

Pan – Commonwealth Forum, September 2019, Edinburgh Scotland

TITLE: THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL CAPITAL AND INITIATIVES TOWARDS IMPROVING THE INDIGENOUS PUPILS' ENGLISH LITERACY PERFORMANCE.

By Hariharan N Krishnasamy and Dzafira Mohd. Sharani

Universiti Utara Malaysia

Abstract

Literacy among the indigenous pupils (orang asli) is often understood in cultural terms within the education system not only in Malaysia but also across the world. Literacy is a significant issue for all nations (National Literacy Trust, 2012). This study focuses on the performance of the orang asli under the Malaysian LINUS (Literacy and Numeracy Screening) programme, which is an early intervention program to improve literacy and numeracy. Amongst the educational issues, the orang asli have a rather disproportionate percentage of primary pupils who face challenges in English language literacy acquisition. The main objective of the study is to find out the relationship between selected aspects of cultural capital and orang asli pupils' performance in the LINUS program. Additionally, the study intends to find out initiatives taken by teachers to improve the orang asli pupils' performance in the LINUS Programme. Questionnaires and interviews were administered to collect data from 106 orang asli pupils and ten teachers from a selected region in Malaysia, based on purposive sampling. Generally, the findings suggest that there is a lack of cultural capital among the orang asli parents and this poses challenges to pupils' literacy levels in English. In classrooms, there must be a move towards a culturally responsive pedagogy which recognizes the orang asli pupils' cultural knowledge, their prior experiences, values and beliefs. The pupils are more inclined to engage in classroom activities that are fun and relate to their environment. Pupils enjoy positive learning experiences as they engage in playing, singing, drawing and colouring. Most teachers noted that by encouraging their children to attend school, the parents had demonstrated that they valued literacy. During the presentation, the audience will experience hands-on the pedagogical initiatives for the orang asli pupils and discuss cultural capital and equity issues based on videos or pictures taken.

Keywords: cultural capital, teachers' initiative, Orang Asli pupils, literacy performance, LINUS 2.0 Programme

1.0 Background

Similar to many parts in the world, pupils' literacy in English language among the Malaysian primary schools is a major concern among parents, educators and the government as many Malaysian pupils are still unable to master basic literacy skills in reading and writing. This ability to read and write in English is much more critical among the economically disadvantaged groups such as the Orang Asli (indigenous pupils).

Research seems to consistently indicate that low academic achievement is closely linked to the lack of strong literacy skills, as pupils with poor literacy skills will not only face challenges in school but these challenges go beyond the school walls (Clark & Burke, 2012; National Literacy Trust, 2012). Having strong literacy skills is essential for success in school and beyond because literacy is "the prerequisite to academic achievement", which requires that pupils "read and write across a wide variety of disciplines, genres, and materials with increasing skill, flexibility and insight" (Snow & Biancarosa, 2003, p. 5); as well as to read, comprehend, and learn from texts that make more demands on readers, which require that they master words and vocabulary, expand their knowledge, and also be able to think in an open and critical way (Chall & Jacobs, 2003). Research also indicates that strong literacy skills in children are developed when they are exposed to early reading experiences. Indeed, there is strong evidence to indicate that the consequences of a slow start in literacy become enormous over time and continue into adulthood without proper intervention (Grossen, 1997; Slavin & Madden, 1989).

The effects of low literacy are far-reaching. Research suggests that children who fail in reading and fail to show improvement in assessments related to reading at the initial stages are at risk and this failure might extend to other subjects (McIntosh, Horner, Chard, Boland & Good, 2006). The need to help at risk students and those who have low levels of reading abilities can be addressed by reading intervention programs.

The Malaysian Ministry of Education (MoE) introduced an educational intervention programme called the 'Literacy and Numeracy Screening' (LINUS) in 2010 followed by LINUS 2.0 in 2013. This programme is based on the principle that low performing or at-risk pupils can be identified at the early stage of schooling and provided with additional teaching support after a relatively short exposure to classroom instruction. This is in line with the inclusive educational policy adopted in Malaysia.

As the LINUS2.0 Programme is an early reading intervention for the beginning reader, the phonics approach is used as the strategy to teach reading. Phonemic awareness and the alphabetic principle are two fundamental skills for reading acquisition (Mann & Foy, 2003; Simmons, Kame'enui, Coyne & Chard, 2002). This early reading intervention is focused on phonological skills development at the onset-rhyme level, alphabet work, word analysis and whole word reading. Phonics is one of the most effective methods to engage children in reading activities at an early stage. Therefore, for pupils who have poor levels of reading skills and do not respond to universal reading, a secondary reading intervention could bring positive reading outcomes (Kamps & Greenwood, 2005; Lane & Menzies, 2003). This reading intervention could be in the form of supplemental or remedial reading.

LINUS 2.0 is a data driven intervention programme which addresses the needs of individual students. It facilitates teachers' efforts to identify pupils who have reading difficulties and is somewhat diagnostic in the sense that it helps teachers determine the specific reading skills that their pupils are unable to acquire (Rosselliah, Sabariah & Chan, 2015). However, the performance of the Orang Asli is definitely lower than the national average performance. Although many efforts have been made to empower the Orang Asli via education which includes English language literacy and the LINUS 2 program, the orang asli children's' performance suggests that there are several literacy issues that need to be investigated and addressed.

1.1 Orang Asli

Malaysia presents a picture of intriguing diversity comprising peoples from the Malay Archipelago, China, India and the indigenous population. Peninsular Malaysia is home to a diverse population constituting the Orang Asli/indigenous population (Hood, 2006). Based on a broad categorisation of the Orang Asli, there are three major types that include the Aboriginal Malay, the Senoi and the Negrito. They have some shared characteristics but also several distinctive features, practices and socio cultural norms (Bellwood, 1997; JHEOA, 2002; Nicholas, 2006).

Orang Asli children have been classified as a group of at-risk students in the context of development as they face serious problems (Ministry of Education, 2006). Therefore, realising this impact towards the future of the Orang Asli community, the Child Poverty Act 2010 had set out governmental proposals to end child poverty by 2020.

2.0 Problem Statement

For second language learners, the task of learning to read is not a natural, simple and automatic process as it involves the simultaneous cognitive processes of linking the abstractions of phonemes (sounds), graphemes (letters) and morphemes (words) where the final goal of these processes is to reach the comprehension (meaning) level. Therefore, the LINUS2.0 Programme was introduced in 2013 to help the at-risk pupils to acquire Basic English language literacy by using the phonics approach as an early reading intervention. Many beginning readers appeared to benefit from this programme. However, the results persistently show the under-achievement of the Orang Asli pupils in Orang Asli Secondary Schools as compared to the mainstream schools. This gap in achievement needs to be addressed (Wong & Abdullah, 2018) in line with the MoE's objective of inclusive education so that no child is left behind.

The Orang Asli nature is such that they are inhibited, shy, inward-looking, and wary of new experiences, live very much with Nature and its natural rhythms, and communicate in ways that do not fit easily into communication practices in the mainstream. These factors might affect their performance in school. Furthermore, the main exposure and need to learn English only become apparent when the Orang Asli pupils attend school (Sumathi, 2013). Therefore, this study will look into the cultural capital of the Orang Asli pupils, which goes beyond attendance records and exam scores.

3.0 Research Questions (RQ)

For the purposes of this study, the following research questions were addressed:

RQ1: What are the levels of cultural capital of the *Orang Asli* pupils?

RQ2: How does the form of cultural capital influence the *Orang Asli* pupils performance in the LINUS.20 Programme?

RQ3: What are the teacher's suggestions on ways to improve the *Orang Asli* pupils' performance in the LINUS.20 Programme?

4.0 Theoretical perspective

This research draws on the notions of cultural capital and selected aspects of cultural capital related to parental cultural capital.

The concept of cultural capital was initially developed by Bourdieu and his colleagues in order to explain cultural and social reproduction in French society (example, why pupils from well to do families disproportionately enjoy academic success, while pupils from poor families do not) (Bourdieu, 1977; DeGraaf et. al., 2000). In this sense, cultural capital is the most valuable in relation to education, as cultural capital is the most relevant to one's academic success in school (Bourdieu, 1986; Essi d'Almeida, 2012). Cultural capital includes the aspect of culture such as family background, traditions, education, attitudes, behaviour, and taste that are privileged in society and typically help one achieve economic success (Lane & Taber, 2012).

This study gives emphasis to the schoolchildren's parental cultural capital in which institutions confer academic recognition, recognise skills and knowledge or value professional qualifications. These forms of capital are closely intertwined with human capital which includes quality of life, beliefs, world views, attitudes and motivation. These become ingrained in the individual as a result of the socialisation within the *Orang Asli* community, including the parents. Thus, the individual becomes a microcosm of what the community stands for and the values they uphold.

5.0 Literature review

Early intervention is based on the principle that low performing pupils can be identified and provided with additional teaching support after a relatively short exposure to classroom instruction. Teachers therefore need to remain focused on teaching English as a subject with all the demands the 21st century makes without overlooking the learning outcomes of student groups who have consistently performed below expectations in the subject. To engage them more successfully, schools need to provide a more dynamic and productive curriculum in English that reflects the changing nature of society and pupils literacy needs especially the pupils from low-performing and low-income societal backgrounds.

Education has long been considered a critical factor to help the Indigenous disadvantaged children (Ockenden, 2014). There are Indigenous pupils regularly attending school and succeeding at school (Purdie et al. 2011). In Australia (CCYPCG, 2007), Indigenous pupils who complete Year 12 have greater employment opportunities, more self-confidence, and participate more in community life. However, the statistics indicate that as a group, Indigenous pupils are performing well below the educational standards of other pupils on measures of literacy, school enrolment, school attendance and Year 12 completion (COAG Reform Council, 2013b). Although more Indigenous young people are now completing Year 12, there have been few improvements in the proportions of Indigenous pupils meeting the minimum national standards in reading across all age groups (COAG Reform Council, 2013a).

Attending school has a positive impact on learning, but this by itself is insufficient. Children should feel engaged in the learning activities and feel connected to the school (Ockenden.2014). School engagement and academic achievement are closely intertwined (Woolley & Bowen, 2007). Engagement in school together with the learning process gains more significance as attrition rates are high among the Indigenous pupils as compared to non-Indigenous pupils. Furthermore, the indigenous schoolchildren tend to have lower educational aspirations (Bodkin-Andrews et al. 2010; Craven 2003).

Norwaliza & Ramlee (2015) found that *Orang Asli* pupils show more positive responses in the classroom if the teacher could adopt methods that were perceived to be fun and meaningful for the students. Thus, there is a need for diversity rather than a rigid approach that is confined to the textbook. This finding was consistent with the findings by Hassan (2006) who states that teachers with high competence in teaching produce high levels of student achievement. Norwaliza. & Ramlee (2015) mentioned that teachers who show excellent classroom management and decide on the appropriate teaching strategies will be able to capture indigenous students'

interest to learn. However, indigenous inclined pedagogy and the cultural context of the Orang Asli is neglected and this research focuses on this aspect of Orang Asli education.

6.0 Research Methodology

This study used a mixed method approach with a combination of the quantitative and qualitative methods. The participants were pupils from Years 2 and 3 of the sub-ethnic groups (Semai) from three different schools, and the teachers selected were those who teach Orang Asli pupils. All participants were involved in the LINUS 2.0 program. 110 students were chosen to participate in the study while all the ten teachers were chosen from the schools. The teachers were referred to as T1 till T10 to maintain confidentiality.

The items were guided by the main focus of the study, which is about parental cultural capital and LINUS 2.0 which relates to English language literacy. Close-ended questionnaires were distributed to the 110 students and 106 responded. The questionnaire for teachers was adopted from Pishghadam, Noghani, and. Zabihi (2011). The interviews with teachers were based on semi-structured interviews. Data analysis for the questionnaires involved simple frequencies. The SPSS version 23 was used. As for the qualitative aspect, a thematic analysis was used for the teacher interviews.

7.0 Findings/Discussion

RQ1

In relation to the background of the respondents in this study, it shows that majority of the family financial resources are from the farming and the agricultural sector, where 62.26% of the parents of the Orang Asli pupils are working as rubber tappers and labourers in the palm oil plantation in their respective areas. For 25.47% of the respondents, the family income comes from casual employment such as working in supermarkets and grocery shops while another 11.32% of the responses indicate that the family income comes from various jobs such as school guards, policemen and teachers.

The teachers were in agreement that generally, the parents of the pupils taking part in this study had limited financial resources and engaged in occupations identified with the lower income group. With regard to the total monthly family income, most of the teachers agreed that the pupils in their schools come from the lower income groups with less than RM500 per month.

RQ2

In many ways, the need for intervention in literacy practices becomes more acute when there is a lack of support from outside the confines of the school.

Based on the student questionnaire, 94.34% of the respondents disagreed that they have computer/laptop at home while 82.08% of Orang Asli pupils claimed that they don't have reading materials at home. Statistics also proved that the parents of most of these pupils had very limited participation in several activities that would help to improve literacy levels. 76.42% of the children claimed that they did not get their parents' encouragement to read when they were children, 69.81% did not volunteer for school projects and 62.26% of the parents did not encourage them in school activities. Nearly half of the respondents disagreed that they have television/VCD/radio/cassette. The statistics also reveal that parents dedicate very little time for family or children's education, to encourage reading and writing, or invest in extra tuition

Teachers generally agreed that the children in the study had limited resources and parent participation was limited for them to improve their English language literacy. An excerpt is given below:

They depends 100% to the school as their home environment are not supportive to learn and use English language especially the tools needed. (T3)

The teachers agreed that a lack of resources and activities that promote English language literacy poses challenges for the students. Students become more dependent on the school to improve literacy levels.

Finally, most teachers noted that parents were struggling economically and hardly spent time on educational pursuits for their children, monitor homework, or take the children to educational sites. The home does not privilege literacy engagement.

RQ3

Generally, the Orang Asli pupils have unique distinct languages, knowledge systems, and cultural beliefs. The teachers realize that their tasks could be much more challenging as their pedagogical approaches have to be culturally responsive and relevant to the community.

Based on the teacher responses, the teacher's initiatives in the classroom could be categorized into 3 major strands:

- i) fun learning element in teaching and learning,
- ii) holistic and hands-on teaching and learning, and
- iii) maximizing and familiarizing the English language.

All the teachers agreed that they have to revisit the existing approaches used for the Orang Asli pupils. The existing approach here referred to traditional methods which are driven by the textbook and the Orang Asli pupils are expected to sit, read and learn. The fun learning elements encourage pupils to participate with teacher's guidance. Pupils enjoy positive learning experiences as they engage in playing, performing sketches, singing, making models of objects using bamboo, drawing and colouring.

The teachers introduced teaching and learning methods that are actually linked to the holistic and hands-on teaching approach towards their Orang Asli pupils and it was cross-curricular. Song based activities, game-based activities, project based activities, and art works in English language classrooms were seen to be closely related to the world of the Orang Asli pupils.

Teachers admit that pupils were having major problems due to the limited use of English. However, they believed that by including elements of language and culture in the lesson, they can have some positive outcomes such as good results in academic writing, reducing dropout rates, improving school attendance percentages, reducing clinical symptoms and improving the behaviour of students as has been proven in other studies (Smith, Leake, & Kamekona, 1998; Yagi, 1985). Even though they code mix Malay and English in classrooms, and use the tribal language and body language at the same time so that comprehension is made easier, the important point is that some amount of English is filtered into the lessons. T1 said:

Those pupils are practising for action songs competition. Haaaa...impressive right? They can memorize 3 English songs I gave them just because they like to do it.

Culturally, the Orang Asli pupils were not familiar with English and the best possibility to use the language is in the classroom with the teachers. While this research was done in the context of the Malaysian scenario, the pedagogical implications are not confined to Malaysia but could also be applied to indigenous students who are not part of the mainstream practices. In classrooms, there must be a move towards a culturally responsive pedagogy which recognizes the orang asli pupils' worldviews, cultural knowledge, their prior experiences, values and beliefs. This awareness must be instilled in teacher training institutions.

Parents have the awareness of sending their children to school but they are not able to cater to the needs of providing an English language learning environment at home. They tend to depend on school most of the time. They have the awareness of monitoring their children's homework but they fail to help them to complete the homework. They encourage their children to go to school to learn to read but focus less on encouraging their children to read at home. Realizing the parents' awareness and involvement, the discussion through the interview with all the respondents (teachers) found that currently there were many programmes involving the parents or family that solely come from the school itself or from the Ministry of Education, JAKOA (Department of Orang Asli Affairs) or other concerned organizations.

Conclusion

This study found several significant issues between the Orang Asli cultural capital and their literacy performance in LINUS 2.0. The finding shows that the levels of pupils' cultural capital were strongly influenced by their parents' cultural capital. This finding was consistent with the findings by Anderson & Cheung (2003) and Lareau (2003) which states that children inherit cultural capital from their parents, either passively via exposure to parents' cultural capital or actively via parents' deliberate efforts to transfer cultural capital to their children.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, R. and Cheung, S. (2003), Time to Read: Family Resources and Educational Outcomes in Britain, *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 34(3): 413- 433
- Bellwood, P. S. (1997). *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Bodkin-Andrews, G., Denson, A., Craven, A. (2010). Looking Past Positivity For Indigenous Australian Students: A Preliminary Investigation Of Racial Discrimination And The Illusion Of Resiliency In Academia. *Paper presented at AARE Annual Conference 2010*. Pp 1-11.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Form of Capital. In: J.G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook for Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press.
- CCYPCG (Commission for Children and Young People and Child Guardian) (2007). Winning the game of life: overcoming educational disadvantage among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in Queensland. Issues paper. Brisbane: CCYPCG. Retrieved 28 January 2018, from <https://www.ccypcg.qld.gov.au/pdf/publications/issues/IndigenousIssuePaper.pdf>.
- Chall, J. S., & Jacobs, V. A. (2003). *Poor Children's Fourth-Grade Slump*. *American Educator*, 27(1), 14.
- Clark, C. & Burke, D. (2012). *Boys' Reading Commission 2012: A review of existing research conducted to underpin the Commission*. National Literacy Trust.
- COAG (Council of Australian Governments) Reform Council (2013a). Education in Australia 2012: five years of performance. Report to the Council of Australian Governments. Sydney: COAG Reform Council. Retrieved 10 March 2018, from <http://www.coagreformcouncil.gov.au/reports/education/education-australia-2012-five-years-performance>.
- COAG Reform Council (2013b). Indigenous reform 2011–12: comparing performance across Australia. Report to the Council of Australian Governments. Sydney: COAG Reform Council. Retrieved 1 June, 2018, from <https://www.coagreformcouncil.gov.au/reports/indigenous-reform/indigenous-reform-2011-12-comparing-performance-across-australia>
- Craig, C. (2006). Pierre Bourdieu and Social Transformation: Lesson from Algeria. *Development and Change*, 37(6). Pp. 1403-1415. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-7660.2006.00535.x
- DeGraaf, N.D., De Graaf, P.M. & Kraaykamp, G. (2000). Parental Cultural Capital and educational Attainment in the Netherlands: A Refinement of the Cultural Capital Perspective. *Sociology of Education*, 73, 92-111. doi:10.2307/2673239.
- DiMaggio, P. (1982). Cultural Capital and School Success: The Impact of Status Culture Participant on the Grades of U.S High School Pupils. *American Sociological Review*, 47, 89-201.
- Essi d'Almeida (2016). Cultural Capital, Habitus and Capabilities in Modern Language Learning. *Scottish Languages Review*. (31), 9-22.
- Foy, J. G., & Mann, V. A. (2003). Home Literacy Environment and Phonological Awareness in Preschool Children Differential Effects for Rhyme and Phoneme Awareness. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 24, 59-88
- Grossen, B. (1997). *30 Years of Research: What we know about how children learn to read*. Retrieved 27 October, 2014 from <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED415492.pdf>.

- Hasan, A. (2015). Reflections on Pedagogical and Curriculum Implementation at Orang Asli Schools in Pahang. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 172:442-448
- Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli (JHEOA) (2008). Data Maklumat Asas JHEOA, Bahagian Penyelidikan & Perancangan.
- Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia (KPM) (2015). *Buku Panduan dan Pengoperasian Program Literasi dan Numerasi (LINUS2.0)*. Kuala Lumpur: Bahagian Pembangunan Kurikulum Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia.
- Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia (KPM) (2013). *Pelan Pembangunan Pendidikan Malaysia 2013 – 2015*. Kuala Lumpur: Pusat Perkembangan Kurikulum Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia.
- Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life, With an Update a Decade Later*. California: University of California Press:
- McIntosh, K., Horner, R. H., Chard, D. J., Boland, J. B., Good, R. H. (2006). The Use of Reading and Behaviour Screening measures to predict non-response to school-wide positive behavior support: A longitudinal analysis. *School Psychology Review*, 35, 275–291
- Nicholas, C. (2006). The State of OrangAasli Education and Its Roots Problem. Consultancy Report *Presented for Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (SUHAKAM)*. 21 July 2006. Kuala Lumpur.
- Ockenden, L. (2014). Positive learning environments for Indigenous children and young people. Report. Retrieved from <https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/indigenous-australians/positive-learning-environments-for-indigenous-chil/contents/table-of-contents>.
- Norwaliza, A.W. & Ramlee, M. (2014). Reflections on Pedagogical and Curriculum Implementation at Orang Asli Schools in Pahang. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 172(2015) 442-448. Report *Presented for Global Conference on Business & Social Science-2014, GCBSS-2014*. 15 & 16th December 2014. Kuala Lumpur.
- Pishghadam R., Noghani M., and Zabihi R (2011) Performance Management & Delivery Unit (PEMANDU). *National Key Result Area (NKRA)*. An Application of a Questionnaire of Social and Cultural Capital to English Language Learning. Retrieved 8 July, 2016, from <http://gtp.pemandu.gov.my>
- Purdie, N., Reid, K., Frigo, T., Stone, A., & Kleinhenz, E. (2011). Literacy and Numeracy Learning: Lessons from the Longitudinal Literacy and Numeracy Study for Indigenous Students. *ACER Research Monograph No. 65*, 1-102. Retrieved March 12, 2018, from https://research.acer.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=acer_monographs
- Reza, P., Mohsen, N. Reza, Z. (2011). An Application of a Questionnaire of Socio and Cultural Capital to English Language Learning. *Canadian Center of Science and Education*, 4 (3). DOI:10.5539/elt.v4n3p151
- Rosseliiah, B., Sabariah, M. & Chan S. H., (2015). *Malaysian Journal of ELT Research*, 11(1), 108-121
- Roy, N. (1990). Bourdieu on Education and Social and Cultural Reproduction. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 11(4), 431-447. Retrieved October 15, 2016, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1392877>
- Shafiudin, S. (2012). Importance of Early Reading Intervention. *ESSAI*,10(30). Retrieved October 15, 2016, from <http://www.dc.cod.edu/essai/vol10/iss1/30>
- Simmons, D.C., Kame'enui, E.J., Coyne, M.D., & Chard, D. (2002). Effective strategies for teaching beginning reading . In E. J. Kame'enui, D. W. Carnine, R. C. Dixon, D. C. Simmons, & M. D. Coyne (Eds.), *Effective teaching strategies that accommodate diverse learners* (2nd ed., pp. 53—92). Columbus, OH: Merrill
- Slavin, R. E., & Madden, N. A. (1989). Effective Classroom Programs for Students at Risk. In R. E. Slavin, N. L. Karweit, & N. A. Madden (Eds.), *Effective Programs for Students at Risk*. Needham Heights, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon.

- Smith, D.C., Leake, D.W., & Kamekona, N. (1998). Effects of a culturally competent school-based intervention for at-risk Hawaiian students. *Pacific Educational Research Journal*, 9(1), 3-22
- Snow, C.E. & Biancarosa, G. (2003) Adolescent Literacy and the Achievement Gap: What Do We Know and Where Do We Go From Here? *Carnegie Corporation of New York Adolescent Literacy Funders Meeting Report*.
- Sullivan, A. (2001). Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment. *Sociology*, 35, 893-912.
- Sumathi, R. (2013). 'A Pet rabbit Bunny': Teaching English to Orang Asli Children, An Indigenous Community in Malaysia. DOI:10.7763/IPEDR.2013.V68.25
- Wong, B. W. K. & Abdillah, K. K. (2018). Poverty and Primary Education of the Orang Asli Children. In C. Joseph (Ed), *Policies and Politics in Malaysian Education: Education reforms, nationalism and neoliberalism* (pp. 54-71). New York: Routledge.
- Yagi, K. (1985). Indian education act project in the Portland public schools. 1984-85 *Evaluation Report. Oregon: Portland Public Schools. Evaluation Department.*