

**From the margins to the mainstream:
Visual art, EAL/D students and social transitions**

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Abstract

This article reports on a study that investigated ways in which visual art education is and could be used in primary schools to support students learning English as an additional language or dialect (EAL/D) in their social transition to mainstream classrooms. Six primary schools with large numbers of EAL/D learners participated in the study. Data collection methods included classroom observation, group and individual student interviews, teacher questionnaires and follow-up interviews. The study found that the visual art programs in these schools aided students' social transition by strongly supporting their identity construction and providing a collaborative and creative forum for students to negotiate shared meanings around their learning. However, despite their successes, the programs were found frequently to overlook the pre-existing linguistic and cultural capital these diverse learners possess. The study was driven by a desire to explore innovative possibilities for supporting EAL/D students' transition to mainstream settings and, in so doing, to assist teachers of these students as well as informing the wider education community.

Introduction

EAL/D students and their successful social transition into mainstream classrooms

Both in Australia and abroad, many contemporary primary school classrooms are highly multicultural spaces: 'more and more teachers find themselves teaching students from increasingly diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds' (de Jong & Harper, 2005: 101). According to the most recent publicly available Department of Education and Early Childhood Development (DEECD) data, students from language backgrounds other than English (LBOTE) currently comprise approximately 23 percent of all students in Victorian government schools, and government funding is provided to approximately 480 schools each year to support students requiring specialised English language instruction and support. Additionally, 4,790 of these students were newly arrived in Australia, representing more than 130 different language backgrounds (DEECD, 2011).

The study described here arose from a need to better understand and support the often overlooked social needs of these learners as they negotiate the transition into mainstream classrooms. Essentially, it was driven by a desire to explore innovative possibilities, such as those utilising the arts to support EAL/D students' social transition and, in doing so, to yield findings that might assist teachers of these students as well as presenting research information to the wider education community.

Although the importance for EAL/D students of successfully achieving this process of social transition into mainstream classrooms is widely acknowledged (e.g., Cummins, 2001; Nieto, 2004), research up until this time has overwhelmingly concerned itself with the academic and linguistic development of these learners (see, e.g., Collier, 1987; Goldenberg, 2008; Ives, 2008; Gamez, 2009; Martin, 2009; Adkins, 2010; Calderon, Slavin, & Sanchez, 2011). According to a recent Australian study, there is 'a need to better balance English language, literacy and learning needs with the social and emotional needs of students' (Cranitch, 2010: 266). It has often been argued that when these social and emotional needs go unfulfilled, the result is all too often marginalisation, isolation and inequity (Gebhard, 2002; Gitlin, Buendia, Crosland, & Doumbia, 2003; Nieto, 2004; Campano, 2007; Capitelli, 2009; Moyer & Clymer, 2009; Cranitch, 2010). It is important to acknowledge here that, despite the heterogeneity of the EAL/D student population, particularly in the Australian context, these students are unified in their need to achieve a successful social transition to mainstream schools. As one researcher notes, 'when a student feels valued, it gives them a boost of acceptance, confidence and pride ... that's at the root of learning' (Kilman, 2009: 23). Conversely, 'students who lack a sense of belonging are unmotivated and nonparticipative' (Moyer & Clymer, 2009: 16).

Indeed, research conducted in this field over the past decade consistently indicates that successful social transition to school is a key contributing factor to EAL/D student motivation and engagement (Munns, McFadden, & Koletti, 2002; Morrison, Cosden, O'Farrell, & Campos, 2003; López, 2010; Yates, 2010) and that, when it occurs, their levels of academic achievement are also enhanced (Hammond, 2008; Kilman, 2009; Moyer & Clymer, 2009; Rodriguez, Ringler, O'Neal, & Bunn, 2009). Successful social transition essentially relates to the process by which individual students gain access to the classroom community and become, in their own eyes and those of their peers, valued members of this community. Fundamentally, successful social transition creates 'a sense of belonging' where EAL/D learners are 'accepted, respected, included' (Gutman & Midgley, 2000: 1). This sense of belonging, it seems, is what establishes the confidence and self-esteem that supports student engagement and motivation in classroom contexts which, for all children, is the foundation of academic achievement (see, e.g., Rodriguez et al., 2009).

What does successful social transition look like? (How will I know when I come across it?)

In order to better understand the nature of EAL/D students' transition to mainstream classrooms, it is imperative that a clear working definition or conceptual framework is established. In essence, the conceptual framework for social transition used in this study incorporated three key themes: identity construction, negotiation of shared meanings and the celebration of each child's cultural and linguistic capital.

Understandings of EAL/D learners' identity construction draw heavily on the work of Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) and Norton (2000). This concept and its role as a key aspect of social development often feature in research into EAL/D education (see, e.g. Allen, 2006; Molyneux, 2009; Eunyong Hong & Cheong, 2010; Yates, 2010). Successful social transition for EAL/D students depends upon 'a complex renegotiation of their social identity in the new society' (McNamara, 1997: 561). Furthermore, in contrast to traditional emphases on assimilation, identity construction is currently understood as 'not a simple process of giving up one culture and taking on another' (Phinney, 2000: 29) but, instead, a process of achieving a balance between existing and new cultural and linguistic identities. The fluid nature of these multiple identities is elaborated as follows by Jim Cummins: 'identities are not static or fixed but, rather, are constantly being shaped through experiences and interactions' (Cummins, 2001: 16).

The negotiation of shared meanings between EAL/D students and their peers relates to the navigation of linguistic spaces that an EAL/D student encounters upon entering the mainstream classroom. This process involves EAL/D learners engaging in collaborative and cooperative meaning-making interactions with their peers in order to gain effective access into classroom conversations (Halliday, 1975; Vygotsky, 1986; Gee, 1996). Tied up in this process are the significant issues of agency, empowerment, apprenticing and 'discourse communities', with the existing research confirming the importance of these negotiations for the social transition of EAL/D students (Allen, 2006; Brown, 2009).

Finally, the concept of 'capital' as defined by Pierre Bourdieu (1992) resonates with this study, as it relates to the necessity of EAL/D students having their cultural and linguistic 'funds of knowledge' (Moll, 2001) acknowledged and celebrated in school settings. This recognition is seen as an essential means of giving these students a voice, making learning relevant and personally meaningful for them, and supporting them in gaining a sense of belonging and seeing themselves as valued members of the school community (Cummins, 2000; Kamler & Comber, 2005). In other words, the capital that these students bring with them to the classroom constitutes an invaluable learning tool and needs to be consciously acknowledged and enacted before the process of social transition can take place.

These three themes are at the heart of EAL/D students' successful social transition to the mainstream and, although they undoubtedly manifest themselves in a myriad of different ways for different learners and in different contexts, their presence in the classroom inevitably supports this transition process. While not the only possible conceptual model for understanding EAL/D students' social transition, it was deemed the most appropriate one for the purposes of this study.

Exploring innovative possibilities for supporting social transition: The role of visual art education

In terms of enhancing EAL/D students' capacity to achieve successful social transition into the mainstream through the academic curriculum and pedagogy, the potential value of art education warrants attention. The relationship between student involvement in arts education in general and improved social and emotional development is well documented (Shadd, 2002; Adams, 2008; Donelan, Irvine, Imms, Jeanneret, & O'Toole, 2009). Indeed, more than 75 years ago the educational reformer John Dewey (1934) stressed the value of the arts for adding richness and depth to the curriculum. This was a sentiment also expressed by Herbert Read (1943), who urged that learning through the arts could revolutionise education. More recently, and of particular relevance to this study, educational theorists have affirmed the 'considerable inclusive potential' of arts education (Allan, 2008: 143) and that 'education can learn from the arts that the limits of language are not the limits of cognition ... [w]e know more than we can tell' (Eisner, 2008: 3).

Turning attention specifically to visual art education, either stand-alone or integrated into the general classroom program, research clearly reveals the social and emotional value of students participating in visual art programs in schools (Bresler, 1994; Jensen, 2001; Grant, Hutchison, Hornsby, & Brooke, 2008). Furthermore, and of particular interest in the context of this study, a significant number of researchers have identified the potential for visual art education to be used as a tool for engaging students with particular learning needs who might otherwise be at risk of disengagement, isolation or marginalisation (e.g., Bearden, 1993; Fake, 1995; Jylha, 1998; Heath, 2001; Groves & Hubert, 2003; Hunting, Johanson, Potter, & Schneider, 2005; Ivanova, 2004; Imms, 2006; Jabali, 2009). Given these well-established and much documented links between visual art education and social development for the general student population as well as for particular 'at-risk' student profiles, the potential value of visual art education for supporting EAL/D students in their social transition to mainstream classrooms is clearly discernible. Indeed, the National Art Education Association explicitly identifies EAL/D students as one group who can particularly benefit, both socially and by extension academically, from visual art education (NAEA, 2009), whilst the National Advocates for

Arts Education emphasises the potential for visual art programs to promote ‘culturally rich education ... fostering creativity, innovation, cultural understanding and social inclusion’ (NAAE, 2008).

Nonetheless, little research has been undertaken that is concerned with exploring the value of visual art education specifically in relation to EAL/D students and their social transition to mainstream classrooms. The few studies that have been conducted identify clear links between visual art education and positive identity construction, negotiation of shared meanings and celebration of children’s cultural and linguistic capital (Torres-Oritz, 1995; Carre, 1996; Rodriguez-Remedi, 2008). However, these studies are generally neither Australian nor primary school-focused, two concerns that this investigation sought to address.

Designing a study intended to explore the possibilities

The study described here posed the central research question: ‘To what extent and in what ways can visual art education be used in primary schools to assist EAL/D students in their social transition to mainstream classrooms?’ This arts-based inquiry of social transition was examined through a case study approach (Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009) within an interpretivist paradigm (Snape & Spencer, 2004). Within this framework, data collection was a three-stage, mixed methods process with a qualitative emphasis. The research project was conducted over the course of one school year within visual art programs operating in six government primary schools across Melbourne, as detailed in the following table. As also indicated below, a sequence of semi-fixed analysis grids (Miles & Huberman, 1994) was used to enable the clear, logical and systematic identification of common themes arising from the data. These emergent themes were then attributed to one or more of the three key components of the model of social transition outlined above in order to establish what was occurring in the visual art programs in relation to these transition criteria and to analyse how it was occurring.

Stage One	Data collection method	Participant/s	Analysis method
Term 1 <i>Initial profiling of schools and case study recruitment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Online survey of visual art teachers, both quantitative and qualitative in nature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 13 visual art teachers currently working in schools with high numbers of EAL/D students and designated visual art programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SurveyMonkey® software generated graphs and tables
Stage Two Terms 2/3 <i>Developing a more detailed picture of visual art education in six participating schools and EAL/D</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informal observation sessions of visual art classes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The visual art programs operating in six schools selected from online survey. Five sessions conducted in each school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Field notes, both shorthand real-time versions and formal, out-of-field versions (Delamont, 2002) Semi-fixed analysis grid

<i>students' interactions with it</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Semi-structured interviews with visual art teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Six visual art teachers, one from each school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Audio recording Transcript Work program analysis Semi-fixed analysis grid
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Group interviews with EAL/D students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two group interviews conducted in each school, involving a total of 53 EAL/D students across years 3-6, representing 23 nationalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Audio recording Transcript Semi-fixed analysis grid
Stage Three Term 4 <i>Investigating the impact of visual art education on social transition of individual students</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Semi-structured interviews with individual EAL/D students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Six EAL/D students, one from each school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Audio recording Transcript Semi-fixed analysis grid

Table 1 – Data collection and analysis stages

The potential power of visual art programs: A discussion of the research findings

The research results indicated that a successful social transition is essential in order for EAL/D students to achieve initial and ongoing success in mainstream schooling. The relationship between this transition and increased student motivation and engagement was frequently revealed. Interestingly, student interview data indicated that they saw this social transition as the most personally significant aspect of commencing mainstream schooling. Their comments about social transition invariably emphasised 'making friends', 'fitting in' and 'being accepted'. As such, these views were consistent with other research findings which indicate that school belonging is imperative to a child's social and emotional wellbeing and is associated with 'connectedness, bonding, membership' (Morrison, Cosden, O'Farrell & Campos, 2003: 87). Definitions and descriptions of successful social transition provided by the participating teachers also frequently and explicitly incorporated one or various combinations of the three key themes of identity construction, negotiation of shared meanings and celebration of capital. Teachers were also united in using terms such as 'comfortable', 'confident', 'respected', 'valued' 'self-expression', 'positive communication' and 'effective functioning' to elaborate on their perceptions of what constitutes social transition within a primary school setting.

Following this confirmation of the value of a successful social transition, the research data demonstrated that the primary school visual art program has the potential to support EAL/D students in achieving this transition. As one teacher commented: 'EAL/D students can and do shine in the art

room and that gives them confidence and a sense of belonging.’ Indeed, visual art classroom observations repeatedly revealed EAL/D students who were engaged, enjoying themselves, interacting with their peers and achieving success in curriculum tasks. This is a particularly exciting finding for visual art education in relation to EAL/D learners in that it is consistent with and indeed builds upon previously identified links between the social development of EAL/D students and art forms such as music (Paquette & Rieg, 2008; Howell, 2009) and drama (Holloway, 1996; Gill, 1997). Just as the findings from these studies variously demonstrate how these other art forms provide social support, opportunities to build shared understandings and interact, improved communication skills and increased confidence, so too does the research undertaken in the present study reveal similar benefits for EAL/D students through involvement in visual art education. In addition, it has been argued that ‘art education can make a contribution toward erasing ethnic stereotypes and cultural misunderstandings’ (Chalmers, 1984: 22). Overall, the proposition that art education can help EAL/D students to ‘deal with their environment’ (McFee, 1964: 1) was reflected and confirmed in the current study. During both group and individual interviews, the EAL/D students participating in the study repeatedly discussed their perceptions of the visual art classroom as an inclusive and welcoming environment which fostered a sense of belonging and where student ownership over learning was encouraged. Indeed, these perceptions were also reinforced in the researcher observations and teacher interviews.

The study findings were unambiguous in displaying the power of visual art education to support social transitions. Returning to the three key components of this process of transition identified earlier, the results of the study overwhelmingly indicated that identity construction was the component most strongly supported through involvement in visual art education. That is, the visual art programs investigated were extremely successful in supporting EAL/D students to construct and enact positive identities within the classroom. The study found that the visual art programs facilitated something of a level playing field where all students could achieve success, as well as providing a non-threatening learning space. The visual art classrooms were both highly visual and hands-on in nature and they were revealed to be an environment in which peer affirmation is encouraged and where teacher-to-student positive reinforcement is frequent. As one teacher explained: ‘Our art program nurtures all children, including EAL/D students, and helps them feel at one with who and where they are.’ This sentiment was also confirmed by participating children, who offered comments such as ‘that’s the thing I like about art, I get to be myself, I get to choose’ and ‘you can’t really do it wrong because it’s up to you, you just have to try’. This sense of acknowledgement or validation, when considered alongside the peer affirmation and teacher reinforcement which were also evident, reflected the collaborative power relations (Cummins, 2001) at play in the visual art classroom, a phenomenon that strongly supports positive identity construction for EAL/D students.

In terms of the negotiation of shared meanings and this notion of collaborative power relations, results from the study revealed that the visual art programs generally assisted EAL/D students in the negotiation of shared meanings in the classroom, both in relation to sharing their own linguistic resources and acquiring those valued within the predominant discourse community. However, it also became apparent that this support does not occur consistently nor to the fullest extent possible within these visual art programs. That is, the support presently offered by these programs is of a predominantly informal nature, based largely on *ad hoc* conversations between students. While the positive teacher-student relationships, non-threatening environment and level playing field of the visual art classroom facilitated the creation of a 'third space' (Bhabha, 1990) where meaning negotiations can occur, there was little or no evidence to indicate that teachers actively and intentionally planned opportunities for these negotiations to take place. The importance of EAL/D students' informal conversations with their peers in gaining access to and membership of the learning community notwithstanding, what was lacking was the equally important establishment of pedagogical structures by teachers to enable the negotiation of shared meaning and understandings to take place in the lessons in more formal ways.

Finally, acknowledgement and enactment of EAL/D students' linguistic and cultural capital was also largely absent from the visual art programs investigated in the study. Promisingly, the results indicate that visual art education does have significant potential to act as a forum for celebrating this capital. However, in the present study it was not found to be occurring to any significant extent and certainly not to the same degree as either positive identity construction or negotiation of shared meanings. Indeed, currently this celebration of capital is primarily accommodated through whole school annual celebrations of cultural diversity and the open-ended nature of participating in visual art programs, neither of which represent sustained, meaningful and enriching examples of the celebration of each individual EAL/D student's cultural and linguistic capital. It should, however, be reiterated that there was evidence to suggest that the visual art programs currently demonstrate a degree of success in relation to supporting EAL/D students in acquiring the necessary cultural capital for gaining access to the mainstream learning community. Also encouraging is the fact that, despite this absence of the celebration of each child's individual capital, participating EAL/D students were exceptionally enthusiastic at the notion of utilising their own capital in their artworks and, along with their teachers, were almost unanimously confident that this is a feasible endeavour within the visual art program.

In addition, two features inherent to the visual art programs were found to impact positively on all three of the components of a successful social transition. The first of these features was the accessibility of visual art education, and its tendency to enable communication and creativity that

minimises language barriers. This is consistent with the assertion that ‘art is a basic mode of individual and social communication in one’s own culture, as well as in others’ (McFee, 1998: 63). This overcoming of language barriers is a particularly promising finding given that such barriers are frequently an obstacle to engagement and achievement for EAL/D students (Nieto, 2004; Rodriguez, et al., 2009; Good, Masewicz, & Vogel, 2010).

The second of these inherent or overarching features of the visual art classroom is its capacity to act as an inclusive learning community that encourages positive relationships and a sense of belonging and connectedness. This is another important finding given that strategies for reducing or negating marginalisation and isolation constitute such a significant component of EAL/D social transition research. Moreover, in this study, the students and teachers believed that visual art programs encourage the creation of inclusive learning communities, which is significant given that research repeatedly reveals that marginalisation of EAL/D students is most effectively combated through the fostering of such communities (DaSilva Iddings, 2005; Hite & Evans, 2006; Messiou, 2006). Finally, it is important to note that all the outcomes of the visual art programs described here depended on very specific behavioural expectations being implemented rather than the adoption of a *laissez-faire* approach to classroom management. In particular, these expectations most significantly related to students actively contributing to sessions, engaging in higher order thinking skills, making decisions and being accountable for their actions. Interestingly, despite the apparent complexity of these expectations for young children, results overwhelmingly indicated that these expectations were by and large being met, both by EAL/D students and their peers.

Conclusion

The results of this study not only reiterate the fundamental importance of EAL/D students achieving a successful social transition into mainstream classrooms, but they also unambiguously indicate the value of visual art education for supporting this transition. In particular, the data suggest that something special in the nature of the visual art program assists in levelling the playing field for EAL/D students to become significant players where they might otherwise be at risk of marginalisation or disengagement. As such, this study has highlighted the possibilities for visual art programs to support the establishment and maintenance of access and equity in EAL/D education. In essence, it appears that, in relation to their social transition to mainstream classrooms, these programs offer EAL/D students ‘a chance to enter the room by different windows’ (Brandt, 1998: 23).

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