

## Challenges for Teachers Working in Mainstream Schools with Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students in Chile: Two Case Studies

Carla Tapia Parada  
Griffith University  
Australia

Ekaterina Tour  
Monash University  
Australia

**ABSTRACT:** Recently, Chile has experienced a significant increase in linguistically and culturally diverse immigrants from Haiti. However, little is known about how Chilean teachers cope with this issue. Using Haworth's (2009) model of contextual layers of teachers' work as a conceptual lens, this article reports the findings from two case studies. Findings show that participants often struggled to teach their culturally and linguistically diverse students. These difficulties were attributed to teachers' low levels of professional preparedness to work with these students and limited in-school support. The article offers several implications for different stakeholders.

**KEYWORDS:** CALD, education, school, diversity, teachers

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In recent years, Chile has become a central destination for migrants from countries such as Argentina, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, and, especially, Haiti (Campos-Bustos, 2019). In 2018, migrants comprised 6.6% of the Chilean population (Chilean National Institute of Statistics, 2019). The number of Haitian residents in Chile has significantly increased in recent years. In 2010, the number of Haitian migrants applying for permanent residency in Chile increased by 396%, further increasing 162% in 2014 (Rojas et al., 2019). Currently, the Haitian population comprises 11% of Chile's migrant population, and it is the fifth biggest migrant group (Chilean Department of Migration and International Affairs, 2020).

Compared to other migrant groups, who often speak Spanish, Haitians find it especially challenging to settle in Chile. The most common language spoken in Haiti is Creole (Schieffelin & Doucet, 1994). Significant language issues, cultural differences, and a lack of relevant government policies and initiatives to support settlement often affect Haitians' access to well-paid jobs and community life,

positioning them as the most vulnerable and disadvantaged group in Chile (Toledo-Vega, 2016).

There are currently around 78,000 migrant students in Chilean schools. However, the accuracy of this figure is questionable given the large number of illegal migrants (Fernández, 2018). Therefore, the rates of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) students in Chilean classrooms are underestimated. Migrant families are usually randomly allocated to mainstream public schools. As a result, some schools have up to 50% of CALD learners (Jiménez et al., 2017).

As multilingual classrooms in Chile are a comparatively new phenomenon, there is a lack of relevant educational policies, guidelines, and information about migrant issues (Mora, 2018; Muñoz & Ramos, 2017). Schools often face significant challenges when attempting to include, engage, and teach children from migrant backgrounds (Campos-Bustos, 2019). While this complex education issue has been acknowledged in the research literature, media, and policies, scholars argue that this critical topic remains largely under-researched (Becerra-Lubies & Fones, 2016; Campos-Bustos, 2019).

This article contributes much-needed research knowledge by exploring two primary mainstream teachers' experiences working with Haitian students in Chile. The article reports the findings in relation to the following questions:

1. What challenges do mainstream primary teachers experience when teaching students from Haiti?
2. What might be the reasons for these challenges, according to the teachers' experience?

Research on this topic is important because teachers' experiences, perspectives, and attitudes impact local policies and classroom practices.

### Conceptual Framework

To understand the Chilean teachers' work with CALD students, this research used Haworth's (2009) framework (Figure 1). This framework was developed by drawing on Bronfenbrenner's (1996) work, which argued that, to understand human development, the entire ecological system needed to be considered. Even though Bronfenbrenner's (1996) model of nested environments comes from the psychology field, it has been adapted and commonly used in educational settings and educational research (i.e., Cowie & Khoo, 2018; Shapira-Lishchinsky & Ben-Amram, 2017). In her research, Haworth (2009) modified the model to explore teachers' experiences within English as an Additional Language (EAL) settings in New Zealand. This adapted model has three layers of influences that shape teachers' work in the classroom:

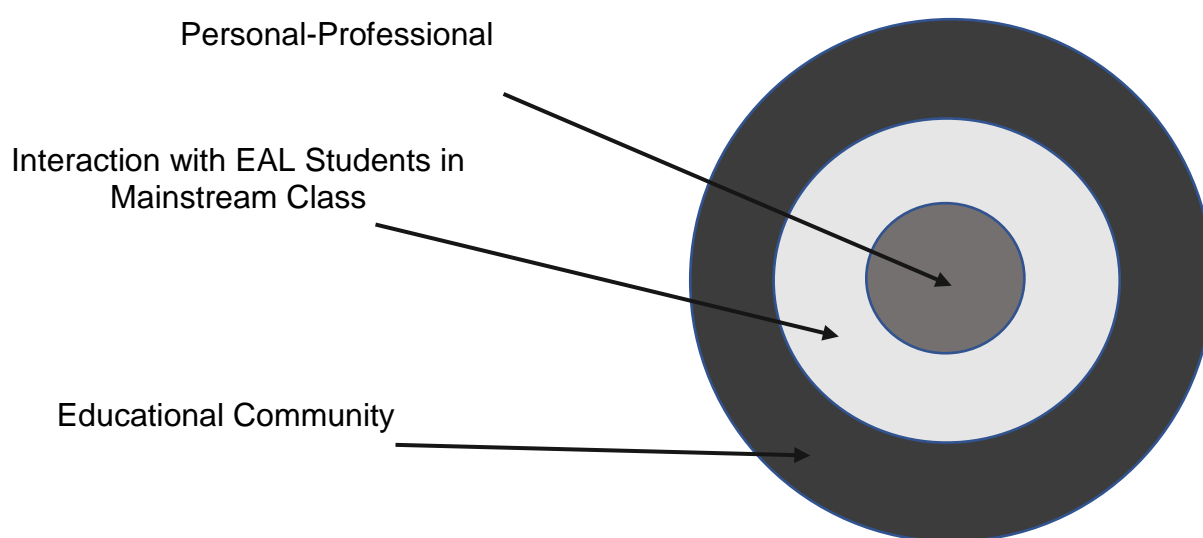
1. The internal layer represents the teachers and their personal-professional being. This subsystem includes teachers' past experiences, knowledge, personal tools, and their abilities to deal with their work and personal lives (Shapira-Lishchinsky & Ben-Amram, 2017).
2. The middle layer contains the structures of teacher interaction with the student in the immediate surrounding, the classroom, such as how the teacher

communicates with students in regular activities and how they relate to each other (Tissington, 2008).

3. The external layer represents a larger social system, the school. It includes how the school's culture and policies inform and impact the teacher's professional knowledge, values, and beliefs (Shapira-Lishchinsky & Ben-Amram, 2017).

### Figure 1

Contextual Layers Influencing Teachers' Work with EAL Students. Adapted from "The Quest for a Mainstream EAL Pedagogy" by P. Haworth, 2009, *Teachers College Record*, 111(9), p. 2187.



### Literature Review

Although a significant body of international research exists regarding CALD learners in mainstream classrooms, research about Chilean schools is just beginning to emerge. This review draws on research conducted in other contexts that, similar to Chile, registered an increase in humanitarian migration: the US (e.g., García et al., 2010; Goodwin, 2002), Australia (e.g., Dobinson & Buchori, 2016; Gilmour et al., 2018), and some European countries (e.g., Bastos & Araújo e Sá, 2015; Miller et al., 2009).

Teaching in CALD settings is challenging. Lo Bianco (2009) noted that "diversity poses an extraordinary challenge for teachers" (p. 113) because they need to work with a highly heterogeneous learner population. Building on this, Gilmour et al. (2018) argued that many teachers are not prepared to work with CALD students. The challenges typically faced by teachers when working with CALD students include language barrier, cultural differences, and inappropriate mainstream pedagogies. These are discussed below.

## Language Barrier

Communication challenges are an essential issue for mainstream teachers who do not have a shared language with CALD students. Antón (2010) argued that learning occurs through effective communication between teachers and students. Lacking a sufficient level of language skills for communication can have significant consequences for teaching and learning. Amorsen (2015) reported that "the problems for teachers arise when the demands of the school vocabulary, language patterns, and activities used in the classroom are unfamiliar to the child and the family" (p. 22). Similarly, Campos-Bustos (2019) found that teachers are sometimes unable to communicate effectively with diverse students because students have limited (if at all) language and knowledge about social practices in the new context. This perspective is especially persistent among monolingual teachers, while, as Premier and Miller (2010) found, educators who had experienced learning a second language were more sensitive to the language barrier. In recent years, such a deficit perspective has been challenged by many scholars who take a strengths-based approach to CALD learners and acknowledge the importance of students' linguistic and cultural repertoires for learning (Cunningham, 2020).

## Cultural Differences

As language and culture are closely connected, the discussion of CALD classrooms often refers to cultural differences. Indeed, Cross (2019) argued that,

[T]here are many similarities across all forms of human culture, but there are also differences. Moreover, many social and cultural practices that appear similar on the surface can mean something different with a greater understanding of the situation and context. (p. 283)

These cross-cultural differences and similarities mean that words, objects, gestures, and practices have diverse meanings in different cultures. Lo Bianco (2009) suggested that educators "stand for" the language they teach and the culture they inhabit (p. 115). Hence, learners are introduced to cultural products, communicative activities, and problems of the target community, which may have different meanings in students' home culture (Cross, 2019). Teachers and CALD students do not necessarily share the same cultural understandings, which can significantly impact learning and teaching.

## Pedagogies for CALD Classrooms

There is an ongoing debate regarding CALD student placement in either mainstream classes or specialized language programs (Cross, 2019). While both settings have advantages and limitations, some countries place more emphasis on preparing all mainstream teachers to work with CALD students (Dobinson & Buchori, 2016). This decision might be important because it takes five to seven years for CALD students to reach the age-appropriate language competence required for relevant curriculum engagement (De Courcy, 2014). Specifically tailored approaches are

required where mainstream teachers need to support CALD students even if they attended specialized language programs. Offering such support requires relevant pedagogical skills, understanding of the language learning process, language learning theories, and knowledge of their learners' needs (Cross, 2019; Haworth, 2009). Suitable pedagogical strategies to engage CALD learners with mainstream curriculum have been widely documented in research and professional literature as well as in different practical, publicly available, teacher resources (e.g., Harper & Feez, 2020; The Bell Foundation, 2021).

## Research Design

This article draws on data from an exploratory small-scale study which investigated mainstream teachers' experiences when working with students from Haitian backgrounds in Chilean primary schools. The study adopted a multiple case study approach centred around two teacher-participants in order to gain in-depth insights into a phenomenon within its context (Stake, 2006; Yin, 2014). This design allowed for the discovery of the teachers' unique experiences and views on CALD learners as situated within their distinctive teaching contexts (Creswell, 2014).

Chilean primary school lasts for eight years and includes children ages 6 to 14. A single classroom teacher teaches all subjects during lower primary grades (1-4). Subject specialists deliver their subjects in upper primary grades (5-8). Spanish, as the official language in Chile, is the medium of instruction in schools. The upper primary curriculum includes a wide range of subjects, including English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Chilean schools use the country's official language to teach the National curriculum - Spanish. For most Haitian students, English is another new (often the third or fourth) language to learn.

Both participants - Clara and Isabel (pseudonyms) – taught upper primary grades and worked closely with Haitian students. However, their teaching contexts were different. Isabel was 29 years old and a qualified primary teacher with six years of teaching experience, specializing in math. At the time of the study, she worked in a public school in the country's capital, Santiago, where 40% of the student population came from Haiti. As a result, Isabel had around six Haitian students in each of her classes. Clara was 30 years old and a qualified teacher of English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Clara had five years of teaching experience and worked in a subsidised school in Chillán - a city in central Chile. Unlike public schools, subsidised schools in Chile are privately administrated and can select students (Zancajo, 2018). There were two Haitian students in the school, and both were Clara's students in different grades. Both cases represented typical teachers in the Chilean context.

The research was approved by the University's Human Research Ethics Committee and followed the approved procedures regarding participant recruitment and data collection. Three research methods were used to extend and crystallise the research findings across the data set. Data collection was conducted in Spanish and later translated into English by the first author.

The participants first completed a demographic profile aimed at collecting information about teachers' backgrounds and teaching contexts. Participants were then asked to compile reflective journals outlining their challenges when teaching

Haitian students. These journals reflected on their experiences over five working days. No limits were set regarding the amount written each day. To support teachers' reflections on their experiences, feelings, and thoughts, four open-ended guiding questions were provided:

1. What challenges have you experienced in today's class?
2. How did you feel about this situation?
3. Why do you think it happened?
4. What do you think would help you in this situation?

The journal entries were used to inform semi-structured individual interviews – the third data collection method used in this study. The data from the reflective diaries predetermined the questions, but they required open-ended answers and focused on the participants' experiences teaching Haitian students in the mainstream classroom. The participants were asked to elaborate on their documented experiences and share additional insights. Each participant was interviewed once for approximately 60 minutes.

The thematic analysis of the data was guided by the conceptual framework discussed above (Figure 1) and followed the thematic analysis procedures described by Braun and Clarke (2006). Two main themes were identified in the analysis: (1) teachers' main challenges associated with teaching CALD students in mainstream classroom and (2) the multidimensional nature of these challenges. These themes inform the discussion below.

## Findings

Isabel and Clara reported facing similar challenges when teaching CALD students from Haitian backgrounds in mainstream classrooms. These were delivering mainstream content and engaging students in learning.

### Delivering Mainstream Content

Clara, who worked with two Haitian students, documented numerous examples related to her students' reactions to her explanation of the learning content. One of her journal entries states, "the student was always asking for translations from English to Spanish, but the student was not able to understand most of the translation." On a different day, she noted, "She asked for the instructions repeatedly." In the interview, she explained, "I deliver the content. When she [the student] does not understand, she asks again. I repeat the procedure."

Isabel documented similar examples. She wrote in her journal about a Haitian year 6 student, "In a math class, she had tried to do the tasks more than four times. It is clear she did not get it, so I usually try to explain through drawings and representations. It is not always effective though." She also commented about another student, "He [Haitian year 5 student] does not seem to have learned the content. He does not seem to understand what I teach."

The data suggests that it was challenging for both teachers to teach their subjects because students did not understand the content taught. Additional clarifications did not always help. Both teachers' observations of their students' behaviours and learning experiences made them realize that their CALD learners did not engage with the learning content and did not learn much in their classes. This is not surprising, perhaps, given that the language demands of the subjects taught at the upper primary level are high. Math content can be challenging not only conceptually but also linguistically. English was another new language for Haitian students still developing the mainstream language, Spanish. Hence it was difficult to understand instructions and engage with the subject content.

However, the participants thought the problem stemmed from CALD students' Spanish proficiency rather than from their responses to content delivery. Clara said her main strategy was to "repeat" the instructions when the student did not understand. However, simply repeating the instructions using the same wording may not be helpful for CALD students. It is important to re-word or use other strategies to communicate meaning. However, Clara did not seem to realize that her typical strategies did not work with CALD students. Isabel seemed more aware of the limitations of her pedagogies. However, both teachers had a strong focus on what CALD students could not do and viewed the struggles as linguistic and not a pedagogical problem.

### **Engaging Students in Learning**

Clara and Isabel reported engagement problems which triggered different issues for each teacher. During the interview, Clara described how difficult it was to keep a Haitian student focused on learning,

I go to help other students and she [the Haitian student] usually loses the objective and does not engage (...) She constantly jumps around and moves everywhere around the classroom, interrupting the class. The situation frustrates me because her classmates are negatively affected by her behaviour.

Isabel also struggled to engage the CALD students in learning activities, as she explicitly explained in her interview,

There was a math pedagogical exhibition and students needed to do something that required a change of clothes. It was not possible to do it with Haitian students because they would not change their clothes. Swapping shoes means their souls would be stolen. Thus, all seven Haitian students refused to follow the instruction. The focus of the class changed.

The data suggests that both teachers found it challenging to engage Haitian students in learning. These two examples describe the lack of engagement and poor participation in learning activities observed by both teachers. Clara seemed disappointed about her inability to engage the student in learning and keep her focused on the task because the student's lack of engagement generated disruptive behaviour and negatively affected other students' learning. In Isabel's example, a group of Haitian students refused to participate in learning activities and this affected the flow of the math activities and the entire class's learning.

Both teachers recognised why these students were disengaged. Clara knew that the Haitian student needed more individual scaffolding and task guidance but was

unable to offer an individualized approach as she was the only teacher in the classroom. Isabel was aware of her students' strong cultural beliefs and how this affected their participation. Noticing disengagement and understanding the important reasons behind it was significant given that teaching CALD students was a comparatively new experience for both Clara and Isabel. However, both teachers thought engaging in learning was the students' responsibility. Clara's use of "the situation frustrates me" is especially illustrative of her irritation when thinking of her inability to engage the student and attain her learning goal.

### **Reasons for the Challenges**

Isabel and Clara reported the language barrier as a main challenge. However, they also struggled with other challenges, such as the students' readiness to be included in mainstream classrooms, their own lack of knowledge and training, and insufficient support from the school's community. How these experiences influenced their challenges are analysed, with the help of Haworth's (2009) Contextual Layers model.

#### **Interaction in the Classroom Mid-layer: Students' Readiness to Be Included in Mainstream Classrooms**

The language barrier is classified in the second circle of the model, as it affected the communication and interaction between the teacher and students and amongst students. Clara reported many experiences concerning the students' inability to understand Spanish words and instructions,

It must be shocking for students to be in a completely different place, where they do not know the language. I would offer them this course [to learn Spanish] to reach a proficient level, and after that they could attend a mainstream classroom.

The language barrier was an important challenge in Isabel's classroom. She argues that it "has been the main issue with Haitian students and the most important reason for them to be excluded. To overcome this barrier preoccupation, planning and execution are needed."

Isabel explained further,

Even when I think the mainstream classroom is the best place for students, I also think it is important to provide a language space for these students. A place where they can learn basic words and concepts because the language barrier is the most difficult challenge to overcome.

Isabel and Clara struggled with their students' insufficient Spanish language knowledge and how to overcome these difficulties. Clara thought that both mainstream curriculum language demands and those of her subject area were too high for newly arrived diverse students with little or no exposure to Spanish. Isabel had a different perspective of what linguistically diverse students should do regarding language learning. Both felt the language barrier triggered time-related problems, particularly a



need for increased planning, preparation, and explanations for in-class activities. Both teachers agreed that they struggled with and had concerns about the language barrier.

Cultural differences between three distinct cultural groups exacerbated classroom struggles. These subcultures – represented by teachers, local students, and migrant students – held distinctly different values that occasionally intersected in unexpected ways. The math exhibition described above contrasted Chilean students being comfortable with the instructions to remove their shoes while Haitian students refused to comply. Similarly, whole-class classroom cleaning at the end of a day and individual students' spaces also caused some difficulties. Isabel, for example, reported the following experience about Haitian male students in year 6: "There are also many situations related to boys' sexist behaviour. For example, Haitian boys do not clean their desks as this duty is not for males." For Isabel, this situation was problematic because she felt it was important that all students were responsible and respectful of their own and others' spaces regardless of their gender.

Interestingly, Isabel thought that, from the cultural difference experiences, all children in the classroom would benefit as they would all learn from their classmates' attitudes. For example, when seven students refused to participate in the math activity due to the cultural belief that if they swapped shoes their soul would be stolen, Isabel had to talk with other students about empathy, explaining to them that the Haitians' behaviour was a result of their customs and beliefs. These episodes allowed Isabel to educate other students about cultural diversity. She identified a clear need to teach students to accept diversity and foster respectful relationships, given the increasing numbers of non-Spanish-background speakers in Chile.

### **Personal-professional Layer: Teachers' Own Knowledge and Training**

Both teachers declared to have been influenced within the personal-professional layer, although in different matters. Clara raised a concern regarding her lack of cultural knowledge, saying,

I think the first challenge I have faced is not knowing about their culture. I know what Chileans eat for breakfast, lunch, and even junk food. But I do not know what Haitians eat. Haitian eating habits are different from ours [Chilean].... Not knowing Haitian students' interests complicates my planning, class, and proximity to them.

Clara mentioned her personal feelings in some situations, such as "I felt really frustrated because I do not know words or slang that she can understand. Instead of trying to understand through the images or gestures/mimes I show and do, I feel she depends on me." In this situation, Clara referred to her limited knowledge of CALD students' culture and everyday life, elements she saw as central to effective teaching. She noted that Haitian culture is very distinctive, but she seemed willing to learn and understand in order to engage with them as she believed that knowing students was important.

Different from Clara, Isabel indicated that her lack of pedagogical knowledge for teaching CALD students influenced her classroom performance.

The goal I think of every time I instruct my students would be to generate strategies that allow them to discover their strengths. It is important to say that

the strategies [that I have tried] have improved their results. But I know there is plenty to do yet because I have seen Haitian students lost, bored, and excluded during my classes.

Isabel also elaborated on another example, saying, “Some students ask three or four times. When I see that they do not get my verbal explanation, then I usually try to explain through drawings and representations. It is not always effective though.”

The last example Isabel elaborated on was a clear indication of her taking on full responsibility for Haitian students who try to learn the content, but struggle. “This situation happens because (we) teachers are not prepared to teach/face students who do not manage the language. We lack skills and tools to effectively respond to all of them.” Isabel reflected, “I would have liked professional development, different courses that helped me to develop and acquire new strategies that aid students’ needs, mostly if they don’t know the language.” Neither teacher felt prepared to adequately address the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse students. They often had to develop new strategies to engage CALD students and support their learning. These were not always successful, illuminating both teachers’ need for support. Clara believed that knowing more about her students’ characteristics would help guide her lesson planning, as well as increase student engagement. She thought that understanding her students was central to making learning both meaningful and relevant. This belief encouraged her to research Haitian culture so that she could offer differentiated teaching. Isabel also sought new teaching strategies and practices that would work in diverse classrooms and encourage non-local students to successfully integrate in a new environment. While these practices were an important step towards new pedagogies, she thought her efforts did not address culturally and linguistically diverse students’ needs in a holistic manner.

Isabel and Clara reported that they received no specific training about intercultural contexts during their initial teacher education. However, only Isabel recognised this as an issue. Clara felt that teaching and pedagogy were standard,

When I know how to teach, I can apply this knowledge to any student [regardless of their background]. To me, the biggest barriers are cultural and linguistic. The fact that students do not speak English or Spanish, but Creole or French establishes the main barrier.

Hence, developing specific knowledge or receiving specific training to teach in culturally and linguistically diverse environments requires an acknowledgement that general training is not enough – additional skills are required.

### **External Layer: School Community**

Both participants experienced community influences but expressed them in different ways. Clara referred to the lack of relevant policies and support Haitian students received in the Chilean educational system. She said, “I would offer them a program before they actually started attending Chilean schools so they could study basic Spanish and know more about what is going on in the classrooms.” Isabel’s vision differed, as she believed that the best place for Haitian students was in mainstream classrooms. She stated, “these [mainstream classrooms] are the more enriching places for students. Here is where they develop strategies, face challenges,

socialise, share with other students, and so on.” Isabel argued that mainstream classes would provide better opportunities and richer environments for culturally and linguistically diverse students. However, she believed that mainstream teachers should be better supported in this work with required teaching assistants.

Isabel reported a lack of relevant support for culturally and linguistically diverse students within her school. She said,

40% of students in this school are Haitian (...) In the whole school, there is just one translator. For him, it is very difficult to perform his job alone (...) It should be mandatory to have more people helping to translate Spanish–Creole....

However, even with a translator, things were difficult. Isabel elaborated that,

Jacques is a year 5 student. He does not seem to have learnt the content. Even when he manages the language, he seems to not understand the content. I asked the translator for help.... This mediation showed a certain level of understanding from the student, but he still seems confused.

Isabel mentioned that the community was not prepared to receive these students, “having developed awareness for the whole community towards the inclusion process immigrant students live. This would have been a starting point to build guidelines for all to follow.” Not being prepared for Chilean schooling contributed to the students’ difficulties when trying to include themselves in groups. She mentioned an example,

A student [Jacob] in year 8 has not been able to integrate himself in the group, which has been an issue when including him in any activity at school. Although, many activities have been done to create awareness about Haitian students’ integration, these have not been effective.

Both participants agreed that action was required at a higher level to improve diverse students’ experiences and learning. This lack of preparedness from both schools and the education system was affecting teachers, as well as the Haitian students and their relations with their classmates. Although the school community used multicultural activities to create awareness, these were ineffective.

### **Discussion: Teachers’ Professional Needs**

Exploring and understanding teachers’ challenges are central to the development of relevant policies, professional learning programs, and resources currently missing in the Chilean context. Both teacher-participants, Clara and Isabel, encountered similar challenges when teaching Haitian students: They found that teaching mainstream content and engaging these students in mainstream classroom activities were difficult. Both participants felt they needed additional knowledge, skills, and training to teach non-local students: Clara needed to know more about the students’ culture and Isabel needed pedagogical knowledge. Classroom interactions were influenced by the students’ unreadiness to be included in the mainstream classroom, where cultural and linguistic issues played an important role. Furthermore, teachers lacked school support - there were no guidelines to include Haitian students; not enough activities to create awareness nor to develop understanding from the local students.

Despite their different teaching contexts, Isabel and Clara agreed on their main challenges. Yet, asking the students was not always an option due to students' limited Spanish and the teachers' poor Creole. For Clara, her limited cultural understanding was a crucial limitation when performing in her culturally diverse classroom. Isabel also thought that her lack of suitable pedagogical knowledge contributed to her struggle. As addressed by the literature (see Castro, 2010; Dobinson & Buchori, 2016; Reid & Sriprakash, 2012), cultural knowledge and suitable pedagogies might have been addressed within appropriate initial teacher education. They both agreed that students' limited Spanish and the intersection of the different cultures influenced their challenges. However, Isabel and Clara's opinions differed regarding how students' language needs should be addressed. Clara felt students needed language development resources and support prior to inclusion in mainstream classrooms. Isabel advocated for a more integrated approach, where a Creole translator worked alongside a mainstream teacher. On this issue, the literature is divided, and no clear answers have been given. Some researchers support the idea of intensive language preparation for linguistically diverse students given the longer than average route to reach adequate proficiency (Campos-Bustos, 2019; Miller et al., 2009).

The challenges these teachers faced help to identify several important professional needs that were central to Clara's and Isabel's work and that are crucial for maximising learning opportunities for students from diverse contexts. First, Clara did not feel comfortable with the level of her cultural knowledge. For her, knowing not only the names and ages of students was important, but also their backgrounds. This finding is consistent with scholarly work arguing that knowing about students' "first culture" (Cross, 2019, p. 284) is important because their cultural backgrounds, social practices, and values considerably impact their engagement, participation, and learning (García et al., 2010; Moloney & Saltmarsh, 2016). However, the findings suggest that, although Clara understood the value of this information, she lacked access to it for planning and teaching purposes. In contrast, Isabel was not concerned about her lack of Haitian cultural knowledge, although students' cultural beliefs affected their engagement and participation. In this instance, an acknowledgement of the additional training required to teach culturally and linguistically diverse students would emphasise a growing cultural awareness in the teacher participants (Gilmour et al., 2018; Quintriqueo et al., 2017).

Relevant pedagogy and teaching strategies are a vital professional requirement for supporting non-local students' learning in mainstream classrooms. Isabel's case suggested that she needed to develop a whole new repertoire of teaching practices for teaching math in Spanish. This finding is consistent with previous research in the field, which demonstrates that teachers are searching for effective pedagogies for diverse students (De Courcy et al., 2012; García et al., 2010). The lack of pedagogical resources mentioned by both teacher-participants evidences their desire to extend their teaching approaches with diverse students (Barrios-Valenzuela & Palou-Julián, 2014; Campos-Bustos, 2019). It also shows the need for initial teacher education and professional development that enables teachers to appropriately perform in multicultural classrooms.

Despite their mixed experiences with language education, the teacher participants needed to learn how to support diverse students in language development, as students needed to participate and engage in mainstream classroom activities. Regardless of where these students are placed – in specialised programs or working with translators in the mainstream classrooms – their language needs must

be addressed. As De Courcy et al. (2012) argue, culturally and linguistically diverse learners “need targeted, systematic and explicit instruction based on their language needs and prior learning” (p. 7). This suggests that mainstream teachers need to focus on language while teaching the mainstream content, and all teachers need to be prepared to work in intercultural classrooms (Dobinson & Buchori, 2016). While both teacher-participants were aware of their students' language needs, they did not seem to realise that they needed to develop relevant pedagogical knowledge and skills to assist students in the process of learning Spanish.

Finally, the lack of relevant policies supporting culturally and linguistically diverse students' integration to the Chilean mainstream classrooms remains an issue (Jiménez et al., 2017; Mora, 2018; Muñoz & Ramos, 2017). Appropriate planning regarding cultural awareness would help students, teachers, and the whole school community to effectively navigate the inclusion of culturally and linguistically diverse students. This planning could also benefit students' learning process and teachers' performance, which would contribute to better integration in the classroom and more acceptance from their classmates.

These findings offer new insights into Chilean teachers' needs and makes a significant contribution to research and practice given the limited investigation about the Chilean context and Haitian students in mainstream schools (Campos-Bustos, 2019). Mainstream teachers have professional needs related to their work with multicultural students; they require relevant support to address the issue of Haitian children's integration into mainstream classrooms (Jiménez, 2014; Mora, 2018). This support is specifically needed in terms of developing cultural awareness, extending teachers' pedagogic repertoires for supporting linguistically and culturally diverse students, and equipping teachers with strategies to assist students in the process of learning Spanish in the mainstream classrooms.

## Conclusion

Cultural and linguistic diversity has become a widespread phenomenon in many classrooms around the world. Each country seems to consider different solutions. Due to increasing global mobility, schools in different contexts may see increasing numbers of CALD students without necessarily knowing how to address their needs. To be effective, classroom practices need to shift in terms of how students in multicultural countries are taught (Kramersch, 2008). This change is challenging, if not impossible, without sufficient teacher preparation. An assumption that mainstream teachers engage and teach non-local students through a trial-and-error approach is problematic. This assumption underestimates the challenges of diverse classrooms and the long-term consequences that inadequate teaching practices may produce for these students. Both participants were experienced mainstream teachers with over five years in the classroom. Yet, they needed numerous additional skills to effectively respond to the changing composition in their classrooms. Although both teachers worked in dissimilar areas and contexts, they experienced similar struggles when teaching Haitian students. Both teachers need proper support and resources, and their professional needs should be met in order to fulfil the needs and interests of their students.

This study has some limitations due to the scope and number of participants; a case study represents the case, not the world (Stake, 2006). Hence, generalisations cannot be made. These participants displayed views and experiences which may be common for other teachers in similar situations. As such, further research in this area is needed.

These findings may be of value to professional learning bodies in Chile. It is crucial to provide more support for mainstream teachers working with culturally and linguistically diverse students. A good starting point can be increasing teachers' awareness that instructing these groups requires additional knowledge and skills regarding students' first culture, language needs, and relevant pedagogy. Another important dimension of such support is providing teachers with relevant professional learning resources and materials.

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## Author Contact

Carla Tapia Parada, [carlatapiaparada@gmail.com](mailto:carlatapiaparada@gmail.com)

Katrina Tour, [Katrina.Tour@monash.edu](mailto:Katrina.Tour@monash.edu)