e., cultural norms, values and systems) as they play, and the desired end goal. “To think in terms of field is to think relationally” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96).

To engage in an inquiry into a field, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) advised researchers to consider three major relational moments: (a) an analysis of the position of the field in relation to power, (b) the relational positioning of the actors or players who are competing for authority in the field, and (c) the habitus of the actors or players in the field, which ultimately determines the hierarchical positioning in relation to capital and power. Rowena’s position of power within the educational field was quite amplified, in relation to her students. The teacher and students’ positioning will be discussed further in relation to their social and cultural capital within the educational field.

A field is rife with struggles or ongoing forces among individuals as they strategize to maintain or improve their positions based on their capital. These struggles are characterized by “the newcomer who tries to break through the entry barrier and the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out competition” (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 72). Actors or players are not necessarily moved around in the field by outside forces but by their relational positioning with capital and with each other. Bourdieu (1993) referred to the capital as “stakes or interests” that can only be competed for by those whose habitus is prepared for that field (p. 72).

In this case study, there was a teacher and three students who were all positioned within a field (i.e., the Grade 10 food studies classroom) located in the broader educational field. The students occupied subordinate positions and had not fully mastered the rules of the game. They would have to accept their position and learn to be Canadian. Rowena stated that, *“I think that for them, to fit into our society, it’s important to learn certain things.”* She expected newcomers to adapt to their new field and take up their anticipated, subordinate positions. The teacher was able to use her power to control, defend and monopolize the cultural capital and determine how the players moved in the shared field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In this case study, that was Rowena’s approach to facilitating the integration process of the newcomer students.

Rowena occupied and traversed various fields as she conducted her duties as a food studies teacher. She had her childhood field within which she was raised. This encompassed the home and the school fields. Rowena drew on these fields to structure her current classroom field where she acted as a food studies teacher. She occupied the classroom, school, educational, and societal fields where she was also powerfully positioned as a master of her content, a department head and a professional. She embodied these fields as they structured her habitus, which influenced her decisions as she interpreted and delivered the curriculum and made curricular material culture decisions. As a teacher in the classroom and school, Rowena was looked up to by students as a custodian of knowledge. This was a position of power. She planned the content alongside her colleagues, developed teaching resources, and taught the lessons. The content taught each day was ultimately her decision.

Within the school, Rowena was also the head of the food studies department, which placed her in an additional position of power. She was able to make decisions that impacted the delivery of the food studies program. For example, if she did not approve of individual cultural food exploration, then it was likely her colleagues would not do it either. As a teacher within her province, Rowena was the custodian and executor of the provincial food studies curriculum at her school, another position of power. Because she was mandated by the broader educational institutional field to deliver this program, she followed it as presented and did not critically challenge it or mention any deficiencies within. Rowena recognized and embraced the various fields in which she was powerfully positioned informed by how her habitus had been structured. Being a student, and later a teacher drawing on her habitus, were strong contributing factors in recognizing the rules of the game in the field, and, attaining her desired goals.

Bourdieu (1993) stated that, “those who in a determinate state of the power relations, more or less completely monopolize the specific capital, the basis of the specific power or authority characteristic of a field, are inclined to conservation strategies” (p. 73). Teachers are examples of individuals who are in positions of power, with many uncritically striving to conserve the mandated curriculum without question. Just as in Rowena’s case, teachers make consequential decisions that have an impact on student learning. They interpret the curriculum using their habitus, and determine which resources are to be used and how; however, teachers can also be gate keepers in that they decide what information makes it to the classroom and what is kept out.

If Rowena decides that allowing each student to explore their cultural interests would “create a [grocery] shopping nightmare,” then she is not likely to include multicultural cooking or dishes in her lessons. She would only teach what could be conveniently bought and available pursuant to mainstream course content. Moreover, in a class with new migrant students, teachers may envision and position themselves as the field guide by showing the new students around and teaching them about how things are done in the new culture or country. The teachers likely recognize the societal rules of the game more easily than the new students. If so, the teachers become “the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out competition” (Bourdieu, 1993, p.72). Students, especially newcomers, are programmed into the various fields but not given the opportunity to rise to positions of power or question their positioning. By suppressing the students’ cultural knowledge, teachers are able to maintain their own positions of power and control the capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Swartz, 1997). Allowing students to participate in how the game is played would enhance the breadth and wealth of knowledge and ultimately, influence the pedagogical practice.

In this case study, the migrant student actors seemingly accepted their subordinate position and the rules that ensured they remained in this position. When I asked Raj if, as students, they participated in determining what was prepared in the foods class, he replied, “*Oh no, it’s all in the booklet, whatever’s in the booklet we follow . . . she gives us the workbook, and all the stuff that she told us it’s already in the workbook. You just have to find the work and do it.*” The students did not see it as their place to question the teacher or her approaches. They needed to follow the rules of the game; essentially, the teachers’ expectations (explicit or not).

No space was created to accommodate the students' interests and input in this field, despite the mandate of the CTS compass, which places student interests at its core.

The teacher was regarded as superior because she was a Canadian who knew the system. The students, having come to Canada for a better life, accepted their position and appeared comfortable with it. Bourdieu's explanation for these positions is that "the new players have to pay an entry fee which consists in recognition of the value of the game . . . and in knowledge of the principles of the functioning of the game. They are condemned to use the strategies of subversion," (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 74). Unfortunately for newcomers and migrant learners (maybe even the dominant players), the history behind the creation of the field rules is unknown. They may not even realize that the players with power such as the teachers are "conserving what is produced in the field . . . and themselves" (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 74). The teachers are actually the curators of the education system, ensuring that the curriculum is followed as closely as possible and mainstream Canadian approaches are used in the kitchen.

While trying to make sense of the positionings occupied by the participants, I attempted to depict the concept of fields as occupied. Figure 9 shows my interpretation of the positioning of migrant learners in the different fields.

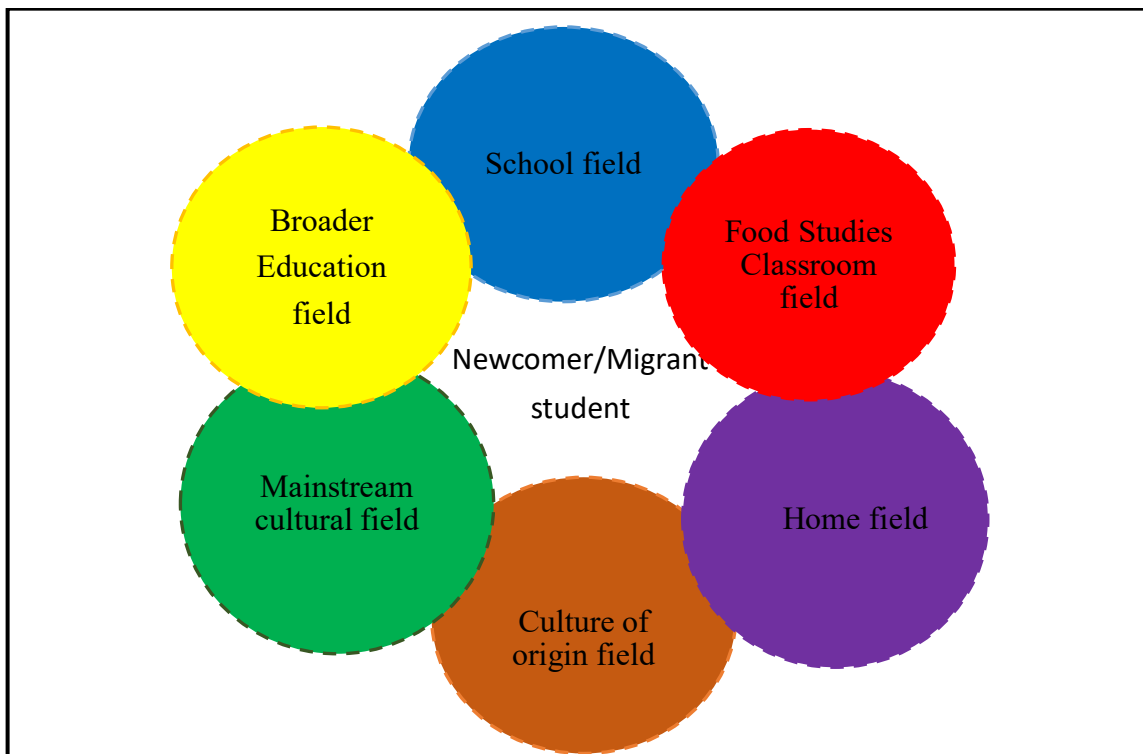


Figure 9. Some of the fields straddled by newcomer/migrant students

Figure 9 positions the newcomer or migrant learner in the center of the various fields. The broken lines indicate the permeability of the learner and the various fields, and the influence these can have on the learner and on each other. The porosity illustrates how learners are posited for border crossing as they negotiate their position with each field. When learners go home, for example, they are expected to have a different form of social and cultural capital than when they are interacting in the food studies classroom or school in general. But, learners possess multiple forms of the capital and draw on all. The fields overlap and are permeable. This field structure demonstrates the straddling across fields that learners experience along with a fluid habitus, as they struggle for the capital in each field. These fields all meet within the learner and his or her experiences, creating what I now refer to as *chaos*.

Bourdieu falls short of demonstrating how one could straddle multiple fields at the same time. He described each field as having its own rules and structure (Bourdieu, 1993); however, I posit that a newcomer may not recognize the cultural nuances, and thereby not distinguish between fields or the rules therein. When culturally-diverse students experience curricular material culture, their positioning within the field (i.e., classroom) could change to more or less subordinate depending on how the content is introduced to them (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014; Ferrare & Apple, 2015).

A similar model was created for the teacher who has to interact with newcomer/migrant learners from various cultures (see Figure 10). In Figure 10, teachers in diverse classrooms also straddle various fields. As they attempt to interpret the curriculum for the newcomer students, they may not realize that although they control the content, the students influence the teacher's positioning in other ways. For example, teachers have to speak more slowly when talking to an English as second language (ESL) student. The porous lines show the border crossing nature of the teacher's position and the influence each field could have on the other. Teachers may not necessarily be aware of these fields and the positions they occupy in each field, and a few rules may be broken because of the teachers' experiences with diverse learners. An awareness of the fields and one's position is important for teachers if they are to be reflective and reflexive of their practice. Teaching students from multiple cultures requires one to be exceptionally mindful and empathetic towards the learners, and endeavor to engage them in ways that demonstrate an interest in who they are and what they know. Understanding the fields occupied by these diverse students is a necessary step in supporting them to be successful learners.



Figure 10. Fields occupied by a teacher in a culturally diverse classroom.

Positioning With and For Capital

This case study is significant, not only because of recognizing and naming the positions of various individuals in the fields, but for clarifying how this positioning occurs in relation to access to capital. Bourdieu (1986) classified capital as economic, cultural, symbolic, and objectified. He further noted that capital could be obtained naturally or earned deliberately. Rowena possessed social and cultural capital in the educational field because she was raised in Canada and understood the nuances in the curriculum documents. She understood the dietary restrictions that were common in the Canadian context such as celiac and lactose intolerance, and could adjust her approaches to accommodate the required changes. This teacher, however, seemed unable to extend her accommodations beyond the physiological to cater for religious dietary requests, for example, where students required halal products. This decision appeared to be based on what she *cared* about and influenced by the embodied capital or habitus that she had accumulated over her life time (Bourdieu, 1983). A more caring teacher would juxtapose the curricular requirements with the students' social and cultural and connect these to support learning.

Bourdieu (1986) noted that objectified capital manifests in a physical or material state. In this case study, the curricular material culture, which included the program of studies, lesson plans, student workbooks, recipe books, and the teaching/learning resources that Rowena used in the classroom, was categorized as objectified capital. As Bourdieu (1986) explained, objectified capital manifests as transformed tangible or material representations that I refer to as curricular material culture. Within each of these forms, the mainstream culture was created and disseminated to the students who later lived it and perpetuated the mainstream culture and grand narrative.

The CTS food studies program of studies, for example, had specific dishes that were prescribed as able to cultivate “basic” cooking skills. Rowena, a part of the mainstream culture, recognized the mandated particular dishes and skills and did not question them. She did not adjust them to suit her culturally-diverse learners, but rather participated in the control of that form of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). She made very few changes to the student workbooks and other documents created by her predecessors because their habitus and cultural capital, which materialized in these documents, resonated with hers. Bourdieu and Passeron (2000) observed that it is important to critically analyze and assess curricular material culture for any nuances of cultural dominance present, and then provide ways in which culturally-diverse learners can connect with the knowledge contained therein. The teacher may readily comprehend what is in the documents, and the cultural contexts, but some learners may not. Newcomer learners, for example, may have a hard time understanding terminology in a mainstream-dominated program of studies either because of a language barrier or simply because the words and concepts used therein are uncommon for them, or understood differently.

Moreover, if a teacher like Rowena uncritically relies only on the curricular material culture that is familiar to her and more mainstream, she sends several messages to learners. To the newcomers, the teacher appears to delegitimize their cultural capital, which is a way to subtly demonstrate her power and exert control over the field (Ferrare & Apple, 2015; Swartz, 1997). Not creating opportunities for these migrant learners to share their culturally-based knowledge and skills in form of recipes, foods, cooking equipment, and dishes, the teacher sends a message that these non-mainstream materials have no place in the classroom, curriculum, or education field. The students then run the risk of considering their material culture as inferior to that of the mainstream. These newcomer students could either accept their subordinate positions or

eventually fall through the cracks, or they could become subversive and create an environment where they can comfortably participate in the field's activities (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Swartz, 1997).

For the students with a similar social and cultural capital to that of the teacher, denying them an opportunity to explore other material culture uncritically reinforces their superiority over other cultures. Such an approach also shields learners from alternative ways of knowing. When teachers do not permit other cultural knowledge into their classroom, they become gate keepers. Although the system demands a specific program of studies to be executed, teachers have the opportunity to interpret and determine how to enrich the content by drawing on the vast array of knowledge from the various cultures in their classrooms. Teachers are better positioned within the education field to speak up and let the curriculum developers know when the program of studies does not resonate with the realities of their learners. When no effort is made to support learners as they strive to position themselves in the education field, teachers actually spend more effort as they struggle to convert and position the newcomer or migrant learners into the mainstream field. The dominant actors, in this case the teachers, have to struggle and strategize to keep their positions and defend their capital (Bourdieu, 1992; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1993, Swartz, 1997).

The cultural capital that the students had when they arrived in the new field was noticeably different from the one that the teacher had. Gloria, for example, was not permitted in the kitchen as a young girl in Vietnam. She found it strange when she saw the young children in her host family actively participating in the kitchen. Gloria's cultural capital was different from that of her host country, both in her Canadian home and in the classroom. She realized that in Canada not only did she have to take foods studies and be in the kitchen, but that Canadian children were allowed to participate in kitchen activities. The children in her host family cooked even though they were younger than her. This is an example of how her habitus was disconnected from her experiences in the real Canadian world. This disconnect compromised her ability to access capital in the field to ensure power and status.

Male and female students, who were her age, participated in the cooking in the Grade 10 classroom. This is an example of the conflicting forms of capital that newcomers and migrant students encounter in the various fields. When students enter the classroom field and realize that their capital has no place and no players or actors are willing to learn and practice any of it, the

students may abandon their cultural ways of knowing and position themselves in the mainstream. Even there, they are not firmly positioned as each field requires them to constantly adjust their habitus while in a state of chaos.

Curricular Material Culture as Capital

Curricular material culture in this case study included the curriculum documents used by teachers and students (e.g., textbooks, program of studies, workbooks, lab reports, yearly unit and lesson plans, and equipment and materials needed or used in the teaching and learning process). This curricular material culture is a physical manifestation of the cultural nuances of the society, the form in which a group of people choose to express themselves through physical artifacts (Berger, 2009; Glassie, 1999). Fields are organized around capital (Swartz, 1997) and material culture is one such form of embodied capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

The curricular material culture—content, examples, equipment, even the teaching approaches, and the social lifestyle—in and outside the classroom can be challenging for newcomer or migrant learners as they encounter the unfamiliar. This challenge arises because the material culture may have been produced for use in a context different from that which the learners are used to experiencing (Craig, 2011; Were, 2003). Moreover, in the instance where there are forms of material culture that have crossed borders, and have come to elicit shared characteristics and meanings, these too may have been assigned different meanings in the various societies where the artifacts exist (Hodder, 1994).

An example is food, which is a ubiquitous form of material culture, and has gathered people from around the world. In a culturally-diverse food studies classroom, a food, such as milk, may have been previously encountered differently by learners. Its uses are diverse and each culture uses milk in different ways and from various sources. When a teacher introduces milk to the classroom, each learner will connect with it differently depending on their habitus (Cook & Craig, 1996).

The teacher could also find having newcomer students from various cultural backgrounds every year to be a challenge, particularly as he or she tries to introduce them to and engage them with the curricular material culture. The texts and artifacts used in the classroom could have been produced in different contexts from those in which the learners were raised or socialized (Hodder, 1994). By using such cultural artifacts, teachers occupy an interesting space in the field as they welcome newcomer learners into the field, and help them to position themselves in the

field while maintaining their own dominant position. In this case study, student participants recognized their subordinate position through their encounter with unfamiliar curricular material culture as soon as they entered the dominant cultural fields. They had minimal cultural capital to immediately begin working with the material culture. Gloria, the visiting student from Vietnam, shared that there was a notable difference between what she was used to and what she encountered in Canada. She came from a middle class family and occupied a dominant position in her home country; yet, her habitus and capital were not transferable to her new environment or fields in Canada.

Culturally-diverse learners bring with them experiences from outside the societal mainstream. These experiences have the potential of enriching the existing curriculum if critically incorporated into the learning process (Were, 2003). Learners encounter the formal, mainstream curriculum through various forms of curricular material culture. The student's ability to make meaning from the curriculum and related material culture is significantly dependent on how the teacher facilitates the introductory process. By approaching the situation as a bridge and starting from where students are, teachers can help culturally-diverse learners connect and ladder previous learning experiences to the new ones. This improves their capital and shifts their habitus.

If, however, the teacher acts as a gatekeeper and does not create spaces for students' previous knowledge, then he or she delegitimizes the students' background. The teacher limits him or herself in (a) learning from, with and about the culturally-diverse students and (b) identifying ways to incorporate that knowledge into the classroom. Learning occurs inside and outside the classroom space, such as the general school setting, at home, and in the broader community. Linking students' previous knowledge to what is being taught in the classroom can be helpful in connecting learners to what they are taught to real life situations (Berger, 1999; Schlereth, 1985).

On a related note, it is imperative that all forms of learning, whether formal, informal, or non-formal, be connected if education is to make meaning in the lives of learners. If such opportunities are not explored, and a more generalized approach is used, learning appears compartmentalized, fragmented, and loses meaning for learners, especially those from multiple backgrounds. This lopsided approach could create a dissonance within learners and cause them

to abandon their original cultural knowledge, while striving to conform to the societal mainstream.

In the classroom, encounters with curricular material culture can affect whether or not a culturally-diverse learner understands the content within its cultural context (Were, 2003). A more mainstream-focused approach creates a false narrative of what reality is for these culturally-diverse learners, as opposed to allowing multiple cultural ways of knowing. Attending to curricular material culture, and the way it facilitates learning for students, is a useful approach to critical multi-cultural education that could be entail inviting diverse students to share related knowledge from their cultural heritage. The teacher then becomes the “cultural bridge” between the curricular content and the students’ lived reality. Teachers could seize such opportunities to explore and incorporate learner experiences into their teaching, thus providing multiple ways for students to critically engage in the learning processes.

Success for culturally-diverse learners in a new environment is based on how quickly their habitus is able to adapt (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). The students’ economic class might be a factor, depending on whether they came into the new country because they could afford to pay the immigration fees. This could mean that they were privileged in their country of origin, meaning they could anticipate eventually positioning themselves advantageously in the new fields. Otherwise, some students come as refugees and may have little to no formal education and may be unable to even write in their native language. Also, students may or may not be able to speak the dominant language in their new country. In Western Canada, the language most often used is English. Such students are definitely in a disadvantaged power position in the new fields.

Sometimes students struggle with how to respond in their interactions because of language barriers and unfamiliarity with the school system. Everything in their new country may be unfamiliar, with new (chaotic) situations unfolding with each new encounter in every aspect of their lives. Their habitus and processes of trying to learn new things are continuously being disrupted by varying situations, which become challenges and create uncertainty. When I personally experienced some of these challenges, even though I could speak English, nothing in my habitus made sense anymore; my body shut down and I went into survival mode. With a critical appreciation for this possibility, teachers could to be more cognizant of the “master patterns that represent deep structural patterns” (Swartz, 1997, p. 109) within the students, from

their previous experiences. Swartz (1997) recognized this mismatch when he said that, “[t]he concept of habitus fails to capture the varying degrees of incongruity between hopes, plans and chances for different groups” (p. 111).

The findings from this case support the suggestion that more of Bourdieu’s positions on habitus need to be juxtaposed in these changing learning situations where students’ habitus are dislocated and they have to quickly develop or adapt to accommodate the new culture in order to be successful in the new field and access valuable capital to acclimate gain a more advantageous position. Using material culture as a mediating factor can be useful in this habitus, field, and capital transition.

Chapter 7

Wrapping Up the Inquiry

To draw this case study to a close, I will reflect on the journey I have undertaken, starting with the formation of the inquiry, through the research decisions that were made, ending with the new, vanguard learning that occurred through this doctoral research process. This is the first time in the home economics education field that Bourdieuan theory (habitus, field and capital) has been used to interpret a case generated around culturally-diverse learners' and teacher's encounters and engagements with mainstream curricular material culture.

Material culture has been near and dear to me on many fronts and in many roles. It has been in my life as I have advanced in my scholarly career, and raised second-generation immigrant children as a first-generation immigrant parent. It came into play when I was a trained teacher unable to practice in my new country (Canada) because I lacked the necessary requirements, while I was a teacher educator not yet in position to fully execute this latter role. I am hopeful that reaching the end of this doctoral journey will be the beginning of a new one where I can share my skills, knowledge, and passions in ways that break the grand narrative.

My desired contribution to the field of education with this research and differently-framed knowledge is to increase and reframe the response from various stakeholders to the educational system in reaction to the changing cultural demographics in today's classrooms. I continually observe my own children's experiences and, informally, those of various newcomer children in the Canadian education field. Many newcomer parents raise similar issues, one being that the teachers do not make an effort to understand them or their children, who are expected to integrate into the educational field.

That being said, I have always wondered (a) how teachers are able to respond to their culturally-shifting classrooms as well as (b) what the culturally-divergent newcomer learners' experiences are like in a classroom when they encounter new curriculum, new peers, and new habitus. Moreover, these youth have pasts that need to be either aligned with or stored somewhere, lest they be forgotten. In this final chapter, I trace my inquiry journey (under the heading Summary) and then offer reflections, implications, recommendations for future research, and conclusions.

Summary

In the first chapter, I traced my journey of becoming aware of the education system and curriculum specifically, and the implications of this awareness for me as a learner and, most importantly, as a teacher and teacher educator. Initially, I recognized and documented those elements found in the education system in my home country of Uganda. I shared the subordinate position that I occupied in the Ugandan education field, unable to voice my thoughts or make a difference in the Ugandan education system. I recapped my journey through a Canadian graduate school where I found my voice through engaging in classroom discussions and assignments, and, a system that gave me more space to negotiate with myself and share my previously inhibited thoughts. I then mapped how I came to this doctoral inquiry, inspired by my personal story. I concluded with my research question: How might encounter and engagement with curricular material culture in educational contexts unfold for culturally-diverse individuals?

In the second chapter, I provided a review of the literature pursuant to multicultural education, critical pedagogy, and material culture. I drew on material culture theory and how it related to the education field. I recognized that these two fields had inadvertently been separated, so I endeavored to bridge them through the concept of curricular material culture.

In the third chapter, I recounted Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1990, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2008) theory of social and cultural reproduction with its main concepts of habitus, field, and capital, and how they informed my study. By so doing, I was seeking a new way to help understand how culturally-diverse individuals encounter and engage with curricular material culture, with Bourdieu's theoretical concepts as a backdrop for my case study.

The fourth chapter provided an in-depth description of the research design and methods used to collect the information I needed to answer my research question. First, I provided the background of the case study method and how it fit into the broader qualitative research methodology. I then explicated the theory and research conventions related to the methods comprising my research design: a single embedded case developed using data garnered from interviews, observations, field notes, and document analysis (data triangulation). I then described in detail my own research protocol replete with recounting the standard conventions for reporting qualitative research, from site selection and access, sampling, and data collection and analysis to my role as researcher. I carefully accounted for strategies taken to ensure trustworthy data (i.e., confirmability, transferability, dependability, credibility, and authenticity).

The fifth chapter shared the findings from each data collection method comprising the triangulated data set, and these findings were presented separate from their interpretation. The sixth chapter presented the case developed by interpreting the findings in Chapter 5 through the Bourdieusian theoretical lens. His theory proved useful for understanding the interactions between culturally-diverse students, their teacher, and the curricular material culture. In this final chapter, I offer thoughts and reflections on my understanding of the above process and its implications in the classroom and the broader education system.

Reflections on the Inquiry Process

For me, this inquiry process unfolded in four stages. The first stage was my becoming aware of the curricular material culture and what this could mean in culturally-diverse educational contexts. The next stage was taking what this process of becoming aware meant for me and juxtaposing it in a research site. I use the phrase becoming aware because this experience was always there for me throughout my formal and informal education in Uganda. I felt uncomfortable with it later on as a teacher but was complacent about pushing back and advocating for change or simply doing an inquiry about it. I thus became aware during graduate school, not only about the power struggles embedded in various contexts, but of the possibility that I too could navigate and position. I envisioned myself as one of the strugglers who had an opportunity to safely expose the gaps within diverse educational contexts and highlight the possibilities that could be explored by attending to curricular material culture as a means to address these gaps.

Even when I juxtaposed my experiences alongside those of the teacher participant and the student participants, I was unaware of other dimensions of the struggle that were at play in the study context. Concurrently, while pursuing this doctoral work, I worked with newcomer or migrant families through an orientation and parenting program in a large urban city. Parents expressed their challenges with navigating the education system and their new life in Canada generally. I became more aware of my newcomer research participants' parallel experiences with my own and those of my children, as well as my clients. Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1990, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2008) concepts of habitus, field, and capital concretized my awareness of the dynamics amongst my participants. As I write this final chapter of this dissertation, I realize that its finality is the beginning of an awareness journey that needs to be shared with teachers, teacher educators, and educational policy makers.

I am a home economics teacher and teacher educator, and was excited to conduct my research in a food studies classroom. I watched the teacher and the culturally-diverse students and reminisced about my own classrooms in Uganda and even imagined how I would run this class. I observed how the teacher tried to make sure every student followed her grand narrative instructions to the letter and how all students in this culturally-diverse classroom clung to her every word, doing exactly as she asked.

In speaking with the study participant students, I came to realize how desperately they wanted to integrate into Canadian culture. The teacher, too, expressed her observations of how her newcomer students were not concerned about the learning process. They just wanted ‘to fit in’ with their Canadian counterparts as quickly as possible. Using Bourdieu’s theoretical concepts enabled me to posit that ‘to fit in’ meant that these migrant students needed to have the habitus that aligned with that of their Canadian peers. The students, however, had entered the Canadian context with a skewed understanding of the cultural context within which their schooling was occurring. They believed that the Canadian life and system was better than their own culture. The teacher did not refute this belief through her teaching approaches. She taught using prescribed, mainstream curricular material culture, thus reinforcing the students’ misconceptions that the Canadian culture was better. Critical multicultural education holds that students need to know that no one culture is better than another. While every culture is imperfect, there is something to learn from every culture. Combining cultural knowledge could lead to a strong knowledge base and eventual intercultural understanding.

Where To From Here?

This section shares concluding comments and directions for the future, ideas that focus on the implications for learners, teachers, teacher education, pedagogy, and policy makers and curriculum developers. To reiterate, this is the first time in the home economics education field that Bourdieusian theory (habitus, field and capital) has been used to interpret a case generated around culturally-diverse learners’ and teacher’s encounters and engagements with mainstream curricular material culture.

Implications for Learners

Many immigrant students originate from former colonies with collectivistic cultures where hierarchy is quite pronounced (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). In such cultures, filial piety, or response to the wishes and demands of elders, is expected of younger people.

When such students get into the Canadian classroom, they try to navigate the field and position themselves from this perspective. They believe that the teacher is superior and cannot be questioned. They also consider the new culture as superior and have a deep desire to fit in. If the teacher does not respect this cultural dynamic, there is a good chance that connections between the knowledge and expectations that the students bring with them from their cultures and that which they are learning will not be made.

What the students know previously might cease to appear as important to them if they uncritically try to fit in. In concert, denying the mainstream students the opportunity to learn from their newcomer peers sends a message that knowledge other than the mainstream has no place in the classroom or in society in general. When culturally-diverse students encounter mainstream curricular material culture in a new cultural context, their desire to fit in compromises their ability to expect teachers to make learning more relevant to them in their everyday lives and in relation to their ethnic culture.

Newcomer learners to a new environment may want to blend in. Sometimes they may even consider their own ways of knowing inferior to their new life. If no effort is made to draw on their previous knowledge, the teacher may risk perpetuating the belief that the learners' cultural lives do not matter. I believe there is a lot to learn by drawing on the variety of cultures and there is a lot of knowledge that these learners bring with them that needs to be harnessed, preserved and, ideally, shared. Encouraging these learners to do research in consultation with their families or cultural groups would expose them to more information about their own cultures that they may not know or could have lost through integration.

Implications for Teachers

This case study is useful for other teachers aside from Rowena because they too are privileged to see the curriculum, plan their classes, and create or identify what curricular materials are to be used in the class. The teachers then introduce the students to the mainstream curricular material culture and determine what learning activities are to be employed. Teachers, particularly those in culturally-diverse classrooms, need to acknowledge the wealth of knowledge that newcomer students bring from their cultures into the classroom. This knowledge could enrich that of the teachers as well as the mainstream curricular content.

For example, if a teacher is using eggs as an ingredient, exploring the various cultural methods in which eggs are used in cooking can be useful to broaden content and support

learning. Even if newcomer learners prefer to focus on the new culture and ignore their own culture, the teacher could play a cultural-bridging role. Through research projects in collaboration with families, students could pursue culturally-comparative studies. Such studies are useful in demystifying cultural misconceptions, creating empathy, promoting a broader and in-depth understanding of global issues, and supporting intercultural understanding.

The teachers' failure to recognize the wealth of knowledge in their midst in diverse classrooms, and make changes in their pedagogy or curricular material, propagates stratification where learners with less or different cultural capital find it harder to perform well in class. Students would struggle to catch up as they strived to infuse curricular material culture with unfamiliar cultural values and norms from the mainstream. An environment with these characteristics promotes a melting-pot ideology (Gleason, 1964) where all students are expected to learn the same thing and produce similar results. This ideology is in opposition to the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Government of Canada, 1985), which encourages people in Canada to continue practicing their cultural norms as long as the law is not broken. Engaging learners, and allowing for diverse ethnic contributions to what is learned in the classroom, is helpful in not only demystifying curricular material culture, but also opening up a rich tapestry of knowledge. This approach provides teachers with an opportunity to expand their knowledge base and, if they are reflective and reflexive in their practice, they could approach content on a broader and more inclusive scale.

Implications for Teacher Education

In relation to teacher education, this case study highlights the importance of attending to culturally-diverse learners in the classroom. During the process of introducing student teachers to the provincial CTS curriculum, emphasis should be placed on the curricular material culture used in the classroom and how multicultural learners can connect not only to these objects but also to a collectively structured content between students and teachers. In this way, student teachers in training can be encouraged to identify and explore ways in which curricular material culture could be attended to, and develop strategies on how to engage diverse learners.

Newcomer learners may fail to make any curricular connections because they lack the social history and informal knowledge underlying the curriculum (i.e., the *habitus*). To illustrate, stoves, fridges, microwaves, washers and dryers are common appliances in Canadian homes. Newcomer students may not have had any of these appliances in their homes and now have to

learn to use them in the classroom. These potential situations need to be explained to preservice teachers so they can appreciate the learners' predicament and provide the necessary support, such as, using the materials while also eliciting alternate ways in which possible substitutes that the students maybe familiar with, are used. This approach will require learning how to critically modify curricular cultural material to incorporate alternative ways of knowing for all learners.

Additionally, finding out what alternative ways the learners cook, preserve food, reheat dishes, and wash and dry clothes can help with sharing broader knowledge of how people around the world approach life. Preservice teachers need to be taught to emphasize differences and view them as opportunities for positive learning experiences. They need to learn to appreciate that the prescribed knowledge in the mainstream curriculum is not the only "correct" way of doing things. Preservice teachers could gain such knowledge through specific projects that require them to research other forms of knowledge within cultural communities in their locale. Attention should also be placed on other forms of diversity such as socio-economic status, abilities, gender, and whether a school is placed in a rural or urban area. Learners could be from the same culture yet diverse in other ways, meaning they connect differently with curricular material culture. Preservice teachers need to be socialized to approach the curriculum with a strong focus on cultural diversity and differences as they pertain to curricula material culture.

Per the case developed in this research, in a food studies environment, learners draw on their habitus or embodied capital, which is the previous exposure to and programming with and about food knowledge. Objectified capital or curricular material culture presents in the classroom in the form of recipe books, texts and workbooks as well as the equipment, ingredients and other related materials and resources. Symbolic capital is represented by the way the education system is structured and through the CTS program of studies.

Learners whose habitus or embodied capital resonate more closely with objectified capital and institutionalized capital will be at a greater advantage and more likely to succeed both academically and in the workplace. These learners have more power within the field, access to more capital, and they have fewer hurdles in the learning environment because it closely resembles the one in which they have been socialized (i.e., habitus). They are familiar with the rules of the field and how to navigate them and favorably position themselves. These youth are familiar with the equipment and ingredients and sometimes the terminology used in the foods class.

Conversely, learners who are unfamiliar with the education field or the learning resources in the classroom, particularly newcomers to Canada, or those from immigrant families where their cultural practices and resources do not resemble what is in the classroom, “must learn the game if they are to be constructed as successful learners” (Jorgensen et al., 2014, p. 226). These students including First Nations have to shift from what they already know, take up the dominant ideologies and put their own previous knowledge aside. Learners from the mainstream culture appear to be insiders and are more knowledgeable in the various fields than the newcomers. Canadian students occupy more privileged positions than the newcomers, all of which affect learning.

The time it takes for the newcomer to learn to navigate the field and move from a more subordinate position to one in which they are equal to their counterparts is a concept that needs to be further explored. University and college departments that offer teacher education programs can benefit from approaching their curricula from the Bourdieusian lens. It would lead to profound changes in teacher socialization and education, preparing them for the cultural diversity that is now common place in the Canadian education system. Perhaps a new generation of preservice teachers taught from this perspective could become future advocates for more culturally-diverse CTS curricula that challenge the mainstream ideology and its habitus, field, and capital.

Implications for Critical Pedagogy

The case developed in this research supports the suggestion that teachers should consider drawing on critical pedagogies when teaching students to examine, analyze and deconstruct their social realities. Informed by this critical pedagogy, teachers and students would collaborate in challenging the existing mainstream pedagogical and hierarchical approaches (i.e., the curricular material culture now is use), and engage in discussions and debates that allow multiple perspectives to be represented in a classroom. Through a combined critical and Bourdieusian lens, teachers would come to treat each classroom as unique, while acknowledging the multiple habitus, fields and capital that all students bring into the classroom. Teachers would consciously become informed of the realities of the learners, and understand the importance of making these realities discoverable and knowable by all learners in the classroom at any given time.

Implications for Educational Policy Makers and Curriculum Developers

During curriculum development, it is crucial that attention is placed on student and teacher demographics. This action calls for monitoring national statistics and identifying the country's immigration patterns. Since 2015, Canada admitted over 40,000 Syrian refugees (Government of Canada, 2017). Of these, about 7,000 settled in Alberta between November 2015 and December 2016 (Global News, 2017). These statistics did not include students who came as refugees from other parts of the world or those who immigrated for other reasons. Many came to Canada with little to no formal education, delayed education, or as English Language Learners.

Policy makers and curriculum developers need to be able to recognize these statistical trends in relation to education and strategize on how to facilitate learning for these students. It is not helpful to expect learners to be allocated to a classroom based on age rather than academic or linguistic ability, and then “blend in” with the other students. These new learners bring with them previous experiences (*habitus* and *capital*). This case study supports the recommendation that policy makers ensure that immigrant learners' knowledge be infused into the existing curriculum. Success for these struggling learners is difficult, especially if there is no overlap between the home and the school fields (see Figure 8).

Policy makers need to be cognizant of the fact that teachers are also placed in a problematic situation, especially if not provided with flexibility in the curriculum to incorporate alternative ways of knowing. It can be quite challenging to interpret a curriculum for culturally-diverse learners from different educational backgrounds, levels of education and linguistic abilities, especially if the teacher is to accommodate multiple and critical perspectives. Funding and supporting professional development opportunities about critical intercultural education would be useful in equipping teachers with strategies to engage culturally-diverse learners while not alienating mainstream learners. Teachers could be taught to legitimize the knowledge that new, culturally-diverse learners bring with them. Another option is to sensitize teachers to the possibility of providing more learning for mainstream students so they do not view new students as outsiders; rather, everyone can learn from their respective cultures. Such learning is still quite subtle and requires more overt approaches. These encounters could entail learning from and with each other, finding intersections of knowledge, and using this process to enhance teaching and learning. In the process, newcomers' *habitus* and *capital* are enriched as they work to position themselves within the new fields (see Figure 8).

Policy makers and curriculum developers also need to regularly revise the curriculum to not only respond to the needs of investors and industries but also to changing classroom demographics. One suggestion is a recruitment drive for culturally-diverse teachers. These new hires could help newcomer learners to recognize and appreciate their ethnic origins. Intercultural understanding and broader learning opportunities could be created from both the presence of such teachers and a curriculum that encourages multiple approaches of knowing. Curriculum developers can put in place strategies that allow for ongoing input from the public and the teachers, parents, learners, and the general community to identify ways in which the different groups could contribute to learning in general. Co-created culturally-respectful content is useful in eliminating unnecessary competition that would privilege some individuals or cultures over others in achieving success in the field (as Bourdieu would say, winning the game).

Policy makers and curriculum developers can learn a lot from this case study, which drew on Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1990, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2008) conceptual triad of habitus, field, and capital, with power weaving through all three. It explored how students encounter and engage with curricular material culture in a food studies Grade 10 classroom. Curriculum and policy actors can gain empathy if they come to appreciate that, sometimes, dislocation from one field to another (e.g., moving to Canada) requires the survival habitus to take over. As the individuals learn to navigate the new fields, they face decisions about whether or not to join in. The time it takes for actors to decide the best position for them to occupy could vary with the amount of personal cultural capital. The longer this repositioning takes, the more the learning is potentially compromised.

Most educational policy makers know of cases in Canada of high drop-outs amongst newcomer students because of failure to cope with the nature of the educational field. With little or no formal education, being placed in classrooms based on age rather than academic and linguistic preparation can be very embarrassing and discouraging. Such a situation is quite demanding of students as they have to work much harder to come close to their peers who have been in the education system since childhood, and are familiar with its habitus. Educational policy and curricula makers now have a chance to embrace a different lens from which to view their work, the Bourdieusian approach replete with habitus (existing, embodied cultural knowledge), field (situations where power plays out) and capital (access to resources to position oneself advantageously in new fields so new habitus and capital can be actualized).

Recommendations for Further Research

Findings from this case study inspire several recommendations for future research. The high influx of newcomer/migrant learners in the Canadian school system often have little to no or delayed schooling, and are English Language Learners. Other immigrant individuals, who may have obtained formal schooling and are English proficient, still face huge challenges upon changing education systems. In most instances, they are expected to fit in (even want to do so), meaning their cultural heritage and habitus is at risk, as is their learning. I recommend:

- a multi-case study research design, as originally intended, to build a cross-case profile of instances when culturally-diverse learners and their teachers encounter, engage with and navigate curricular material culture, interpreted with a Bourdieusian lens
- creating case studies of other CTS programs of study pursuant to home economics and other disciplines and subject areas to learn how new learners navigate the dominant mainstream curricula from their culturally-diverse perspective. These cases could be expanded to solicit information about predispositions to challenging the grand narrative from a critical stance.
- a comparative study involving newcomer learners using *their* backgrounds as parameters alongside their Canadian counterparts. This parameters could include economic class, refugees from different situations, and second and/or third generation students to find out how these groups navigate the education field
- a participatory action research project with teachers engaged in intercultural education and its application so results can be critically evaluated and used to support future CTS curriculum making decisions
- studies with teachers in different school locations such as rural and urban, or schools that have more of a certain demographic such as large numbers of refugee students. These studies could be informative to find out and critique what strategies teachers use to engage these learners. This critique would unfold through the critical multicultural education pedagogy and the Bourdieusian theoretical lens.

Conclusion

This case study began with an inquiry into how culturally-diverse individuals encounter and engage with curricular material culture as it unfolds in educational contexts. A qualitative case study was created with a purposive sample of four participants, including one teacher and three newcomer students from various cultural backgrounds. Pierre Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1990, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2008) theoretical concepts of habitus, field, and capital were drawn on to make sense of the participants' experiences with curricular material culture. This case study revealed the challenges one teacher faced when confronted with culturally-diverse learners and a mandated curriculum. Per the tenets of qualitative research, her case cannot be generalized but the particularity of her case is a valuable and new contribution to knowledge. Other scholars can now heed the valuable Bourdieusian insights generated with this case study, the first of its kind.

The newcomer students in this case study experienced a dislocation of their habitus as they encountered multiple new fields within a dominant mainstream culture, lived out in their educational experiences. Their habitus became fluid as they navigated through these fields attempting to position themselves to their advantage. But they also yearned to fit in with their peers. To break through from the subordinate realm and fit in with their mainstream peers, diverse learners are often forced to abandon their native cultural ways of knowing, which seemed to be the case in this study. This situation was perpetuated by the teacher through curricular material culture, which she infused with dominant ideologies, with minimal flexibility. The place of curricular material culture in moderating this encounter and the form of engagement by diverse individuals was quite significant.

With knowledge of this powerful dynamic, other teachers can opt to draw on material culture to link the new learners' habitus from their previous cultural context to the new learning environment. Policy makers concurrently must create spaces both through teacher professional development and within the curriculum for accommodating existing cultural knowledge of learners (i.e., their habitus and capital). This critical approach, which challenges the grand narrative, will benefit teachers as they endeavor to act as cultural bridges between existing, previously learned experiences and the new ones found in the Canadian educational context. Curricular material culture could thus change profoundly, shifting from mainstream dominant to culturally-sensitive. Newcomers and immigrants stand to benefit the most, as does the rest of Canada.

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Appendix A: Superintendent Letter

Date:

The Superintendent
Edmonton Public School District
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Re: Request for permission to conduct a research study in EPSD

My name is Miriam Sekandi and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Secondary Education at the University of Alberta under the supervision of Dr. Bonnie Watt-Malcolm. I am seeking permission to conduct my research study in the Edmonton Public School District. As part of my academic program, I am conducting a research study entitled “*The pedagogy of food: Engendering intercultural understanding in multicultural classrooms.*” The purpose of this research is to find out how high school food studies teachers read, interpret and balance the contents of curriculum texts such as program of studies, textbooks, and recipe books, with the knowledge and experiences of multicultural learners. As well, I would like to find out how food studies teachers can re-imagine their practice to create possibilities for intercultural understanding amongst their students. I also intend to gather data about select multicultural student experiences with food within various social, cultural and educational contexts. The findings from this study will be used in oral presentations, conferences and publications such as journal articles and book chapters. Participation in this study is voluntary with no monetary benefits. However, teacher participants will have an opportunity to work with me, if they choose, on oral presentations and written publications as a result of the information collected from this study.

This proposed is timely and significant because of the multicultural portrait of Canadian classrooms. This research will provide a space for teachers to be reflexive in their practice and, for students’ voices to be heard as well as documented as part of an evidence-based purposed transformation of the foods studies curriculum. The research will highlight the connection between food as material culture and individuals, the classroom/school, home, community, and the global context. This study will provide information for curriculum developers and implementers regarding the language used in curricular materials, and how it relates to teaching and learning considering the current physical and virtual mobility of learners.

The research will take the form of a qualitative multi-site case study. The research will take place consecutively in three high schools settings. I will spend 4-6 weeks in each school site interacting with one foods studies teacher and 3-4 of his/her students. The food studies teachers will be purposively selected. I will identify and invite food studies teachers that have taught in the school for no less than three (3) years. Each teacher and student participant will receive an information letter and/or consent form which he/she will sign before participating in the study. The student participants will also obtain consent from their parents/guardians. I will then conduct weekly individual open ended interviews with each of the student and teacher participants at each site for a total of four (4) interviews per participant. These interviews will be audio recorded and will last between 30-45 minutes. Student interviews will be held during

lunch hours while teacher interviews will be held at a time and place of their choice. Student participants could also choose to participate in a one-time focus group discussion of not more than six students instead of the individual one-on-one interviews. I will obtain consent from the teacher to observe their classes during which I will take notes on my observation of how the teachers interpret the curricular materials for their students. I will observe how the teachers and student participants interact with each other, with food and related equipment, and the food studies curriculum/content. I will examine the teachers' curricular materials such as lesson plans, year plans, course plans, and other curricular materials that they use in their teaching. I will write down my observations from the materials and use some of it as discussion points in the interviews.

The audio data collected will be transcribed and the transcripts returned to the participants for review. Participants will have an opportunity to respond to the transcripts and decide if there is any information they would like to remove or add. Participants will not receive any compensation (or reimbursements). Participation in the study is voluntary so as to encourage participants to freely engage in the study based on their personal interest. There may be risks to being in this study that are not known. If I learn anything during the research that may affect participants' willingness to continue being in the study, I will inform them right away. Any participants requiring translation assistance will be attended to if they inform me in advance.

Participants are not obliged to answer any specific questions even if participating in the study. If the participants wish to withdraw their interview responses after the interview has taken place, they can contact me within two weeks following the date of the interview. As much as possible, I will not disclose any names of any participants, or share any information between participants that links them directly to what was said. Pseudonyms will be assigned to participants to ensure complete anonymity in the dissemination of results. Data will be kept confidential, and only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the data. Data are to be kept in a secure place for a minimum of 5 years following completion of research project, all electronic data will be password protected or encrypted and appropriately secured in the researcher's archives in a way that ensures privacy and confidentiality.

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact:

Research Investigator:

Miriam N. Sekandi
PhD Candidate
347 Education South
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2G5
ngmsekandi@ualberta.ca
(780) 492-3674

Supervisor:

Dr. Bonita Watt-Malcolm
Associate Professor
347 Education South
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2G5
bwatt@ualberta.ca
780-492-5191

All researchers and assistants will comply with the *University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants* including those relating to confidentiality of data. Research personnel will sign a Confidentiality Agreement. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board 1 at the

University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at [\(780\) 492-2615](tel:7804922615).

Sincerely,

Miriam N. Sekandi
PhD Candidate
Department of Secondary Education
University of Alberta

Appendix B: Principal's Letter

Date:

The Principal
(High School Name)
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Re: Request for permission to conduct research study in your school

My name is Miriam Sekandi and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Secondary Education at the University of Alberta under the supervision of Dr. Bonnie Watt-Malcolm. I am seeking permission to conduct my research study in your school. As part of my academic program, I am conducting a research study entitled "*The pedagogy of food: Engendering intercultural understanding in multicultural classrooms.*" The purpose of this research is to find out how high school food studies teachers read, interpret and balance the contents of curriculum texts such as program of studies, textbooks, and recipe books, with the knowledge and experiences of multicultural learners. As well, I would like to find out how food studies teachers can re-imagine their practice to create possibilities for intercultural understanding amongst their students. I also intend to gather data about select multicultural student experiences with food within various social, cultural and educational contexts. The findings from this study will be used in oral presentations, conferences and publications such as journal articles and book chapters. Participation in this study is voluntary with no monetary benefits.

This study is timely and significant because of the multicultural portrait of Canadian classrooms. This research will provide a space for teachers to be reflexive in their practice and, for students' voices to be heard as well as documented as part of an evidence-based purposed transformation of the foods studies curriculum. The research will highlight the connection between food as material culture and individuals, the classroom/school, home, community, and the global context. This study will provide information for curriculum developers and implementers regarding the language used in curricular materials, and how it relates to teaching and learning considering the current physical and virtual mobility of learners.

The research will take the form of a qualitative multi-site case study. The research will take place consecutively in three high schools settings. I will spend 4-6 weeks at each school site interacting with one foods studies teacher and 3-4 of his/her students. Each teacher and student participant will receive an information letter and/or consent form which he/she will sign before participating in the study. The student participants will also obtain consent from their parents/guardians. I will then conduct weekly individual open ended interviews with each of the student and teacher participants in your school for a total of four (4) interviews per participant. These interviews will be audio recorded and will last between 30-45 minutes. Student interviews will take place during lunch break while teachers will choose a time and place most convenient for them. Student participants could also choose to participate in a one-time focus group discussion of not more than six students instead of the individual one-on-one interviews. I will also observe teacher participant classes during which I will take notes about how the teachers interpret the curricular materials for their students. I will observe how the teachers and student

participants interact with each other, with food and related equipment, and the food studies curriculum/content. With their permission, I will examine the teachers' curricular materials such as lesson plans, year plans, course plans, and other curricular materials that they use in their teaching. I will write down my observations from the materials and use some of it as discussion points in the interviews. The audio data collected will be transcribed and the transcripts returned to the participants for review. Participants will have an opportunity to respond to the transcripts and decide if there is any information they would like to remove or add.

Participants will not receive any compensation (or reimbursements). Participation in the study is voluntary so as to encourage participants to freely engage in the study. There may be risks to being in this study that are not known. If I learn anything during the research that may affect participants' willingness to participate in the study, I will inform them right away.

Participants are not obliged to answer any specific questions even if participating in the study. Participants can change their mind and withdraw at any time. However if they wish to withdraw their interview responses after the interview has taken place, they should contact me within two weeks following the date of the interview.

I will not disclose any names of any participants, or share any information between participants that links them directly to what was said. Pseudonyms will be assigned to participants to ensure complete anonymity in the dissemination of results. Data will be kept confidential, and only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the data. Data are to be kept in a secure place for a minimum of 5 years following completion of research project, all electronic data will be password protected or encrypted and when appropriate, secured in the researcher's archives in a way that ensures privacy and confidentiality.

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact:

Research Investigator:

Miriam N. Sekandi
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Supervisor:

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Associate Professor
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Edmonton, AB, T6G 2G5
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780-492-5191

All researchers and assistants will comply with the *University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants* including those relating to confidentiality of data. Research personnel will sign a Confidentiality Agreement. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board 1 at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at [\(780\) 492-2615](tel:7804922615).

Sincerely,

Miriam N. Sekandi
PhD Candidate
Department of Secondary Education
University of Alberta

Appendix C: Teacher's Letter

Date:

Dear Teacher

My name is Miriam Sekandi and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Secondary Education at the University of Alberta under the supervision of Dr. Bonnie Watt-Malcolm. As part of my academic program, I am conducting a research study entitled *The pedagogy of food: Engendering intercultural understanding in classrooms*. The purpose of this research is to find out how high school food studies teachers read, interpret and balance the contents of curriculum texts such as program of studies, textbooks, and recipe books, with the knowledge and experiences of diverse learners. I also intend to gather data about select student experiences with(in) foods studies classrooms. As well, I would like to find out how food studies teachers can re-imagine their practice to promote intercultural understanding amongst their students. The findings from this study will be used in oral presentations, conferences and publications such as journal articles and book chapters. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary with no monetary benefits. However, if you agree to participate in this study, you will have an opportunity to work with me, on oral presentations and written publications as a result of the information collected from this study.

I am inviting you to participate in this study because of your experience in teaching high school Foods Studies in a predominantly multicultural school. I intend to spend four (4) weeks at your school site. During this time I would like to observe your teaching, interaction with students, food, and related equipment and curricular materials. I will also invite you for a weekly one-on-one interview to share your experiences of teaching Food Studies in a multicultural context. These interviews will be audio recorded with your permission, and will last between 30-45 minutes at a time and place of your choice. If you agree, I will also examine any curricular materials such as lesson plans, year plans, course plans, and other curricular materials that you use in your teaching. I will write down my observations from the materials and use some of it as discussion points in the interviews. If you wish to withdraw your interview responses after the interview has taken place, please contact me by email within two weeks following the date of the interview. If you withdraw after participating in the full study, the data collected will continue to be used up to five years from completion of the study.

The audio data collected will be transcribed and the transcripts returned to you for verification. You will have an opportunity to read the transcripts and decide if there is any information you would like to remove or add. If you wish to have a copy of the final research report, please let me know.

The information you provide during the interview, will not be shared in any way that links you directly to what was said. You will be assigned a pseudonym in the final report to ensure complete anonymity. Data will be kept confidential, and only the researcher, transcriber and supervisor will have access to the data. Data will be kept in a secure place for a minimum of five (5) years following completion of research project. All electronic data will be password protected and when appropriate, secured in the researcher's archives, to ensure privacy and

confidentiality.

If you wish to receive a copy of the final research report please notify me by email. The data from this study may be used in future research, and it will have to be approved by a Research Ethics Board.

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact:

Research Investigator:

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All researchers and assistants will comply with the *University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants* including those relating to confidentiality of data. Research personnel will sign a Confidentiality Agreement. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board 1 at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at [\(780\) 492-2615](tel:7804922615).

- I agree to participate in this study.
I request a copy of the final report

Consenting Teacher Participant's Name

Consenting Teacher Participant Signature

School

Date

Appendix D: Student/Guardian Letter

Date:

Dear Student,

My name is Miriam Sekandi and I am a graduate student at the University of Alberta. I am conducting a research study entitled, *The pedagogy of food: Engendering intercultural understanding in classrooms*. This letter is to invite you to take part in this study. I would like to know about your experiences with food both at home and at school, especially in the Food Studies classroom.

If you choose to participate in this study, you will be invited for one or two weekly short interviews for four weeks. These conversations will be held during lunch break and will last between 30-45 minutes. During the short interview you will be asked to share your experiences with food, both at home and in your food studies classroom and anywhere else you encounter food. These interviews will be audio recorded with your permission. If you agree, I will also observe you in the classroom as you interact with food, food equipment, the teacher and the information that the teacher provides you. We will then discuss these observations during the interview. You can also participate in a group conversation which will be held once at the end of the four weeks at your school. This group conversation is extra, and optional.

Any information you provide in the interview about others will not be shared with anyone. Your real name will not be used in the results of the study. If you choose to be part of the group interview, others will hear what you say, but I will not share any information from the group interview.

Please discuss this with your parent/guardian before you decide to participate in this study. Get permission from them for you to participate in the study. If they agree, please ask them to sign in the space provided below. If you agree to participate in the study, please sign as well. If you or your parent/guardian requires a translated copy of this letter, or a translator during the conversations, please let me know and I will help you with translation. If you or your parents want to see a copy of the final report, please contact me using my information below.

You can ask any questions that you may have about the study at any time. Please call 780-492-3674. You can change your mind and stop being part of the study at any time by e-mailing me. If you withdraw after two one-on-one conversations, the information you have already provided will still be used in the presentations and writings about the study. If you wish to withdraw your interview responses after the interview has taken place, please contact me within two weeks following the date of the interview. You will also receive a copy of this letter.

- Yes, I will be in this research study.
- No, I don't want to do this.

- I need more information before I can decide to participate

If you ticked yes, please continue below:

- I have understood the information provided.
- I prefer a one-on-one conversation.
- I prefer a group conversation.
- You can observe me in the classroom as part of the study.
- I need a translated copy of this letter in (state language here)
- I need a translator to participate in the study..... (state language here)

_____	_____
Student's name	Signature of the student
Date	

* I have read and understood the information provided above and I hereby grant permission for _____ to participate in the study.

_____	_____	
Parent/guardian's name	Parent/guardian Signature	Date

All researchers and assistants will comply with the *University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants* including those relating to confidentiality of data. Research personnel will sign a Confidentially Agreement. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board 1 at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615.

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Appendix E: Student Participant Interview Guiding Questions

- How long have you taken food studies?
- Tell me about your experiences in the food studies classroom.
- Tell me about your observation of the diversity in your food studies classroom.
- How have these changes affected/influenced your learning of food studies.
- In what ways does the teacher create opportunities for expressing your food experiences?
- Give me an example of a particular situation where you have had an opportunity to teach others students about your cultural food.
- Give me an example of a particular situation where you have had an opportunity to learn from others students about their cultural food.
- In what ways did these teaching/learning experiences influence your views about other cultures and their food?
- What are your thoughts on the importance of understanding other cultures?
- How has the teacher helped you to understand other cultures through food studies?
- What (else) can the teacher do for you to understand others through food?
- Tell me about some of the documents you use in food studies.
- In what ways do you feel that these documents represent your ideas/views about food?
- In what ways do these documents allow you to explore your personal or cultural interests about food?
- What do you think needs to be changed in these documents? Why?
- What got you interested in food studies?
- Other questions may arise from the responses as well as from the observations...eg I saw you do this and this. Why did you do this?

Appendix F: Teacher Participant Interview Guiding Questions

- Tell me about this document: for example what are your views towards the document . . . is sufficient for your pedagogic needs? What is lacking? How do you make up for it?
- What factors do you put into consideration when reading/creating curricular documents?
- How do you ensure that the document to be used will engage all your learners?
- Tell me about your experiences teaching food studies.
- Tell me about your observation of the diversity changes in this school.
- How have these changes affected/influenced your teaching of food studies.
- In what ways do you create spaces for the diverse student experiences with food?
- How do students respond to these strategies?
- Give me examples of strategies you have used to allow for students to teach/learn about food from each other?
- What does the term intercultural understanding mean to you in the context of a food studies classroom?
- Share with me ways in which your strategies have led to intercultural understanding.
- In what (other) practical ways could you change/improve your practice to promote intercultural understanding be achieved?
- Other questions may arise from the responses as well as from the observations...eg I saw you do this and this. Why did you do this?

Appendix G: Classroom Observation Protocol

DATE: _____ TIME: _____

SCHOOL: _____

- Purpose of lesson/objectives? (To be obtained from teacher before lesson)
- In what ways does the teacher engage students throughout the lesson?
- What is the nature of the questions that the teacher poses to students as lessons progresses?
- What opportunities are created for students to relate previous experiences with content being taught?
- How does the teacher allow for intercultural teaching/learning about food?
- In what ways do participants interact with food and related equipment?

Appendix H: Curriculum Document Analysis Worksheet

School: _____ Teacher Participant: _____

- Type of document _____
- Creator of document _____
- Document audience _____
- Evidence as to why document was created:

- Evidence of other documents being consulted and why:

- What does the document tell you about creating opportunities for multiple interpretations for teaching/learning about food and related material culture:

- In what ways does document allow for multiple student experiences around food and related material culture:

- Evidence of the document promoting inclusivity and intercultural understanding.

- Any questions arising from the examination of document? (To be explored in interviews)