ATTITUDES OF TEACHER EDUCATORS IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND TOWARDS BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE DIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the attitudes of teacher educators in Aotearoa New Zealand towards bilingualism and language diversity. The research used a theoretical framework developed from the social psychology of language to test a model which incorporated a critical language awareness perspective.

A postal questionnaire was sent to 831 staff at all 22 institutions providing teacher education for the compulsory (primary and secondary) education sector. The response rate of 63.8% was very high for a postal survey.

Questions were based around three scenarios which investigated issues for a bilingual child in the classroom, the value of language diversity in education, and wider curriculum issues concerning bilingualism and language diversity. Ivanič's (1990) outline of critical language awareness underpinned the analytical approach adopted.

The questionnaire design allowed for a comparison between attitudes towards Māori, French, Sāmoan, Korean, Russian and Somali students in the first two scenarios, by varying the language and ethnicity in the scenarios given to each respondent. Significant differences were found for five of the ten questions. Bilingual-supportive responses for a question about English use in the classroom were more likely by respondents who were asked about a French or Māori child, and less likely by those asked about a Sāmoan or Somali child. Bilingualsupportive responses for a question about English use at home were also more likely by those who were asked about a French child, and less likely by those asked about a Korean child. Diversity-supportive attitudes were more likely to be expressed towards Māori than any of the other languages for questions about a student teacher's accent, incorporating the language into a social studies unit, and children learning the language. A Russian or Sāmoan student teacher's accent elicited the least supportive responses, while French, Korean or Russian languages were least likely to be supported in a social studies unit. In the third scenario, attitudes towards language issues in the curriculum showed a medium level of critical awareness.

A follow-up study to check on the validity of the research investigated materials from a group of 19 questionnaire respondents, and a comparison was made with their questionnaire responses. There was a medium level of critical language awareness evident in the materials, which generally showed a high level of congruence with the questionnaire.

The model found that the teacher educators' approach to bilingualism and language diversity was determined by the ethnolinguistic vitality of the language groups (higher in the cases of Māori and sometimes French), and mediated by their levels of language awareness. Personal backgrounds were not found to be significant.

This research points to the need for the development of a coherent theory of language in education in Aotearoa New Zealand, and highlights the role linguists can play in promoting knowledge on language issues. Results also identified a need for policy development to include all ethnolinguistic groups in the school curriculum. It is recommended that pre-service teacher education should aim to equip all teachers with the tools to support the bilingualism and language diversity of children in schools.

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INTRODUCTION: LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

From: *Next Magazine* July 2001, pp. 56-65

Talking Point Shiree Schumacher

Regardless of how proud people are of their cultural roots, to speak anything other than English is a marker of difference here. That's why eight-year-old Tifany Dvorak no longer wishes to speak her mother-tongue, German, and eight-year-old Ani McGahan shrinks with embarrassment when she's singled out as being able to speak Māori.

Undoubtedly, we've come a long way in the 60 years since Ani's grandmother got a thrashing at school for speaking Māori. But even today, an Anglo-centric attitude is shaping our community. Joanne Powell, Ani's mother, calls it a "shut-down mentality". "There's a whole subversive thing going on. I wanted to take Māori in school but my parents said it was a waste of time." Her husband, advertising executive Glenn McGahan, agrees. "I've had people say to me, 'If Māori was compulsory in any school, I'd pull my kids out'."

"In Europe it's not unusual for kids to be multilingual," says Joanne. "But if you speak another language to your children here, people think you're doing them a disservice."

1.1 Introduction

. . .

English is the main language used in education in Aotearoa New Zealand¹. The origin of this study was a response to anecdotal reports from classrooms in which children from non-English backgrounds were automatically being allocated English names and their parents being advised to speak English to them at home. Similar reports were also evident in the media, as is illustrated by this excerpt from an *Evening Post* item on a Wellington school's homework centre (Malo 1995: 1):

Principal Austin Brookes said Pacific Island students tended to fail exams in academic subjects because of pressures to attend outside activities, such as church, cultural and sports commitments.

And although parents were committed to their children's education, students were disadvantaged if English was not the first language at home.

¹ Aotearoa is the Māori name for New Zealand, see Glossary in Appendix A.

The view expressed by this principal contrasts with the research literature on bilingualism, which emphasises the positive cognitive and metalinguistic effects of bilingualism (Baker 2001: 160), and implies that bilingualism and biliteracy should be strongly promoted in schools (Cummins 2000: 198). Corson has pointed out that bilingualism also has a social justice dimension (Corson 1994, 1999). The starting point of my project was therefore the difference between these two opposing attitudes towards bilingualism. As my recent background is in teaching at tertiary level rather than in the compulsory school sector, I decided to examine how teachers are being prepared for the multilingual environment in schools, and my focus has therefore been on teacher education (in other words, the education of teachers).

1.1.1 Overall approach

French sociologist Bourdieu (2000: 83) states that in light of new strategies of social domination the social sciences 'have to choose which side they are on'. My overall orientation in this research is one of social justice as outlined by Corson (1994: 3):

The basic social justice problem in the education of minorities is to decide where and when we should provide a form of language learning and development that will protect the life chances of children who would otherwise have limited access to social contexts where their mother tongue is used.

This focus is on the individual children within their communities (Corson 1998: 12), and is also part of a linguistic human rights approach, which identifies the importance of both collective and individual linguistic rights (Phillipson, Rannut and Skutnabb-Kangas 1995: 11-12). This is important in the context of education in Aotearoa New Zealand, where children who speak minority mother tongues will often be dotted around classrooms and schools, rather than forming a large group in any one place. Therefore, it is valuable to investigate the attitudes of those who are preparing the teachers of these students, in order to make recommendations for policy change as explained in Pennycook's (2001:18) description of critical applied linguistics:

Critical applied linguistics, then, would include work in the areas of sociolinguistics and language planning and policy that takes up an overt

2

political agenda to establish or to argue for policy along lines that focus centrally on issues of social justice.

1.1.2 Research questions

My research addresses three main questions:

- 1 What are the attitudes of teacher educators towards bilingualism and language diversity:
 - for children from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds?
 - for student teachers from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds?
 - for language issues in the curriculum?
- 2 What is the level of language awareness among teacher educators:
 - in the attitudes they express?
 - in the materials they use for the preparation of teachers?
- 3 What factors contribute to these attitudes?

These questions formed the basis for the development of a survey of teacher educators in all teacher education institutions for the compulsory education sector (primary and secondary) in Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.1.3 Terminology used in the research

In line with the orientation of the research, it is important to use the descriptions of people which they themselves agree can be used (Corson 1998: 6). In this thesis I have used the Māori or bilingual names of organisations or places where they are well-known or commonly used in the context under discussion, for example *Aotearoa New Zealand*, or *Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development)*, and glossed these where appropriate. I have used macrons to show a long vowel for Māori words as advocated by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (Māori Language Commission) (1995), and for consistency have kept to this throughout whatever the original writer used (although it not been possible in some graphics or statistics programs). A glossary of Māori terms is also provided as Appendix A.

In referring to the New Zealand communities from Sāmoa, Tonga and other countries of Western Polynesia, I have used the term *Pasifika*, rather than English *Pacific, Pacific Island*, or *Pacific Nations*. This is because *Pasifika* (or sometimes *Pasefika* for Sāmoans) is preferred by educators from these groups themselves (E. Pakau, personal communication 19 August 2003).

There is no uncontested term which can be used for New Zealanders of European descent. The issues are regularly canvassed in letters to the editor of newspapers, and have been discussed by Bayard (1995: 152-160) in relation to language attitudes, Spoonley (1991) and Bell (1996) in relation to identity politics, and in writers of consultation papers to Statistics New Zealand for the Review of Measurement of Ethnicity in Official Statistics (Walker 2001: 15-16, Robson, Reid and Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare 2001: 22, Lang 2002: 13, Statistics New Zealand 2004a: 10-11). In this study I have used the Māori term $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}$, because it is the term I use to describe myself as someone of English heritage whose grandparents were all born in this country.

1.2 History of language in education in Aotearoa New Zealand

Language in education in Aotearoa New Zealand concerns the official languages of Māori and English, languages from other immigrant groups which have also been here since the nineteenth century, English for speakers of other languages (ESOL), and other foreign languages studied in schools. I have included all of these contexts in this study, although there are very different issues for each. These will now be discussed in turn, with a focus on the compulsory sectors of primary and secondary education.

1.2.1 Māori and English in education

Māori was the language of the first Polynesians in Aotearoa New Zealand, now believed to have arrived in the thirteenth century AD (King 2003: 51), and Māori has been designated an official language since the 1987 Māori Language Act. The English language arrived with the British in the late eighteenth century and has

been the language of administration since the signature of the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi) between the British Crown and Māori iwi (tribes²) in 1840 (Benton 1996: 62). May (2001: 286) states that the Treaty of Waitangi was a 'surprisingly progressive document':

The Treaty specifically attempted to establish the rights and responsibilities of both parties as a mutual framework by which colonisation could proceed. Captain Hobson, the Crown's representative, was instructed to obtain the surrender of Aotearoa/New Zealand as a sovereign state to the British Crown, but only by 'free and intelligent consent' of the 'natives'. In return, Māori iwi were to be guaranteed possession of 'their lands, their homes and all their treasured possessions (taonga)'.

At the time the Treaty was signed the Māori were native speakers of 'the New Zealand language', now called the Māori language (Benton 1996: 64)³. As colonisation proceeded the agreements set out in the Treaty were often ignored, and the Waitangi Tribunal was set up in 1975 to hear Māori grievances and make recommendations to the government for redress. From this time the Treaty has become an important symbol of relations between Māori and Pākehā (European New Zealanders), and in 1986 the Waitangi Tribunal upheld a claim that the Crown was obliged to foster and protect the Māori language as a taonga or treasured possession⁴ (Waitangi Tribunal 1989: 20).

Although prior to European arrival the Māori had a 'sophisticated and functional system of education' (Jones, Marshall, Matthews, Hingangaroa Smith and Tuhiwai Smith 1995: 34), which included the formal setting of the whare wānanga or house of learning for a small number of students (Hemara 2000: 8; Penetito 2002: 127), this education was based on oral tradition rather than the written word. The first formal European-style schools in Aotearoa New Zealand were taught by missionaries in Māori language, and bilingualism was the norm until the 1860s when the population of English settlers overtook Māori in size and the education

² It should be noted that (probably because of the high profile of the Treaty of Waitangi) in modern Aotearoa New Zealand when referring to Māori the word *tribe* or *iwi* does not have the negative connotations described in Phillipson, Rannut and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995: 13).

³ Benton puts the Māori population at this time at approximately 150,000, but King (2003: 150) states that the figure was probably 70,000.

⁴ Bourdieu (1991: 43) also discusses the metaphor of language as a community treasure, as used by Auguste Comte in 1875 and Saussure in 1974.

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moved under state control, leading to a change in ideology about the validity of the Māori language (Jones et al. 1995: 41, Spolsky 2003: 556-557). By the twentieth century the Māori language was mostly banned in schools, and it has been well-documented that children were physically punished for speaking Māori in the first part of the century (Waitangi Tribunal 1989: 9), although it has also been noted that at times the children's perception of this may have differed from the teachers' intention of punishment for other disobedience (Benton 1987: 65). Māori was allowed back into the school curriculum as an optional secondary school subject in 1909 (Spolsky 2003: 558, 573).

The shift of Māori to urban areas to fill the gaps in labour resulting from World War II conscription meant that by the 1960s the government was 'compelled' to pay attention to Māori education, and in the 1970s there was 'intense, at times frantic' activity on language issues, including a petition to make Māori available as of right to all who wanted it, and the first 'Māori Language Day' (Benton 1996: 66-67).

Benton's research findings on the decline of Māori language in the 1970s were seminal in the start of a Māori language education revival. This was based around the Kohanga Reo (language nest) pre-school movement which was established in 1981 (Jones et al. 1995: 185), to emphasise te reo (the language) through Māori teaching and learning methods, and with the aim of self-determination (Jones et al. 1995: 186; May 2001: 300-301). As the children graduated from the kohanga, parents began to call for primary level Māori medium schooling, which resulted in the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophy schools) in 1985 (May 2001: 301; Penetito 2002: 129). Some other schools also have Māori immersion or bilingual programmes, and in July 2001 the number of students involved in Māori medium education for more than 30% of the time totalled 21,488, which equalled 14.4% of the Māori school population and 3% of the total school population (Ministry of Education 2003d). The tertiary level of Māori education has come about from the adaptation of the concept of whare wananga, or traditional institutions of learning, into modern Māori-run tertiary institutions (Jones et al. 1995).

Table 1.1 shows the census results for Māori, English and other languages spoken in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2001^5 . The number speaking English Only was 2,868,741. This means that 76.76% of the population is monolingual in English, and is a far larger amount than those monolingual in Māori Only, at nearly 0.02% of the population or 6,798 people (these are probably children). There were also 131,607 people bilingual in Māori and English, and a further 21,408 people trilingual in Māori, English and another language. This is a smaller total than the 403,545 people bilingual in English and Other (not Māori).

Table 1.1Official Language Indicator
for the Census Usually Resident Population Count, 2001
Source: Statistics New Zealand (2002b)

Official Language Indicator	Census Usually Resident Population Count
Māori Only	6,798
English Only	2,868,741
Māori and English	131,607
Māori and Other (not English)	714
English and Other (not Māori)	403,545
Māori, English and Other	21,408
Other Language(s) Only (Neither Māori nor English)	55,794
No Language	75,186
Response Unidentifiable	825
Response Outside Scope	804
Not Stated	171,852
Total	3,737,280

(All cells in this table have been randomly rounded to base 3.)

1.2.2 Other immigrant languages in education

Immigration from non-English speaking countries has also been a feature of the language scene since early contact between Māori and Europeans. These groups have included Chinese in the nineteenth century to work in goldmines, and those

⁵ A question on language was introduced in the 1996 census. It asked, 'In which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?' (Statistics New Zealand 2001a)

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from European countries such as Poland, Germany, Greece and the Netherlands. European immigration continued until after World War II, with Dutch the largest group. In the 1970s immigrant labour was encouraged from the nearby Pacific Islands, and Sāmoan overtook Dutch as the next largest language group after Māori. At this time South East Asian refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos also arrived. More recently there has been growing Asian migration from the East Asian countries of Japan, Singapore, Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan and China (Benton 1996: 65, May 2001: 305).

Table 1.2 provides census data on the languages spoken in 2001 by children in the five-year groupings which cover the compulsory school period of six to 16. Because people were counted for each language they spoke, it is not possible to calculate the total number of bilingual or multilingual children in each age group. However, the table shows that although English was spoken by the largest number of people in each age group, Māori was spoken by 15,720 five to nine year olds, 18,654 ten to 14 year olds, and 15,576 15 to 19 year olds. The next largest category was Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian from neighbouring south-west Pacific countries (including Sāmoan, Tongan, Cook Islands Māori, Niuean, Fijian, Tokealuan, and Tuvaluan), spoken by 11,124 five to nine year olds, 10,431 10 to 14 year olds, and 9,426 15 to 19 year olds.

Age	5-9 years	10-14 years	15-19 years
Language		-	-
Total people	275,319	280,749	253,482
rotal people	275,517	200,719	255,102
English	271,065	277,251	249,993
Māori	15,720	18,654	15,596
Germanic (excl. English)	1,545	2,904	5,385
Romance	660	3,702	7,443
Greek	63	129	195
Balto-Slavic	621	888	972
Albanian	48	69	60
Armenian	3	9	12
Indo-Aryan	2,901	2,913	3,600
Celtic	39	117	177
Iranian	249	321	378
Turko-Altaic	39	24	42
Uralic	60	39	75
Dravidian	330	393	384
Sino-Tibeto-Burman	3,969	5,133	9,621
Austroasiatic	477	648	1,068
Tai-Kadai	285	333	555
Central-Eastern Malayo-			
Polynesian (excl. Māori)	11,124	10,431	9,426
Western Malayo-Polynesian	618	780	1,248
Afro-Asiatic	1,014	1,305	1,242
Niger-Congo	90	138	234
Pidgins and Creoles	30	84	153
Language isolates (incl.			
Japanese and Korean)	1,761	4,104	7,104
Miscellaneous	60	60	114
New Zealand Sign Language	1,440	3,096	2,889
Other Sign Language	51	69	90

Table 1.2Language spoken 2001 (total responses)*, Ages 5-19Data from: Statistics New Zealand (2003b).

Includes all people who stated each language, whether as their only language or as one of several languages.

*

Although there is a considerable number of immigrant children speaking languages other than English in Aotearoa New Zealand, the amount of mother tongue education for immigrant communities remains restricted, as May (2001: 305) observes:

At present, the language and education provision for such groups remains very limited, the result largely of the predominance of English in Aotearoa / New Zealand and, the re-emergence of Māori aside, the ongoing

valorisation of English as both the pre-eminent national and international language.

Programmes in Pacific language medium bilingual or immersion education were offered in 20 schools in July 2001, with more than 30% of class time in Sāmoan for 742 students, in Cook Island Māori for 147 students, in Tongan for 135 students, and in Niuean for 27 students (Ministry of Education 2003e). This study aims to investigate the reasons for the limited provision noted by May, particularly the attitudes which result from the predominance of English and the 'ongoing valorisation of English'.

New Zealand Sign Language has not been explicitly included in this project although it is another indigenously developed language from Aotearoa New Zealand (Locker McKee 1997: 35), and was used by 7,425 school age children in 2001. A bilingual model of education has been advocated for deaf New Zealand children whose first language is not English (Denny 2002: 66, Locker McKee and Biederman 2003: 217-219). The exclusion of New Zealand Sign Language (along with other sign languages) in this study is only because the survey instrument and analysis were based around a comparison of languages using specific examples from speaking and writing modes of language, which it was not possible to extend to the use of a sign language.

1.2.3 English for speakers of other languages

English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) is provided for two groups in Aotearoa New Zealand: new settlers such as immigrants and refugees, and international students who are now regarded as part of the 'export education' industry. In order to be eligible for state funding, schools categorise these students according to their spoken language ability, and the assessment for funding at secondary level is often completely separate from assessment within the school programmes (Franken and McComish 2003: 96, 101). The types of programmes provided may be determined as much by the backgrounds of students as by their language level, and having students from very different social and cultural backgrounds in one class creates a 'considerable challenge' for the school (Kennedy and Dewar 1997: 36). The wider political context has added another

dimension to these challenges, as in the following excerpt from a media release by the leader of the New Zealand First Party, Winston Peters, in response to the Government's announcement of a new interpretation service (Peters 2000):

How can we expect new New Zealanders to adopt our culture and values if they don't share our language?

Our education system is being overloaded by non-English speaking migrants. Many of our schools are relying on volunteers to teach English as a second language while some of our children leave school unable to read and write properly.

Although Aotearoa New Zealand is first equal per capita in the world of refugees accepted, of the ten countries regularly accepting refugees we are lowest in postarrival support (Hamilton, Anderson, Frater-Mathieson, Loewen and Moore 2003). A major study of refugee resettlement experiences has identified low levels of English language (Dibley and Dunstan 2002: 65), and this reinforces the consistent calls for the need for improved access to English language classes from researchers (Smith 1996, Hamilton et al. 2003) and those working directly with refugees (Altinkaya 1998, Martin Blaker and Hardman 2001, Altinkaya and Omundsen n.d.).

Since 1999, there has been a rapid growth in numbers of international students, with 1,823 foreign fee paying students in primary schools and 8,732 in secondary schools in 2001 (Ministry of Education, 2002b). Auckland was the main destination, and China was the most common country of citizenship. This has been popularly perceived as an influx, and caused media comment about its social and educational impacts, for example in an article in the *New Zealand Listener* investigating the 'Asian invasion' in education (Philp 2001: 21-22):

At Christchurch's Papanui High, fee-paying students brought in \$1 million revenue this year. "We put a lot of that back," says principal Denis Pyatt. "In the last five years we put over \$2 million into staffing to cater for the extra demands on subjects created by these students, and for their needs."

For the most part, they're here to work. Which, in addition to language barriers and local indifference, is another reason why they might appear less plugged in to their New Zealand surroundings than some would like.

A literature review commissioned by the Ministry of Education of the impact of international students (throughout the education system) found that research is 'patchy', and investigations on the impact in classrooms has been in the form of

identifying the potential for change of teachers' practices, rather than through direct investigations of activities in multicultural classrooms (Ward 2001).

English as a second language cannot currently be identified as a major subject in teacher education, and professional development in the area tends not to be prioritised because it does not enhance the career pathways of teachers in the same way as 'specific' curriculum areas (Haworth 2003: 140). As a consequence, the teaching of English as a second language in schools is often taught in a situation of uneasy alliance of the immigrant and international student populations, by inadequately prepared teachers.

1.2.4 Other languages studied in schools

The final context of languages in schools is second or foreign language learning. In the nineteenth century French and Latin were the prestige languages in New Zealand secondary schools, and French was still studied by a third of secondary school pupils at the beginning of the 1960s (Benton 1996: 68-69). Waite (1992b: 68) referred to the 'top four' international languages in secondary schools in 1991, when French was studied by 27,720 students, Japanese by 15,921 students, German by 9,009 students and Latin by 3,011 students. Ten years later the picture had changed somewhat, so that in July 2001 there were two foreign languages studied by large numbers of secondary students: French by 23,816 students and Japanese by 19,981 students. The next group of languages were German with 7,496 students, Spanish with 4,407 students, Latin with 2,285 students, Chinese Languages with 1,767 students, and Sāmoan with 926 students (Ministry of Education 2003b). This diversification of languages studied may have been the result of the emphasis on economic factors such as trade and tourism in discussions on language policy in the intervening period (see 1.3.2 below). It may also have been as a result of the official recognition of other languages in the form of curriculum statements, which were made available for Chinese and Spanish in 1995, Sāmoan in 1996, Japanese in 1998, and French, German, Korean and Cook Islands Māori (a draft) in 2002 (Ministry of Education 2002d).

Teachers of 'international' languages have argued for a stronger place in the curriculum for international languages, which currently have a low status (East 2000: 9). This may be linked to the gender imbalance which is clear in these subjects for both students and teachers (Benton: 1996: 72, Shearn 2003). However, changes are likely in the future as the recommendations from the Ministry of Education's 2002 Curriculum Stocktake report take effect. One of these was that Languages be separated as a curriculum area from English/Te Reo Māori:

Schools should be required to provide instruction in another language for students in years 7 to 10 (except for Māori immersion settings), but it should not be mandatory for all year 7-10 students to learn another language. (Ministry of Education 2002a)

The recommendation was accepted by the government in 2003 (*New Zealand Language Teacher* 2003: 6). The rationale accompanying it stressed the greater understanding of other cultures (and bicultural and multicultural awareness), the low levels of language learning in Aotearoa New Zealand, the support other languages give to English language literacy and 'a broad general education', and the agreement that Years 7 to 10 are most appropriate for 'any significant investment in languages teaching'.

Although the development of policy and planning for language learning in Māori, immigrant languages, English for Speakers of Other Languages, and second language learning situations have been largely independent of each other, attempts have been made to bring them together. I now turn to these efforts to develop a coherent language policy.

1.3 Formal language policy in Aotearoa New Zealand

This section outlines efforts to develop a formal language policy in Aotearoa New Zealand at a national level from the late twentieth century.

1.3.1 Call for a national languages policy

From the 1970s the need for a languages policy was contended by groups such as the New Zealand Association of Language Teachers (NZALT) (Peddie 1992: 42). In the 1980s Christopher Hawley in particular at the then Department of Education argued strongly that a languages in education policy was sorely needed (Peddie 1992: 43). Hawley (1987: 51) called for a policy of language support in education for a multicultural society, in a model which included language support for Māori language, English language, foreign language, and community language. He emphasised the 'wastage of language potential' in this country (Hawley 1987: 50, 52):

Above all, a change of emphasis is required, whereby we look at the linguistic skills people bring to our educational institutions, and we recognise and encourage their development for the benefit of the whole community.

In 1987 Australia launched the Australian National Policy on Languages, which despite 'some ambiguity about goals and some tension about priorities' from the start (Lo Bianco 1990: 48), was seen as an example for New Zealand to follow (Hoffmann 1998: 1). An ad hoc group was set up after the first national conference on English as a Second Language and Community Languages in 1988, and in 1989 they released a bilingual document *Towards a National Languages Policy: Hei putake mo tetahi kaupapa reo mo Aotearoa* (Peddie 1992: 43).

Positioning language planning in the education sector was not advocated by language planning specialist Kaplan (1990: 9), who stressed that language-ineducation planning should follow from language planning at a central government level. He pointed out that in New Zealand an 'undesirable confusion of functions' was happening (Kaplan 1990: 9):

In an environment in which central government has not recognised the causes of the language problem, the likely effects of various solutions, and so on, it is predictable that any solution proposed by the education sector is likely to be too narrow and is further likely to be unimplementable except in the most rudimentary sense because the resources necessary to resolution are not available to central government, not having been planned for at that level.

However, the development of a languages policy was in fact relegated to the education sector, with two complementary reports being contracted for the same date at the end of 1991: Roger Peddie at the Education Department at Auckland University, and Jeffrey Waite at the Ministry of Education (Peddie 1991: i). Peddie's report was to explore aspects of theory in comparative education (such as implementing a policy following an overseas model), to compare and contrast the development and implementation of languages policy in the Australian state of Victoria with New Zealand, and to 'assess, analyse and assist' with language policy development in Aotearoa New Zealand (Peddie 1991: 5). Waite's report was to set a framework for planning of resources to remedy the situation which the Minister of Education acknowledged had been 'ad hoc' (Peddie 1992: 43, Shackleford 1997: 2).

1.3.2 Release of the discussion document

Waite's two-part report was released in June 1992, called *Aoteoreo: Speaking for ourselves. A discussion on the development of a New Zealand languages policy* (Waite 1992a, 1992b). The title *Aoteareo* was a play on words using *Aotearoa*, the Māori name for 'New Zealand', and *reo*, the Māori word for 'language'. Waite set out six ranked priority areas for language policy in Aotearoa New Zealand (Waite 1992a: 18-22):

- 1 Revitalisation of the Māori language
- 2 Second-chance adult literacy
- 3 Children's ESL (English as a Second Language) and first language maintenance
- 4 Adult ESL
- 5 National capabilities in international languages
- 6 Provision of services in languages other than English

It was proposed that these would be addressed by action plans developed by 'relevant government departments' (Waite 1992b: 76). Benton (1996: 73) points out that the Minister's introduction to the report rearranges these priorities, which indicates that they might be socially contested. Although the Minister's list is not explicitly acknowledged as a list of ordered priorities, it places opportunities to learn English first, followed by international languages, the place of Māori, adult

literacy, ethnic community language maintenance, and the provision of access to social services (Waite 1992a: 4).

While it was reported that many Māori endorsed the priority list (Crombie and Paltridge 1993: 16), other responses showed that in fact there was no agreement on the ordering, and teachers of classics were 'incensed' that Latin was regarded to have less significance than languages of trade, and less cultural relevance than Māori (Benton 1996: 72)⁶. The New Zealand Association of Teachers of English (NZATE) argued for a central organising priority, 'the provision of sound language education for all New Zealand children at pre-school, primary and secondary levels' (New Zealand Association of Teachers of English 1992: 26). Kaplan's (1993) response reiterated his view that the language policy process should be separated as soon as possible from the Ministry of Education in order for it to be a genuinely national policy, and that research and policy articulation had 'essentially been short-circuited' in *Aoteareo* (Kaplan 1993: 11).

Language professionals believed that the release of the report would result in the announcement of a 'grand plan' (Benton 1994: 161). In the meantime the release in December 1994 of the new curriculum statement for English seemed to cause a shift in the focus on language issues (see 2.4.3). Naturally enough, the recommendation in *Aoteareo* to establish a languages research institute for language planning issues (Waite 1992b: 76) had been particularly supported by language professionals, although without agreement on its form (Kaplan 1993: 12, Crombie and Paltridge 1993: 15, Shackleford 1996: 76). However, Government policy of expecting such institutes in the science area to be self-funding, together with the withdrawing of funds from the National Council for Adult Education and the 1994 disbanding of the financially unviable national social science research institute, meant that a funded language research institute would be unlikely (Benton 1996: 95-96).

⁶ Bourdieu (1993: 65) explains the strong defence of Latin in terms of linguistic capital which has been devalued on the market: ' ... people who've spent fifteen years of their lives learning Latin, when their language is suddenly devalued, are like holders of Imperial Russian bonds ...'

1.3.3 After Aoteareo

In the late 1990s, the focus of attention started to turn to the reasons why there had been no follow-up to *Aoteareo*. Analysis emphasised the political and economic reforms of the 1980s which resulted in a commitment to a free market economy in the public sector, and the need for clear economic benefits of any language policy (Shackleford 1997: 7, Hoffmann 1998: 1). Another reason identified for the lack of implementation was the project design, in which the policy was developed by a small group of people in the education sector, which meant that this was seen as an education policy rather than a national language policy, as had been forecast by Kaplan (Shackleford 1997: 5-6).

Without a formal language policy, decisions relating to language policy continue to be made on an ad hoc basis (Shackleford 1997: 9, Hoffmann 1998: 9). Although Spolsky (2003: 574) points out that *Aoteareo* 'fell essentially on deaf ears' and a few years later was not known by senior Ministry of Education officials, in 2003 the Associate Minister of Education stated her strong wish for the reappearance of the report in Ministry planning (Hobbs 2003). Policy developments have occurred in various areas:

- Examples in policy developments for Māori language since *Aoteareo* include the Māori language revitalisation plan formally agreed to by Cabinet in 1997 (Te Puni Kōkiri 1999: 11), a report for Treasury on Māori language revitalisation policy by two overseas specialists in the economics of language which includes recommendations for research and indicative proposals for increased use of Māori (Grin and Vaillancourt 1998), and a major survey of attitudes about the Māori language (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002, see 2.2.6). Spolsky's review of Māori regeneration states that 'a handful of professionally sophisticated policy-makers' in Te Puni Kōkiri have ensured that 'in both individual and collective rights in education and the public service, the Māori language in New Zealand is in a much better position than minority languages under European Union policies' (Spolsky 2003: 566).
 - In the area of immigration there has been frequent change of English language regulations, often focused on the level which must be obtained on the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), although

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these changes are related to economic rather than social or linguistic objectives (Shackleford 1997: 10, Hoffmann 1998: 8). The raising of the required IELTS levels in November 2002 was widely perceived to be a government response to New Zealand First Party accusations of the cost of increased numbers of Asian immigrants (see for example Young 2002, Catherall and Laugesen 2002).

- Provision of English language education for refugees remains unplanned and piecemeal (Altinkaya 1998: 1), and the rising cost of tertiary tuition means that study after the six weeks of orientation for those who arrive under the quota system is increasingly difficult (Shackleford 1997: 10). The Department of Labour is undertaking a three-year research project *Refugee Voices* which includes language issues (Gray and Elliott 2001: 33-35, Dibley and Dunstan 2002: 65-73), although reports published to date have not included policy recommendations.
 - Policies for second and foreign language learning in schools have been focused on practical matters such as materials development, without an overall plan (Hoffmann 1998: 9). Although the 2002 Curriculum Stocktake recommendations to strengthen the position of languages in the curriculum have been accepted, they have stopped short of requiring students to learn another language (see Section 1.2.4).

The policy environment for language issues therefore remains largely unplanned and uncoordinated. The effects of this on the attitudes of teacher educators, who are usually focusing on one area of teacher education, might be to increase the chances that they will fail to have an overall picture of language development issues in education and rather focus on issues in their own particular context.

1.4 Teacher education in Aotearoa New Zealand

I now turn to a description of teacher education as the context in which this research was carried out. This section discusses two aspects of teacher education in Aotearoa New Zealand: the nature of the provision of teacher education, and the backgrounds of students entering teacher education. Both of these aspects have been characterised by considerable changes over the last 20 years.

1.4.1 Teacher education institutions

Until the 1980s teacher education was carried out in six single-purpose institutions called 'training colleges', which later became known as 'teachers' colleges', and with wider roles are now 'colleges of education' (Partington 1997: 1): Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. Secondary teacher education was carried out in cooperation with local universities.

Significant developments in tertiary education began with the Education Act of 1989, which included changes in the legislative framework for the establishment and disestablishment of tertiary institutions. Alcorn (1999: par. 19) points out that a severe shortage of teachers from 1994 encouraged the establishment of new providers resulting in a 'diversity and proliferation' of providers and programmes. Under the act there are three main types of tertiary education providers: tertiary education institutions (TEIs), which include universities, polytechnics, colleges of education, and wānanga (Māori providers of tertiary education); private training establishments (PTEs); and other tertiary education providers (OTEPs) (Ministry of Education 2003a). There were several effects of these changes on teacher education:

- Three of the original colleges of education have now become campuses of their local universities: Hamilton became part of Waikato University in 1991, Palmerston North became part of Massey University in 1996, and Wellington entered a 'strategic partnership' with Victoria University in 2001. In 2003 there was also discussion about a merger between the Auckland College of Education and Auckland or Massey universities.
- The three wānanga (Māori tertiary providers) now include teacher education in their programmes.
- Polytechnics and private training establishments are also now able to provide teacher education. Some of these courses are very small, for example with just one class of student teachers, and are well integrated into the community with the use of local teachers as part-time lecturers or tutors.
- There are now several private training establishments (PTEs) providing 'niche' teacher education. Two of these emphasise a Christian perspective (MASTERS Institute, Bethlehem Institute of Education), one is a private

Māori provider (Anamata Private Training Establishment), and one focuses on school-based learning (New Zealand Graduate School of Education).

The 2001 providers of primary and secondary pre-service teacher education are listed in Table 1.3. This table shows the types of providers and the sectors for which their courses were preparing teachers. Although graduating teachers are provisionally registered for all schools, some courses focus on preparing teachers for Māori medium or bilingual schools or classes, as indicated in the table.

Table 1.3Providers of primary and secondary pre-service teacher
education in Aotearoa New Zealand, 2001
Data from: Ministry of Education (2001a)

Туре	Name		Sect	
			rimary	Secondary
		General	Māori medium/ bilingual	-
College of	Auckland College of Education			
Education	Wellington College of Education		-	\checkmark
	Christchurch College of Education	\checkmark	-	\checkmark
	Dunedin College of Education	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
University	Auckland University of Technology	-	_	
	University of Auckland		-	\checkmark
	University of Waikato School of Education		\checkmark	\checkmark
	Massey University College of Education		\checkmark	\checkmark
	University of Otago School of Education	\checkmark	-	\checkmark
Wānanga	Te Wānanga Takiura o nga Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa	-		-
	Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi	-	\checkmark	-
	Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa	-	\checkmark	-
Polytechnic	Northland Polytechnic	-		
	UNITEC Institute of Technology		-	-
	Wanganui Regional Community Polytechnic	-	\checkmark	-
	Whitireia Community Polytechnic	-	-	
	Wairarapa Community Polytechnic	-	-	\checkmark
	Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology	\checkmark	-	-
Private	MASTERS Institute		_	_
	Bethlehem Institute of Education	\checkmark	-	\checkmark
	Anamata Private Training Establishment	-	\checkmark	-
	New Zealand Graduate School of Education	\checkmark	-	\checkmark

Along with the variety of types of provider and aims of the courses, there are now various routes to qualification as a teacher, replacing the 'traditional' three-year diploma course at primary level, or four-year degree-plus-diploma course for secondary level. Partington (1997: 1) states that the Auckland College of Education's 1996 introduction of a three-year Bachelor of Education 'triggered off' comparable changes by other providers, so that three-year degree-level courses are now commonly offered.

The changes to teacher education have caused considerable controversy. Alcorn notes in her examination of major reports on teacher education from the 1950s that 'the major ideological shifts have pitted policy makers and professional teacher educators against each other in a climate where professional voices have been discounted' (1999: par. 2). The increasing range of courses has continued to be criticised by the primary teachers' union NZEI Te Riu Roa (New Zealand Educational Institute), as causing 'total confusion over teacher qualifications' (NZEI Te Riu Roa 2003b). In 2003 this linked to industrial issues when a ruling was made that three-year teaching qualifications for primary teachers would be at a lower step on the newly unified pay scale with secondary teachers (NZEI Te Riu Roa 2003a).

Official reviews of teacher education since the changes in the 1990s have also been critical. A 1997 Green Paper review by the Ministry of Education stated the need for professional standards and 'credibility' of programmes (Ministry of Education 1997b: 34). In a 1999 report the Education Review Office noted the low levels of experience and qualifications of some teacher educators, and stated that 'recent graduates from training programmes are found to have shortcomings in some areas which are critical to their meeting the learning needs of all their pupils' (Education Review Office 1999: 2). A parliamentary enquiry into teacher education by the Education and Science Select Committee was initiated in 2001. Submissions from the primary teachers' union and the secondary teachers' union were among those critical of the standards in the new training providers (NZEI Te Riu Roa 2001, Post Primary Teachers' Association 2001). It was reported that most of the spokespeople to the committee would trust the Teachers Council to set standards for providers (Evans 2002: 3). At the end of 2003 the parliamentary

enquiry was still before the committee (Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives 2004).

1.4.2 Ethnic background of student teachers

As the focus of this research is on the preparation of teachers for language diversity in schools, it is of interest to examine the backgrounds of the student teachers themselves.

Table 1.4 shows that in pre-service teacher education the category of 'Other', which represents Pākehā or European student teachers, is much larger than Māori, Pacific, or Asian students. However, the participation of different ethnic groups has been slowly growing over a ten year period to 2001 in both primary and secondary sectors. The total number of students in primary teacher education has nearly doubled from 4240 to 8451, and the numbers of Māori have more than doubled from 835 to 1928, the number of Pacific students has doubled from 211 to 444, and Asian students were first counted in at 50 in 1994 to reach 143 in 2001. The picture for students in secondary teacher education showed a greater increase in ethnic diversity, although the total numbers are smaller, increasing from 1009 in 1991 to 1645 in 2001. The number of Māori students went from 110 to 260, the number of Pacific students went from 27 to 75, and Asian students were first included at 17 in 1994 to reach 83 in 2001.

Table 1.4Ethnic background of student teachers in New Zealand pre-
service teacher education, 1991-2001DetectionMinistry (2002)

Year	Primary					
	Māori	Pacific	Asian	Other	Total	
1991	835	211	*	3194	4240	
1992	872	209	*	3388	4469	
1993	798	191	*	3584	4573	
1994	1024	196	50	3691	4961	
1995	1133	217	61	3898	5309	
1996	1273	232	97	4693	5637	
1997	1492	256	102	4651	6501	
1998	1720	278	117	5309	7424	
1999	2042	330	142	6211	8725	
2000	2082	396	134	6621	9233	
2001	1928	444	143	5936	8451	
Year	Secondary					
	Māori	Pacific	Asian	Other	Total	
1991	110	27	*	872	1009	
1992	108	16	*	750	874	
1993	83	16	*	786	885	
1994	96	20	17	824	957	
1995	93	40	20	864	1017	
1996	116	34	53	970	1173	
1997	170	47	99	1298	1614	
1998	232	62	105	1381	1780	
1999	257	60	81	1371	1769	
2000	245	61	76	1338	1720	
2001	0.00	7-	02	1007	1 (4 -	
2001	260	75	83	1227	1645	

Data from: Ministry of Education (2002c)

* Figures not provided

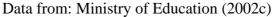
Note: Students could nominate up to three ethnic categories, but were classified by only one in a standard hierarchical order as defined by the Statistics New Zealand Standard Classification of Ethnicity.

Further analysis of these numbers in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 shows the proportions of teachers from different ethnic backgrounds in primary and secondary teacher education over the ten year period to 2001.

Figure 1.1 indicates that 'Other' students (which includes Pākehā and other European students), is still the largest group of primary student teachers. However, this group decreased slightly from 75.33% in 1991 to 70.24% in 2001. The main change in primary student teachers has been the small but growing number of Asian student teachers.

Introduction

Figure 1.1Ethnic background of student teachers in Aotearoa New
Zealand pre-service primary teacher education, 1991-2001
(proportions)Date formy Ministry of Education (2002a)



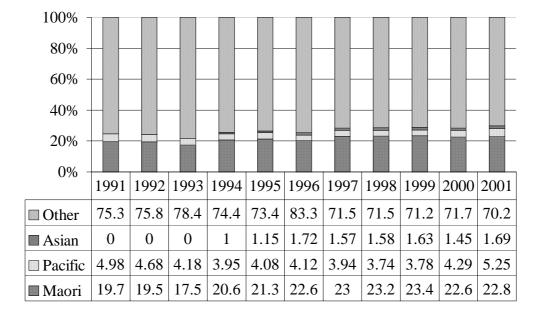
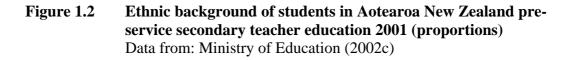
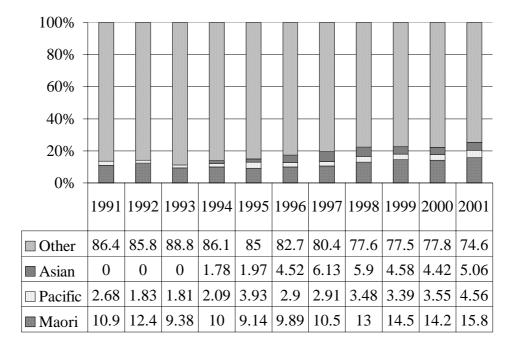


Figure 1.2 shows a greater rate of change in the proportions of students from other ethnic backgrounds in secondary teacher education, with the group of 'other' students decreasing from 86.4% in 1991 to 76.6% in 2001. As with primary student teachers, the proportion of Asian students has been the fastest growing, from not being counted in 1991 to 5.06% of the total student number in 2001.





These numbers demonstrate that the nature of the teaching force is slowly changing in Aotearoa New Zealand. The need for more bilingual teachers who are better able to address the linguistic and cultural needs of the students in our schools has been identified, although it is perceived as something which is difficult to achieve effectively in a small country (Kennedy and Dewar 1997: 275). However, a report by the primary teachers' union into reasons for the low achievement of Pasifika children, and their 'inadequate language skills', emphasised that the need is for a higher number of good educators, rather than Pasifika educators per se (NZEI Te Riu Roa 2000).

1.5 Conclusions

Language issues in education in Aotearoa New Zealand occur across a range of contexts, although they all tend to be based around the predominance of English. The policy direction for language issues remains largely unplanned, despite calls since the 1980s for a national languages policy and a government discussion document *Aoteareo* released in 1992.

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Priority rankings such as the *Aoteareo* list for the distribution of resources in the New Zealand context (Waite 1992a), or Fasold's (1984) general list of policy criteria for deciding on minority bilingual schooling (cited and critiqued in Corson 1994: 13-14), are unlikely to result in increased resources for bilingual schooling for most minority language children in this country. An alternative is for teachers to be equipped with knowledge and other resources to support the bilingual development of the children in their classes, within supportive school level policies and practices (such as those outlined by Corson 1998: 198-200 or Cummins 2000: 44-50).

The number of students who arrive in New Zealand schools speaking other languages is increasing, which highlights the need for teachers to be prepared to deal with their language needs. This is set against a background of change in the nature of teacher education, and consequently the preparation of teachers to address the needs of bilingual students is of interest. The current study is an investigation of the attitudes of teacher educators involved in preparing teachers for this dynamic language context.

The following chapter will develop the theoretical framework for the study. This will be followed by descriptions of the three stages of the project: initial interviews, administration of a postal questionnaire, and a follow-up study. The results from these stages are presented and discussed, and the study concludes with a model developed to explain the results, and some recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES, BILINGUALISM, AND LANGUAGE AWARENESS

From: Sunda	ay Star-Times
	2002, p. D5
Eat you	ır words
Skipping the raita at an Indian resta pronounce it? You're not alone as K	urant because you don't know how to im Knight discovers.
In the old days, bread was brow still. Really posh people ate fondu word for cheese on toast. And going out to dinner did not Food as a second language had not b	- but how do you pronounce shitake? wn or white. Wine was sparkling or e, but frankly, that was just a flash require a degree in socio-linguistics. been invented. If it had, the Auckland tu for linguine marinara, then ordered n spared the shame.
A friend was once pleasantly so seafood crepes to match her order. Way through the scallops and praw rest of his plate. "What's this pancak He could be forgiven for thinkin fish. This is New Zealand after all; Cervena, kiwifruit into Zespri and	urprised when a first date asked for When the meal arrived, he picked his wns, but frowned suspiciously at the

Now the crepe couple just does ethnic food, where all that is required is the ability to pronounce numerals between one and 25.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is an overview of the theory and research underpinning this investigation of the attitudes of teacher educators in Aotearoa New Zealand towards bilingualism and language diversity. I begin by exploring language attitude research, and the development of theoretical models in the social psychology of language. I then turn to bilingualism, and the research on bilingualism, particularly as it applies to education. This is followed by an investigation of language awareness, and its extension into critical language awareness. Finally, I show how this is combined to form a framework which directed the development of the methodology for this study.

2.2 Attitudes towards language

In two of the world's major religious texts multilingualism is portrayed as a divine punishment (Calvet 1998). The Old Testament book of Genesis in the Bible contains the myth of the Tower of Babel, in which humans are prevented from understanding one another as a punishment for the God-like power they have demonstrated when speaking a single language. The Koran's Sura of the Cow refers to Arabic as a language of divine origin which cannot be imitated and therefore disadvantages the speakers of all other languages. These traditions remain powerful through the number of people they have affected over generations, as Calvet (1998: 20) stresses:

This is why the idea of multilingualism as a divine punishment, even if it does not always agree with serious exegesis of the sacred texts, seems to me important, for it throws a special light on the way that human beings have analysed their linguistic relations, and the way they have dealt with their differences.

Other historical influences on attitudes towards language have come from ideas expressed in works such as Aristotle's *The Rhetoric*, where the language used by speakers affected their *ethos*, or credibility, and similar ideas in the writing of Renaissance rhetoricians (Cargile, Giles, Ryan and Bradac 1994: 212).

In modern times a research tradition on language attitudes developed in the mid twentieth century; largely atheoretical and independent of general attitude theory, it consisted of one-off studies with a focus on methodology (Giles and Coupland 1991: 33, 49, Baker 1992: 8, Bradac, Cargile and Hallett 2001: 138-139). In the 1980s researchers began to address this 'theoretical sterility' with a 'vibrant concern' for the development of a social psychological theory of language attitudes (Giles and Ryan 1982: 209).

This section describes the development of language attitudes research in the twentieth century which has overlaid the myths of the past. I begin with a description of the early methodological focus, before examining the shift to a theoretical basis and the influences from classical attitude theory and the social psychology of language on the development of an integrative model of language attitudes. I then look at language attitudes research in Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.2.1 History of language attitudes research

In the early twentieth century, descriptive studies of language varieties were made by 'dialect geographers', and in the 1930s and 1940s studies were carried out to link speech with physical characteristics or personality (Cargile et al. 1994: 212). A classic study by Pear in 1931 invited British Broadcasting Corporation audiences to provide personality profiles of voices heard on the radio, and this was followed by similar research which eventually concluded that voice provided little indication of personality (Giles and Coupland 1991: 33, Cargile et al. 1994: 212).

In 1960 a seminal study by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum at McGill University was the first in the 'speaker evaluation paradigm' which set the stage for 'an explosion of research in different parts of the world' from the 1960s about the attitudes towards speakers of particular styles (Cargile et al. 1994: 212). This used the matched-guise technique to elicit attitudes towards different language varieties, a technique which has been so dominant in the field that Giles and Coupland (1991: 34) state it has tended to be equated with 'language attitudes research'. The matched guise technique is described by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum (1972: 294-295) in the context of investigating attitudes towards English and French in Montreal. It involved first year university students listening to recordings by bilingual speakers using two 'guises', and being asked to rank a list of 14 traits, followed by a question about the occupation the speaker was likely to be have, and a set of questionnaires investigating desirable traits, prejudice, and self-ratings of ability in the other group's language. Both English and French respondents rated English guises more favourably. Lambert et al. (1972: 304) interpreted these as a reflection of community stereotypes.

Gardner and Lambert (1972: 3) aimed to develop a sociopsychological theory of second or foreign language learning, and extended the research into the area of motivation in the learning of French as a second language in the United States, and English as a second language in the Philippines. They used questionnaires which included motivational and attitude scales on Likert-type and semantic differential scales, which have become another standard in much research on language attitudes (Cargile et al. 1994: 212). However, the area of motivation for

language learning is not of relevance to the current research project and so I will not cover it further in this review.

Another important set of studies published in the 1970s investigated the influence of linguistic attitudes of teachers, carried out by Williams and associates at the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin, and then the University of Texas. Williams describes the background to the studies (1976: ix):

As many people can easily recall, educational intervention programs were an important part of the War on Poverty, and the language varieties of various target populations in these activities received considerable attention.

Williams believed that the theoretical concept of attitude was not well defined in the psychology literature, which left researchers using operational definitions (Williams 1976: 21). His research built on Labov's (1966) New York City research and Shuy's Detroit research investigating the link between language variation and social stratification, as well as Lambert's Canadian research mentioned above. Primary school teachers rated the speech of White and Negro children (Williams 1976: 27). A factor analysis found two dimensions of differentiation, 'confidence-eagerness' and 'ethnicity-nonstandardness' (Williams 1976: 39). A follow-up to investigate the differences between teachers found that White teachers had high correlations between positive judgements and qualitative variables such as 'verb construction', and Black teachers had high correlations between positive judgements and quantitative variables such as 'total words'. Williams explains this by referring to the prescriptive nature of the American school system in relation to language (Williams 1976: 49-50):

The point at which the White and Black teachers differ here is that the White teachers have never encountered another language system which was of any importance to them, which contained its own set of expectations for the right way to talk. That is, the White teachers, by virtue of being essentially monolingual, have always found their linguistic standards applicable. The Black teachers, on the other hand, are of necessity bicultural and bilingual, and so probably discovered long ago that the prescriptionist rules of good standard English did not apply in many situations they encountered.

A further study to investigate the effect of teacher stereotyping on academic attitudes carried out by Williams and colleagues in Texas found that that the same two 'confidence-eagerness' and 'ethnicity-nonstandardness' factors were identified, and these were unrelated to the teachers' amount of experience. Minority group

children were rated less 'ethnic-nonstandard' by Black teachers than by White, and teacher's expectations of children's academic performance was 'partially predictable' on the basis of language attitudes, especially in language arts subjects of grammar, spelling, composition and reading (Williams 1976: 67). Williams therefore suggests that teacher training should incorporate the study of language variation, especially of minority children, and attitudes (Williams 1976: 68):

To prevent language attitudes from serving as false prophecies, or worse yet becoming themselves self-fulfilled prophecies, teachers should be trained to be sensitive to variations in social dialects and variations in performance. Language evaluation, which incorporates the attitudinal side of the social dialect coin, should be included as part of the teacher training process.

It is interesting to note that recommendations for the inclusion of aspects of language variation in teacher education are not new.

2.2.2 Development of theories and models

The development of theoretical models began in the 1980s. Gardner (1985) developed the now familiar socio-cultural model of second language learning, shown in Figure 2.1. A central aspect in this model is the cultural context in which learning takes place (Gardner 1985: 146). Attitudes are included in individual differences in motivation, and also as non-linguistic outcomes (Gardner 1985: 149):

An integral part of this model is that attitudes involving other ethnic groups and the language learning situation underlie motivation.

Exposure to the language learning situation, however, tends to make these attitudes more salient.

This model was an input-output model which theorised that within the social milieu individual differences (such as intelligence, language aptitude, motivation, and situational anxiety) were influenced by formal and informal language acquisition contexts, which led to both linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes such as attitudes.

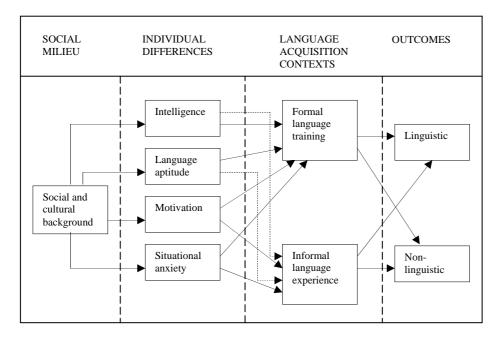


Figure 2.1 Gardner's socio-cultural model of second language learning (Gardner 1985: 147)

The model was tested using causal modelling investigations, a procedure which uses correlations to test the validity of the model and evaluate how well the hypothesised concepts are identified by the measured variables (Gardner 1985: 153).

The importance of theory development in bilingualism research was stressed by researcher on Welsh bilingualism Baker, who noted that although 'the importance of attitudes in bilingualism as an individual or societal phenomenon seems latently assumed in many psychological, sociological, geolinguistic and educational writings', there is little theory and research on the topic (Baker 1992: 1). He identified five deficiencies in writings on attitudes and language:

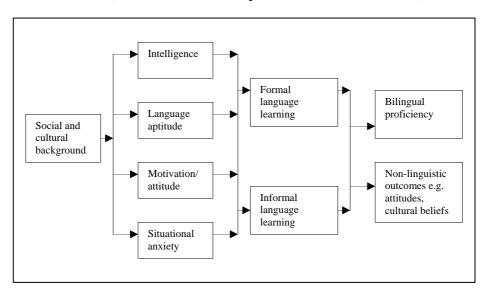
- 1 Literature on language attitudes does not seem to draw on the theory developed in general attitude theory and attitude research.
- 2 There is an almost total absence of reference to attitude change in language attitude research.
- 3 There have been technical difficulties in the measurement of attitudes and subsequent statistical analysis, particularly through the lack of concern for reliability and multidimensionality, and the use of bivariate rather than multivariate analyses.
- 4 The focus has tended to be on attitudes to particular languages, rather than to bilingualism. Baker's contention (1992: 2) is that attitude to

bilingualism is 'different and conceptually distinct' from attitude to a specific language, although he cautions that there is a danger of expressing an ideology when writing about attitude to bilingualism.

5 There has been a dominance of interest in language attitudes to predict second language proficiency. He points out that much research has focused on the *effect* of attitudes, rather than what *creates* different attitudes.

Baker advocated the need to develop a sophisticated model for the determinants of language attitudes to complement Gardner's model (Baker 1992: 41), which he adapted into a socio-cultural model of language attitudes, reproduced here as Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2Baker's socio-cultural model of language attitudes
(Baker's 1992: 39 adaptation from Gardner 1985)



Baker identified variables found in his Welsh research to build a systems model of language attitudes: these were age, gender, school, ability, language background, and cultural background (Baker 1992: 46). He then focused on attitudes towards bilingualism, which 'concerns the viewpoint that languages can be fused or can exist in tandem' (Baker 1992: 79). He investigated the influence of various characteristics by examining the correlations of each variable with attitude to bilingualism, and constructing a causal model, which was used to investigate changes in attitude towards bilingualism. This highlighted the relative influence of school, home and youth culture, and popular culture in particular (Baker 1992: 132):

Biculturalism may open the door to wide and varied experiences but in walks popular, modern, majority culture. In a teenager's living space such culture may leave decreasing room for a minority language.

Baker concluded that although the 'languages in conflict' model is popular, it is negative in focus. Therefore, he suggested that it is also worth considering the 'positive integration and relatively harmonic co-existence of languages within an individual', in other words 'bilingualism as a language' (Baker 1992: 137).

In the 1990s the concern for a stronger theoretical basis for language attitudes research led Giles and colleagues at the University of California to develop more integrated models of language attitudes, incorporating aspects of classical attitude theory and social psychology theory. An overview of these theories will now be presented, before a description of the integrated language attitudes models.

2.2.3 Influence from attitude theory

As noted above, language attitudes research has developed separately from other attitudes research. However, the model of attitudes which has been used in theoretical developments of language attitudes has a long history. This is the classical model of attitudes which originated in Plato's *The Republic*, a three part hierarchical model of the ideal state, based on a 'foundation myth' (Plato Bk III, par 415, in Lee 1955: 160):

'You are, all of you in this land, brothers. But when God fashioned you, he added gold in the composition of those of you who are qualified to be Rulers (which is why their prestige is greatest); he put silver in the Auxiliaries, and iron and bronze in the farmers and the rest. ...'

This division of the state into rulers, auxiliaries and businessmen/farmers was then developed into a parallel three part representation of the character of the individual (Plato Bk IV par 436, in Lee 1955: 186):

'Well, we are bound to admit that the qualities that characterise a state must also exist in the individuals that compose it. There is nowhere else for them to come from. \dots '

Although the link to attitudes is not clearly articulated in the dialogues, this further developed into a related three part model of attitudes. This has been influential across the centuries, although rejected by Aristotle, Descartes, and Spinoza, who nevertheless coined one of the terms used in the three-part model

(Scherer 1995: 3):

It is ironic that even though Spinoza's teachings negated any dissection of the soul, his term *conatus*, desire consciously directed toward some specific object (action tendency) has become the technical term for the appetitive, motivational part of consequent tripartite subdivisions of human mental faculties.

The related components of attitudes are now known as *cognition*, *affect*, and *conation*, as is shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1Plato's tripartite model of the state and character, with related
attitude components

State component	Character component	Attitude component
Guardians, rulers	Reason, learning	Cognition
Auxiliaries, soldiers	Spirit, feeling (e.g. anger)	Affect (belief)
Businessmen, farmers	Appetite (e.g. hunger, thirst)	Conation (action, behaviour)

This 'classical' model is used as a starting point in the discussion of attitudes in psychology, although often without direct reference to the original theory. For example, mid-twentieth century researchers on attitude Rosenberg and Horland (1960: 3) noted that attention to three aspects of attitude goes back 'at least to 1908'. More recent writers Eagly and Chaiken (1993: 12) refer to 'claims' that the three categories extend 'as far back as classical Greek and Hindu¹ philosophers'. They note that evidence supports the 'empirical separability' of the three components under some but not all circumstances, and the model forms a 'convenient language' for considering attitudes (Eagly and Chaiken 1993: 13-14).

The relationship between the three major components of attitude, and how they are measured, have been outlined by Rosenberg and Horland (1960) in the muchcited diagram reproduced here as Figure 2.3.

¹ This may be referring to the division described by Heinrich Zimmer (ed. Campbell 1951:79-80) between the 'true Self' (*brahman*, *ātman*), 'gross body' (tangible, *sthūla-śarīra*) and 'subtle body' (thoughts, emotions, *sūksma- śarīra*).

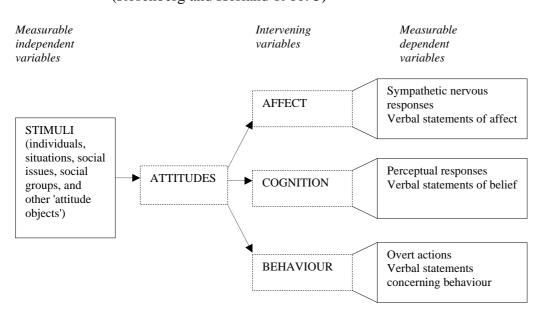


Figure 2.3 Schematic conception of attitudes (Rosenberg and Horland 1960: 3)

Three intervening variables (or 'response classes') are usually inferred from measurable dependent variables or responses (Rosenberg and Horland 1960: 3-4):

- *affect* may be inferred from physiological responses such as blood pressure, or from verbal statements about likes or dislikes;
- *behaviour* may be evaluated by an individuals' responses in a particular situation, or from what they say they will do in the situation;
- *cognition* is usually elicited by written or spoken questions.

Cargile et al. (1994: 221) point out that affective language attitudes involve feelings towards the language object such as 'a passion for Irish poetry' or 'an awful taste in the mouths of Georgians when speaking Russian', cognitive attitudes entail beliefs such as 'French is useful to know' or 'English people are refined', and behavioural attitudes encourage actions such as 'enrolling in a Japanese language course' or 'hiring a prestige accented speaker'.

Although there has been debate about the relationship between the three components, particularly between attitude and behaviour, Ajzen (1988: 20) states that Rosenberg and Horland's model 'serves as the starting point for most contemporary analyses', and that the literature is mostly consistent with the theory. Cargile et al. (1994: 222) state that recent evidence indicates that the relationship is 'actually quite robust'.

A related literature is the field of teacher cognition. In contrast with attitude theory, in which knowledge/cognition and practice/action/conation are components of attitude, in teacher cognition theory 'beliefs, knowledge, theories, attitudes, images, assumptions, metaphors, conceptions, (and) perspectives' all form part of a model of teacher cognition (Borg 2003: 82). There is a large amount of this literature relating to language, which refers specifically to foreign or second language teaching (for example Woods 1996; Verloop, Van Driel and Meijer 2001, Borg 2003); however, this is a narrower focus than the current study which is interested in language attitudes by teacher educators across all curriculum areas.

2.2.4 Influences from social psychology of language

The social psychology of language includes a number of social identity theories, and the developing area of discursive psychology. Another more recent influence comes from information processing research. These will now be described in turn.

Social identity theory

Several social identity theories have been influential in the social psychology of language.

A 'theory of reasoned action' was developed in the mid-twentieth century to explain the relationship between beliefs, attitudes, intentions and behaviours by Fishbein and Ajzen, who state that 'there is widespread agreement that affect is the most essential part of the attitude concept' (1975: 11). They use 'belief' for cognition, and 'intention' for conation (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975: 12). In their theory, which aims to predict social behaviour, attitudes are a function of two sets of beliefs: *behavioural beliefs* which result from the outcomes an individual believes will occur from given behaviour, and *normative beliefs* which result from what the individual believes others think about the given behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980: 7). This theory is frequently discussed in the area of prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour (examples in the Australian setting include Terry, Hogg and Blackwood 2001, Reynolds and Turner 2001). Giles and

Coupland (1991: 58) point out that its importance to the theory of language attitudes is its emphasis on the consequences of language attitudes.

Unlike the theory of reasoned action, which is an expectancy value theory excluding social norms as guides to behaviour, 'language expectancy theory' relies entirely on social norms (Burgoon and Burgoon 2001: 80). This theory was developed in 1985 by Burgoon and Miller, and referred to changes in attitude and behaviour resulting from positive or negative violations of communication norms. Members of social groups were bound by normative expectations of 'appropriate' communication behaviour, with 'bandwidths' of linguistic freedom for 'people of high credibility and male speakers in general' (Burgoon and Burgoon 2001: 81-85). The theory applied to contexts of persuasion such as sun safety and antismoking campaigns (Burgoon and Burgoon 2001: 89).

A further influential theory of attitudes was developed by social psychologist Tajfel from the 1970s, in response to his experiences as a Jewish survivor of the German Holocaust. His 'theory of intergroup relations' emphasises the place of individuals within the uniformity of groups (Tajfel 1981: 47):

It is therefore necessary to state the basic conditions for groups to be constructed in such a way that the consequent behaviour of members of one group towards another shows uniformities rather than a random variation from individual to individual.

He includes language as one of the distinct symbols of a minority group which can be re-evaluated in order to construct new attitudes, such as in the reestablishment of status of the language of an ethnic minority (Tajfel 1981: 338). An example of language attitudes research using intergroup theory is investigations of teachers' language attitudes carried out in the 1990s by Byrnes, Kiger and Manning at Utah State University, using items such as 'To be considered American, one should speak English', 'I would support the government spending additional money to provide better programs for linguistic-minority students in public schools', and 'Parents of non- or limited-English-proficient students should be counselled to speak English with their children whenever possible' (Byrnes, Kiger and Manning 1996: 467). Cognitive sophistication (measured by a vocabulary test) was found to be associated with tolerant language attitudes, above and beyond educational level. The region of the country also had a strong effect, according to the likelihood of contact with students who speak other languages (Byrne, Kiger and Manning 1996:463).

In the 1970s 'speech accommodation theory' was developed to critique Labov's explanation of context for the situational variability of accent (Giles and Coupland 1991: 62, Shepard, Giles and Le Poire 2001: 33-34). Giles and colleagues proposed the strategies of *convergence* or *divergence* by individual speakers towards each other's styles, to achieve the desired degree of social distance. These strategies then become part of the outcomes of the language attitudes process (Cargile et al. 1994: 224). Speech accommodation theory has now developed into the macro-level 'communication accommodation theory' (Shepard, Giles and Le Poire 2001: 34).

Another intergroup theory which grew out of communication accommodation theory is 'ethnolinguistic identity theory'. This linked back to Tajfel's research, relating to the individual's identity in social groups. The subjective self-identification with particular ethnic groups may result in a positive distinctiveness, which in turn may include language (Giles and Coupland 1991: 105). Ethnolinguistic identity theory then led to 'ethnolinguistic vitality theory', in which 'interethnic dynamics are viewed against the backdrop of their sociostructural contexts' (Giles and Coupland 1991: 135-136). Vitality has three major components, shown in Figure 2.4.

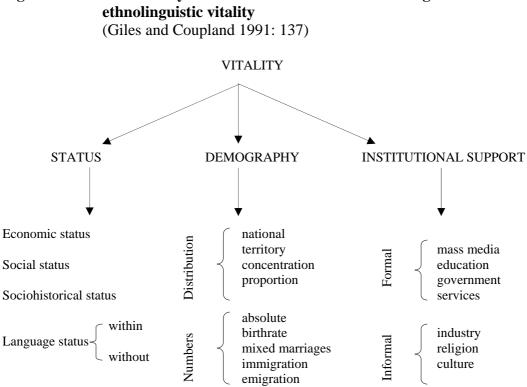


Figure 2.4 A taxonomy of the structural variables affecting

Dominant groups will have higher vitality, and minority ethnic groups (including immigrant communities) will have lower vitality. This theory refers to subjective vitality, and speakers who perceive their group to have high vitality have more positive attitudes about the use of their language. An 'objective' vitality is 'the outcome of the inter-group dynamic between groups of high and low vitality' (Sachdev and Bourhis 2001: 411, 412). Ryan and Giles (1982: 3) proposed that the two sociostructural determinants affecting language attitudes are vitality and standardisation, which refers to codified norms such as dictionaries and grammars.

Interpretative processes

The development in the 1980s of discursive psychology uses a discourse analysis approach to challenge the investigation of the mind through realist, scientific approaches, by emphasising 'the role played by language in creating and reproducing meaning in everyday social interaction and practice' (LeCouteur and Augoustinos 2001: 216). This largely British-based approach was a radical shift from the North American-based views of attitudes (Giles and Coupland 1991: 56, LeCouteur and Augoustinos 2001: 216, Burr 2002: 119). The most influential application of these ideas was by Potter and Wetherell (1987), who argued that traditional attitude research has neglected context, variability and the construction of the attitudinal object in discourse. Their response was to examine how the participants' language is constructed, and what the consequences of the different types of construction are (Potter and Wetherell 1987: 54-55). They developed the concept of 'interpretative repertoires', which are 'recurrently used systems of terms used for characterising and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena' (Potter and Wetherell 1987: 149). These repertoires are called upon to meet certain situations, and do not have a one to one relationship with particular groups (Potter and Wetherell 1987: 156). The theoretical principles of discursive social psychology lead to analyses emphasising craft and skill, using combinations of audio tape, video tape, transcript, and text (Potter and Edwards 2001: 108).

Giles and Coupland (1991: 56) point out that in this theory the relationship between 'language varieties' and 'attitudes' is being constantly redefined through social construction and social cognitive processes affecting judgements about speakers. In this way the relationship is symbiotic, and contrasts with the dichotomous relationship between the two which is assumed in the matched guise technique paradigm.

Information processing

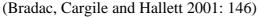
The most recent area of theory to be included in models of language attitudes comes from cognitive science investigations in social psychology. Findings that cognitive processes occur in parallel rather than serially have led to Kunda and Thagard's (1996) 'parallel-constraint-satisfaction theory' to explain how impressions of people are formed. This model consists of a network of nodes which are holistically activated according to the salience of either social *stereotypes* (such as sex race, age or profession) that are associated with particular traits or behaviours, or *inviduating* information known about an individual (such as behaviour, personality, or family circumstances) (Kunda and Thagard 1996: 284). Experiments found that inviduating information dominated impressions much more than stereotypes, although both are included in the model (Kunda and Thagard 1996: 303).

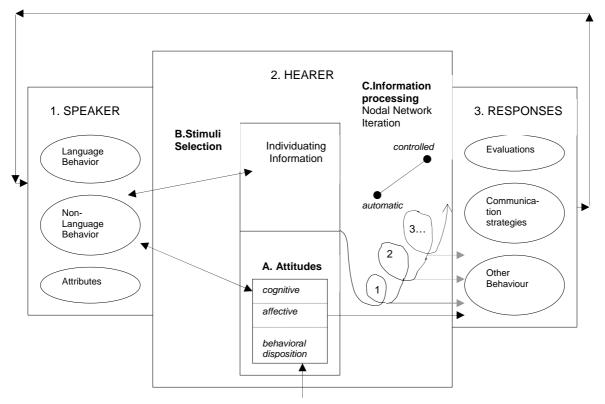
2.2.5 An integrative model of language attitudes

The models from attitude theory and social psychology were incorporated into the first version of an inclusive heuristic model of the language attitudes process developed by Cargile, Giles, Ryan and Bradac (1994). This used two-way arrows to incorporate the interpretive processes indicated in a discursive perspective (Cargile et al. 1994: 218). Findings from intergroup theory were incorporated into the cognitive dimension of attitude (Cargile et al. 1994: 221-222), and the interpretional history of hearers was included to incorporate ideas from expectancy theory about the influence of speaker styles on hearer evaluations (Cargile et al. 1994: 223). Although the model is based on the spoken mode, they contend that it would also apply to the written mode.

The model has been revised and expanded in light of theoretical advancements, shown in Figure 2.5, to provide a more complex view than the traditional stimulus-attitude-response model (Bradac, Cargile and Hallett 2001: 145).

Figure 2.5 Bradac, Cargile, and Hallett's model of the language-attitudes process





Attitude sources: cultural factors, functional biases, & biology

The speaker's language behaviour includes non-language behaviours such as gestures, and attributes such as sex, race, attractiveness, or occupational status, in addition to language (Bradac, Cargile and Hallett 2001: 146). The hearer responds according to stimuli selection. This stresses that hearers are active rather than passive responders to speakers; they focus on a subset of relevant stimuli according to factors such as their attitudes (in the three traditional components), and inviduating information. Information processing is based on Kunda and Thagard's (1996) parallel-constraint-satisfaction model, and includes both controlled and automatic processing. Attitude sources include cultural factors such as innate responses to pitch and loudness. Responses include aspects from intergroup theory and communication accommodation theory (Bradac, Cargile and Hallett 2001: 150-151). The emphasis in the model is on the hearer (Bradac, Cargile and Hallett (2001: 151):

We believe that a paradigm shift is in order, because in some cases a hearer's evaluations or communication strategies may be influenced as much by factors internal to the hearer as by speaker behaviours.

Following from this, any model of teacher educators' attitudes should include aspects of the situations of both the students (either school students or student teachers) and the teacher educators themselves.

2.2.6 Language attitude research in Aotearoa New Zealand

Research into language attitudes in this country has been of four main kinds: attitudes towards New Zealand English, attitudes towards foreign language acquisition, attitudes towards the Māori language, and attitudes to the maintenance of immigrant languages. These will each be examined, focusing on attitudes towards Māori and immigrant languages, which are of most direct relevance to this study.

a Attitudes towards New Zealand English

Research on attitudes towards New Zealand English is often carried out in the context of measurement of the 'cultural cringe' of New Zealanders towards our own variety of English, and has explored views of 'Māori' English and Southland

English (Bayard 1995, Gordon and Deverson 1998). Bayard's series of studies in the 1980s at Otago University used matched guise techniques to gauge attitudes towards Received Pronunciation, North American, and Australian English. He concluded that the cultural cringe was still evident, and 'might reflect a basic insecurity and reluctance to accept independent statehood' (Bayard 1995: 113). However, other 1980s research at Canterbury University found a change from the earlier prestige of Received Pronunciation to the recognition of New Zealand English as the acceptable variety (Gordon and Deverson 1998: 174).

b Attitudes towards foreign language acquisition

The foreign languages studied in the New Zealand context tend to be 'international' languages linked to trade and tourism (Waite 1992b: 66), as shown by the top languages studied in 2001 which were French (23,816 students), Japanese (19,981), German (7,496), and Spanish (4,407) (Ministry of Education 2002d). There have been few studies following Gardner's Canadian work in investigating attitudes towards the learning of these languages (Gardner and Lambert 1972; Gardner 1985, 2001; Masgoret and Gardner 2003). However, the attitudes leading to the study of languages by high school students in New Zealand were studied by Shearn (2003). She found that although the students and parents held mostly positive attitudes, these were counteracted by institutional factors such as timetabling and the optional status of languages in the curriculum.

c Attitudes towards the Māori language

A third major area of language attitude research concerns the Māori language, and a number of surveys will now be described.

A sociolinguistic survey of language use in Māori households and communities was led by Benton at the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) in the 1970s, with interviews of 6,450 households based on the methodology used in Fishman's field work with the Puerto Rican community in Jersey City (Benton 1983: 2). The questionnaire included questions on the language preferred by informants for speaking, reading and writing, as well as 'spontaneous comments about matters relating to the Maori language - their own

and other people's experiences, attitudes and observations' (Benton 1983: 4). The survey found that even where Māori was no longer used as primary communication, it continued to be important in some domains (Benton 1983: 11).

University projects investigating attitudes towards Māori in the late 1980s by Leek in Auckland and Campbell in Dunedin were used as a basis for Campbell's Gisborne questionnaire-based study (Campbell 1990: 1). A factor analysis came up with two variables, which Campbell labelled 'culture' and 'politics' and proposed as underlying attitudes (Campbell 1990: 4). The other main finding was that Māori people were more positive towards the Māori language than non-Māori (Campbell 1990: 7).

At the end of the 1980s Nicholson and Garland at Massey University carried out a nationwide mail survey of 225 New Zealand adult (Māori and Pākehā) opinions of the Māori language (Nicholson and Garland 1991). The results showed that most New Zealanders, especially younger adults, believe the Māori language has a role in New Zealand (Nicholson and Garland 1991: 405).

In 1991 the market research company AGB McNair carried out a survey for the Ministry of Education to canvass opinion and determine the demand for Māori bilingual and total immersion education (AGB McNair 1992: 15). Face-to-face surveys were carried out with 500 Māori and 500 non-Māori caregivers responsible for decisions about the education of pre-school or primary school age children. Again the Māori sample tended to be more pro-Māori than the non-Māori sample. Of particular interest here are the results that two-thirds of the Māori sample and one-third of the non-Māori sample disagreed that Māori children would do better at school if taught in English, and the same proportions agreed that children who are users of both Māori and English would do better at school (AGB McNair 1992: 47-48).

In 1995 the *National Māori Language Survey* was carried out by Te Puni Kōkiri (The Ministry of Māori Development) to follow up on the 1970s NZCER survey on the status of the Māori language, and to investigate Māori language behaviours and underlying attitudinal and implementational behaviours (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:

1). Most people agreed with the positive statements and disagreed with the negative statements, but other parts of the survey found that competency in Māori language is low, and that the positive attitudes would not be enough in themselves to ensure survival of the language as a means of communication (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998: 6).

A 1989-1990 survey of the Māori language use of 56 respondents in the Porirua area of Wellington, found that attitudes had become more positive since the NZCER survey of the 1970s (Boyce 1992).

Te Puni Kōkiri established a Māori Language Strategy Monitoring and Evaluation Unit in 1999, and in 2000 carried out the national benchmark *Survey of attitudes, beliefs and values about the Māori language* with BRC Marketing and Social Research (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002: 22). This was a telephone survey with nationally representative samples of 615 Māori and 725 non-Māori respectively. Their terms were defined as follows (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002: 23):

Values:	Relate to the underlying orientation of an individual towards a language, and ultimately towards the speakers of that language.
Beliefs:	Relate to knowledge of an individual about a language and the people that speak that language. Beliefs can usually be referred to as true or false, or accurate or inaccurate.
Attitudes:	Relate to the opinions of an individual towards various aspects of language use in society, e.g. the use of a language in broadcasting, the use of a language in education. They can usually be referred to as positive, negative, or neutral.

These definitions are similar to the 'classical' attitude components outlined above: values statements relate to the affective component ('I personally feel I can learn a lot from *all* races in New Zealand', 'Talking about Māori rights gets me *really* fired up'), and beliefs statements to the cognitive component ('In your opinion, out of 100 New Zealanders about how many can speak Māori?'). However, the first group of nine attitude statements are general and relate the affective component ('Well spoken Māori is a beautiful thing to listen to'), whereas the second group of ten attitude statements concern the Government's involvement with the Māori language and relate to the conative component ('The Government should encourage the use of Māori in everyday situations such as homes and the community').

The results found that both groups could be divided into three categories. The Māori respondents comprised 'Cultural developers' (68%) who were motivated to learn Māori and share Māori culture, 'Māori only' (20%) who thought that Māori language and culture belong exclusively to the Māori people, and 'Uninterested' (12%) who placed little importance on Māori language or culture (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002: 13). The non-Māori respondents comprised 'Passive Supporters' (49%) who supported Māori language or culture while not being personally engaged in it, 'Uninterested' (39%) who tolerated Māori language and culture, as long as it did not 'impinge on their lives', and 'English only' who were negative towards Māori language and culture (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002: 14-15). However, these labellings did not acknowledge any positive support from non-Māori respondents.

These research projects are the only large-scale language attitude studies which have been undertaken in this country.

d Attitudes towards the maintenance of immigrant languages

The fourth area of New Zealand research into language attitudes has largely been as part of a series of questionnaire-based research projects undertaken from the late 1980s at Victoria University into the language maintenance and shift of minority language groups in the Wellington area, with immigrant groups to which the researchers have links. 'Aipolo (1989: 111; 'Aipolo and Holmes 1990: 516) found 'overwhelmingly positive' attitudes by Tongan respondents to their language; Verivaki (1990: 182, 1991: 107) found very positive attitudes to Greek in the Greek community; Roberts (1990: 159) found some support for Chinese in the Cantonese community although they considered literacy to be 'completely unimportant'; Shameem (1993: 23, 1995: 276) found positive attitudes to Fiji Hindi by mothers and teenagers in the Indo-Fijian community; and in my own research with the Lao refugee community I found positive attitudes towards the Lao language (Smith 1994: 125, 1996: 209). Most of these studies used similar sets of attitude statements and Likert-type scales relating to language and culture, adapted for the particular community and questionnaire format.

Other research has been based on case studies, such as Walker's (1995, 1996: 45) research with German families in which she found that attitudes underpinned the

social networks which were crucial in the use and retention of German. More recently, case studies have been used by Bell, Davis and Starks' (2000) study into languages in the Manukau region of South Auckland, and the study by Starks et al. (2003) into Niuean language use. In both cases, attitudes were again identified as key to the survival of the languages.

This set of research projects completes the picture of language attitudes research. As with the studies in attitudes towards the Māori language, they generally do not allow for any comparisons between languages other than English, and therefore cannot be regarded as studies of bilingualism and language diversity per se.

2.3 Bilingualism

I now turn to an investigation of the concept of bilingualism, which is the focus of the language attitudes in my study. First, some definitions of 'bilingualism' will be discussed, followed by an examination of the evidence on the relationship between bilingualism and cognitive development, a discussion of bilingualism and education, and finally a description of bilingual education research in Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.3.1 Definitions of bilingualism

The term *bilingual* itself has been chosen because it seems to focus clearly on the individual. Obviously many individuals will speak more than two languages, and the term *multilingualism* might therefore have been used, but this term is often also used at a societal level. At this wider level I have used *linguistic diversity*, which avoids the ambiguities of multilingualism, and more clearly encompasses issues of dialect and variety.

There are many different meanings people might have for the term 'bilingual', including at least two ways in which it is commonly understood which would be different from the focus in this study:

The first is that in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand the term 'bilingualism' is most often used in referring to Māori-English bilingualism, as for example in the following call for Pākehā New Zealanders to learn Māori (McCaffery 1987: 82)

Pākehā enrolments in kohanga reo and bi-lingual classes, units and schools is still limited to the odd exception in most cases. To some extent, this is to be expected because bi-lingualism is an added dimension to the more basic language, social and cultural goals, acceptance of which is a prerequisite for Pākehā involvement in full bi-lingual schooling.

The second common worldwide understanding of 'bilingualism' is that it refers only to 'balanced bilinguals', or someone who is equally competent in both languages. Baker (2001: 7) points out the problems with this sometimes idealised concept, when in fact most people who use two languages do so in different situations which cannot be compared (as was clearly found at community level in the studies described in 2.2.6 above). This relates to the important distinction between the language *ability* and language *use* of bilinguals (Baker 2001: 3). Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 80-91) discusses similar distinctions between *competence* and *function* as criteria for bilingualism, to which she adds *origin*, when someone learns two languages from birth, and *attitudes* which refer to the identity of bilingual individuals.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:75-80) categorises bilingual children according to their situation, as shown in Table 2.2. This shows that the social situation of the child is important in terms of the consequences if they fail to become bilingual. In élite bilingualism (such as foreign language learning at school), which is usually voluntary, there may be some social consequences of failure. However, for most bilingual children, who are the children of linguistic minorities and obliged by circumstances to be bilingual, the consequences of failure might be 'catastrophic'.

Group	Situation	Pressure	Route	Consequences of failure
Élite	Living	Voluntary	'Natural	Some social
	overseas e.g.		method'/	consequences
	exchange		teaching	
Linguistic	Immersion	Voluntary	Best	Small
majority A	education		methods,	
			materials	
Linguistic	Colonised	Societal	?	High
majority B	country	pressure		
Bilingual	Parents	Family	Family	Unable to share
families	speak	internal	decisions &	one parent's
	different	pressure	effort	cultural heritage
	languages			
Linguistic	Immigrant	Strong	Not well	May be
minorities	or refugee	external	developed	catastrophic -
	groups	pressure &		education,
		strong family		identity
		pressure		

Table 2.2Types of bilingual children
(Derived from: Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 75-80)

Baker comments that Lambert's distinction between *additive* and *subtractive* bilingualism has become important to explain the aims of second language learning (Baker 2001: 114). Additive bilingualism is a positive form of second language learning when a new language is added to a person's repertoire. Subtractive bilingualism is when the new language replaces the first language. This may have negative cognitive, social and cultural consequences.

The bilingualism investigated in this study is *individual* rather than *societal* bilingualism, in other words bilingualism as an individual possession rather than a group possession (Baker 2001: 2). This is an important distinction in relation to the priorities for bilingualism in public policy set out in Waite's 1992 discussion document (see 1.3.2). His priorities are outlined on a national scale, in other words he ranks the 'relative importance' of Māori revitalisation to the country as a whole as higher than other priorities such as children's English as a second language and first language maintenance (Waite 1992a: 22). However, as the focus in this study is bilingual individuals, the needs of their language may differ according to its ethnolinguistic status but they cannot be ranked in order of importance as *individuals*.

2.3.2 Bilingualism and cognitive development

Research from the 19th century to the 1960s on the effects of bilingualism concentrated on the negative effects of bilingualism on thinking, in what Baker (2001: 136-139) describes as a 'period of detrimental effects' research. This emphasised the mental confusion of bilingual children when compared with monolingual children. However, this research had methodological problems, particularly in its definition of intelligence. In the mid twentieth century there was also a 'period of neutral effects' research, which was used in countries such as Wales to support bilingualism.

The 1962 Canadian research by Peal and Lambert introduced the current 'period of additive effects' research (Baker 2001: 140). They found that 10-year old bilingual children from Montreal French schools performed better than monolingual children on both verbal and nonverbal intelligence tests (Peal and Lambert 1962: 279). Although there were also some methodological criticisms of this study, the approach from that time has moved to a multi-component view of cognition, rather than intelligence testing (Baker 2001: 142). Research in the 'additive effects' approach has shown that bilingual children may have advantages in divergent (or creative) thinking, metalinguistic awareness, communicative sensitivity, and field independency (Baker 2001: 144-156). In a review of the literature on literacy acquisition of bilinguals, Bialystok (2002: 192) stresses that bilingualism is not 'a holistic experience that exerts a single impact on development', although she points out that differences between monolinguals and bilinguals are to the benefit of bilinguals.

Recent research relating to bilingualism and the academic development of bilingual children has been strongly influenced by the development of Cummins' theories and their relevance to policy and practice in the classroom (Cummins 2000, Baker 2001). In order to address the issue of level of proficiency needed by children to understand instruction at school, Cummins made the distinction in 1979 between *basic interpersonal communicative skills* (BICS) and *cognitive academic language proficiency* (CALP), although he has now simplified these to *conversational proficiency* and *academic proficiency* (Cummins 2000: 58). Conversational proficiency refers to phonology and basic fluency which in native

speakers reach a plateau at about six years old, whereas academic proficiency includes lexical and other knowledge which continues to develop throughout a lifetime. Cummins (2000: 60-66) points out that this distinction is similar to phenomena described by Vygotsky's spontaneous and scientific concepts, Bruner's communicative and analytic competence, Canale's communicative and autonomous proficiencies, Donaldson's embedded and disembedded thought and language, Olson's utterance and text, Bereiter and Scardamalia's conversation and composition, Snow et al.'s contextualised and decontextualised language, and Mohan's practical and theoretical discourse. Cummins has elaborated his distinction into a framework which distinguishes cognitive and contextual demands, to explain the increasing complexity of language demands at higher academic levels (Cummins 2000: 67).

In discussing critiques of the BICS and CALP distinction, Cummins addresses deficit theories such as *semilingualism*, also known as *double semilingualism* (Cummins 2000: 99). While not commonly used in this country, this term describes the situation which is referred to by some educationalists in the literature and by respondents in my study, and defined by Baker (2001: 9):

A 'semilingual' is considered to exhibit the following profile in both their languages: displays a small vocabulary and incorrect grammar, consciously thinks about language production, is stilted and uncreative with each language, and finds it difficult to think and express emotions in either language.

Both Cummins (2000) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) explain the Scandinavian origins of the term and the debates it has engendered. Although Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 249) states that she feels there may be an underlying phenomenon, she criticises the term for being political rather than linguistic. Baker (2001: 10) states that a more 'proper' approach is to situate a 'language deficit' in the social and educational systems which have caused it, and Cummins (2000: 105) notes that the 'real issue' is how these social and educational structures are challenged.

Cummins (2000: 175) states that he originally used the term 'semilingualism' in relation to his *threshold hypothesis*, which speculates about the conditions in which language might affect cognitive and linguistic growth, so that a student whose proficiency in the language of instruction is weak is more vulnerable to

inappropriate instruction such as submersion programmes. However, Cummins believes this theory is less relevant than the *interdependence* or *common underlying proficiency (CUP) hypothesis* for policy and practice. This hypothesis refers to 'the cognitive and academic proficiency that underlies academic performance in both languages' (Cummins 2000: 38), and can be described with an analogy of the languages as two icebergs above the surface which are fused under the water so that the two languages operate with the same central processing system (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 115, Baker 2001: 165). Cummins (2000: 176, 194) notes that these hypotheses are often misinterpreted and conflated, and he gives examples from the United States and New Zealand:

Another example is in New Zealand where some Māori-medium programs (kura kaupapa Māori) delay formal English instruction until students are at the secondary school level. The rationale is the minority language (Māori) needs maximum reinforcement and transfer of academic skills to English will happen 'automatically' without formal instruction. Although there may be instances where this does happen, in my view this assumption is seriously flawed. 'Automatic' transfer of academic skills across languages will not happen unless students are given opportunities to read and write extensively in English in addition to the minority language. In addition, *there is a significant role for formal explicit instruction in order to teach specific aspects of academic registers in both languages*. (Cummins 2000: 194, emphasis in original)

The concerns behind the term 'semilingualism' and Cummins' comments above indicate that approaches to bilingualism in education may be based on social rather than linguistic factors, and these approaches may be promulgated in the education of student teachers.

2.3.3 Bilingualism and educational programmes

The context of bilingualism in education is hugely varied, and Baker's (2001) extensive typology, shown as Table 2.3, is valuable in including many types of situation in which bilingualism occurs. The two main forms of education for bilingualism are described as *weak*, which aim for a mainly monolingual outcome, and *strong*, which aim for bilingualism and biliteracy.

The research into the effectiveness of bilingual education is reviewed by Baker (2001), who concludes that the evidence generally supports 'strong' forms of

bilingual education rather than 'weak' forms. He notes the economic benefits of strong forms of bilingualism when drop-out rates are reduced, 'and a more skilled, highly trained and employable work force is produced' (Baker 2001: 242). This is a benefit which has not generally been emphasised in this country.

Table 2.3	Types of bilingual education programme
	(Baker 2001: 194)

Type of Program	Typical Type of Child	Language of the Classroom	Societal and Educational Aim	Aim in Language Outcome
SUBMERSION (Structured Immersion)	Language Minority	Majority Language	Assimilation	Monolingualism
SUBMERSION with Withdrawal Classes/ Sheltered English	Language Minority	Majority Language with 'Pull-out' L2 Lessons	Assimilation	Monolingualism
SEGREGATIONIST	Language Minority	Minority Language (forced, no choice)	Apartheid	Monolingualism
TRANSITIONAL	Language Minority	Moves from Minority to Majority Language	Assimilation	Relative Monolingualism
MAINSTREAM with Foreign Language Teaching	Language Majority	Majority Language with L2/FL Lessons	Limited Enrichment	Limited Bilingualism
STRONG FORMS C	DF EDUCATION	FOR BILINGUAI	LISM AND BILI	TERACY
Type of Program	Typical Type of Child	Language of the Classroom	Societal and Educational Aim	Aim in Language Outcome
IMMERSION	Language Majority	Bilingual with Initial Emphasis on L2	Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism & Biliteracy
MAINTENANCE/ HERITAGE LANGUAGE	Language Minority	Bilingual with Emphasis on L1	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism & Biliteracy
TWO-WAY/DUAL LANGUAGE	Mixed Language Minority & Majority	Minority and Majority	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism & Biliteracy
MAINSTREAM BILINGUAL	Language Majority	Two Majority Languages	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism & Biliteracy

Results from Thomas and Collier's (2002) large-scale research in the United States have confirmed the academic outcomes of these 'strong' forms of bilingual education. They found that enrichment one-way or two-way developmental bilingual education programmes (or dual language, bilingual immersion) allowed students to reach the 50th percentile in both languages and all subjects, whereas English immersion, English as a Second Language content classes and transitional bilingual education classes did not enable students to close the achievement gap. The strongest predictor of second language achievement was the amount of formal schooling in the first language, and bilingually schooled students outperformed comparable monolingually schooled students in academic achievement in all subjects after four to seven years of dual language schooling (Thomas and Collier 2002: 7).

The reality in a small geographically isolated country such as Aotearoa New Zealand, with a fluid population of immigrants and refugees, is that the 'ideal' for minority language children of maintenance/heritage language or two-way/ dual language programmes is unlikely to happen in the near future. Resources in the form of teachers and materials will not be readily available, numbers of migrant communities are generally too small or of low status for provision to be seen as necessary, and there is no sociocultural impetus to promote bilingualism. The alternative is for all classroom teachers to be equipped with strategies which will encourage minority children's bilingualism and biliteracy to be developed, as I have presented in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4	An alternative form of bilingualism for mainstream classes in
	Aotearoa New Zealand

Type of Programme	Typical Type of Child	Language of the Classroom	Societal & Educational Aim	Aim in Language Outcome
IMMERSION plus MAINTENANCE	Language minority (immigrant)	Majority (English) plus L1s plus ESL	Multiculturalism	Bilingualism & Biliteracy
IMMERSION plus ENGLISH (L1 or L2)	Indigenous (Māori)	Indigenous (Māori), plus English (L1 or L2)	Multiculturalism	Bilingualism & Biliteracy

Literature review

In this form of bilingualism the child would be in an immersion rather than submersion situation, but the teachers and students would be encouraged to use all of their language resources, with parents, teacher aides, or other (specialist) teachers getting involved as appropriate to support the children's other languages, and English if necessary as well. This links to Hornberger's (2002: 12) emphasis on the continua model of biliteracy, which addresses the unequal balance of power across languages by situating biliteracy development in the contexts, content and media of the language environment. She comments on the situation in this country (Hornberger 2002: 15):

... what is needed, in the Māori case as with the others, is to find as many ways as possible to open up ideological spaces for the implementation of multiple languages and literacies in the classroom, community, and society, while never overlooking the ecological relations among the languages involved.

An example of this approach in an English as a Second Language classroom with Khmer adults in the United States is given by Skilton-Sylvester (2003: 175-177). The teacher, who did not speak or write Khmer, nevertheless made the first language 'a legitimate part of literacy practices in the classroom' to provide an support for an additive bilingualism outcome for her students.

Cummins (2000: 169-171) argues that although there is confusion among policymakers about the issues surrounding bilingual education, there is increasing consensus among applied linguists that the issue is whether programmes are 'enrichment-oriented' or 'remedial-oriented'. He stresses that the important issue is the extent to which the instruction is 'genuinely transformative of student experience and challenges the operation of coercive relations of power in school and society' (Cummins 2000: 172). He outlines a theoretical framework of intervention for collaborative empowerment in education, in which he advocates the transformative/intercultural orientation required to challenge these power relations (Cummins 2000: 45).

2.3.4 Bilingual education research in Aotearoa New Zealand

With the growth of Māori-medium education (see 1.2.1), an important area of research into bilingual education has been for Māori-English contexts. Two

studies found positive results from a bilingual approach. In a study into mathematics achievement in a Kura Kaupapa Māori, Aspin (1994: 129-130) found that instruction in Māori enhanced the performance of academically weaker children, and that the mathematical concepts were equally available in English. And in an investigation into ways to promote the Māori language in English medium classrooms, the use of interactive reading texts led to improvements in Māori proficiency (Hunia 1995: 100).

Classes in the languages of other communities have also been increasing, particularly in the Auckland area. A number of studies have described the background and organisation of these courses: Gluckman's (1987) outline of the growth of Nga Tapuwae College in Mangere, with mother tongue maintenance classes in Māori, Sāmoan, Niuean, Cook Island Māori, and Tongan, as well as French classes; Rubin's (1987) description of the teaching of Hebrew in the private Jewish school of Kadimah College; May's (1994) description of the Māori, Sāmoan, and Cook Island Māori bilingual programmes of Richmond Road School, and Bell, Davis and Starks' (2000: 33) overview of bilingual classes in Māori, Sāmoan, Cook Island Māori, Tongan and Niuean at Mangere Primary School. While these studies have been of descriptive interest, their accounts have been small in scope and have therefore lacked the explanatory power of larger scale investigations.

Few studies have been carried out to investigate language use in bilingual classes for Pasifika children. However, in a study with Sāmoan students in an English medium high school it was found that selective use of Sāmoan increased the cognitive focus of the students' talk (Lameta-Tufuga 1994: 103), and in an investigation of the development of mathematics problem-solving ability in a Sāmoan-English bilingual class, it was found that the students who spoke only Sāmoan at home scored more highly on pre and post-tests in English and Sāmoan than those who reported using both English and Sāmoan, or only English (Tuafuti 1997: 18). Ethnographic studies of a cohort of Sāmoan-English bilingual learners in O le Taiala Bilingual Unit in Finlayson Park School (McCaffery and Tuafuti 2003: 97-98) found that by Year 6 100% of the children were reading above their chronological age in both English and Sāmoan. The authors attribute this success to the model of empowerment used in the school, based on Cummins' work (see 2.3.3).

Another area of research has been the description of community maintenance classes, often held on the weekend or after school hours. Walker (1997) describes the Deutsche Kinderklasse, a German language Saturday school in Palmerston North, and Hurtado-Roberts (2002) describes Aircoiris, a Spanish playgroup in Wellington. In a survey of the provision of language maintenance classes in Auckland for approximately thirty languages, Shameem (2001: v) found the nature of instruction to be 'voluntary, ad hoc and often quite transient', and identified the need to involve as many members of the community as possible in all stages of the course provision (Shameem 2003: 243).

This review of the research into bilingualism in education in this country therefore points to the need for larger scale research, in order to inform the development of bilingual teaching and support.

2.4 Language awareness

A further dimension of attitudes in this study is language awareness. In this section I discuss definitions of language awareness and critical language awareness, before an examination of the inclusion of language awareness in education and teacher education internationally and in Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.4.1 Definitions of language awareness

The narrowest definition of 'language awareness' has been used in the United States, where it has generally referred to phonemic awareness in relation to initial literacy (Cazden 1992: 146). In Britain, the definitions have been much wider. For the first scholars writing in the 1970s the importance of language awareness was to bring the implicit to explicit awareness, and a similar definition was used in a 1985 British report by the National Council for Language in Education Working Party on Language Awareness: 'Language awareness is a person's sensitivity to

and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life' (James and Garrett 1991: 18). Language awareness work has also been used in an English as a Second Language setting, emphasising both cognitive work such as with grammar and vocabulary, and affective work such as on national and linguistic stereotypes (Bolitho 1998). James and Garrett (1991: 7) suggest that 'language awareness' now covers most of the topics studied by linguists, with a metalanguage appropriate for teachers to use with students, and state that 'perhaps language awareness is to linguists what nature study is to biology'. They question the need for having to justify language awareness work, pointing out that biology does not have to prove that it has led to crop or stock production, but nevertheless highlight the need for research on the effectiveness of awareness on performance. They describe five domains of language awareness (James and Garrett 1991: 12-20):

Affective	The feelings of learners towards language awareness or language		
	learning activities.		
Social	The improvement of inter-ethnic relations through an		
	understanding of language variety.		
Power	An understanding of the ways language can be used to manipulate		
	others by those who have access to the media such as		
	governments, churches, or commercial organisations.		
Cognitive	The analysis of forms and functions of language.		
Performance	The issue of whether knowledge about language affects language		
	behaviour.		

These appear to connect in some areas to the cognitive, affective and conative dimensions of attitude described in Section 2.2.3 above.

Another view proposes that 'language awareness explores in particular the middle ground where theorizing about language meets the practical uses of language, where de Saussure's *langue* meets his *parole*, where universals diversify into thousands of different languages' (Mittens 1991: 25). However, there are tensions between linguists and educationalists in finding this middle ground, as shown in the debate in the journal *Language Awareness* in which Borg (1996: 120) claims that language awareness is a pedagogical tool and methodology which focuses on the needs of (second) language learners, whereas Rastall (1996: 117) claims that this approach lacks a theoretical and methodological basis and that language

awareness should be consistent with approaches used by 'linguisticians'. The importance of 'folk linguistic awareness' in the interaction between language professionals and the public has also been emphasised (Preston 1996: 72, McGregor 1998).

Different approaches to language awareness are taken by applied linguists, mother tongue English teachers, English as a Foreign Language teachers and modern languages teachers (Brumfit 1991). These differences may have positive aspects, such as the consciousness about language and knowledge of second language acquisition of modern languages teachers, the commitment to variation and sensitivity to audience of mother tongue English teachers, and the strong research tradition of English as a Foreign Language teachers. However, he states that there may also be negative results of these divisions, such as when applied linguistics teacher educators are ignored in discussions with language awareness coordinators in schools, or when modern languages teachers are linguistically untrained and regard language awareness as traditional grammatical analysis only, or when linguists do not treat pedagogical issues sensitively.

A further context for language awareness is provided by Donmall's (1985, cited in Baker 2001: 406) list of nine goals of language awareness programmes as part of multicultural education. These goals include a focus on skills and understanding about the students' first, second and foreign languages, the development of an understanding of the language varieties in the students' community and the world, and the improvement of ethnic relations through understanding the origins of language differences.

2.4.2 Critical language awareness

A *critical* approach to language awareness was developed by Fairclough, Martin-Jones, Clark and Ivanič in 1987 at the University in Lancaster (Clark and Ivanič 1999: 63-64). The meaning of 'critical' as it applies to language and linguistics has been examined by a number of writers. Billig (2000: 291) notes that its use tends to signal social analyses, particularly of social inequality, and that it opposes other writing which fails to address social inequality. Brown (1999: 5) refers to 'critical language awareness' as a branch of 'critical literacy', which draws upon a number of different theoretical bases including critical discourse theorists, genre theory and systemic functional linguistics, Freirean notions of empowerment, and feminist ideologies. Harvey (2003: 252) analyses the use of the term 'critical' in her review of recent works by Phillipson (2000), Pennycook (2001) and Canagarajah (1999), noting that although it is used in different ways by different writers, it has immediate associations with Marxist theory.

By combining aspects from the language awareness and critical discourse analysis movements, the objectives of a critical awareness are to help learners to develop more control over their language, and to respond to the way others use language (Clark and Ivanič 1999: 64):

A corollary of awareness is action: the understandings gained by critical language awareness should equip learners to recognise, challenge and ultimately contribute to changing social inequities inscribed in discourse practices, and thus to be more responsible citizens.

The importance of critical language awareness for effective democratic citizenship in the modern world has been argued by Fairclough (1992: 222). He points out that language awareness and critical language awareness differ in the ways schools can address problems of educational failure related to language, such as minority or non-standard varieties. He states that with a language awareness approach schools can help overcome problems, whereas with a critical language awareness approach the schools provide learners with understandings of wider issues, and the resources to deal with them (Fairclough 1992: 223).

A major difference between critical and non-critical approaches is in perspectives on Standard English. Bhatt (2002: 74) explains how the dominant discourse of the 'sacred imagined community' of native speakers defines what is 'obvious' or 'normal' in the teaching and learning of English in post-colonial contexts, and leads to the 'inevitability' of a focus on Standard English. Fairclough points out that in a language awareness approach Standard English is regarded as more 'appropriate' for particular situations, and the reasons given for the stigmatisation of certain varieties are parochialism or prejudice (Fairclough 1992: 224-225). He cautions against an expectation that schools can overcome the effects of social class by providing access to Standard English, and states that in a critical approach learners should be taught Standard English 'for pragmatic reasons', while investigating the reasons for dominant rules and ways in which these rules can be challenged. Fairclough further takes up this critique of 'appropriateness', when he discusses how it becomes normative and prescriptive in relation to non-standard varieties, while making the 'suspect assumption' that all varieties are legitimate and appropriate in certain contexts (Fairclough 1995: 236). He points out that this assumption serves an ideological role, and is the 'acceptable face of prescriptivism' (Fairclough 1995: 238). He further questions the idea of appropriateness of language in a competence-based, or skills-based model of language (Fairclough 1995: 241):

If ... repertoires are plural, variable and often ill-defined, and if the matching of language to context is characterised by indeterminacy, heterogeneity and struggle, how on earth can language education be reduced to skills training?

He emphasises that teaching the appropriate use of Standard English is the way by which the hegemony of the dominant dialect is maintained through the educational system 'while making the politically necessary concessions to liberalism and pluralism' (Fairclough 1995: 242). Lippi-Green (1997: 117) adds that language policies stressing standardised languages are so effective because they are rarely motivated by reasons such as overt or obvious racism.

Fairclough's discussion also includes an analysis of language attitudes (Fairclough 1995: 249): 'Doctrines and theories take the common-sense form of language attitudes, and indeed a measure of their hegemony is the extent to which they come to be naturalised as attitudes'. He notes that there may be 'striking mismatches' between what people say they do and what they do in practice, and cautions against confusing these in analysis. He points out that 'appropriateness' is in the domain of language attitudes, and that analysts need to be careful to differentiate between writing about the language that *is* appropriate in a community and that which *is considered to be* appropriate, so that they are not unconsciously normalising the 'politically partisan representation' (Fairclough 1995: 250). Lippi-Green (1997: 114) stresses the importance of teachers recognising and acknowledging the value systems in messages to children, so that by referring to some languages as 'inappropriate' they do not become 'complicit in the process of rejection' of those languages.

A further aim of a critical language awareness approach is to develop the learners' awareness of the relationship between the standard language and minority languages. Bhatt and Martin-Jones (1992) argue that a language awareness approach in schools in which bilingual learners from minority language backgrounds are regarded as a resource can compound social inequalities if it means a superficial description of diversity only, without any discussion of social, political or historical issues. They emphasise that the teaching of language awareness should not be used to replace the teaching of minority community languages, as may be the case in Britain.

Other related terms include the *critical awareness of discourse* advocated by Fairclough (1999: 71) to replace the term 'critical language awareness' in acknowledgement of the significance of semiosis, given the importance of visual images in contemporary discourse. He has also called for action against neo-liberalism by language researchers through critical discourse analysis, the aims of which he identifies as follows (Fairclough 2000: 148):

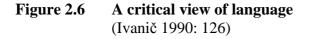
It asks: what are the problems facing people, what are they doing in response, how can these resistances be strengthened and coordinated into a plausible alternative, and how specifically does language figure in all this (recognising the irreducible language factor without exaggerating it)?

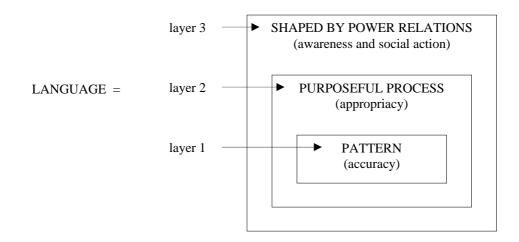
Critical language awareness may also be part of a *critical pedagogy*, which has a vast and often abstract literature (Wallace 1999: 100), seemingly at odds with the aims of facilitating social change (see for example Males 2000's extremely abstract discussion).

However, this very theoretical approach has been balanced by a number of studies which have applied the ideas of critical language awareness to particular teaching situations, such as tertiary writing programmes in which the academic discourse community is explored and challenged with English as a Second Language postgraduate students (Clark and Ivanič 1991; Clark 1992; Janks and Ivanič 1992). A critical language awareness approach has been used as a community-based pedagogy with Chinese English as a Second Language students in Canada (Morgan 1995), and with graduate students to discuss the degree to which the awareness leads to transformative action in South Africa (Janks 1999).

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A critical view of language for teachers is provided in the materials designed for the British Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) (Ivanič 1990), shown in diagrammatic form in Figure 2.6.





In this view, Layer 1 represents early views of the nature of language, which focused on accuracy of patterns as the criterion for success (Ivanič 1990: 123). With the change to an emphasis on communicative competence in the 1970s the focus changed to appropriateness in context, as shown in Layer 2 (Ivanič 1990: 124). A critical view is shown in Layer 3, which emphasises social forces and power relations and the way these can change (Ivanič 1990: 126). A checklist for teachers as a way of summarising and developing critical language awareness is also provided, divided into three parts: critical awareness of the relationship between language and power, critical awareness of language variety, and turning awareness into action (Ivanič 1990: 131-132).

2.4.3 Language awareness in Aotearoa New Zealand education

Jeffrey Waite's (1992) discussion document on the development of a New Zealand languages policy (see 1.3.2) includes a section on Awareness. In this, he advocates the importance of awareness about language issues for the public, with specific mention of bilingualism (Waite 1992b: 5):

Parents who are informed about the nature of bilingualism, for instance, will be in a position to make sound choices for their children's education, which will benefit not only their children but the country as a whole.

This document was written as the new curriculum framework was being drafted, which included a more linguistic description of English than the previous guidelines (Waite 1992b: 6). The subsection on 'language and power' focuses on the linguistic equality of languages, stating that 'it is incorrect to claim that English is an inherently superior language to Māori (or vice versa)', and noting how language can be used in discrimination according to gender, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and disability (Waite 1992b: 8), although no legislation exists to outlaw discrimination on the basis of language or language background (Waite 1992b: 10). Waite's report was therefore in accord with Layer 2 of Ivanič's (1990) critical view of language, because it did not proceed to a discussion of differential power relations, probably because of its origins as a government document.

The current New Zealand Curriculum Framework was finalised in 1993 (Ministry of Education 1993). It contains seven Essential Learning Areas, of which Language and Languages is one. The draft document Achievement Initiative for English Language was circulated in 1991. It drew critical comment from English teachers who stressed the need for resourcing beyond achievement-indicating guidelines (Crombie et al. 1992), and from Māori and community language educators who believed that the statement should have been for language as an essential learning area, rather than English (Houia and Crombie 1993). A later draft English in the New Zealand Curriculum drew scathing criticism from the Education Forum, widely regarded to be a right-wing think tank, who were particularly annoyed that the word 'grammar' occurs only once, 'lying there on p. 20 like a body on a battlefield' (Education Forum 1994: 2). In the final draft the Essential Learning Area was Language and Languages, which included English in the New Zealand Curriculum. (However, the Curriculum Stocktake report (Ministry of Education 2002a) now recommends that Language and Languages should be separated into English/Te Reo Māori and Languages). Responses to this draft were largely positive except in terms of the terminology used (Locke 2002 41). A further criticism has been that learners of English language are disadvantaged by a lack of a specific document (Syme 1999: 65), although an

alternative view is that the wide ranging nature of the document in fact enables traditional boundaries to be broken down (Middleton 1999: 70). This reflects the more general controversy over whether the English curriculum has a lack of focus (Wevers 2003: 65) or affords new possibilities (Taylor 2003: 62).

The introductory statement to *Language and Languages*, given in Appendix B, includes particular mention of English, Māori, Pacific Islands and other community languages. In fact, the English curriculum is the usual, and only compulsory, area through which this Essential Learning Area is addressed in the classroom, and the introduction to the English curriculum is also provided in Appendix B. McFarlane (2004: 284) points out that statements such as the 'recognition' of Māori and 'respect' of other languages supports the dominance of English, and devalues them 'in a traditional imperialist sense'.

The achievement objectives for the English curriculum are outlined in Table 2.5, in which the 'process' for developing language awareness, 'Exploring language', is highlighted.

Table 2.5 The New Zealand English Curriculum: Achievement Objectives Objectives

		TYPES		
	Fu	nctions	Processes	
Oral S	 Listening Interpersonal listening Listening to texts 	 Speaking Interpersonal speaking Using texts 	Listening and speaking <i>Exploring language</i> <i>Thinking critically</i> <i>Processing information</i> 	
R Writt	en Reading • Personal reading • Close reading	 Writing Expressive writing Poetic writing Transactional writing² 	 Reading and writing <i>Exploring language</i> <i>Thinking critically</i> <i>Processing information</i> 	
Visua	 Viewing and presentin Viewing Presenting 	g	 Viewing and presenting <i>Exploring language</i> <i>Thinking critically</i> <i>Processing information</i> 	

(Derived from: *English in the New Zealand Curriculum*, Ministry of Education 1994: 26-41)

² The categorisation of writing into 'expressive', 'poetic', and 'transactional' has also been controversial (McFarlane 2004: 288; Locke 2002: 47). Locke proposes an alternative curriculum which can be viewed at http://www.soe.waikato.ac.nz/english/EnglishNZ/curric.html.

The tasks in the curriculum document are largely descriptive, and only briefly touch on the social, political or historical issues which would fulfil the aims of a critical language awareness approach (Locke 2002: 47).

A handbook for teachers, *Exploring Language*, was developed to assist with the 'exploring language' objectives in the curriculum, and has since been made available online (Ministry of Education 1996a). The introduction makes the need for such a resource clear:

Many teachers in New Zealand have little background knowledge about the workings of language. This is not a criticism of teachers but an acknowledgement that teaching about language has not been consistently available to all. Furthermore, where language studies existed, they have not always been applicable to the needs of teachers. (Ministry of Education 1996a: 2)

Although the English curriculum document refers to 'formal' English (Ministry of Education 1994: 17), it is quoted in *Exploring Language* (Ministry of Education 1996a: 11) as an introduction to a section on *Standard* English, which is a clear example of the attitudes referred to in Fairclough's (1995) critique discussed Section 2.4.2. The document emphasises written forms of Standard English (Ministry of Education 1996a: 12):

Standard English has nothing to do with pronunciation. It refers only to the syntax of spoken and written English.

This statement does not concur with several of the definitions provided in McArthur's (1998: 119-135) list of citations for the linguistic use of 'standard' and 'Standard English'. For example, Barber's 1993 definition refers to notions of 'acceptable pronunciation' in Standard English. Holmes (2001: 77) notes the difficulty of defining a standard variety, and that a standard dialect 'has no particular linguistic merits, whether in vocabulary, grammar or pronunciation'.

The pedagogical focus of the definition in *Exploring Language* becomes clear in later statements (Ministry of Education 1996a: 14):

Standard English is the appropriate form for the teaching of writing. It is unusual to see the vernacular written down, and when it is, it is not always written consistently.

This is an example of Ivanič's (1990) Layer 2, or a normative approach, which does not acknowledge the changing nature of language, such as the use of New

Zealand vernacular in fiction writing. However, the written representation of spoken varieties in classroom work has long been challenged, as in Sylvia Ashton-Warner's account of her teaching in Māori communities in the 1930s (Ashton-Warner 1963: 71):

I don't delay the delivery of a thought by saying "He is not naughty," but say "He's not naughty." "Where's Ihaka?" "He'll get a hiding." "Kuri's at home." "Pussy's frightened." "I'll come back." In grown-up novels we enjoy the true conversational medium, yet five-year-olds for some inscrutable reason are met with the twisted idea behind "Let us play." As a matter of fact, Maoris seldom if ever use "let" in that particular setting. They say "We play, eh?"

Further statements in *Exploring Language* are direct examples of the link to prescriptiveness of 'appropriateness' outlined by Fairclough (1995), in their implication that non-standard varieties should be only used in homes (Ministry of Education 1996a: 14):

If teachers are to respect the social backgrounds of all students, they need to see the vernacular not as something harmful to be banished but rather as a variety used by parents and families in many New Zealand homes. There are many situations when it is entirely appropriate, but there are also many other situations where standard English is the appropriate form.

The way in which the users of Standard English are advantaged by this approach is acknowledged in later statements, while at the same time the document is also careful to make sure that it is even-handed towards other varieties (Ministry of Education 1996a: 14-15):

There are obvious benefits in being able to use standard English, and those who grow up in homes where this is the only form of English used have a considerable advantage in our educational system. There are also advantages in being able to use the vernacular. People who have both varieties can move in and out of different social groups easily. Variation in the vernacular can also be exploited effectively. Different social situations or audiences can be marked by subtle changes in language that are not available to those whose dialect is only standard English.

This statement does not recognise the different styles used by all speakers according to social context, although later sections of *Exploring Language* do address different styles and registers (Ministry of Education 1996a: 17-18).

Further sections in *Exploring Language* refer to Māori English or Māori-accented English, noting that its existence is a controversial subject among linguists (Ministry of Education 1996a: 19). It has long been reported in educational contexts such as Ashton-Warner's comments above. Her observations about the use of *eh* have been supported by research which found that it was most common in the speech of Māori men (Meyerhoff 1994: 385). Bell (2000: 245) found that although there were differences between Māori and Pākehā English, most differences were small, and were relative rather than absolute. The authors of *Exploring Language* support the existence of Māori English by stating that their students recognise Māori speakers in recordings. They reiterate the equality of all varieties (Ministry of Education 1996a: 20):

As with other varieties of pronunciation, Māori-accented English is part of its speaker's identity and should be treated with respect.

However, the value of this assertion for teachers may be undermined by its placement directly after a statement about the 'comic effect' of Māori English when used by well-known Māori comedian Billy T. James, without any analysis of the reasons for its humorous impact.

The approach in *Exploring Language* to children of other language backgrounds is outlined in sections concerning English for Speakers of Other Languages students. The emphasis is on these students comparing their first language with English, which can be facilitated by teachers in three ways: by allowing opportunities for them to use their first language, by inviting them to share information about their first language, and by using a range of classroom groupings (Ministry of Education 1996a: 23). Although all of these are supportive of the students' bilingualism, only the first is directly focused on their needs; the others may be interpreted as providing a resource for the other students in the class, as has been critiqued in the British context by Bhatt and Martin-Jones (1992).

A further resource for teaching about language in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand has been adapted from an Australian book (Emmitt, Pollock and Limbrick 1996). Although most of this book is pitched at Layers 1 and 2 of Ivanič's (1990) model, the authors include views of language in terms of ideology and power, and their approach is more clearly aligned to critical language awareness (Emmitt, Pollock and Limbrick 1996: 9):

Students need to become aware of the ideologies operating in their texts and those of others and to consider other ways of constructing texts that are less oppressive.

2.4.4 Language awareness in teacher education

The need for pre-service and in-service programmes run by teacher educators who have a combination of both linguistics and practical educational knowledge has been emphasised by Brumfit (1991). I now examine language awareness in teacher education, firstly internationally and then in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In Britain the controversy over language in the national curriculum, after the Kingman Report of 1988 and subsequent Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) project and embargo on its materials, has been discussed by a number of writers (Wray 1993, Clark and Ivanič 1999). Wray (1993) investigated the personal knowledge about language of primary student teachers at the beginning and end of their pre-service course. He found low levels of knowledge in several areas: grammatical knowledge, knowledge of language functions, understanding of ideas of 'correctness'/'appropriateness', understanding of language variation, and knowledge of literary language. At the end of the course there had been some changes in knowledge about the structure of language (Wray 1993: 72). In another British study Cajkler and Hislam (2002) found that postgraduate student teachers felt 'considerable anxiety' about their level of understanding, even though they had a significant amount of grammatical knowledge.

In the United States, the debate about Ebonics, or African American English, has been an important issue in teacher education (Cross, DeVaney and Jones 2001). Linguists assumed that the resolution from the 1997 Oakland School District case, which upheld Ebonics as a dialect and mandated strategies to recognise and build on it, would result in the training of teachers in the features of Ebonics and structure of dialects (Cross, DeVaney and Jones 2001: 212). However, in a study of student teacher attitudes, which found that conclusions of intellect and personal traits were made on the perception of dialect, it was noted that respondents had no formal training in linguistics or English as a Second Language, which might have impacted on their attitudes (Cross, DeVaney and Jones 2001: 224). Similar results were found in an Australian study, in which use of alternative and non-standard forms were associated with lower attitudes by teachers, leading to a call for teacher education to include more information on the structure and use of language , language variation, and the relationship between speech and writing (Haig and Oliver 2003: 277).

The language awareness of teachers tends to be addressed in the literature on multicultural education. Gagliardi (1995: 2) reports on a UNESCO project to study and improve the training of teachers for multicultural and intercultural education. Results from an international comparison include the finding that cultural and linguistic diversity is frequently considered to be a negative element in education, and he recommends that 'teachers should be trained in methods of analysing pupils' language development as well as in methods of helping pupils develop their mother language' (Gagliardi 1995: 5). In research with Spanish-speaking Mexican background children in the United States, Ernst-Slavit (1997: 43) found that the social position of the Mexican or rural children meant that their versions of Spanish vocabulary were not validated by the Castilian-speaking teachers, and concluded that this contributed to a subtractive form of bilingualism. She emphasises the need for a reform of teacher education to avoid the marginalisation of students whose language and culture are different from the mainstream.

The need for reform in teacher education is also stressed in Corson's (1998: 138) discussion on changing education to better meet the needs of diversity in schools:

For change to occur, it is certain that a more explicit and thorough discussion of questions of power and social justice needs to enter the curriculum of teacher education.

He advocates a particular approach for the development of critical language awareness of student teachers (Corson 1998: 39):

For beginning teachers to become critically aware of non-standard and standard issues, they need to study the critical practices of critical practitioners themselves: they need to work with other teachers who have put themselves inside these issues and changed their practices. It is difficult to see widespread change happening quickly, because most schools see their role as passing on the cultural heritage, including some standard variety of the culture's language.

It is therefore clear that overseas research has highlighted concerns about levels of both general language awareness and critical language awareness in teacher education. However, there do not appear to have been previous investigations of the levels of language awareness amongst the teacher educators themselves, which is the focus in this study.

2.4.5 Language awareness in teacher education in Aotearoa New Zealand

The levels of language awareness among student teachers in this country appears to parallel that of overseas findings in identifying shortfalls in knowledge, even at Layer 1 level of Ivanič's model, in other words at the level of an understanding of pattern and accuracy in language.

In a survey of the linguistic knowledge of first year student teachers at the University of Auckland, Nicholson (1999) found a low level of knowledge in such tasks as identifying phonemes, inflected verbs, morphemes, derivational suffixes, or schwa vowels. While most of this knowledge required understanding of the terminology (such as 'Underline the schwa vowels'), some was linked to a more general understanding (such as 'When is a "ck" used in spelling?').

The changing attitudes towards the need for language awareness amongst secondary teachers are described by Gray and Penton (1998). They interviewed six Auckland teachers from a range of curriculum areas who were taking further language education, in order to investigate the link between pre-service experience and in-service involvement in language education. They found that courses taken by these teachers in their pre-service training had built on an initial interest in language, and this was followed by a recognition in their early years of teaching that further professional development would be useful. Gray and Penton (1998: 6) conclude that pre-service courses on language across the curriculum are essential for secondary teachers of all content areas.

Concern at the employment of teachers of English for Speakers of Other Languages without qualifications is expressed by Lawson (2000), who notes that in some cases these were non-native teachers 'with a poor grasp of English' (Lawson 2000: 12). She emphasises the need for teachers to have an understanding of the processes of second language acquisition and development.

A Ministry of Education report (2003c) into the experiences of teachers in curriculum implementation includes a questionnaire administered in 2002, with 1077 returns from English teachers. The questionnaire included an item about qualifications, and found that the highest qualification in English of 19.9% of teachers was Sixth Form Certificate English, mostly in primary or special schools as might be expected given the traditional sub-degree qualification for primary teachers. Master's degrees were reported by 4.4% of respondents, and less than 5% noted 'other' qualifications in English such as LTCL Licentiate (speech and drama) or Diploma for Teaching English as a Second Language. As these are the teachers who would be expected to have the highest formal knowledge of language, this survey result indicates a low level of specialisation.

The research in Aotearoa New Zealand therefore supports overseas research in consistently recommending a higher level of pre-service teacher education about language.

2.5 Language attitudes, bilingualism and language awareness in the current study

I now turn to how the literature covered in this chapter has been used to direct the investigations of the project. This has led to the development of a model to frame my investigation of teacher educators' attitudes towards bilingualism in Aotearoa New Zealand, shown in Figure 2.7.

This model follows a similar input-output structure to that used in the language attitudes models described in Section 2.2.2, using bi-directional arrows to indicate that it is not a linear process, and indicating the symbiotic relationships highlighted by discursive psychology (see 2.2.4).

I have taken a social psychology of language approach, which focuses on the attitudes of individuals within the wider *social context*. This incorporates ideology about bilingualism and language diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand, including

attitudes towards Māori, English and other languages in education (see 1.2), as well as the development of the curriculum (see 2.4.3), and builds on findings from previous research in these areas (see 2.2.6).

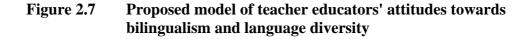
The model focuses first on the individual students at school or in teacher education. It considers the *ethnolinguistic vitality* of their ethnolinguistic groups (see 2.2.4). There is considerable linguistic diversity among five to 15 year old children in Aotearoa New Zealand schools (see 1.2.2), and the small proportion of ethnic diversity among student teachers is growing (see 1.4.2). It was predicted that attitudes would be more positive to those students from groups with high ethnolinguistic vitality than those with low vitality.

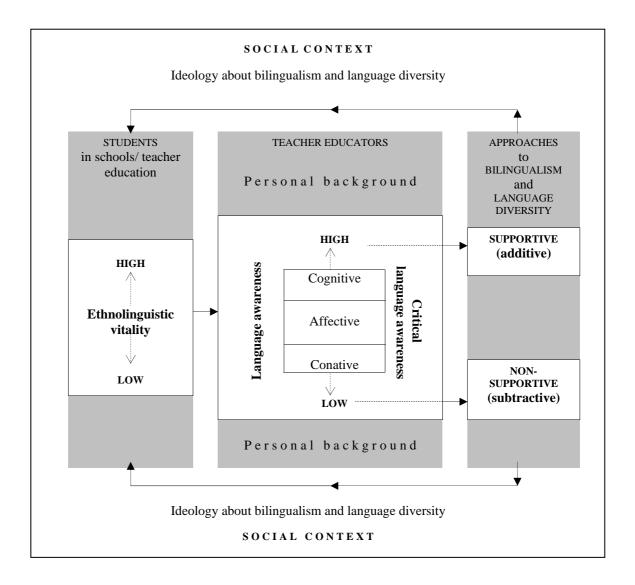
The attitudes of individual teacher educators is comprised of the classical threepart *cognitive, affective* and *conative* components (see 2.2.3). I have situated these within in a framework of *language awareness* (see 2.4.1) and *critical language awareness* (see 2.4.2), which is the type of language attitude under investigation in this study, and interacts with the curriculum approaches to the place of English and Standard English in particular (see 2.4.3). It was predicted that a high level of awareness would result in more positive attitudes towards the language issues for students.

The *personal background* of the teacher educators was also assumed to have an overall effect on their attitudes, reflecting findings from Gardner (1985) and Baker (1992) on the influence of individual differences (see 2.2.2).

The outcomes in this model are the approaches of the teacher educators to bilingualism and language diversity in their preparation of student teachers. A high level of awareness was predicted to result in more *supportive* approaches resulting in an *additive* bilingualism, whereas a low level of awareness would result in *non-supportive, subtractive* approaches (see 2.3.1).

The model is completed through the feedback that these approaches would then have on the ethnolinguistic vitality of the students (see Figure 2.4), particularly status and institutional support factors.





2.6 Conclusions

The review of the literature on attitudes, bilingualism, and language awareness have been used in this chapter to develop a proposed model of teacher educators' attitudes towards bilingualism and language diversity. In the following chapters I describe how the design of the research was developed to test this model, through the operationalisation of the concepts to collect and analyse a combination of qualitative and quantitative data from teacher educators involved in all pre-service teacher education situations in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Literature review

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY: AN L-SHAPED DESIGN

	From: <i>The Dominion Post</i> Wednesday July 30 2003, p. 1
	Peters and the cabbie: Driver tells his side of the story ichelle Quirke and Tracey Watkins
	act is he wasn't speaking my language and I ldn't speak Somali.'
	is not communication. It's attitude. How can you ne who doesn't want to understand you?'
English but plenty The 24-year-o at Massey and Vic about five years ag leader had blamed Mr Peters, wi swinging about fo allegedly sparked b Mr Peters' Ngaio h "I would imag period of time hav told Newstalk ZB. "There was a	Muhiyadin says there is nothing wrong with his wrong with Winston Peters' attitude. old, who has been to secondary school and studied ctoria universities since he arrived in New Zealand go, said last night he was unhappy that the NZ First a fare row on communication problems. ho was interviewed yesterday by police, came out oreign taxi drivers after the fracas which was by the Somali man pulling out a map on the way to nome last Thursday. gine that probably 50,000 New Zealanders over a we been through the same experience," Mr Peters a huge communication problem you know one some people get these licences?"

3.1 Introduction

In order to investigate the attitudes of teacher educators in Aotearoa New Zealand as comprehensively as possible, this study was designed to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. In this chapter I present an outline of the methodology used in the study, beginning with a discussion of the methods used in the different phases of data collection. The main part of the chapter is then a detailed account of the exploratory study used in the conceptualisation phase of the research, and is followed by a discussion of its implications for the methodology used in the major data collection phases.

The two research questions were addressed through different methods of data collection:

- The first research question investigated the attitudes of teacher educators: towards bilingualism and language diversity for children from different backgrounds, for student teachers from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds, and in general language policy issues. This investigation took the form of a postal questionnaire of all teacher educators in Aotearoa New Zealand, and focused on gathering quantitative data.
 - The second research question examined the level of language awareness among teacher educators in the attitudes they express and in the materials they use for the preparation of teachers. This was in the form of a followup study of a group of questionnaire respondents, and gathered mainly qualitative data.

In order to develop effective data collection tools, an initial exploratory study was carried out. This therefore resulted in three phases of the total research project:

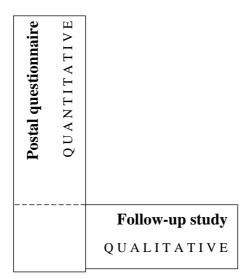
Phase 1	exploratory interviews
Phase 2	a postal questionnaire
Phase 3	a follow-up study

The reasons for this approach are described in the following section.

3.2 Development of the methodology

The main data collection tool was a postal questionnaire, to survey the attitudes of the full range of staff from the full variety of teacher education programmes (see 1.4.1). As this would result in a reliance on self-report data, it was decided that a follow-up study to investigate the practice of teacher education would be a valuable complement. This formed an 'L-shaped' design, as shown in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 Design of methodology



This methodology was developed following the principle of triangulation, which Cohen and Manion (1994: 233) define as 'the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour'. Cohen and Manion outline Denzin's six types of triangulation: time triangulation (the inclusion of both cross-sectional and longitudinal designs), space triangulation (different populations within a country and across cultures), combined levels of triangulation (including different levels of analysis such as individual, group, societal), theoretical triangulation (the inclusion of alternative theories), investigator triangulation (the use of different observers), and methodological triangulation (the use of the same method on different occasions or different methods for the same study). They point out that triangulation in education research has only consisted of time, space, investigator and methodological types. However, in this study two types of triangulation were used through the implementation of the L-shaped design: combined levels of triangulation consisting of analysis at both group and individual level, and methodological triangulation consisting of the two different methods within the study.

A further advantage of this design was that it incorporated both qualitative and quantitative data; the quantitative data from coded questionnaire responses, and the qualitative data from comments to the questions as well as from the followup study. Fielding and Fielding (1986: 27) discuss the combination of two types of data, and point out its advantages:

... qualitative work can assist the quantitative work in providing a theoretical framework, validating survey data, interpreting statistical

relationships and deciphering puzzling responses, selecting survey items to construct indices, and offering case study illustrations.

In this study the qualitative data was used in all of these ways, and has been presented in two parts of the study. The first set is presented together with the qualitative data from the postal survey, and the second forms the basis of the follow-up study.

The development of a postal questionnaire as the main quantitative data collection tool followed Oppenheim's (1992) recommended process for designing an attitude scale: a literature study, followed by exploratory interviews, item pool composition and piloting (although the final step of attitude scaling using statistical techniques to finalise the attitude scale on the questionnaire was not appropriate for the scale of this project). Oppenheim discusses the relative importance of the various steps, emphasising the need for careful initial planning (1992: 207):

Where computers offer no shortcuts is in the preliminary work of conceptualisation, depth interviewing, pilot work and pre-testing. Now that for many investigators the scaling calculations present few problems, it is this preliminary research investment which rightly remains the crucial requirement of a good attitude scale.

The preliminary planning was therefore carried out through a series of 20 exploratory interviews, the details of which will now be presented.

3.3 Exploratory interviews

A series of 20 exploratory interviews was used in order to elicit teacher educators' own expression of concepts around language, which then formed an item pool for development into a written questionnaire. Oppenheim (1992: 178) stresses the role of intuition in fulfilling the main aims of interviews at this stage of survey design:

To explore the origins, complexities and ramifications of the attitude areas in question, in order to decide more precisely what it is we wish to measure (conceptualisation).

To get vivid impressions of such attitudes from the respondents, in a form that might make them suitable for use as statements in an attitude scale. In preparing the exploratory interviews I drew up a schedule of questions which was tested on four interviewees who were teacher educators with a variety of language backgrounds and experiences. All were very articulate and had no difficulty in forming and expressing opinions about the issues canvassed. They seemed to find the questions interesting and the four interviews took up a full hour each.

3.3.1 Exploratory interview schedule

The interview schedule was then finalised, and is presented in Appendix D. The questions concerned language in general, with a focus on bilingualism in particular. I did not generally use specialist language terms, because one of the aims was to elicit the terms used by interviewees. In the questions themselves I avoided use of the word 'bilingualism', because to many in the Aotearoa New Zealand context it refers only to Maori and English bilingualism (see 2.3.1), and my aim was to also include the bilingualism of migrant and refugee children. Similarly, the terms 'ESL' (English as a Second Language), 'ESOL' (English to Speakers of Other Languages) and 'NESB' (Non-English Speaking Background) were not used in the interview schedule. This was because I wanted to avoid connotated categorisations as far as possible, and terms such as 'ESOL' and 'NESB' are used by the Ministry of Education in specific ways (Franken and McComish 2003: 1). The phrase I used was 'children who use two languages', to which some interviewees responded using terms such as 'bilingual', 'ESOL', or 'NESB' in their answers.

The questions were in a 'yes/no' closed format, because it was assumed that further questions would elicit more information through a 'Please explain' followup. This then avoided putting the interviewees on the spot if they did not feel they had anything to say about the topic, and resulted in their being free to express their opinions in their own terms.

I used the 'classical' model of attitudes divided into three components (see 2.2.3) as the framework for the questions: cognitive (knowledge about the issue),

affective (positive and negative feelings) and conative (action in their own teaching), for each of the topics covered:

A General background

This was a general set of questions to find out about the interviewee's teaching and personal background. Some of these occurred naturally at the start of the conversation, so the questions acted as a checklist.

B Focused questions

1 Language background

This set of questions aimed to find out the respondents' own background experience in bilingualism. I divided it into 'use' and 'study' in order to investigate both of Skutnabb-Kangas' (1981) types of 'elite' bilingualism (such as that of children learning French in school), and second language bilingualism (by those who need to learn another language for their daily lives). Questions investigated language proficiency and domains of use.

2 Language awareness

The first set of questions in this section concerned formal study of language, and the second focused on awareness of the issues for bilingual children (see 2.4.1).

3 Critical language awareness

This section widened the focus following Fairclough (1992) (see 2.4.2), to investigate the opinions of interviewees about the role of language in society, and how this is currently reflected in Aotearoa New Zealand.

4 Role of schools

This was a set of general questions which aimed to find out what the interviewees thought the role of schools (and teachers) was for bilingual children, and whether they included this in their preparation of teachers.

C Scenarios

Five short scenarios were designed to elicit 'real life' behaviours in a variety of situations that educators might encounter, as shown in Figure

3.2. These included specific questions about Taiwanese and Māori students, and about bilingual materials in English and Sāmoan.

Figure 3.2 Scenarios in the exploratory interviews

	In this section I'm going to ask you about some imaginary scenarios:
1	If you had a Taiwanese teacher trainee interested in how Taiwanese children cope with (your subject area) in class, what issues would you discuss with them?
2	What would your response be to a trainee who wanted to develop bilingual materials in English and Sāmoan for (your subject area)?
3	A Māori student suggests that the concepts of (your subject) need to be presented differently for Māori students, in order to reflect different language and culture frameworks. What do you tell them?
4	What strategies do you suggest to trainees who have in their classes immigrant students with a high level of knowledge in (your subject area), but a low level of English ?
5	What do you tell a trainee who has many language errors in their assignments, due to them following patterns from their first language?

D Sentence completion

In the final part of the interview, interviewees were asked to complete 10 sentences about a variety of issues about language in schools. These are shown in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3 Sentence completion prompts in the exploratory interviews

In this final section I'm going to read the start of a sentence, and ask you to complete it with the first thing that comes to mind: 1 Children who arrive in schools with no English ... 2 Sometimes I wish language teachers would ... 3 Hearing children speaking their first language in the classroom makes me feel ... People who ask for more bilingual materials in schools ... 4 5 Learning a second language is ... Schools who have many children from different language groups ... 6 Parents of children from non-English backgrounds ... 7 School language policies ... 8 When I see writing from children in 'broken' English ... 9 10 Trainees who speak other languages should ...

3.3.2 Administration of the interviews

The 20 interviews (including one with two interviewees together) were carried out between August 1998 and March 1999. The respondents were contacted through a variety of methods, some through personal contacts, others by 'cold-calling' from names on the Ministry of Education's *TeachNZ* website. Nearly all those contacted were willing to be interviewed or to suggest colleagues to be interviewed; only one person declined to participate. An initial phone call was then followed up by a letter of explanation (Appendix C), and in some cases these contacts then arranged or suggested other respondents. At the start of each interview an ethics form was presented (Appendix C).

3.3.3 Results of the interviews

The results of the exploratory interviews will now be presented, with the information they provided about teacher education which would be utilised in the main data collection phases of the research.

The ten types of institutions to which the interviewees were affiliated are shown in Table 3.1. These were chosen to represent a wide range of types of providers of teacher education. The categories represent the historical rather than the official status of the institutions, following my observation that the cultures of these institutions remain distinct according to their historical type even when there has been a merging of the institutions, for example of universities and colleges of education. The traditional teacher's colleges are larger and appear to follow a traditional programme organisation, whereas newer institutions (or the satellites of the larger institutions) are smaller, have a narrower focus (such as graduate students or Christian students), and show a variety of programme design and delivery (such as a focus on classroom-based teacher education).

Table 3.1	Institutions of interviewees

Туре	Institutions (n=10)
College of education	4
(Poly)technical institute	3
Private college	2
University	1

The institutions were also chosen to represent a wide range of geographical locations, shown in Figure 3.4, which would in turn represent different language backgrounds of local schools. There was a mix of cities and towns, which I have not named in order to protect confidentiality. Some of the interviewees noted that the character of their locations influenced their responses to the interview, so it was therefore important that the final questionnaire be able to assess the influence of location on responses.

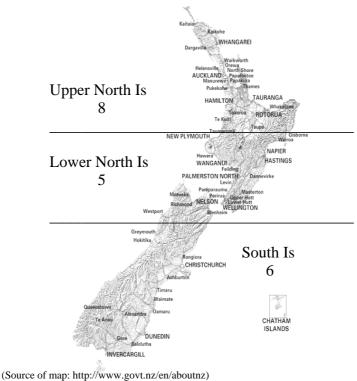


Figure 3.4 Geographical representation of institutions

As can be seen in Table 3.2, the 21 interviewees had a wide range of background and experience. Most of those interviewed were female (17), which reflects the gender balance in teacher education, combined with the gender balance of those whose subject area is language (see 5.3.1). The majority of respondents (14) were Pākehā, or New Zealanders of European origin, as reflects the ethnic background of those in teacher education as a whole (see 5.3.3); the Maori and Pacific respondents were involved in language and multicultural education. The length of years respondents had been involved in classroom teaching ranged from zero (for one teaching theoretical subjects), to 28 years. One was concurrently involved in part-time teaching (as a deliberate choice), and one was completing a short-term contract before returning to the classroom.

Several respondents were in their first year of teacher education, and one was in the last year before retirement. Those who had been in teacher education longer seemed to have more definite opinions, regardless of their background or subject area. The titles of the positions differed according to the type of institution, so I divided them into two categories to indicate seniority. Six respondents were in positions of management and leadership.

Background factor	Category	Interviewees (n=21)
Gender	Female	17
	Male	4
Ethnicity	Pakeha	14
-	Maori	3
	Pacific	2
	Non-NZ European	2
Years teaching	0-9	6
-	10-19	7
	20-29	7
	Not specified	1
Years teacher education	0-9	15
	10-19	5
	20-29	1
Position	Tutor/lecturer	15
	HOD/Director, etc.	6

Table 3.2Background of interviewees

To some extent my choice of institution was also a choice of target education sector, although the larger institutions include preparation for the range of sectors. Table 3.3 shows the programmes that respondents were involved in. The traditional division between primary and secondary is now breaking down, no doubt helped by the introduction of pay parity (still awaited at the early childhood level). In addition, there is some overlap of sectors, for example 'early childhood' may cover the period from birth to eight years, and 'primary' covers the period from five years to 12 years.

Most of those interviewed (18) were involved in pre-service education, which probably reflects the relative proportions of pre-service and in-service teacher education programmes. However, one of the interviewees involved in in-service courses pointed out that their course involved 'retraining for a completely new curriculum, recognising not just content, but the skills which make you competent' (I-3), which implies a blurring of the distinction between pre-service and in-service. I also interviewed more people involved in on-campus rather than distance provision. One of the distance programmes had been developed as a result of the diversification of teacher provision, to meet a niche market of adult learners who would be unlikely to enter a traditional programme.

Programme factor	Category	Interviewees (n=21)
Sector	Early childhood	3
	Primary	6
	Primary and middle school	3
	Primary and secondary	5
	Secondary	3
	All age groups	1
Stage	Pre-service	18
	In-service	3
Mode of provision	On-campus	18
	Distance	3

Table 3.3Teaching programmes of interviewees

The subject areas of interviewees is shown in Table 3.4. Although I specified in my initial contact that I was interested in speaking to anyone involved in teacher education regardless of subject area, I also informed them that my topic was language, and it is likely that those involved in language areas were more willing to participate. In any case, the largest subject represented was of those teaching Language or English (6), with a further two involved in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) and two in bilingual Maori education.

Subjects	Interviewees
-	(max = 21)
Language/English	7
Professional studies/communication	3
ESOL	2
Bilingual (Māori) studies	2
Educational theory/principles	2
Music	2
Language and culture	1
Multicultural studies	1
Information studies	1
Special needs	1
Science	1
Research methods	1
Human development	1
Health	1
Physical education	1
Technology	1
Mathematics	1
Equal Educational Opportunities (EEO)	1

Table 3.4Subjects taught by interviewees

The languages studied by interviewees is shown in Table 3.5. Nineteen of the 21 interviewees had English as their mother tongue, and all had studied another language. After the first few interviews I introduced five point ratings of ability in the languages studied. These ratings were generally quite low, and it was interesting to note that although most interviewees (18) had studied Maori, none of them rated their ability above 2.0 on a five point scale, including those involved in bilingual Maori education. In comparison French, studied by 16 interviewees, did reach a rating of 3.0 (although one also gave a negative rating). This rating scale seemed to be meaningful to interviewees, and was therefore included in the questionnaire.

Language	No. interviewees (max=21)	Range of rating (5 = 'native speaker')
Maori	18	0.1 - 2.0
French	16	-1.0 - 3.0
Latin	5	0.5 - 4.0
German	4	0.25 - 2.0
Other	10	0.5 - 4.0

Table 3.5Languages studied by interviewees

The scenarios used in the exploratory interviews (see Figure 3.2) elicited a wide range of responses, which were used in developing the main questionnaire. One of the interesting aspects of this section was that whatever the interviewee's background, they seemed to have no difficulty in making the scenario fit their teaching experience. This was important in confirming the value of scenarios for the postal questionnaire.

The final section of the exploratory interviews consisted of sentence completions (see Figure 3.3). The responses are provided as Appendix E. These were particularly useful for comparing the terms used by different individuals. For example, some teacher educators responded quite negatively to the term 'broken English', while others had spontaneously used the term in other parts of the interview.

The results of these exploratory interviews were then analysed for the information they could provide in order to develop the questionnaire and make the follow up study as effective as possible.

3.3.4 Implications of exploratory interviews for the research design

The exploratory interviews identified a number of issues which needed to be taken into account in the design of the main data collection phases of the study:

• Teacher education has greatly diversified in the last 20 years (see 1.4.1), with various programmes focused on particular groups of students, such as school leavers or graduates, Māori language speakers, mature nongraduates, overseas trained teachers, and Christian students. It was decided that the target population would be restricted to teacher educators involved in pre-service education for the compulsory education sector: primary and secondary education. It was important that the research design should include the staff teaching on the full variety of programmes within the compulsory sector, but should not include staff focusing solely on early childhood education, special needs education, English for Speakers of Other Languages, adult education, teacher aiding, or inservice education.

- In order to obtain questionnaire respondents from the full range of subject areas in teacher education, it was evident that I would need to make clear through the initial questions that it was not aimed solely at language or English teacher educators.
- The attitudes held by teacher educators were complex, with no consistency of opinions evident in any subject area or institution. Individuals seemed to respond on the basis of a personal perspective, although there was also evidence of the influence of background factors, for example in the extent of the 'Language'-'English' distinction which had caused some primary/secondary controversy in the preparation of the new curriculum (see 2.4.3). It was therefore necessary for the main data collection to enable the identification of personal perspectives as well as those influenced by different background factors.
- Some interviewees were anxious about their answers, and wanted to check with me what others had responded, which led to the concern that the research might elicit mainly 'politically correct' responses. It was therefore considered important to address this aspect of 'social desirability' in the questionnaire design, and reinforced the need for a follow-up study.

3.4 Conclusions

The methodology of the study needed to provide opportunities for the identification and analysis of the attitudes of teacher educators in a diverse and changing environment. It was therefore decided that an 'L-shaped' design, combining a postal questionnaire and a follow-up study, would supply the necessary quantitative and qualitative data in the investigation of these attitudes. Exploratory interviews were used to identify the concepts to be examined, and confirmed the complex nature of the attitudes of the teacher educators towards

language issues, and consequently the need for the data collection tools to be able to capture these complexities.

The following chapter describes the way in which the postal questionnaire was designed in order to measure these multifaceted attitudes as accurately as possible.

CHAPTER 4

SURVEY DESIGN: A POSTAL QUESTIONNAIRE

From: *The New Zealand Herald* 6 September, 2003 **Koreans embrace lifestyle change** By Simon Collins

"The latest hotspot for the Korean emigration is New Zealand," economist Inbom Choi told a conference in Seoul this month on the "Korean diaspora".

"The motivation for this new wave of Korean migration to New Zealand is to escape from the poor living environment of the Korean society, particularly for the sake of their children's education," he said.

"Korea's highly competitive educational system is driving these people from their homeland. They would rather raise their children in an easygoing, environmentally cleaner, less expensive and Englishspeaking educational system."

Recently a reverse flow of New Zealanders going to Korea has also begun, as another result of the same Korean craving for English.

"Parents will do anything for their children to learn English," says Professor Bak Sangmee of Hankuk University. "It's almost like a religion."

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the development of the postal questionnaire as the main data collection tool used in the research. I begin with an overview of survey error and how this was minimised in the design of this survey, and this is followed by a description and analysis of each of the parts of the questionnaire. Next the issue of social desirability is discussed, and finally the procedure used in the administration of the questionnaire is explained.

4.2 Minimising survey error

The approach I have taken in the description of the terms used in the total survey design of this study follows that of Groves (1989 and 1991). This approach focuses on the reduction of error in the survey design, where error is defined as 'the deviations of obtained survey results from those which are the true reflections of the population' (Groves 1989: 6).

Groves outlines the difference between the languages of error used in the three main academic disciplines which use survey data: statistics, psychology (psychometrics) and economics (econometrics), and he states that other disciplines use similar languages to one of these (Groves 1989: 7). The first two of these approaches are relevant to the current survey: statistics because of the strong statistical design of the study, and psychology because of the nature of the problem under examination in the survey. Groves points out that in survey statistics the measurement problem is in the operationalisation of the question (or *indicator*, in psychometrics terms), and contrasts this with the measurement problem in psychology (Groves 1991: 6):

The psychometrician, typically dealing with attitudinal states, is more comfortable labeling the underlying characteristic (*construct*, in psychometric terms) as unobservable, something than can only be approximated with an applied measurement.

4.2.1 Reliability and validity

Groves (1989: 35) notes that concepts of *validity* and *reliability* lead the psychometric notions of error in survey data. He states that the 'true score' model is the basis for the language of errors in psychometrics, with *reliability* defined as 'the ratio of the true score variance to the observed variance', where variance is the 'variability over persons in the population and over trials within a person'. In other words, reliability refers to all people in the population taking the same meaning from the questions, and people answering in the same way if they are asked the same question on different occasions. *Theoretical* or *construct validity* is defined as the 'the correlation between the true score and the respondent's answer over trials' (Groves 1989: 18-22), in other words the question accurately reflects the concepts. Validity can also include empirical validity, criterion validity, predictive

validity, concurrent validity, convergent validity, discriminant validity, and

content validity. Groves points out the problems with this terminology (1989: 27):

The more one reads of errors in psychological measurement, the more types of validity that one encounters. Each author seems to feel both free to ignore phrases used in prior research and compelled to invent his/her own.

These terms are also critiqued by Lessler and Kalsbeek (1992: 239):

There is no consistent use of the terms *accuracy*, *reliability*, *validity*, and *precision* in the scientific literature. Sometimes the terms are given specific definitions and thus become technical jargon useful for distinguishing among related concepts. In other cases, the words are used as they are generally understood and no precise technical distinctions are implied.

They point out that social sciences have developed these methods for the measurement of 'abstract concepts and subjective phenomena'. However, Groves (1991: 24) warns of a differentiation between 'facts' and 'attitudes':

For example, is there a fundamental difference between the "weight of a potato" and the attitude toward how the President is doing his job? Be careful. Keep in mind that measured weight varies by humidity, problems of defining where the potato begins and ends (do you count dirt on the potato and what is dirt?). Keep in mind that gravity varies over parts of the earth.

These criticisms notwithstanding, it is obviously important that the concepts under investigation are accurately identified and measured, and in the current study the questionnaire itself was tested in several ways:

- by pilot testing of the questionnaire (see next section)
- by statistical analysis of the results using multivariate analyses (described in detail in Chapter 9)
- in the overall survey design through the inclusion of a follow-up study which compares the survey results with those of another measurement tool of the same construct (see Chapter 10)

The piloting which occurred before the questionnaire was finalised will now be described.

4.2.2 Pilot testing of the questionnaire

The importance of pilot testing for the assessment of reliability and validity is stressed by de Vaus (1996: 54), who advises a 'similar but smaller' sample to those who will be used in the actual study. Questionnaire iterations were formally piloted by ten people, who were similar to the target respondents and had a variety of different perspectives relevant to the questionnaire subject matter. In addition, these pilot respondents were all friends, family and colleagues, and could be relied upon to give full and frank feedback:

- former college of education teachers (2)
- primary school teacher (1)
- middle school director of programmes (1)
- Māori bilingualism expert (1)
- former high school language teachers (5)

The former college of education teachers were the closest to the target sample of the survey, but it was difficult to locate many such people. The current and former teachers gave useful (although sometimes conflicting) feedback on classroom realities. As was pointed out to me by one of the (Pākehā) respondents, it was also important to have the Māori version checked by a Māori expert to ensure that it was not inaccurate or offensive in its portrayal of Māori.

The piloting was carried out in a variety of situations, which enabled different types of reactions. For example, if I was present, the respondents tended to make comments as they answered each question, and we sometimes engaged in discussion about the answers. If I had posted the questionnaire, respondents tended to focus on questions which caused them concern. Where difficulties in interpretation were identified, changes were made to the questions before the next pilot, and in one case I sent a revised version of part of the questionnaire back to a respondent for checking.

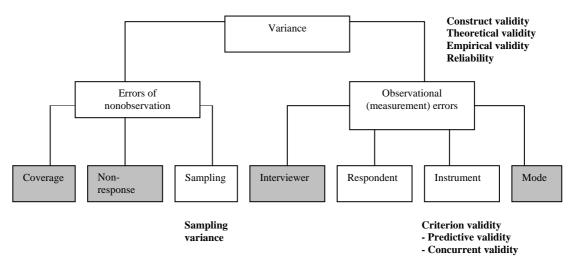
4.2.3 Framework of error types

There are many different error frameworks in the survey design literature. Groves (1989) divides the errors into *observational* (or *measurement* errors) and

nonobservational errors. The structure and relationship of these concepts as used in psychological measurement is shown in Figure 4.1, which shows the types of variance, or errors which vary according to the units in the survey (such as respondents, or questions asked)¹.

Figure 4.1 Structure and language of errors used in psychometric theory for populations

(Groves 1989: 21)



(Shaded concepts are not central to viewpoint of psychometrics for population measurement.)

The focus of my research was wider than that of a traditional psychometric approach described here, with an emphasis on the reduction of a range of nonobservational and observational (measurement) errors in the survey design, as will now be described.

4.2.4 **Reduction of nonobservational errors**

The nonobservational errors can be divided into coverage, nonresponse and sampling errors:

¹ Groves (1989: 19) points out that the distinction between *bias* and *variance* used by survey statisticians is not used in psychometrics, so I have only focused on the concepts of variance in this discussion.

Coverage errors

The *coverage error* is the difference between statistics calculated on the frame population and the same statistics calculated on the target population (Groves 1989: 83). The frame consists of the *target population* for the survey. The frame is defined by Lessler and Kalsbeek (1992: 44):

The frame consists of materials, procedures, and devices that identify, distinguish and allow access to the elements of the target population.

Error in frames relate to the *coverage* in the frame of the target population: undercoverage, noncoverage, or incomplete coverage (Lessler and Kalsbeek 1992: 48).

Coverage error was relevant in this study because there was no available frame of all pre-service teacher educators in the compulsory primary and secondary sectors in New Zealand. The survey frame was compiled using publicly available information of all teacher education providers for the primary or secondary sectors listed on the TeachNZ website from the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education 2001a). Using this list I then checked websites for details of staff, and if this was not adequate I referred to calendars, prospectuses, or handbooks. Some of these sources included full information on the programmes taught by target respondents, whereas others listed all staff. The larger providers such as universities tended to have websites with full information, and I referred to the print material of smaller providers. Only one (small) provider indicated that they had no publicly available information on staff, so I sent the questionnaire to the contact listed.

I therefore assume that there was little noncoverage or undercoverage of the target population in the frame. Where details were not given about programmes staff were teaching on, I erred on the side of overcoverage, knowing that some would be involved in other aspects of teacher education such as administration, research, early childhood or adult education, or in-service teacher training. Consequently, the first item on the questionnaire was a 'filter' question, asking respondents whether they were currently teaching on pre-service teacher education courses for the primary or secondary sector, in order to determine their eligibility to be included in the survey.

A postal questionnaire

Nonresponse errors

The second type of nonobservational errors in surveys are nonresponse errors, defined by Lessler and Kalsbeek (1992: 11) as:

(a)ll errors arising from failure to include a designated sampling unit, population element, or data item in the survey.

In the current study this would mean failure to obtain data from a particular teacher education organisation, a particular lecturer or tutor (*unit non-response*), or a particular questionnaire item (*item non-response*). Because this was a postal questionnaire, it was generally difficult to ascertain the reason for the non-response, unless the target respondent replied with an overt refusal. There is a well documented relationship between education and high response rates, particularly in mail surveys (Groves 1989: 205), which I hoped would apply for this survey, in which the target population were all tertiary teachers.

A number of features were included in the questionnaire design in order to try and increase the item and unit response rates:

a Use of target respondents' names

The most important strategy adopted in the survey was the use of names to direct the questionnaires to individuals. The method outlined above in designing the survey frame resulted in different types of information on names for respondents from the different providers, some including title, family name, given name or initial. The maximum amount of available information was included, on each envelope and in each covering letter.

b Questionnaire format

The overall impact of the questionnaire was considered to be highly important in order to encourage questionnaire completion and a high response rate. Fisher, Bosley and Stone's (1997: 23) recommendations based on the literature on document design and formatting note the importance of appearance in order to avoid problems for respondents. In the current survey, a number of features were included to encourage response:

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Manageable length

The questionnaire was very short; two sides of an A4 sheet of paper. Fisher, Bosley and Stone (1997: 22) recommend that for 'nonsalient' topics postal questionnaires should be two to four pages in length.

• Straightforward layout

The questionnaire was in four sections of a column each, with the same response format for the first three sections, and a similar format in the last (background) section. Each section was approximately equal in length.

Colour

The questionnaire was printed onto yellow paper, a colour chosen to be attractive and less likely to be lost on the respondents' desks. Fisher, Bosley and Stone (1997: 23) recommend that colours 'should not be aversive or have a "ransom note" effect; thus colours such as neon pink or bright yellow should not be used'. This refers to the practice of making up ransom notes from individual words cut out of newspaper text, and warns against the over-use of different font types and sizes, or colours. Different fonts were used sparingly in my questionnaire, and the yellow paper was chosen to be friendly rather than bright!

c Questionnaire content

Questionnaires designed to be of interest are more likely to be returned (Edwards, Roberts, Clarke, DiGuiseppi, Pratap, Wentz and Kwan 2002). In this study scenarios were chosen to increase the interest level, and therefore response rate, by an aspect of 'story', and allowing potentially controversial statements to elicit reactions from respondents. (The use of scenarios is further discussed in 4.3.1 below.)

d Incentives

There is a large literature about the effect of offering incentives such as money, gifts, or lottery chances in an attempt to increase survey participation. Groves (1989: 215-218) points out that experimental results of different types of incentives have been mixed, and in some cases there have been negative effects. He warns that in using incentives an assumption must be made of homogeneity of response; that no potential respondent will be 'turned off' by an offer. In an

experiment to measure various effects in interviews including incentive types, Groves, Singer, Corning and Bowers (1999) showed video vignettes to parents in the United States, and found that the use of incentives increased participation. In an investigation of the effect of monetary incentives in United States government surveys, Shettle and Mooney discuss the incentives in the context of social exchange (1999: 232):

From this perspective, it is not simply the value of the incentive that is important, but the receiver's perception of the giver's intent.

They list concerns which have been made about incentives: that there may be perceived pressure to comply, that the difference between respondents and nonrespondents may be increased, that the data may be affected by carelessness or desire to please, and that the costs may outweigh the benefits. College graduates were sent surveys of different lengths with different monetary incentives, and it was found that although a well-designed mail survey can achieve reasonable co-operation rates in a highly educated population without incentives, 'using incentives can significantly increase respondent cooperation and reduce non-response bias in mail surveys with a fairly burdensome questionnaire and limited follow-ups' (Shettle and Mooney 1999: 246). For this reason, I decided to offer respondents in this survey a chance to go into a draw for a \$50 book voucher, in the hope that it would make clear my commitment to a high response rate.

e Postage-included return envelopes

Respondents were provided with a postage-included pre-addressed envelope, as has been shown to increase response rate (Edwards et al. 2002).

f Personalised letters

Personalised letters have also been found to increase response rates in postal surveys (Edwards et al. 2002), and in this study the names of potential respondents were handwritten on each letter of introduction and follow-up letter (see Appendix G).

Sampling errors

The third type of nonobservational error in Groves' (1989) framework is sampling. These did not apply in this survey which aimed to be a census of the entire target population rather than a representative sample.

4.2.5 Reduction of measurement errors

The other main group of errors in Grove's (1989) framework (Figure 4.1) is that of observational or measurement errors. These can further be divided into *interviewer, respondent, instrument* and *mode* errors.

Interviewer errors

Errors according to interviewers did not apply in the context of a postal questionnaire.

Respondent errors

Groves (1989: 407-408) identifies five states of action relevant to survey measurement error:

a Encoding of information relevant to the question

In the current survey initial interviews had shown that the topics were ones that teacher educators had relevant knowledge about.

b Comprehension of the question

Piloting had allowed for the questions to be adjusted so that they were easily comprehensible.

c Retrieval of relevant knowledge

This relates to (a) above, and interviews and pilots showed that respondents had ready opinions on the topic of the survey.

d Judgement of an appropriate answer

This state relates to the concept of social desirability (see 4.5).

e Communication of the response

The tick-box format of the questionnaire ensured that communicating a response was very easy, and the spaces under each question allowed respondents to add comments if they wished.

Instrument errors

Instrument error can occur because although a survey as measurement instrument may be administered consistently to all respondents, each one may understand it differently (Groves 1989: 450):

Although the language of the survey questions can be standardized, there is no guarantee that the meaning assigned to the questions is constant over respondents.

Three aspects relating to the questionnaire will now be described: wording, structure, and order.

a Questionnaire wording

Three types of measurement error can be associated with words in questions (Groves 1989: 450): no meaning can be given to a word, a word can be taken to mean different things by the same respondent, and a word is taken to mean different things by different respondents. There is a large literature investigating how different words and phrases have been interpreted by respondents in surveys. Bradburn and Sudman (1991: 35) summarise the main research about length of questions:

Common sense suggests that questions that are short, use simple language and avoid too many qualifying clauses or phrases will be easiest for respondents to comprehend.

In this survey, pilot testing and common sense were used to avoid problems in interpretation by respondents.

b Questionnaire structure

Scenario A (of a bilingual child) and Scenario B (of a bilingual teacher) were designed so that any of six ethnicities and their languages could be inserted into them (details of the concepts studied in each scenario are outlined in 4.3.2 below). An automatic merge feature was set up on the computer to insert the names into

the relevant parts of the questionnaire, so that mistakes which could have occurred in the manual typing of the names were avoided.

c Questionnaire order

The particular aspect of measurement error relating to question order is the *context effect*. Groves (1989: 478) describes the different context effects, which may be of two main types. The first type are *fatigue* or *questionnaire length* effects, when there is larger error at the end of a long questionnaire, and the second type is *saliency* effects, when an earlier question affects the interpretation of a later question. These may be *consistency* effects, when answers are similar to earlier ones, or *contrast* or *redundancy* effects, when answers are different from earlier ones. In this two-page questionnaire it was assumed that fatigue effects would be avoided, and the design allowed saliency effects to be assessed. The questionnaire was therefore designed in different versions in order to allow for and study the effect of the orders of the scenarios and of the languages.

d Scenario order

There were six possible order types of Scenarios A, B, and C, as shown in Table 4.1.

Туре	Order			
Type 1	А	В	С	
Type 2	A	С	В	
Type 3	В	А	С	
Type 4	В	С	А	
Type 5	C	А	В	
Type 6	C	В	А	

Table 4.1Scenario order types

The orders of the scenarios were manually changed on the computer within the first three columns, and labelled Scenarios 1, 2, and 3 according to their order of presentation on the page. The Background Section was always in the fourth column, at the end of the questionnaire.

e Language order

It was anticipated that the language in the first of the two (language-specific) scenarios encountered in each version (either Scenario A or B), might have an effect. This could occur not so much on the answers in that scenario itself, but on the ones following it. For example, answers to the second or third scenarios might be different if the language in the first had been French rather than Korean. In order to see whether there was any effect caused by the order of the languages, the order of each of the six languages A to F was changed in all possible combinations. Within each order type, the six languages were automatically inserted and changed into Scenarios A and B in every possible combination, using the computer software's mail merge function.

The matrix in Table 4.2 below shows that for the frame of 831 potential respondents, there were either 23 or 24 copies of each language combination:

(6 x 6 x x) + 3	=	831
36 <i>x</i>	=	828
x	=	23

		Position 1					
	Language	Α	B	С	D	Ε	F
H	Α	24	24	24	23	23	23
Posit	В	23	23	23	23	23	23
Position 2	С	23	23	23	23	23	23
6	D	23	23	23	23	23	23
	Ε	23	23	23	23	23	23
	F	23	23	23	23	23	23

Table 4.2Numbers of each language combination

For each of the six order types there were 36 different language combinations, to make a total of 216 different questionnaire versions, each with either three or four copies. Scenario C was more general in content, and did not change in different versions (other than in its order in the questionnaire). There were nearly four full

cycles of the 216 questionnaire versions for the final questionnaire frame of 831 target respondents (four full cycles would have come to 864).

Mode errors

The final type of measurement error in Groves' (1989) framework is from the mode of data collection, in this case a postal questionnaire as opposed to face-to-face or telephone communication. Although postal questionnaires can have high nonresponse rates (see 5.2.1), the aim of a census made this the only practical approach, and efforts were made to increase the response rate (see 4.2.4).

4.3 Scenario development

In this section the development of the scenarios will be described in detail, after an initial discussion of the rationale for the use of scenarios, and an overall description of their design. (A more theoretical and conceptual rationale is then addressed in the following section.)

4.3.1 Use of scenarios in surveys

Scenarios, or vignettes, have been used in surveys for a number of purposes:

a Testing understandings of concepts

The United States Bureau of the Census have used scenarios to test respondents' understandings of labour force concepts such as 'work' (Martin, Campanelli and Fay 1991: 267):

Last week, Amy spent 20 hours at home doing the accounting for her husband's business. She did not receive a paycheck. (Do you think she should be reported as WORKING last week?)

The responses were used to determine underlying concepts in the constructs tested, and then in the questionnaire design to achieve uniformity of reporting. Further use by the Bureau has been after interview data had been collected on residence, to test whether census rules have been followed when they might be counter-intuitive (Gerber, Wellens and Keeley 1996: 964):

Craig and his wife have a house in Pennsylvania. Craig's job is in Washington, D.C. so he stays with his mom in D.C. Monday through Thursday of the week.

Where should Craig be listed on a census form? (Correct answer: Washington, D.C.)

b Investigating hidden social assumptions

The United States Bureau of the Census have also used vignettes as the basis for an open-ended interview, to elicit discussions and provide evidence on usage of the concept of residence terms used in the census and surveys (Gerber 1994). Vignettes were deliberately written to be vague and ambiguous, using previous ethnographic research which had indicated features associated with residence, such as location of belongings, or arrangements about mail.

c Exploring attitudes and behaviours on sensitive issues

Another use of scenarios is in the investigation of sensitive issues. A comparison of methods was carried out in a United States survey of ethically questionable business practices. Armacost et al. (1991) used a mail survey to compare direct questioning, scenarios, and randomised responses (in which one of two forms of a question is chosen by ballot and known to the respondent, but not the researcher) (Armacost, Hosseini, Morris andRehbein 1991: 1087):

Direct question:

Has your firm ever made a payment or other compensation to an employee of another company to obtain information of a proprietary nature?

Scenario:

The president of Firm Q learns that an employee of a major competitor would be willing to forward information of a proprietary nature to Firm Q for some consideration. If you were head of Firm Q, would you make payments or other compensation to employees of other companies to obtain such information?

The direct questioning and scenario versions used self-reporting and other-based questions. Higher estimates of sensitive behaviour were found with randomised responses and scenario approaches, with scenarios resulting in higher estimates of self-reported behaviour.

A further type of sensitive issue concerns public policy. Denk, Benson, Fletcher and Reigel (1995) used telephone interviews in the United States to explore attitudes about appropriate end-of-life treatment, with randomised variables so that different dimensions of a judgement (such as patient quality of life and patient choice) could be identified:

A 45-year-old mother or father has been run down by a drunk driver and requires artificial life support to survive, costing about \$200,000 per year. She will probably live another 2-5 years that way, but will be totally paralysed. The patient is not competent to decide about treatment, and the family is divided about going ahead. Private insurance will pay most of the cost.

Would you say, in this case, considering the best interests of the patient and family, that treatment should be given?

Although language issues are not usually regarded as sensitive to the same extent as these issues, they are complex, and the scenarios used in my study used a covert manipulation of the ethnicity and language variables, which will now be described.

4.3.2 Scenario design

Three scenarios were developed after analysis of the responses to the initial interviews. The scenarios had a clear focus on language, but they were designed to appear immediately relevant to all teacher educators whatever their subject area, with a balance of subjects and level in the school system. They were also focused at different levels of abstraction from classroom practice to curriculum content.

The scenarios grouped the issues being investigated into three areas (which were not identified on the questionnaire to respondents): mother tongue maintenance, the value of non-English languages, and language in the school curriculum.

The first two scenarios were designed so that any of six ethnicities with their languages could be inserted, and attitudes towards the different groups could be compared. I chose these groups to represent a range of communities and the positions of their languages in Aotearoa New Zealand, using the broad categories outlined by Waite (1992a: 23): Māori, as the language of the indigenous ethnic

group, French as an elite 'international' language, Sāmoan as a Pacific 'community' language, Korean as an Asian 'community' language, Russian as a European 'community' language, and Somali as a refugee 'community' language (from Africa).

These groups were also chosen to represent different levels of ethnolinguistic vitality, which includes the three dimensions of status, demography and institutional support (see 2.2.4). A broad picture of the ethnolinguistic position of the six groups in Aotearoa is shown in Table 4.3, with some indicators for the three dimensions of vitality: the numbers from the 2001 census who identified with each ethnicity and the percent of the population they make up, their median personal income, and the numbers speaking each language. For comparison I have included 'New Zealand Europeans', and their language, English.

	No. stating ethnicity ¹	Percent of population	Median personal	No. speaking language ²
			income (\$)	
Māori	526,281	14.7	14,800	160,527
French	2,784	0.1	16,900	49,722
Sāmoan	114,432	3.2	15,600	81,033
Korean	19,026	0.5	5,300	15,873
Russian	3,084	0.1	11,200	5,550
Somali	1,986	0.1	7,600	1,635
NZ European	2,689,308	75	19,700	3,425,301

Table 4.3Indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality (2001)Source: Statistics New Zealand (2003a, 2004d, 2004e)

¹ Includes output using up to three responses per person. Includes all of the people who stated each ethnic group, whether as their only ethnic group or as one of several ethnic groups.

² Includes all of the people who stated each language spoken, whether as their only language or as one of several languages.

It can be seen that Māori is the highest of the six groups in all of these indicators except personal income, where they follow French and Sāmoan. Sāmoan come second in numbers of the ethnic group (and corresponding percent of the population), and numbers speaking the language. Somali are lowest in all of these indictors except median personal income, which is lowest for Koreans.

Other information about the ethnolinguistic vitality of the six groups is now discussed, leading to the conclusions shown in Table 4.4:

Status

The table shows that in 2001 all groups had a lower median income than New Zealand Europeans. French had the highest of the six groups chosen, followed by Sāmoan and Māori, then Russian. Somalis had less than half of the median income for New Zealand Europeans, and Koreans in 2001 was less than a third. In addition, the unemployment rate for Somalis was the second highest for all ethnic groups at 37.2% (Statistics New Zealand 2004a). This may indicate a parallel with the 'intense poverty' reported in the Liverpool Somali community, and the effect this has on the language maintenance in the community (Arthur 2003: 253).

The social and sociohistorical status of the groups is harder to pin down, and waxes and wanes according to the political climate. French politics in the Pacific, indigenous rights, numbers of skilled and unskilled migrants, and refugee rights have all been contentious political issues in Aotearoa New Zealand at various times over the last fifteen years, affecting the status of members from the groups. Māori has had historically low status (see 1.2.1), but as Penetito points out in the educational context, the traditionally unequal Māori-Pākehā relationship is changing:

Pākehā norms by themselves will no longer prevail in the taken-forgranted starting position they have enjoyed up to now. Why is this likely to be the case? Māori are now in a political position where they are prepared to push for alternative structures and make them succeed. (Penetito 2002: 130)

As an official language, Māori is visible in Aotearoa New Zealand in place names, bilingual organisational names, and is undergoing a revitalisation within the Māori community (see 1.2.1). French has had a historically high prestige in this country, and is one of the most popular 'international' languages at school (see 1.2.4).

Demography

The Māori population is concentrated in the North Island, at 87.7% in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand 2004b). The Asian population grew rapidly over the decade to 2001, and of all the Asian groups the Korean ethnic

group experienced the highest growth (Statistics New Zealand 2004b). Sāmoans are the largest Pacific ethnic group. In 2001, 66% of all Sāmoans lived in Auckland, and 17% in Wellington (Statistics New Zealand 2004c). The populations of the French, Russian and Somali communities are very small, shown in Table 4.3 at 0.1% of the population each.

Institutional support

In terms of formal support, Māori has gained significant support in schools since the 1970s (see 1.2.1). Korean language has low prestige in Aotearoa New Zealand schools (Kim and Elder 2002: 66). Sāmoan as a Pasifika language has a medium level of institutional support, with a number of schools providing bilingual classes (see 1.2.2). Richmond Road School in Auckland has two French bilingual classes (Walsh 2001).

Strong informal institutional support is provided for Sāmoan communities by 'ethnic' churches (Fetui and Mālaki-Williams 1996: 237), and in 2001 90% of Sāmoan people reported an affiliation with a Christian religion (Statistics New Zealand 2004c: 4). Services of Pacific Island churches are largely in the native languages of the communities, which has been reported to cause some conflict for young New Zealand born members who do not speak their parents' languages (Titatia 1998: 112).

Names for the people in the questionnaire scenarios were chosen to be wellknown or common names for that language group. In Scenario A the names of the mother and son were variations of *Mary* and *John*, or other similar-sounding names. This was necessary to fit into the last question of the scenario, in which the teacher finds the son's name difficult to pronounce and so uses the English name 'John' (see 4.3.3). Names were chosen from my own knowledge and website lists of common names (Monk 1997).

Language		nge Name		Language type	Ethnolinguisitc vitality			
				Scenario B		Status	Demog- raphy	Insitution -al
		Mother	Son	Student teacher			тарпу	support
А	Māori	Marama	Hone	Rangi	'indigenous'	High	Medium	Medium
В	French	Marie	Jean	Pierre	'international'	High	Low	Medium
С	Sāmoan	Mele	Ioane	Salesi	'community- Pacific'	Low	Low	Medium
D	Korean	Mi-na	Jeong- Hwa	Yong-Jin	'community - Asian'	Low	Low	Low
E	Russian	Mariya	Vanech- ka	Sergei	'community - European'	Low	Low	Low
F	Somali	Mariam	Jwahir	Ghedi	'refugee'	Low	Low	Low

Table 4.4Scenario languages, types, and names

The three scenarios followed the same format of a short paragraph of introduction to the scenario, followed by five short developments of the scenario, each with a question starting with 'How' + adjective, for example How important is it for the children to speak English in the classroom? The same five-point response scale was provided for each answer, from 'Very' to 'Not at all', as well as the opt-out choice 'Undecided'. Groves (1989: 468) points out that most researchers wish to minimise 'Don't know' answers, even though in attitudinal questions 'it appears very common for respondents uninformed about the real issue to provide an answer based on surface meaning given to a question'. In this study I in fact wished to elicit any uncertainty or lack of knowledge, so 'Undecided' was included as an option (The wording 'Undecided' seemed more encouraging than 'Don't know'). Similarly, I chose an odd number of response points on the scale to allow for a 'middle alternative', which although has been shown to be likely to increase the number choosing a middle rating, was also likely to reduce the number of 'Undecided' responses (Schwarz and Hippler 1991: 45). A five-point scale was chosen to encourage ease of answering while giving enough choice, as studies have shown that increasing the numbers of points does not increase reliability or validity (Groves 1989: 465). Underneath each scale a small space was provided for comments.

The fourth section collected background information on respondents, using a closed answer format. This was placed last in every version, following accepted practice (Oppenheim 1992: 109).

The content of each scenario will now be described in detail. For ease of reference throughout the study, each statement (and its related question) has been given a name.

4.3.3 Scenario A: A bilingual child in the classroom

The first scenario was based on a trainee considering the situation of a bilingual child in the classroom. This situation had been identified in initial interviews as common and problematic:

It is a major issue in [this city] - as many as half the children are Asian in local schools. (I-5)

The scenario described a common classroom situation for an immigrant child in New Zealand classrooms, where 'Mother helps' are invited to participate and help their children and others:

One of your trainees has been teaching a maths unit as part of her teaching practice at a primary school. There are several parents who help the class. One is a [language] woman, [mother], mother of a Year 3 boy, [son]. The family are fluent speakers of [language], which they use at home.

Mathematics was chosen for two reasons: it is the subject which is often identified as requiring least language content, and its use would immediately signal to respondents involved in non-language areas of teacher education that the questionnaire was of relevance to them.

Question (a): 'L1 in the classroom'

The first statement presented a situation which is perceived as potentially threatening to monolingual (English-speaking) New Zealand teachers; that of a non-English conversation in the classroom. In initial interviews, the prompt *Hearing children speaking their first language in the classroom makes me feel* ... had elicited responses such as 'great', 'delighted', 'very proud', 'excited' and 'a great joy' from some interviewees, although it also included 'inadequate' and 'excited but also scared' (see Appendix E). Some interviewees identified an unease at this situation because they could not monitor what was being said, so the context in

this statement made it clear that the first language was being used 'on task', rather than deliberately in a way that the teacher could not understand:

Your trainee notices [mother] speaking to [son] in [language] while she is helping him with his maths activities. How useful is it for them to speak about the task in [language]?

The question aimed at identifying the relationship between the son's first language and his cognitive development, in other words the question implied that the mother was speaking in the language which she found best to explain the meaning of the academic task to her son. The advantages of mother tongue support are illustrated by Robinson and Heyes (1996) in their description of a mathematics lesson given by a student teacher of Pakistani origin, with an Urdu-speaking child (Robinson and Heyes 1996: 128):

It seemed in desperation that she spoke to him in Urdu and I am convinced she was unprepared for his response; his face altered and [he] began to use the apparatus.

The benefits of having parents of children from other language backgrounds in the classroom are also emphasised in Donn and Schick's (1995) report on race relations in New Zealand schools (Donn and Schick 1995: 113).

Question (b): 'English-only in the classroom'

The second question focused on the 'flip side' of mother tongue use, that of the advantage, or even necessity, of using English in the classroom. In this country, English-only policies are best known in the context of Māori education (Donn and Schick 1995: 36):

By the time William Bird became inspector of Native Schools in 1903, the speaking of Māori language was forbidden. It was believed that a second language would be learnt more quickly if the first language was not spoken at all.

In fact, the idea of an English only policy was identified as a contentious issue in the initial interviews only in relation to Māori:

I've given a great deal of thought to Kōhanga reo, [and I] have a conflict in my mind. [They give] access to culture and therefore language, but the world is English. (I-3)

The scenario question had the class teacher 'encouraging' children to use English at all times in the classroom, and there was no indication one way or the other as to whether this policy was set up in the interests of the bilingual children in his class, or for the monolingual children, or for himself:

The class teacher has said that he encourages the children to use English at all times in the classroom. How important is it for the children to speak only in English in the classroom?

There is a long history of such classroom language policies in the belief that they are in the best interests of the children, as they lead to the fastest development of the language of the wider society. This type of language learning situation is an example of what Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 139) calls 'submersion, language drowning, sink-or-swim'. Baker explains how such submersion education, with the aim of assimilation of language minority speakers, may cause problems for both teachers and students (Baker 2001: 196):

With students who range from fluent majority language speakers to those who can understand little classroom talk, the burden on the teacher may be great. In such formal 'context-reduced' classrooms, there is no reason to assume that children will quickly and effortlessly acquire the majority language skills necessary to cope in the curriculum.

Monolingual methodologies have also been criticised as oppressive and 'linguicist' (Phillipson 1992a: 187). The fear felt by recently arrived Sāmoan children in English-speaking classrooms has been described by Taleni (1998: 21), and the extreme frustration of a Korean student by Barnard (2003: 186-187). However, in a study of exemplary programmes in which English is the primary language of instruction in the United States, Lucas and Katz (1994: 537) found that 'the use of the native language is so compelling that it emerges even when policies and assumptions mitigate against it'. Nevertheless, Donn and Schick point out (1995: 111) that although schools involved in their study of 'good practice' for race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand encouraged children to use their own languages in the classroom and playground, some parents were unhappy about this.

Question (c): 'Writing in L1'

The next question included a more active approach to mother tongue maintenance, with the trainee suggesting the use of mother tongue as part of the child's written school work:

Your trainee suggests that it might be possible to get [mother] to help [son] and another [language] child in the class to write some stories in [language.

How useful will it be to encourage the children to write some stories in [language]?

This question was included to identify respondents who would actively encourage the use of the child's first language in the school setting for a bilingual outcome, rather than as a bridge to English which could be an interpretation in Question (a). The incorporation of home language and culture is one of Cummins' (1986: 25) four characteristics of schools which 'empower' (rather than 'disable') minority language children. Donn and Schick's (1995) study of 'good practice' in race relations in New Zealand schools reports that children work in their own language groups in some primary schools. They state that the children 'could also read and write in their own language', although details were not given of how often and how much of this reading and writing took place (Donn and Schick 1995: 111).

Question (d): 'English at home'

The fourth question in this scenario focused on the teacher's role in supporting the home maintenance of the first language of children from non-English speaking backgrounds. Although there is anecdotal evidence that classroom teachers frequently advise parents to speak as much English as possible to their children (see 1.1), the initial interviewees gave varying responses to the prompt *Parents of children from non-English backgrounds*... (see Appendix E):

. . . need to learn the new language as quickly as possible so they can communicate with their children and their children's friends (I-7)

. . . should speak their own language to their children all the time $({\rm I-18})$

Therefore, this question was designed to identify the prevailing view in teacher education:

[Mother] tells her that although the family has always spoken in [language], her son has insisted on using English at home since he started school. She wants to help [son] at school as much as possible. How important is it for the adults to speak in English at home?

The issue raised by the mother is one which is commonly identified in the literature for children when they make a transition from a mother tongue environment in the home or pre-school, to a school environment in another language. In this situation it can be common for children to resist using their mother tongue at home (for example, Arnberg 1987: 119). This reflects the quandary that parents are then placed in, in order to best support their children's learning.

Question (e): 'Pronouncing an L2 name'

The last question in this scenario focused on a micro-level indicator of attitude towards the child's language; that of the effort the teacher makes to pronounce the child's name correctly. This is frequently identified in anecdotal discussions of attitudes to children's mother tongues in Aotearoa New Zealand, and was therefore included in the scenario:

The teacher says that he finds the name ['son'] difficult to pronounce, so he uses the English name 'John'. How important is it for the teacher to pronounce [son's] name in

How important is it for the teacher to pronounce [son's] name in [language]?

At times the children respond to the embarrassment of the effort teachers have to make to pronounce non-English names by giving themselves English names. Some Chinese students have told me that they were given 'Christian' names by their English teachers in Taiwan or Hong Kong; it seems to be an expected part of the English learning environment in their countries, and the students then find it easier to avoid embarrassment by using English names when they come to New Zealand. Jernudd (1995: 129) discusses names as an example of human rights, and although his focus is on state policies, he points out that in some cases the

adjustment of names by individuals may be voluntary. Rather than feeling their rights have been violated, such people feel that they 'gain a new right to a unique name' and group identity is not threatened (Jernudd 1995: 130). However, it is not clear how this 'choice' is freer when it is made through cultural pressure rather than by official or legal means.

4.3.4 Scenario B: The value of language diversity

The second scenario was set in the context of teacher education. Craft's (1996: 7) review of teacher education in culturally plural societies points out that teachers from ethnic minority groups are often under-represented and subject to racism. In initial interviews several interviewees had identified issues around non-native speaking trainees; some concerning misgivings they had about the levels of English of such trainees, but others concerning the likelihood of their being employed on graduation; one referred to the 'deeply embedded racism in New Zealand schools' and stated that most would rather have an English-speaking teacher of Japanese or Chinese than a native speaker (I-9).

[Student teacher] is a secondary teacher trainee in history and social studies at your institution. He speaks [language] as his first language, and although his English has a strong [language] accent, he communicates well with students.

The scenario was designed to emphasise that the student teacher had no communication issues per se with children, although he was recognisable as a non-native speaker.

Question (a): 'An L1 accent'

The first question identified the possibility that the trainee's accent was a problem. It was anticipated that the response to this might be different according to the prestige of the accent it reflected in the different questionnaire versions. The question aimed to identify whether the teacher educators shared the view implied in the media that the spoken English of the children in school would be adversely affected by the teacher's non-standard accent (for example, in the media excerpt at the beginning of Chapter 7):

In the feedback session after a spoken presentation as part of your course, other trainees comment on [student teacher's] pronunciation. How important is it to take account of [student teacher's] accent in assessing his presentation?

The question focused on assessment as a strong signal of importance.

The issue of non-native student teachers' English ability is discussed in a Swedish study of the attitudes of principals and teacher trainees towards foreign-born teachers' language proficiency and suitability to teach, where it was found that judgements of 'accentedness' were accurate, but that this over-influenced judgements of grammatical correctedness and lexical complexity (Boyd 2003: 289-290). Santoro's (1999) analysis of discourse of two Chinese student teachers' school practicums in Australia also focuses on the student teachers' accents. In both cases the supervising teachers commented on problems with their accents; one identified the repeated problem that 'the kids didn't understand a thing' (Santoro 1999: 35), and the other was surprised because the student communicated well (Santoro 1999: 39):

'I hadn't thought of him having an accent so I didn't think of it until he was in front of the class and then it suddenly hit me. Gosh he has got an accent and his English isn't as good as I thought'.

Although Santoro's overall analysis takes a critical, anti-racist perspective, she comments that concerns about student errors might be 'legitimate' because of the importance of teachers as models of language in English as a Second Language education. This seems to be an uncritical view not based on either a theory of second language acquisition, or on classroom realities in many English as a Second Language situations worldwide, or on options for providing other language models if necessary. However, this was similar to the interviewee whose criticism of racism in New Zealand schools was noted above; in a later comment the same interviewee commented:

Colleges of Education need to scrutinise themselves to ensure they don't recruit people to be teachers in the New Zealand system for whom *conversational* English is a problem . . . [even if they have] an elegant variety (I-9).

Question (b): 'Modelling 'standard' English'

The scenario continued with a focus on written language. The notion of 'standard English' had been emphasised in several of the exploratory interviews, as in the following comment:

. . . we have a lot of trouble shifting teachers' attitudes . . . some children coming in saying 'I done' and 'I seen' are in fact speaking a correct language - they can't say the word 'incorrect', they can say 'That's not standard'. But if it is the adult mature language of their community, then it is linguistically correct. That is quite a mind shift for a lot of students. With the English curriculum they are in a very difficult position because while they can say, 'Yes, I can see that that is a language and it may not be standard', they have extreme difficulty accepting that Standard English will come through children's writing (because writing tends to be standard anyway), and that we're not advocating that children don't learn Standard English, but we're advocating that it fact it is an additional language. (I-19)

In fact the concerns seemed to have been just as strong for student teachers who have English as their mother tongue as those who do not. There was little challenge of the idea of modelling itself as the key to learning Standard English in the interviews, and so the idea was tested in this question:

Colleagues have mentioned that [student teacher] may model nonstandard written English to the children in his future classes. How important will it be for [student teacher] to model 'standard' written English in the classroom?

The notion of 'standard' English is explicitly mentioned, and written in inverted commas to signal that the concept could be contested. This links to Phillipson's 'native speaker fallacy', which ignores the training needed for both native and non-native teachers in order to analyse and explain language, in other words modelling alone is not at all sufficient (Phillipson 1992a: 194). He points out that 'the standard language is an abstraction reflecting the result of the historical process of the consolidation of the most powerful group', and is always acquired 'with difficulty, in formal education' (Phillipson 1992a: 197). This means that children will need some expert feedback for them to acquire the forms of the standard code, but such feedback might not necessarily have to come from the classroom teacher.

Question (c): 'Language in social studies'

The third question in this scenario investigated the incorporation of a specific language focus in classroom work in the non-language subject area of Social Studies (Ministry of Education 1997a) (the relevant strand from the curriculum statement is given in Appendix B):

[Student teacher] develops a social studies unit to focus on language as a feature of culture and heritage. It investigates the [language] language as it compares with English. How valuable will this unit be for the children?

It was again anticipated that the response would vary for the different language groups in the different questionnaire versions.

Question (d): 'Advice from a language expert'

The next question was designed to elicit a response on the importance of language as an area of specialist knowledge. Participants in the initial interviews had identified an interest in language issues, and most reported taking an interest in linguistics through their own reading:

I read widely, I consider it part of my professional development. After I discovered [sociolinguistics ...] I then read very widely in language acquisition so that linguist friends of mine are always surprised at how much I know about language' (I-16).

I was interested to see whether this interest and confidence would follow through in the responses from all teacher educator to this question:

[Student teacher] is worried that he does not have enough formal background in language to plan the unit well. He asks you whether he needs to seek advice from a language expert. How important is it for [student teacher] to seek expert advice about comparing the two languages?

Some interviewees had identified that they would like to do more with trainees about how to incorporate a language dimension in their classroom work, but did not themselves know how to do this, therefore this question aimed to discover the extent of the teacher educators' support of expert advice in language issues.

Question (e): 'Learning other languages'

The final question in this scenario was designed to find out whether teacher educators considered that languages are intrinsically useful, or whether their usefulness was linked to economic or other status:

A colleague of yours comments that as English is so important worldwide, if the children speak English they do not need a knowledge of [language].

How useful is it for New Zealand children to learn [language]?

A differentiation between languages is clear in Waite's discussion document on the development of a New Zealand languages policy, in which he points out the benefits of 'international' languages (Waite 1992b: 62):

These languages offer us the opportunity to extend our understanding of others and to improve our general language skills, in the same way as learning Māori, English or a community language. Over and above this, international languages enable access to international ideas and literature, and to international contacts and markets.

It was therefore anticipated that the ratings of the usefulness of languages would vary according to the language in the version used.

4.3.5 Scenario C: Language issues in the curriculum

The third scenario widened the investigation to a consideration of more general issues around language in the curriculum. These had been identified by participants in the initial interviews as having significant effects on their practice as teacher educators, and on teachers in classrooms. The statements were presented as being made by teachers in a middle school; this is a sufficiently new setting in this country in which teachers might be expected to be analytical of their situation:

Moana and Tim are teachers from a middle school (Years 7 to 10). They are at an education conference giving a joint presentation on developments in the school curriculum, particularly as they involve language issues.

There was only one version of this scenario, which had a male and female teacher giving views; one with a Māori or Pacific Island name (Moana), and the other with a Pākehā name (Tim).

Question (a): 'Language in race relations'

The first question was chosen to give views of the Pākehā teacher, as it was judged that this would appear less confrontational than the Māori or Pacific Island teacher. It focused on the role of language in race relations, a topic which had been identified in initial interviews as significant in relation to language issues in New Zealand:

As a country we haven't come to grips with what it means to be multilingual - we've been through a stage of bilingualism, we need to be thinking multicultural, [multi-] lingual. Translating respect, tolerance, acknowledgement into action. (I-3)

Tim states that the education system has a responsibility to improve race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, and that language issues are part of this.

How important is the role of language in this responsibility?

Language has been widely identified in New Zealand as symbolic of the Māori culture, for example with the 'phenomenal success' of Kōhanga Reo seen as a positive step towards the renewal of the Māori culture (May 2001: 299). This question aimed to find out what the prevailing viewpoint was among teacher educators, anticipating a largely positive response towards this role of language.

Question (b): 'English or Language?'

The second question in this scenario referred to the 1994 curriculum changes, which united the previously separate 'English' at secondary level and 'Language' at primary level, to 'English' for all levels in the 'Language and languages' Essential Learning Area of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework:

Tim notes that he has recently changed to talking about 'English' with the children, instead of 'Language', as it was in the old curriculum. How significant is this change? It was reported in the initial interviews that primary teachers had been against the

change, but interviewees were divided as to the significance of the change:

. . . unfortunately the curriculum is now called English, but I think that's just being honest - it's acknowledging that in fact we're doing our instruction in English. (I-19)

The English curriculum document statements are clear in their English focus:

All students should have equal access to the English curriculum. An inclusive curriculum, which is responsive to the wide diversity of perspectives and linguistic backgrounds in New Zealand, can enrich English education for all students. (Ministry of Education 1994: 13)

This question was considered key in identifying the respondents' awareness of policy issues in language and education.

Question (c): 'Language across the curriculum'

This statement and question were developed after a comment in one of the questionnaire trials that primary teachers in in-service courses are being discouraged from using 'simple' language tasks such as 'write a poem about clouds', and possibly omitting curriculum area objectives as a consequence:

Moana suggests that primary teachers are being encouraged to focus more clearly on curriculum area objectives, and to avoid overlap with language objectives except in integrated units of work. How important is it for language objectives to be included in

all curriculum areas?

With the introduction of more specialisation for some primary school teachers, there is a possibility that language development could become more focused into the English curriculum area, with less of a 'language across the curriculum' approach.

Question (d): 'Language knowledge'

The fourth statement comes from a frequent comment in initial interviews, that student teachers do not have a good understanding of the structure of English:

Young teachers are floundering, 26 year olds have enormous gaps! I realise that by [having studied] Latin and parsing sentences I see the value of [understanding structure]. (I-14)

We are really trying to stress with our students that you need to understand the structure of English if you are going to support students. Not necessarily to teach it explicitly, but you need to be able to say, 'Well it's the way you've used the nouns in that particular sentence that has made a huge impact at the beginning of that particular piece of writing'. And a lot of students don't have that. (I-19)

Tim claims that although many classroom teachers would like to include a focus on how language is structured and patterned, they do not know enough about how to do this.

How important is it for all teachers to be able to teach about language patterns and structures?

Participants in the initial interviews had identified a lack of resources in teacher education for trainees who might wish to include more of a language component in their work, particularly for children who have more than one language. This view is also expressed in the *Exploring Language* materials prepared by the Ministry of Education to support the new curriculum:

Many teachers in New Zealand have little background knowledge about the workings of language. This is not a criticism of teachers but an acknowledgement that teaching about language has not been consistently available to all. (Ministry of Education 1996a: 2)

This question therefore aimed at eliciting the view of respondents about the overall level of preparation trainees obtain for language issues in their teacher education.

Question (e): 'Structure vs other goals'

The final statement had also been frequently articulated in the initial interviews; it identified a concern with pressure on the curriculum:

No training in the new curriculum documents, the speed of change has been almost debilitating. $({\rm I-4})$

Our curriculum is so cut and dried it's hard to squeeze in issues like this. $(\mbox{I-16})$

Moana notes that the pressure to get through all three oral, written and visual language strands in the curriculum leaves little time for teachers to focus on details.

How important are language patterns and structures compared with other language goals?

The question aimed to identify the degree to which teacher educators perceived that these pressures were resulting in changes away from a curriculum-wide responsibility for language development.

4.4 Scenario analysis

Each scenario was developed in order to reflect Ivanič's (1990) three objectives for critical language awareness (CLA) of relationship between language and power, critical awareness of language variety, and turning awareness into action (see 2.4.2). Table 4.5 presents a breakdown of each scenario, in which each statement and its question is analysed in several ways:

a Key concepts

This column identifies the topic or subject of each question, such as 'the relationship between the first language and cognitive development', 'language variation', 'the role of language in race relations'.

b Evidence from the literature

This is a statement of evidence from the sociolinguistics literature about what the optimal behaviour for bilingualism is, in relation to the scenario statement and question.

c Assumptions

This analysis designated each pole on the five-point rating scale as 'bilingual/diversity-supportive' or 'non bilingual/diversity-supportive' in relation to the concepts the statement and question focused on. For example, in the statement *Your trainee notices [mother] speaking to [son] in [language] while she is helping him with his maths activities*, followed by the question *How useful is it for them to speak about the task in [language]?*, the assumption was that a 'Very useful' response would indicate a supportive attitude towards the concept of 'first language relationship with cognitive development'. These assumptions are all expressed in terms of 'positive' or 'negative', which are used to show its location on a scale for the support of bilingualism and language diversity.

d Attitude component

As discussed earlier (see 2.2.3), classic studies of attitude have identified three components of attitudes: cognitive (beliefs), conative (readiness for action), and affective (feelings). The last of these components was not assessed at a surface level in the questionnaire, as asking this population questions on 'like-dislike' scales of affect was deemed too obvious and simplistic. However, the design of the questionnaire, by mixing the ethnicities and languages in the scenarios, aimed to uncover a deeper, perhaps more unconscious level of affective attitude at a sample-wide level, such as different attitudes towards 'French culture' compared with 'Māori culture' or 'Korean culture'.

Each question has been allocated the component which I consider to be most strongly reflected in the question, although in many cases it would be possible to also allocate another component. This column therefore acts as a checklist to ensure that all components have been covered in the questionnaire.

e Awareness

This column identifies the area of language awareness in the topic of the scenario statement or question, whether traditional language awareness, or critical language awareness as in Ivanič's (1990) three objectives for critical language awareness. (These have been reproduced as part of Table 10.1).

Table 4.5Analysis of questions according to concepts, attitude components, and assumptions
(Designed to reflect objectives outlined in Ivanič 1990: 131-132, see also Table 10.1)

Scenario A: A bilingual child in the classroom

One of your trainees has been teaching a maths unit as part of her teaching practice at a primary school. There are several parents who help the class. One is a [Language] woman, [Mother], mother of a Year 5 boy, [Son]. Their family uses [Language] at home.

No.	Statement	Key concepts	Evidence in literature	Assumptions	Attitude	Awareness
a	Your trainee notices [mother] speaking to [son] in [language] while she is helping him with his maths activities. How useful is it for them to speak about the task in [language]?	Relationship between first language and cognitive development	It is good for a child to have the chance to develop cognitive abilities in L1.	Very useful = supportive towards cognitive development in L1	Cognitive	L1 maintenance, cognitive development
b	The class teacher has said that he encourages the children to use English at all times in the classroom. How important is it for the children to speak only in English in the classroom?	Hegemony of English, 'submersion'	Forbidding children to speak in L1 has negative impact socially (self-worth), cognitively (concept development in L1) and linguistically (bilingual development).	Very important = not supportive of language diversity, L1 maintenance	Affective	Language and power (CLA)
с	Your trainee suggests that it may be possible to get [mother] to help [son] and another [language] child in the class to write some stories in [language]. How useful will it be to encourage the children to write some stories in [language]?	Role of schools in L1 maintenance' 'empowering'	It will be very useful for children's L1 development and general literacy skills, plus socially (= valuing child's L1 and identity).	Very useful = supportive of L1 maintenance in school	Conative	Possible action to promote L1 maintenance (CLA)
d	[Mother] tells her that although the family has always spoken in [language], her son has insisted on using English at home since he started school. She wants to help [son] at school as much as possible. How important is it for the adults to speak in English at home?	L1 maintenance at home, hegemony of English	At home it is more important to strengthen L1; English will be developed at school.	Very important = not supportive of L1 maintenance (at home)	Cognitive	L1 maintenance
e	The teacher says that he finds the name '[son]' difficult to pronounce, so he uses the English name 'John'. How important is it for the teacher to pronounce [son's] name in [language]?	Personal readiness to use non-English languages	It is important symbolically to use child's correct L1 name, to value child's identity in L1 and culture.	Very important = supportive of other languages	Affective	Devaluing the language devalues the user (CLA)

SCENARIO B: The value of language diversity

[Student teacher] is a secondary teacher trainee in history and social studies at your institution. He speaks [language] as his first language, and although his English has a strong [Language] accent, he communicates well with students.

No.	Statement and question	Key concepts	Evidence in the literature	Assumptions	Attitude	Awareness
a	In the feedback session after a spoken presentation as part of your course, other trainees comment on [Student teacher's] pronunciation. How important is it to take account of [student teacher's] accent in assessing his presentation?	Language variation (accents)	Accent is not important if communication is good. Everyone has an accent, but they are valued differently by different social groups. Children do not learn accents from teachers.	Very important = not supportive of 'non- standard' accents	Cognitive	 Value of spoken language (CLA) Language acquisition
Ь	Colleagues have mentioned that [student teacher] may model non-standard written English to the children in his future classes. How important will it be for [student teacher] to model 'standard' written English in the classroom?	'Standard' English (inverted commas to show it is a contested concept)	It is important that children get 'standard' models and feedback on writing to have access to prestigious codes, but this doesn't have to be from the classroom teacher.	Very important = not supportive of non- standard English varieties	Cognitive	Difficulties of access to 'standard' forms (CLA)
с	[Student teacher] develops a social studies unit to focus on language as a feature of culture and heritage. It investigates the [language] language as it compares with English. How valuable will this unit be for the children?	Non-English languages as a means to improving English	Comparative studies are a good way to increase understanding of L1 and languages in general.	Very valuable = supportive of non- English cultures	Affective	Other languages also valuable (users are 'experts' - CLA)
d	[Student teacher] is worried that he does not have enough formal background in language to plan the unit well. He asks you whether he needs to seek advice from a language expert. How important is it for [student teacher] to seek expert advice about comparing the two languages?	The need for 'expert' vs native speaker linguistic knowledge	Native speakers do not automatically have formal understanding of their language structures and usage.	Very important = supportive of linguistics knowledge	Cognitive	Nature of language 'knowledge' (implicit vs explicit)
e	A colleague of yours comments that as English is so important worldwide, if the children speak English they do not need a knowledge of [language]. How useful is it for New Zealand children to learn [language]?	Usefulness of learning other languages	Learning any language can be useful in different ways.	Very useful = supportive of learning other languages	Affective	Nature of prejudice about other languages (CLA)

SCENARIO C: Language issues in the curriculum

Moana and Tim are teachers from a middle school (Years 7 to 10). They are at an education conference giving a joint presentation on developments in the school curriculum, particularly as they involve language issues.

No	Statement and question	Key concepts	Evidence in the literature	Assumptions	Attitude	Awareness
a	Tim states that the education system has a responsibility to improve race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, and that language issues are part of this. How important is the role of language in this responsibility?	Role of language in race relations - understanding of symbolism of language	Language has an important symbolic role in race relations.	Very important = supportive of role of language	Conative	Language and power (changing?) (CLA)
b	Tim notes that he has recently changed to talking about 'English' with the children, instead of 'Language', as it was in the old curriculum. How significant is this change?	Importance of English rather than language, i.e. linguistic knowledge per se (and L1 maintenance)	The change from 'Language' to 'English' is important because it reinforces the status of English and acknowledges that it is not an understanding of language per se.	Very significant = supportive of language/ languages for their own sake	Affective	Language and power – those in power choose the language to describe things (CLA)
с	Moana suggests that primary teachers are being encouraged to focus more clearly on curriculum area objectives, and to avoid overlap with language objectives except in integrated units of work. How important is it for language objectives to be included in all curriculum areas?	Language across the curriculum, genre/functions	It is important for language as the vehicle for content to be included in all subject areas.	Very important = supportive of language per se (vs 'content')	Cognitive	Importance of formal knowledge of patterns and structures (genre/functions).
d	Tim claims that although many classroom teachers would like to include a focus on how language is structured and patterned, they do not know enough about how to do this. How important is it for all teachers to be able to teach about language patterns and structures?	Teacher education in language areas.	It is important for all teachers to have a sound formal knowledge of language (and English).	Very important = supportive towards the importance of language	Conative	Possibilities for change (CLA)
e	Moana notes that the pressure to get through all three oral, written and visual strands in the curriculum leaves little time for teachers to focus on details. How important are language patterns and structures compared with other language goals?	Priority of formal language understanding vs other language goals	Formal knowledge of language is as important as other goals, as a tool for students in education (and life!)	Very important = supportive of knowledge of language	Cognitive	Decide whether to challenge existing practice (CLA)

A postal questionnaire

4.5 The social desirability effect

Any questionnaire using self-report data on social issues can be criticised for collecting 'politically correct' attitudes rather than the 'real' attitudes of respondents. In questionnaire design terminology this is referred to as the *social desirability* effect, and is a type of response error (see 4.2.5 above). In this section I review the concept of 'social desirability', before discussing what might be considered socially desirable responses in current New Zealand teacher education, and New Zealand sociolinguistics. I then show how the questionnaire was constructed with the use of a statistical design which contrasts responses of different subgroups of respondents to reveal the 'real' attitudes in the whole population of teacher educators as a group, rather than as individuals.

4.5.1 The concept of 'social desirability'

In DeMaio's (1984) survey of the literature on social desirability, she points out that the concept is not clearly defined, but generally has two elements (DeMaio 1984: 258): some things are 'good' and others are 'bad', and respondents want to answer questions so as to appear 'good'. She points to problems with the concept of social desirability (DeMaio 1984: 269):

Can we assume for example, that what is perceived as desirable for the interviewer also coincides with social norms?

Much of the research on social desirability has been carried out in interview surveys, where it has been found that attitude questions rated as highly threatening by researchers 'have much larger response effects than any other category of attitude items' (DeMaio 1984: 274). Research into social desirability has also investigated respondent characteristics, and rated respondents on their tendency towards socially desirable responses. Findings have included larger social desirability effects for women, which would be relevant in my respondent population which was 66% female. However, DeMaio points out that 'people who have a high tendency to respond desirably do not necessarily agree on what is desirable' (DeMaio 1984: 279).

Survey design

A further variable discussed in the literature on social desirability is that of the social distance between interviewer and respondent (DeMaio 1984: 275). Bradburn and Sudman (1991: 31) point out that surveys are 'a special type of social activity'. Although much of this literature again focuses on face-to-face interviewing, a postal questionnaire still takes place in a social context. It might be assumed that for staff in tertiary institutions there would be little perceived threat or social distance from a graduate researcher. However, it was clear from the initial interviews in my research project that some participants wanted to know what was the 'right' answer by asking what previous participants had responded (I-11).

Bell (1991: 65) points out that the politics of language in Aotearoa New Zealand focus on three areas: a competition between English and other immigrant languages, competition between English and Māori, and competition between New Zealand English and other varieties of English. I now turn to an overview of the 'socially desirable' approaches to these issues.

4.5.2 Social desirability in Aotearoa New Zealand teacher education

If respondents were to answer with a 'politically correct' response, it seems useful to examine what that response might be, in other words what 'socially desirable' might mean in current New Zealand teacher education on language and diversity issues.

Adams, Clark, Codd, O'Neill, Openshaw and Waitere-Ang's (2000) introductory text on education and society in Aotearoa New Zealand, written by six staff of the Massey University College of Education, provides an idea of the views prevailing in teacher education. The authors strongly critique the 'policies, practices, administrative arrangements and the new 'speak' of efficiency, effectiveness and excellence in relation to the educative process' in Aotearoa New Zealand (Adams et al. 2000: 290). The book critiques the 'reforms' of the late twentieth century (with 'scare quotes' to show that they do not agree with the way the term is used), and the shift from social democratic to market-oriented philosophies. The book does not focus on language specifically, but includes a section on language,

discourse and ideologies, with reference to Bourdieu's statements on language and power, and based around a discussion of traditional (European) fairy stories such as *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*:

... we need to take a more critical approach to such discourses, and as students of education, it is valuable now to develop your skills of *discourse analysis*. (Adams et al. 2000: 290, emphasis in original)

In their discussion on difference and diversity, they focus on the situation for Māori, pointing out that 'the same principles and assumptions apply to children from other groups viewed as being outside the norms' (Adams et al. 2000: 299). They advocate a pluralist approach, in which they do mention language in passing:

In countries such as Australia, England, America and Aotearoa New Zealand, changing the way in which diversity is conceptualised has taken a number of forms: bicultural/bilingual programmes, multicultural, antiracist, cultural pluralism, and cultural difference programmes mark the thrust to change discourse about difference. (Adams et al. 2000: 302)

It would therefore be expected that a socially desirable response would include support for Māori-English bilingualism in particular, as well as bilingualism for other languages. However, these critical approaches are not without their critics, as evidenced by Partington, an Australian-based researcher of social and educational issues. In his paper he identifies eight problems 'afflicting' New Zealand teacher education, two of which are relevant here: 'ideological currents', and 'the penetration of the Treaty of Waitangi into teacher education' (Partington 1997: 1). In discussing the ideological dimensions of teacher education, Partington states that 'the political and ideological views which dominate teacher education in New Zealand seem very unrepresentative of those of the population as a whole and those whom they elect' (Partington 1997: 7). He critiques examples from the Christchurch College of Education calendar, course handouts at University of Otago and joint Victoria University of Wellington and Wellington College of Education course outlines, many of which seem to point to the 'radicalleft end of the political spectrum', and he does not support the extent of current emphases on Treaty of Waitangi issues in teacher education (Partington 1997: 9):

It now seems obligatory to make the Treaty of Waitangi a focal point in all teacher education courses. This may be called Waitangism. It requires apologies for the main features of New Zealand history since 1840 and

expressions of admiration for features of Maori society that are denounced in the mainstream.'

He then goes on to provide a detailed critique of the course at the (then) Wanganui Regional Polytechnic, stating that the educational course leaders (Partington 1997: 10):

have little in common with traditional Maori thought and seem to have been taken somewhat uncritically from neo-Marxists ... As in mainstream New Zealand teacher education, this neo-Marxist strand intertwines with a softer child-centred ideology.'

He concludes by supporting the reductions in central control of teacher education in the 1990s, but criticises 'ideological imbalance' and 'organisational inadequacies'.

While the 'politically correct' views will be those which support Māori language, the area where there is less a unified response is in the support for other languages. A strong position is taken by May from the University of Waikato's School of Education, in his (2001) book on language and minority rights, which examines:

the prominent debate concerning the respective merits of individual and group-differentiated rights, as represented by the proponents of orthodox liberalism and multiculturalism, respectively... My own position ... is that group-differentiated rights are defensible as long as they retain within them the protection of individual liberties. (May 2001: 11)

He too links his discussions to Bourdieu's social theories, as he argues for differentiated language policy responses for different types of minority groups. He emphasises the rights of indigenous ethnic groups, or 'national-minority ethnies', which are defined as 'previously self-governing and with a historic claim to a particular country' (May 2001: 85). He distinguishes these ethnic groups from immigrant groups, who he says aim to be integrated into the host society (rather than seeking self-governing status), and cannot claim the same formal and institutional language rights as indigenous groups. He links the gains made in Māori education with the increases in state support for other languages in this country (May 2001: 303):

At the very least, such developments indicate that the promotion of Māorimedium education need not be at the expense of other ethnic-minority groups in Aotearoa / New Zealand and, indeed, may well be instrumental in facilitation the latter's expansion along comparable lines. May (2001: 315) advocates a 'reflective, critical approach to ethnic and national identity, and the role of languages within them'.

4.5.3 Social desirability and Aotearoa New Zealand sociolinguistics

The other aspect of social desirability is the subject area under investigation; the respondents might wish to give the 'right' answer according to prevailing ideas in linguistics and sociolinguistics.

In Holmes' (1991) discussion of the role of the sociolinguist in Aotearoa New Zealand society, she describes the aims of parents of ethnic minority children who want their children to be bilingual (Holmes 1991: 44):

The sociolinguist can support them by challenging the view that monolingualism is a desirable norm, and by highlighting the benefits of a culturally and linguistically diverse society.

This and similar comments are made without any particular ranking of different languages. However, the concluding remarks of Bayard's (1995) introduction to sociolinguistics and New Zealand society emphasise the benefits of all languages, although stressing the central importance of biculturalism with Māori:

Although I think we still have a long way to go to reach true biculturalism, if we can it opens the way for a rich and varied *multi*culturalism which would be an ultimate goal worth striving for. (Bayard 1995: 220, emphasis in original)

Therefore, teacher educators might expect that the researcher in a study conducted from a linguistics department in a university might hold generally similar viewpoints to those held in teacher education institutions.

4.5.4 Social desirability and education policy in Aotearoa New Zealand

The equal treatment of all students is emphasised in the New Zealand curriculum framework (Ministry of Education 1993: 7):

The New Zealand Curriculum reflects the multicultural nature of New Zealand society.

The school curriculum will encourage students to understand and respect the different cultures which make up New Zealand society. It will ensure that the experiences, cultural traditions, histories, and languages of all New Zealanders are recognised and valued. It will acknowledge the place of Pacific Islands communities in New Zealand society, and New Zealand's relationships with the peoples of Asia and the South Pacific.

However, the Ministry of Education's handbook for schools with non-English teaching background students points out that although some Māori students will be 'non-English-speaking-background' (NESB) students, for school funding purposes they are not included as NESB (Ministry of Education 1999b: 6).

In Waite's (1992a) discussion document for the Ministry of Education on the development of a New Zealand languages policy (see 1.3.2), languages are categorised into English, Maori, and Languages other than English or Maori (LOTEMs). Subcategories of LOTEMs are community languages and international languages (Waite 1992a: 78), both of which are ranked. In stressing the need for development of materials for community languages as their first or heritage language, Waite introduces the need to prioritise (Waite 1992: 58):

If setting priorities for developing such materials were based on the single criterion of relative size of the various ethnic communities, the first five languages to receive attention would be: Samoan, Dutch, Cook Islands Maori, Cantonese, Gujarati, Tongan. However, ... New Zealand has a special responsibility for Niuean and Tokelauan, in addition to Cook Islands Maori, and this should be taken into account when establishing priorities.

He stresses that these materials would not be for children learning the languages as second or foreign languages. The discussion on 'international languages' is also couched in terms of a need to prioritise (Waite 1992a: 72):

The list shown here is divided into two broad tiers, and is based on a combination of factors, most notably cultural impact, international spread, levels of trade, levels of tourism and traditional teaching resources.

Tier I International Languages (in alphabetical order) Chinese (Standard Chinese), French, German, Japanese, Spanish *Tier II International Languages (in alphabetical order)* Arabic, Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia), Italian, Korean, Russian

Therefore, as resources do not allow for all languages to be treated equally, the languages are ranked, with the inevitable result that the needs of individual

children speaking those languages are also ranked. This is obviously in contrast to the discourse that all languages are equal.

4.5.5 Questionnaire design to minimise social desirability

Six ethnicities and their languages were used in the questionnaire: Māori, Samoan, French, Korean, Russian and Somali. Given the prevailing discourses mentioned above, it might be predicted that if there were a question asking only about the value of supporting minority languages in New Zealand schools, Māori would be supported more than other languages because of its unique status as the indigenous language, but that other languages would then be supported roughly equally.

The questionnaire design allowed for the potential response error caused by social desirability of ranking different languages, by use of the statistical design in manipulating the languages used in the scenarios presented to individual respondents. Six different languages were presented in the same scenarios, so that only subgroups of respondents (rather than all respondents) received an identical questionnaire, and these subgroups (rather than individual responses) could be contrasted. More particularly, although there were six languages used in the questionnaires, each respondent only answered questions about one language in Scenario A, and one in Scenario B. When these responses were entered into a spreadsheet, the different languages could then be compared statistically. In other words, respondents were not individually asked to rank the importance of the six languages Māori, Samoan, French, Korean, Russian and Somali, but the results were aggregated so that the responses for each language could be contrasted between subgroups for the whole group of respondents. Although it is possible that some respondents discussed the questionnaire with colleagues and knew that they were being asked about different languages, and may have been alerted to the possibility that responses for different languages would be compared, the instructions with the questionnaire asked respondents not to discuss it with others.

Therefore, although this design still allowed for a socially desirable response to be made by each individual for the one language presented in each of Scenario A and Scenario B, a deeper level of attitude could be analysed at group level by looking at the difference in responses across all of the languages. As a result, differences in attitude between subgroups is a reflection of attitudes of the teacher educators as a group, not a comment about attitudes of individual teacher educators.

The problem of disentangling social desirability from responses has consequently been addressed by removing the 'first order' effect. It is not possible to remove the effect of social desirability completely, and the method used here to minimise its effect statistically is novel, statistically sound, and the best available.

4.6 Questionnaire administration

Each copy of the questionnaire was coded at the top with the name of the institution and the individual it had been sent to, to allow for follow up in the case of non-response. The covering letter explained this to potential respondents, and promised confidentiality by storing this information in a different computer to that of the results of the survey. It also explained that different versions were being sent out, and asked the respondents to answer individually. I felt that the target group, many of whom are also involved in carrying out academic research, would understand this request.

Each questionnaire was printed directly from the printer so that codes could be added for analysis and follow-up. Each code consisted of three numbers:

- An individual identification (ID) number consisting of the cycle (1-4) plus version number (1-216), e.g. 1001 = cycle 1, version 1
- The order type number (1-6)
- The language combination number (1-36)

These were automatically printed by mail merge in the top right hand corner of both sides of the questionnaire (to check that Side 1 matched with Side 2). Envelope labels were also generated through the mail merge feature, and these included the identification number for checking during envelope stuffing.

Follow-up letters were written to those who had not replied within a month (see Appendix G), and feedback with initial results were emailed or sent to those who

returned completed questionnaires, or who indicated an interest in the results (see Appendix H).

4.7 Conclusions

The postal questionnaire used as the main data collection tool in this research was carefully designed and piloted in order to minimise all possible error effects. The result was a short questionnaire containing three scenarios and a set of background questions. It was produced in different versions so that effects of scenario order could be tested, but mainly so that responses according to different ethnolinguistic groups represented in the scenarios which made up the questionnaire could be compared.

The following chapters describe and discuss the results obtained from the four parts of the questionnaire; firstly the background questions and then each of Scenarios A, B, and C.

Survey design

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS FROM BACKGROUND QUESTIONS: TEACHER EDUCATORS IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

From: The Dominion, Wednesday 11 April 2001, p.7

Too many colleges, trainees say

A teacher trainees' group is calling for the Government to clamp down on private teachers colleges amid concerns about falling standards.

Christin Watson, president of the Christchurch College of Education's students association, said it was clear the Government needed to get rid of some private institutions that were not keeping to their standards.

On Monday the Teacher Registration Board said a minority of courses were not up to scratch. Last week it cancelled the registrations of 12 to 15 graduates of inadequate courses.

"They're wasting their money when that happens", Mr Watson said. "You never start a law school with only two lecturers and no library or a lack of student support centres, but you'll start a teaching education establishment."

Mr Watson said his association would like to see New Zealand's four colleges of education remain the centre of excellence for teacher training, as opposed to a recent education report that suggested universities take the lead.

With the exception of Māori and specialist education providers, he felt the proliferation of teaching institutions had added little to the quality of teacher training, he said.

"Why is the Government subsidising some of these basically shonky providers? Why are they setting up in areas where there is already teacher education? They're not doing it for the community, they are doing it for profit," he said.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results from the background questions in the questionnaire. In the context of rapid change in the teacher education sector it was important to discover as much as possible about the staff working in teacher education institutions, in other words to develop a profile of teacher educators. The personal background of respondents was also of direct relevance to the aims of the research, as it was incorporated into the model of attitudes developed from the literature, which predicted that personal background factors were likely to influence language attitudes (see 2.5).

I begin this chapter with a discussion of how likely the questionnaire respondents were to reflect the total teacher education force, from an analysis of the response rate to the postal questionnaire. This is then followed by information provided by the respondents about their general demographic background, their teaching on teacher education programmes, and their personal language background.

5.2 **Response rate**

In order to know how reliably the respondents represented the whole group of teacher educators, it is necessary to analyse the response rate for the questionnaire. This was complicated in the current study by the fact that there was no survey frame available of those who were eligible as respondents, in other words those staff involved in pre-service teacher education for primary and secondary levels during 2001. A frame was constructed using publicly available information from teacher education institutions, but while it included all of the staff in the target group it also included other staff (see 4.2.4). Therefore a response rate could not be simply calculated from the number of questionnaires received from those sent out; the more useful statistic was the number of *eligible* responses received compared with the total number of eligible respondents. The calculations to determine this response rate will now be presented.

5.2.1 Estimates of eligible people in the frame

Questionnaires were sent out to 831 people, but because of the frame structure a number of ineligible respondents received questionnaires. Consequently, the first question of the questionnaire aimed to determine the eligibility of the respondent:

Are you currently teaching on pre-service teacher education courses¹ for the primary or secondary sector? \Box No \rightarrow Please post this form back so that you can be in the draw to win a book voucher! \Box Yes \rightarrow Please read the scenarios and tick one of the boxes to show your position on the scale.

Questionnaires were received back from 530 people, but 66 respondents who did not answer this question then went on to fill out the questionnaire. Therefore, responses to the first question for all questionnaires were cross-checked with two of the background questions in the last section:

If respondents had filled in the questionnaire and ticked 'Primary' or 'Secondary' for the first background section, they were included in the eligible group. If they ticked 'Other' and wrote subject areas such as 'Early childhood education' or 'Administration', they were not included. A few wrote 'Tertiary'; this was ambiguous and so I checked their responses to Question 4, which asked about subject areas. If these included subject areas which indicated pre-service teacher education such as 'Curriculum studies', they were included as eligible. Initial codings were then adjusted to determine the eligibility of respondents, resulting in preliminary total of 395 eligible and 107 ineligible responses.

Twenty-eight questionnaires were received back marked 'Return to sender', and these were added to the ineligible responses, to make a final total of 135 ineligible responses.

¹ One participant objected to the grammar of this question: I teach them, not am on them. (1109)

Four refusals were grouped with the other 301 non-responses (which may have led to a slight underestimation of the response rate).

Using these figures, the estimations of eligible and ineligible responses were then calculated in order to determine the response rate. The estimated *percentage of eligible people in the frame* was calculated by dividing the number of eligible responses by the number of eligible responses plus ineligible responses:

Estimated % eligible in frame

=	eligible responses
	eligible responses + ineligible responses
=	<u>395</u> 395 + 135
=	<u>395</u> 530
=	74.5%

Therefore, the estimated *number of eligible people in the frame* was calculated by multiplying the estimated percentage of eligible people in the frame by the number of questionnaires sent out:

Estimated no. eligible in frame

- = estimated % eligible *x* forms sent out
- = 74.5% x 831
- = 619

This is the estimated size of the target frame containing only people involved in pre-service teacher education for primary or secondary levels.

The estimated number of *eligible non-responses* was then calculated by subtracting the number of eligible questionnaires returned from the estimated number of eligible people in the frame:

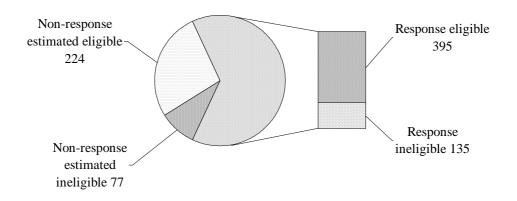
Estimated no. eligible non-response

- = estimated eligible in frame eligible responses
- = 619 395
- = 224

This is the non-response error, which the questionnaire was designed to minimise (see 4.2.4).

The structure of the sample frame is shown in Figure 5.1, which shows the different numbers in each of the categories.

Figure 5.1 Structure of the sample frame (Total number = 831)



The *estimated response rate* was then calculated by dividing the number of eligible responses by the estimated number of eligible people in the frame:

Estimated response rate

=	eligible responses estimated eligible people in frame
=	<u>395</u> 619
=	63.8%

This response rate of 63.8% means that nearly two people in three of those eligible sent back a response. Roberts (1999:176) discusses the response rates of postal questionnaires on language maintenance topics, citing examples ranging from 45% to 61%, and referring to others with much lower rates. The response rate in her study varied according to the community she was investigating and her relationship to the respondents: 36.2% from the Gujarati community where she

was an 'outsider', and 80.6% from the Dutch community where she used a 'friend of a friend' technique. This suggests that the 63.8% response rate gained in my study from a postal questionnaire by a researcher unknown to the respondents was good. The efforts which had been made to reduce the non-response error included its brevity, novel format in the use of scenarios, and use of incentives (see 4.2.4). A number of respondents identified this aim and reacted positively in their comments, as in the following examples:

I think the \$50 book voucher is a highly innovative way to encourage higher levels of participant responses! I hope I'm lucky. (3134)

Neat idea. I hope you get a lot of response. I am more than willing to participate in initiatives that people feel are important. I hope the voucher idea work for others. (4057)

The scenarios were excellent to focus your questions. Best wishes on your return rate. (3184)

This is an interesting questionnaire with equally interesting and real scenarios. Kia ora. Nga mihi. (3195)

There were also a few other respondents who were less happy with either the scenario format or the incentives:

I found the scenarios confusing - they also biased my responses!! Felt I was answering to the scenarios - is this what you wanted? Why not ask specific questions? Good luck! (3202)

I object, on ethical grounds, to being involved in a study that has financial incentives for educational research. It implies coercion rather than willing volunteers/participants. (2181)

However, this was a high response rate, and may also have reflected the high educational background of the participants, which has been identified as an important factor in rates of completion in postal surveys (Groves 1989: 205, see 4.2.4).

This level of response rate therefore indicated that the sample of respondents was a good reflection of the people in pre-service teacher education for the primary and secondary sectors. I now turn to a description of the sample, through the results in the last section of the questionnaire which elicited background information from the respondents.

5.3 Demographic background

Respondents were asked about their gender, age, ethnicity, and educational qualifications, in order to obtain a profile which might be compared with their attitudes towards language issues.

5.3.1 Gender

The data for the gender analysis was obtained through Background Question 7:

What is your gender?

The highest proportion of respondents was women, with 259 (66%) female compared to 135 (34%) male respondents, and 1 (0.25%) non-response.

Table 5.1 presents a comparison of the sample with Ministry of Education data for different types of institution. Although the academic staff in universities, polytechnics and wānanga will include staff teaching programmes other than teacher education, this data allows a broad comparison. It can be seen that the proportions are within 6% of each other in all cases except the universities, and consequently the overall proportions. The greatest proportion of women are found in the colleges of education in both the total population of New Zealand academic staff and in the current sample of teacher educators.

The over-representation of women in colleges of education staff, and underrepresentation in university staff, is a feature of the gender balance of tertiary staff, although it may be changing among younger tertiary teaching professionals (Ministry of Education 1999a: 14-15). As women are more likely to be interested in language issues (Shearn 2003), the high proportion of women might result in positive attitudes towards language issues.

Table 5.1Gender of tertiary academic staff in Aotearoa New Zealand,
total population and respondent sample
(Data from: Ministry of Education 2002c)

Institution type	Tota	l academic July 2001		Respondent sample Nov 2001 - Jan 2002		
	Perce	entages	No.	Percentages		No.
	Male	Female		Male	Female	
University	60	40	7901	38	62	128
Polytechnic	48	52	5313	50	50	14
College of Education	23	77	541	29	71	225
Wānanga	50	50	372	50	50	6
Private Tertiary Education Provider	49	51	4809	52	48	21
Overall	53	47	18936	34	66	394

5.3.2 Age

The information on age of respondents was gained from Background Question 8:

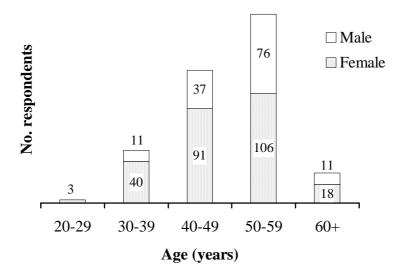
As would be expected for those in an tertiary education role, the majority of whom would have had classroom experience before becoming teacher educators, most respondents were aged between forty and sixty years, with the largest group in their fifties. This means that most would themselves have been educated in a prescriptive grammar-based language tradition, and a smaller number would be part of the 'lost generation' of learners without instruction in grammar or structure of language from the 1960s (Ministry of Education 1996a: 235). Their own experiences of language learning would probably be of French or Latin in a traditional grammar-translation methodology (see 5.6.2 below).

20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 +	No
years	years	years	years	years	response
3	51	128	182	29	2

Table 5.2	Age of respondents
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An analysis of these results by gender is given in Figure 5.2, which shows that the proportion of males to females increases in the higher age groups: the 30-39 year age group is just over a quarter male, while the largest age group of 50-59 years is nearly two thirds male. This is a common pattern in tertiary institutions (Ministry of Education 1999a: 15). As women are traditionally more involved in language issues (see above), this might mean that there is less interest in language issues among the more senior teacher educators.

Figure 5.2 Age and gender of respondents



5.3.3 Ethnicity

Data on the ethnic background of respondents was obtained through Background Question 9, in which respondents were able to choose one or more categories:

What ethni	What ethnic group do you identify with?			
□ Maori	□ Pakeha/European			
□ Other:				

Initial coding grouped the responses according to direct respondent choices, as shown in Table 5.3: 'Māori', 'Māori & Pākehā/European', 'Māori & Other', 'Pākehā/European', 'Pākehā/European & Other', 'Other'. Responses for 'Other' were then analysed, and four responses were reclassified, for example respondents who had identified tribal affiliations were assigned to 'Māori'. The remaining responses for 'Other' were put into subgroups where possible. The largest subgroup of 'Other' was of other English-speaking countries, which I called 'European', and this was followed by a Pasifika group. The remainder in 'Other' consisted of small groups of fewer than four respondents, and included 'New Zealander' and 'Earthling' (for ethnicity terms in Aotearoa New Zealand, see 1.5.2).

Table 5.3Ethnic identity of respondents

Ethnic group	No. (Total = 395)
Pākehā/European	311
Pākehā/European & Other	3
Māori	36
Māori & Pākehā/European	12
Māori & Other	2
Other ('European')	12
Other (Pasifika)	7
Other	12

These results are also shown in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3 Ethnic identity of respondents

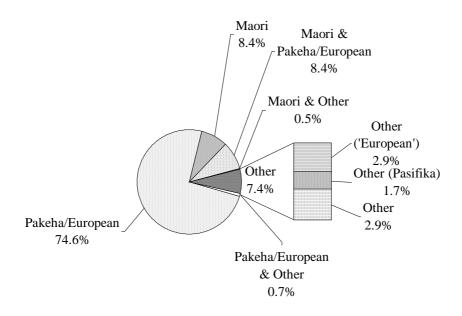
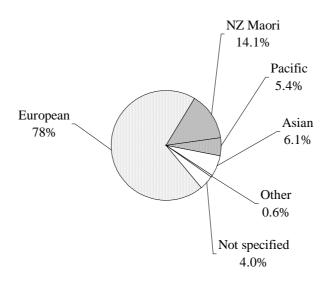


Figure 5.4 gives a comparison with census data from the general population. This chart has been drawn from Statistics New Zealand's prioritised ethnicity system, in which each respondent is allocated to a single ethnic group even if they gave more than one response in the census (Lang 2002: 12-13).

Figure 5.4 Ethnicity of general population, 2001 (Data from: Lang 2002: 12-13)



The charts show a similar overall composition of sample with the general population, with the same proportion (78%) of 'Europeans' if the 'Other'

Europeans in the teacher educators' group are added to the Pākehā/Europeans. The proportion of Māori was slightly higher in the teacher educators' group, at 16.8% compared with 14.1% in the general population, and the proportion of Pasifika people was lower, at 1.7% compared with 5.4% in the general population. However, there were no Asians in the teacher sample of teacher educators, compared to 6.1% in the general population. This would be expected given the recent increase in Asian migration to New Zealand, with a change of over 140% in the Asian population between 1991 and 2001 (Statistics New Zealand 2002a).

This result means that teacher educators are unlikely to have direct personal experience with these communities in either cultural or linguistic aspects, and will therefore have to base their teaching of strategies for migrant children on general principles. Although two-thirds of the Asian and Pacific populations are in the Auckland area (Statistics New Zealand 2002a), student teachers are being trained to teach in any area of the country.

It is interesting to compare the ethnic background of teacher educators with the population of student teachers, presented in 1.4.2. Of the 2001 primary student teachers 22.8% were Māori, 5.25% were Pacific, 1.69% were Asian, and 70.2% were Other, and of the 2001 secondary student teachers 15.8% were Māori, 4.56% were Pacific, 5.06% were Asian, and 74.6% were Other. The ethnic background of the secondary student teachers is therefore similar to the teacher educators, and both of these groups have less diversity than among the primary student teachers. As the ethnic diversity in both groups of student teachers is increasing, and teacher educators are largely drawn from the population of teachers, it might be assumed that the ethnic diversity of teacher educators will eventually also increase.

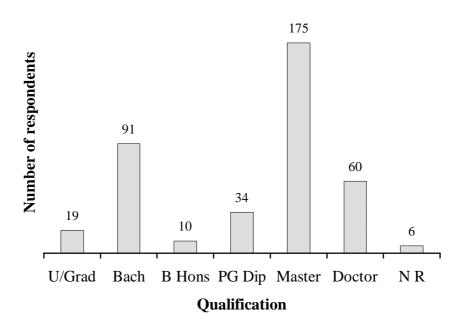
5.3.4 Educational qualifications

Background Question 10 asked about educational qualifications:

What is your highest educational qualification?

Responses were then grouped into 'Undergraduate', 'Bachelor', 'Bachelor (Hons)', 'Post-graduate diploma', 'Master', 'Doctor', and 'No response', as can be seen in Figure 5.5. The largest group consisted of those with a Master degree (175 or 44.3%), followed by those with a Bachelor degree (91 or 23%), then a Doctor degree (60 or 15.2%). Ten respondents (2.5%) had a Bachelor with Honours degree, and 34 (8.6%) had a Post-graduate Diploma. Nineteen (4.8%) had undergraduate diplomas or no tertiary qualifications; some of these would have qualified as teachers without Bachelor degrees. These results show that most of the respondents were highly qualified, and could be expected to have well-informed opinions about language issues.

Figure 5.5 Highest educational qualifications of respondents



5.4 Teaching background

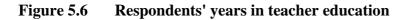
This section presents an overview of the respondents' background in teaching. It is divided into two questions, because many teacher educators have themselves been classroom teachers in schools prior to becoming teacher educators, some are seconded for short periods into teacher education, and some are part-time teacher educators while continuing as classroom teachers. The questions therefore examined teaching both in schools and in teacher education.

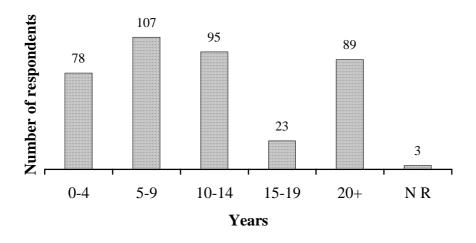
5.4.1 Years in teacher education

Background Question 5 asked respondents to identify the number of years they had been in teacher education:

```
For how many years have you been a teacher educator? \Box 0-4 \Box 5-9 \Box 10-14 \Box 15-19 \Box 20+
```

The results in Figure 5.6 show that the current cohort of teacher educators forms two groups: the first comprises those who have been in teacher education for up to fourteen years, and the second more than twenty years. This may represent two paths to teacher education: those who enter it early in their careers, and those who enter it after some years of school teaching.





Further analysis of this data shows that the 'missing' age cohort has caught up, in that the largest groups who have been employed from five to nine years are the 40-49 and 50-59 year age groups. It might be expected that there would be different attitudes expressed by those whose experience has been in an academic compared with a practical environment.

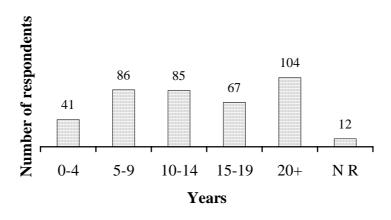
5.4.2 Years in classroom teaching

The second aspect of the respondents' teaching background was the number of years they had spent as a classroom teacher in schools, asked in Background Question 6:

```
For how many years have you been a classroom teacher? \Box 0-4 \Box 5-9 \Box 10-14 \Box 15-19 \Box 20+
```

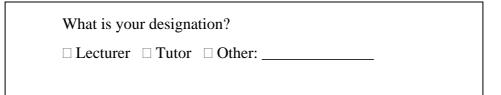
The results show a dip between 15 and 19 years, before rising again at over 20 years, as can be seen in Figure 5.7. This again may point to two different paths to teacher education: one as an early career move and another after a period as a classroom teacher.

Figure 5.7 Respondents' years in classroom teaching



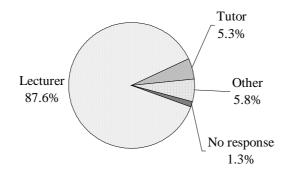
5.4.3 Designation on the programme

In order to clarify the role of respondents on the teacher education programme, Background Question 2 asked them to identify their designation:



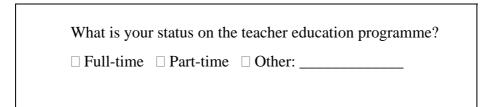
As shown in Figure 5.8 most respondents (346 or 87.6%) were lecturers, and might therefore be expected to have clearer and better-informed opinions than tutors.

Figure 5.8 Respondents' designation on teacher education programmes



5.4.4 Status on the programme

A final question to elicit information about respondents teaching background was Question 3, which asked respondents to identify their employment status on the teacher education programme:



As can be seen in Table 5.4, most (323 or 82%) respondents were full-time on the teacher education programmes, and would again therefore be expected to have more opportunity to reflect on issues such as language across the whole curriculum.

Status	Number (Total = 395)
Full-time	323
Part-time	4
Other	68
No response	0

Table 5.4Respondents' status on the teacher education programme

The results from this section therefore show that most of the teacher educators who responded to the questionnaire had more than five years of classroom experience, more than five years in teacher education, and were working as fulltime lecturers on the teacher education programmes. This means that their responses were likely to be well-informed.

5.5 Teacher education programmes

The teaching programmes which respondents taught on were analysed according to the target education sector and the subject area. These in fact interact, because teachers at primary level are generally expected to teach across all curriculum areas, while teachers at secondary level are subject specialists. This means that all primary teachers are expected to teach language subjects (English or Māori) explicitly, whereas teachers at secondary level might not perceive language issues to be part of their responsibility. The target education sector taught by respondents and their subject areas are now described in turn.

5.5.1 Target education sector taught by respondents

Background Question 1 asked respondents to identify the programmes they were teaching on. This question was used in conjunction with the first question in the questionnaire to determine the respondents' eligibility (see section 5.2 above):

What teacher education programmes do you teach on?			
□ Primary	□ Secondary	□ Other:	

The results are shown in Table 5.5 and Figure 5.9. As would be expected from the greater number of student teachers at primary level (see 1.4.2), the largest group of respondents at 44.3% were preparing students for the primary sector, with the second largest group a combination of primary and secondary at 21.9%. This contrasts with 5% of respondents preparing students for the secondary sector only. Data was not coded for the 'other' category, which included the early childhood and tertiary sectors.

Programme	Number (Total=395)
Primary only	190
Primary & Secondary	94
Primary & Secondary & Other	21
Primary & Other	49
Secondary only	56
Secondary & Other	4
Other only	4

Table 5.5Programmes taught by respondents

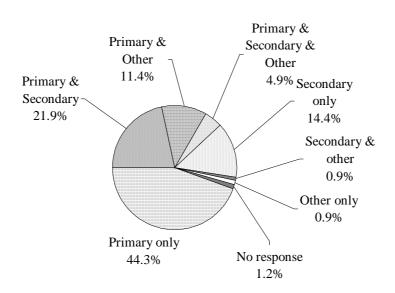
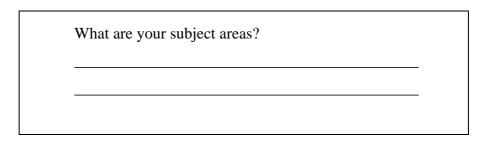


Figure 5.9 Target education sectors taught by respondents

5.5.2 Subject areas

The second area of interest about the teacher education programmes was the subject areas of respondents, asked in Background Question 4:



This open question elicited a wide range of subject areas at different levels of focus. For example some were very general ('education') while some were specific ('gender in education'), and some were for the development of the student teachers themselves ('research methods'), while others were the subjects they would be teaching ('English curriculum'). In some cases it was difficult to determine the level of focus ('academic writing'), so I combined them and coded the subjects into four main groups, each with three to five subgroups:

a Education subjects

These were divided into the three subgroups of professional practice, education theory, and special focus education (such as 'special education' or 'counselling'). In some cases the categories seemed to be overlapping, but I anticipated that there may have been different attitudes held by those teacher educators who were dealing with subjects from a theoretical viewpoint, and those who were dealing with the pragmatic realities of classroom teaching.

b Curriculum subjects

This was a group of specific curriculum subjects, with the six nonlanguage 'curriculum learning areas' from the New Zealand Curriculum all included.

c Culture subjects

This group included topics which overlapped with language as a focus of the questionnaire: multicultural education, Māori education, and Pasifika education.

d Language subjects

These included English, foreign languages, Māori and Language. These respondents would be expected to have well-formed attitudes about the issues in the questionnaire.

The full set of responses is shown in Table 5.6, with the groups and subgroups included.

Table 5.6Subject area codings

Code GROUPS

A EDUCATION SUBJECTS

-	
I	Professional practice
	professional -ism/studies/issues/inquiry/development/education, teaching & learning, teaching
	practice/experience, practicum, educational technology, curriculum/marautanga
	studies/issues/development, essential learning areas/ ELAs, learning support, assessment & evaluation,
	educational leadership/ management, school support, classroom management, planning, reflection
2	Education/ Mātauranga theory
	education issues/studies/history, curriculum theory/development/design, philosophy/politics of
	education, learning & motivation, educational psychology, lifelong learning, sociology/socio-culture
	(of the curriculum), gender/women in education, human/adolescent/child development, research
	methods/narrative, ethics & rights, individual difference, NZ educational reform
3	Education with special focus
	Christian education, adult education, alternative education delivery, distance/online education,
	special/gifted education, pedagogy in low decile schools, counselling, problem behaviours, narrative
	mediation

B ESSENTIAL LEARNING AREAS (non-language)

4	Mathematics/Pāngarau
	numeracy
5	Science/Pūtaiao
	chemistry, biology, science education
6	Arts/ Ngā toi
	art education /history, music, the arts, visual art, performing arts, drama, dance
7	Social studies/ Tikanga a-Iwi
	history, geography, social sciences, environmental education, classical studies, tourism, commerce
8	Technology /Hangarau
	technology education, information & communication technology (ICT), graphics, multimedia
9	Health and physical wellbeing/ Hauora
	physical education, coaching, outdoor education, sport, health education, sports medicine, physiology

C CULTURE SUBJECTS

10	Multicultural education
	multicultural studies, inter-cultural education/communication, ethnic relations, inclusive/multiethnic
	education, world views, culture, anti-racism, culturally responsive education, cultural & linguistic
	diversity, cultural dimensions
11	Māori education/Mātauranga Māori
	Māori methods of teaching & learning, Māori studies/Te ao Māori, teaching the Māori child, Treaty of
	Waitangi, Māori in mainstream
12	Pasifika education
	Pasifika studies, Pacific Nations, Pacific Island education

D LANGUAGE SUBJECTS

13	English and literacy (children's) literature, media studies, reading, writing, visual/oral language/communication skills, professional/academic writing/English
14	Foreign languages
	Japanese, French
15	Māori/Te reo
	(Māori) bilingual education, Māori medium/language immersion, Māori curriculum/ marautanga
	Māori
16	Language/Nga reo
	applied linguistics, language acquisition, ESOL, TESOL/TESSOL, teaching NESB students,
	bilingualism

Respondents identified between one and six subjects. Table 5.7 shows the number of respondents who identified subjects in each group. Approximately one third of respondents were involved in professional practice subjects, and less than a quarter in the more theoretical education subjects.

Similar numbers of respondents identified the six non-language essential learning areas as their subjects, with the highest number in arts (48 or 12%), followed by mathematics (46 or 11.6%), science (40 or 10%), social studies and health and physical wellbeing (37 or 9%) and technology (36 or 9%). This meant that any differences in attitudes according to subject area should have been evenly spread over the total group of respondents.

Fewer respondents identified particular cultural subjects; 29 in multicultural education, 20 in Māori education and 7 in Pasifika education. This is probably because these subjects are supplementary for the mainstream teacher education providers, and specialist Māori providers were much smaller. However, these numbers were also useful for a comparison of attitudes.

As would be expected given the topic of the questionnaire, a larger number of respondents identified English and literacy as a subject (65 or 16.5%). Although three respondents was a surprisingly small number involved in foreign language education, this may reflect the number of staff involved in that area of teacher education. More identified Māori language (19 or 4.8%), and more again identified language as their subject (29 or 7.3%). This last group would be expected to have the most coherent attitudes about the language topics in the questionnaire.

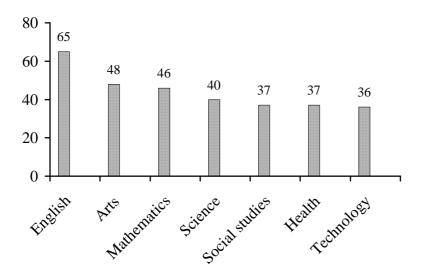
162

Subjects	Number (Max = 395)
Education	(wax = 395)
	128
Professional practice	90
Education/Mātauranga theory	
Education with a special focus	21
Essential learning areas (non-language)	
Mathematics/Pāngarau	46
Science/Pūtaiao	40
Arts/Ngā toi	48
Social studies/Tikanga a-Iwi	37
Technology/Hangaru	36
Health & physical wellbeing/ Hauora	37
Culture	
Multicultural education	29
Māori education/ Mātauranga Māori	20
Pasifika education	7
Language	
English and literacy	65
Foreign languages	3
Māori/Te reo	19
Language/ Ngā reo	29
No response	11

Table 5.7Subject areas of respondents

The numbers of respondents preparing teachers in each of the seven Essential Learning Areas of the New Zealand Curriculum is shown in Figure 5.10. English again has the highest number, followed by arts and mathematics. There were similar numbers of respondents teaching in each of the other areas: science, social studies, technology and health.





Therefore, the results from the questionnaire about the programmes taught by respondents show that they represent a wide range, both in the target sector they are preparing students for, and the curriculum and other subject areas. Languages and English were best represented, as might be predicted from the topics in the questionnaire which was certainly perceived to be most relevant to language specialists by some respondents (in spite of Scenario A referring to a mathematics lesson and Scenario B referring to social studies). This is evident in the following comments:

I am not an NESB expert. Limited experience in this area. My responses based on hunches rather than research! (2004) Although I speak several languages, I found the first scenario questions difficult to answer as I am not a language teacher. Sorry about the delay. (3126) I felt completely unable to help. My teaching background is science/biology at secondary level and language was never a

In light of these reactions it was pleasing that so many respondents from nonlanguage background areas completed the questionnaire.

5.6 Language background

consideration. (4149)

The respondents' personal experiences of language learning and bilingualism was predicted to affect their attitudes to language, and had been included in the theoretical model which underpinned the questionnaire development (see 2.5).

This section describes the respondents' first languages, the other languages they had learnt, and their study of linguistics.

5.6.1 First language at home

The information on respondents' first language was collected from Background Question 11:

What language did you speak *first* at home?

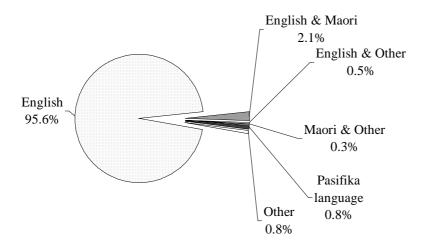
Table 5.8 shows that the majority (369 or 93.4%) of respondents spoke English, as would be expected from the ethnicity profile in which most identified themselves as Pākehā/European (see section 5.3.3 above). However, although 49 respondents identified themselves in the ethnicity question as Māori, Māori and Pākehā/European, or Māori and Other, only 17 respondents reported that Māori, or English and Māori, were the languages they had spoken first at home. This shows the overwhelming dominance of English, regardless of ethnic background, and in a sample which included staff from Māori education providers. There was a small number (three respondents or 0.7%) who reported speaking a Pasifika language as their first language, and three respondents reported speaking other languages which have not been identified in order to protect the respondents' confidentiality.

Language	Number (Total = 395)
English	369
Māori	9
English & Māori	8
Pasifika language	3
Other	3
English & Other	2

Table 5.8First languages of respondents

These results are also shown in Figure 5.11, in which the dominance of English is clearly seen. This may be a higher percentage of English speakers than in the population as a whole, in which 76.6% speak English only (see 1.2.1).

Figure 5.11 Respondents' first languages



5.6.2 Other languages learnt

Background Question 12 asked respondents to identify up to three languages they had learnt, and rank their ability in each on a five point scale:

Please choose up to the	00	•
highest ability, and ra	te your ability for	each one:
	No	Native
	ability	ability

Table 5.9 shows the numbers for each of the three languages identified by respondents, if the language was identified by at least four respondents as their other language of first, second or third highest ability.

As might be expected from the ages of the respondents (see section 5.3.2), French was the other language of highest ability for 164 (or over a third of) respondents. At the time when these respondents were in secondary and tertiary education, French was widely taught in New Zealand schools (Benton 1996: 70). Māori, as an official language and language of the indigenous people of this country, was identified by 96 respondents as the other language for which they had the highest ability, after which there was a drop to German, English, and Spanish. The other indigenous language of New Zealand is New Zealand Sign Language, but most respondents who identified a Sign Language did not specify which language, so Sign Languages have been coded together. The number of respondents who reported ability in Pasifika languages is also small; four identified Sāmoan as the other language in which they had highest ability, and one identified Tongan. As Sāmoan is the language which has the most speakers after English and Māori (Statistics New Zealand 2003b), the small number of respondents who have any ability in Sāmoan reflects its status and therefore attitudes towards it.

The overall number of respondents who did not report any ability in another language was 65 (16.4%); however, 95 (24%) respondents reported having learnt three other languages, with 93 reporting some ability in their language of third highest ability.

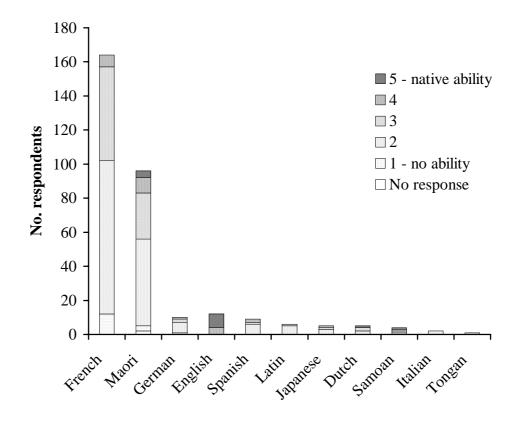
These responses show a generally high level of language learning by respondents, but this positive result changes when the level of ability is examined.

Language	Number						
		(Total for each = 395)					
	Language 1	Language 2	Language 3				
French	164	58	12				
Māori	96	50	30				
German	16	33	12				
English	12	2	0				
Spanish	9	10	1				
Latin	6	24	19				
Japanese	5	7	0				
Dutch	5	3	1				
Sāmoan	4	5	3				
Tongan	1	4	4				
Italian	2	4	3				
Sign Language	0	4	3				
Other	10	15	7				
None	65	176	300				

Table 5.9Languages learnt by respondents

The rankings for the respondents' language of highest ability can be seen in Figure 5.12. The most common ranking was '2', which was the next ranking choice up from 'no ability'. As these were the languages which respondents had their highest ability, their abilities were very low in languages other than their first languages. This shows that most of the respondents have had largely unsuccessful language learning experiences, and the attitudes they might be expected to have formed as a result of this would be that language learning is difficult. In addition, this might result in a focus on problems in bilingualism.

Figure 5.12 Languages learnt by respondents - highest ability



5.6.3 Study of linguistics

The third area of respondents' language background investigated through the questionnaire was their formal study of linguistics, asked in Background Question 13:

```
Have you ever taken a university-level credit course in linguistics?
```

It can be seen in Table 5.10 that although the majority (313 or 79%) of respondents had not studied linguistics at tertiary level, it had been studied by 79 people (or 20%). This seems quite a high proportion, given the wide range of subject areas taught by respondents, as reported in 5.5.2 above, and it may be that

having taken linguistics the teacher educators were more willing to respond to a questionnaire about language. This proportion should mean that the questionnaire responses were well-informed from a linguistics perspective for one fifth of respondents.

Table 5.10Linguistics study of respondents

Studied linguistics	Number (Total = 395)
Yes	79
No	313
No response	1

The results of the questions about the respondents' language background therefore present a mixed picture. The high level of language learning background and linguistics study indicates an interest among the respondents in language issues. However, the low ability resulting from the language learning shows that this interest may not have been reinforced by positive personal experiences in bilingualism.

5.7 Conclusions

The response rate of 63.8% means that the sample of teacher educators is likely to be a good reflection of the whole population of teacher educators, and this was supported by a comparison of gender with the whole population of academic staff in New Zealand tertiary institutions, and ethnic background with the general population.

The demographic background results provide a picture of teacher educators in Aotearoa New Zealand. This shows a largely female, Pākehā, English-speaking population, mostly aged between 40 and 60 years old and mostly with a Masters or Doctorate degree. The majority had over five years of classroom teaching in schools, and had over five years in teacher education. Nearly half were preparing teachers for the primary sector only, with a further quarter for both the primary and secondary sectors. There was a wide range of subject areas represented,

although with an emphasis on language subjects. The respondents' own language backgrounds included a high level of language learning, particularly of the European languages French and German, but with low amounts of ability as a result. Nearly 20% of respondents had studied linguistics.

These results therefore demonstrate that most of the teacher educators do not have personal experience of biculturalism or bilingualism. Their attitudes might consequently be expected to reflect a viewpoint that bilingualism is not the norm, although this may be tempered by what they have learnt in their study of linguistics for some people. In Chapter 9 this prediction will be examined through a comparison of the background variables with the other questionnaire results from Scenarios A, B, and C. The following three chapters will describe and discuss these scenario results.

Results from background questions

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION FOR SCENARIO A: A BILINGUAL CHILD IN THE CLASSROOM

From: *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* **Over the teacups: Life's funny moments** 25 March 2002, p. 62

Language skills

"Nan you have to speak te reo Māori to me so I don't forget it," my kōhanga reo grandson told me. "But Nan can't speak te reo Māori," I answered. "Gosh, Nan," he said in shock, "Didn't you go to school?"

Megan Simmonds, Taupo

6.1 Introduction

The first scenario focused on the classroom practice of a teacher of a bilingual child from one of six language groups: Māori (Marama and Hone), French (Marie and Jean), Sāmoan (Mele and Ioane), Korean (Mi-na and Jeong-Hwa), Russian (Mariya and Vanechka) or Somali (Mariam and Jwahir). It aimed to explore issues around the use or support of the child's mother tongue in the classroom, through questions facing a student teacher and her associate teacher while on teaching practice:

One of your trainees has been teaching a maths unit as part of her teaching practice at a primary school. There are several parents who help the class. One is a [language] woman, [mother], mother of a Year 3 boy, [son]. The family are fluent speakers of [language], which they use at home.

There were five questions following this statement, and results from each of the five parts to the scenario will now be presented in turn.

Comments by respondents have been included to illustrate themes in the responses. After each of the comments which are quoted I have also included:

- the confidential coding I used for checking purposes
- the language group they were responding for
- a number corresponding to the rating they gave:
 - 0 =no rating

1 = 'Very' to 5 = 'Not at all'

6 = 'Undecided'

Each set of results is then analysed in relation to the 'bilingual-supportive' response determined from the sociolinguistics literature (see 4.4 and 9.3.1). For two of the questions there were significant differences according to the language the respondents were given in the scenario, and this is also discussed with the relevant question.

The chapter concludes with a summary of the main results from the scenario.

6.2 Scenario A Question (a): 'L1 in the classroom'

The first question aimed at eliciting attitudes towards the use of the child's first language for a task in a non-language curriculum area:

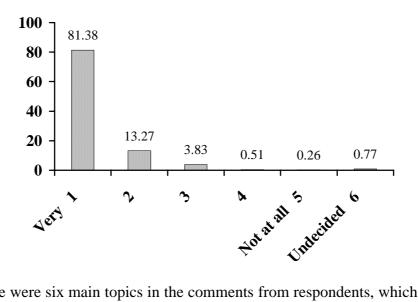
Your trainee notices [mother] speaking to [son] in [language] while she is helping him with his maths activities. How useful is it for them to speak about the task in [language]?

The strongly bilingual-supportive response for this question would be that it is 'very' useful, with a rating of '1'.

6.2.1 Results for 'L1 in the classroom'

As shown in Figure 6.1, a large majority of respondents (81.38%) gave the strongly bilingual-supportive response that it was 'very' useful for the mother and child to speak about a mathematics task in the classroom in the child's first language.

Figure 6.1 Results for 'L1 in the classroom' Scenario A Question (a)(Percentages, N = 392, max = 395)



There were six main topics in the comments from respondents, which will now be discussed in turn: cognitive development, social benefits, first language maintenance, support for the family's educational goals, a transition to English, the mother's competence.

Cognitive development

A common topic in the comments was the emphasis on subject area learning rather than language learning in the mathematics lesson:

The focus here is mathematical understandings not English language. Use of first language will contribute to interrogation of the concepts. (1061 Somali 1)

Confidence is needed to learn maths in whatever language. (2001 Māori 1)

The focus in these responses was therefore on the child's cognitive development. This is supported in the literature by writers such as Carrasquillo and Rodríguez (2002: 162), who emphasise the need for children with limited English proficiency to discuss ideas in the content areas: Mathematical language must be used in order for it to develop and be mastered. Encourage the use of English, but do not discourage students from using their first language.

Kennedy and Dewar (1997: 144) found that teachers in their New Zealand study 'frequently commented that help from parents and teacher aides was an invaluable backup and support for them in the classroom'. Their case studies include mention of bilingual vocabulary work, which links to Cummins' (2000: 161) focus on the importance of lexical knowledge in measuring performance in all content areas. Hill and Hawk (2000) also mention bilingual vocabulary work in their description of effective teaching practices in low decile multicultural schools in New Zealand.

Social benefits

In addition to cognitive benefits, the social benefits of including the child's first language in the school programme were mentioned by some respondents:

I am presently doing some teaching in a Sāmoan bilingual class and have seen the self-esteem of the children develop due to the inclusion of Sāmoan speakers. (4018 Sāmoan 1) We learn the strongest in our "heart tongue" - our first language. (2063 Somali 1)

Skutnabb-Kangas has discussed the symbolic representation a mother tongue has of a speaker's whole person (1981: 52), and the negative effects when a child does not understand the language of instruction (1981: 118).

First language maintenance

Another strong focus in the comments was the direct support of the child's bilingualism. In some cases this emphasised the opportunity for first language maintenance:

It is important to retain the first language. (3092 Korean 1) $% \left(\left({{{\left({{{\left({{{\left({{{\left({{{\left({{{}}}} \right)}}} \right)}}}}} \right)_{ij}}} \right)} \right)$

French, I am assuming, is the family's first language. Speaking in French acknowledges their language and therefore their culture; models to other children that the child is multilingual or at least bilingual and affirms this; and might help the child understand further.(1009 French 1)

This positive response towards use of the child's first language reflects the growing evidence since Peal and Lambert's 1962 research in support of the advantages of bilingualism, and the social diversity it represents (Corson 1998: 161, Baker 2001: 141).

Support for the family's educational goals

Another issue raised in support of the use of the child's language was the importance of supporting the family's educational goals and decisions about the child's language use:

They have decided it is important and therefore it must be. (3084 French 1)

It locates the maths activities within the whanau who take ownership of their son's school work. In an ideal world this would be top. (3195 Sāmoan 1)

This was related to comments in support of the mother's participation in the classroom programme:

It is important that Mele's contribution to her child's education, and desire to participate in the programme, is positively acknowledged. (1016 Sāmoan 1)

The participation of community members as partners in their children's education is one of Cummins' (2000:47) four 'empowering' role definitions for education with culturally diverse groups (Cummins 2000: 47; Baker 2001: 395).

A transition to English

However, some respondents focused on the benefits of using the child's first language in order to facilitate a transition to English:

Concept development in the first language is likely to be transferred to English therefore L1 use is to be encouraged. (3168 Korean 1)

Facilitates the 'conceptual' knowledge - which can subsequently be 'translated' into English. (2076 Māori 1)

Although this scenario does not describe a formal bilingual programme, the approach described in these comments corresponds to Skutnabb-Kangas' (1981: 127) 'soft human assimilation', a type of transitional bilingual education which she says often results in failure because the children have only superficial fluency and ability (1981: 131). This also relates to Baker's 'weak' form of bilingualism leading to monolingualism (Baker 2000a: 117).

The mother's competence

Some respondents were more wary about the uses of the child's first language. Although their ratings were still largely bilingual-supportive, some thought that the use of his first language would only be justified in order to help him understand the classroom work:

If Ioane does not understand the language of instruction. Otherwise, probably not. (3126 Sāmoan 1) Catch 22 here: • She can clarify concepts in his language. • But, [this] makes it difficult to conceptualise in English. (2123 Sāmoan 3)

Others were unsure whether the mother's mathematics knowledge would be adequate to help her son:

[Very] if we can be sure Mariam is passing on correct information. [Not at all] if she is passing on faulty learning. (3173 Somali 1)

In order to be sure that the mother is conversant with the maths curriculum, the trainee needs to have some understanding of Te Reo - for the parent /child extremely so. (1042 Māori 1)

These comments were connected to a question from one respondent about differences in the constructs of mathematics between English and the child's language and culture:

It depends - at one level the mother may not be conscious of the language she uses - at another level the question arises "How do maths concepts coincide with Sāmoan constructs of number and pattern"? (4124 Sāmoan 3)

The importance of incorporating cultural frameworks of learning has been stressed in the Pacific context by educators such as Thaman (2000, 2002), as a way of addressing the underachievement of Pasifika students in Western education systems. The positive aspects of different cultural perspectives outlined in her work do not seem to be reflected in the comments by respondents above, who have raised them as problems for the children.

Only one respondent questioned whether the conversation was 'on task':

We assume the conversation is about maths! (4140 Russian 1) Therefore, the fear raised in the initial interviews that the classroom teacher would not understand what was going on (see 4.3.3) was not represented in the questionnaire responses.

6.2.2 Summary and discussion of 'L1 in the classroom'

The strongly bilingual-supportive answer for this question was that it would be 'very' useful for the mother to speak to her son in his first language while helping him with his mathematics activities. This would not only help him understand the task at hand, but also support his first language development in an additive bilingualism model. A large majority of the respondents (81.38%) gave this response, which was therefore supportive of bilingualism in the classroom, mostly in a 'strong' form leading to the child's bilingualism rather than a 'weak' or 'submersion' form leading to monolingualism (Baker 2000a: 117; 2000b: 93). This is supported in the results of much research literature which shows that developing a bilingual child's academic ability in two languages is related to a higher level of metalinguistic, academic, and cognitive functioning (Cummins 2000: 182; Corson 1998: 162).

The topics raised in comments by respondents for this question are given in Table 6.1. These are largely supportive of the first language, although other issues were also raised.

Topics

Cognitive development Social benefits First language maintenance Support for the family's educational goals A transition to English The mother's competence

Some respondents who strongly agreed with the use of the child's language stated that this was in order to facilitate the children's acquisition of and transfer to English, which is a subtractive bilingualism end result. The focus on English is also frequent in educational literature such as by United States educators Carrasquillo and Rodríguez (2002: 175), who although advocating bilingualism in a subtractive model as the way to best facilitate transition to English, nevertheless point out several advantages of including parents from diverse linguistic and

cultural backgrounds in the classroom. In Cummins' (2000: 45) model of intervention for collaborative empowerment, community participation is regarded as part of a transformative orientation, reflected in micro-interactions between educators and students. He points out that this can 'challenge the operation of coercive power structures' (Cummins 2000: 45).

6.3 Scenario A Question (b): 'English-only in the classroom'

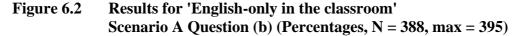
The second question in this scenario investigated attitudes towards the compulsory use of English in the classroom:

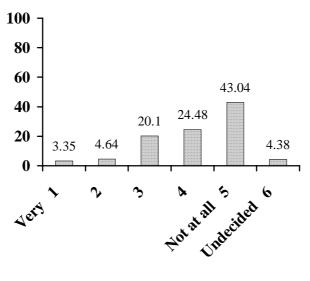
The class teacher has said that he encourages the children to use English at all times in the classroom. How important is it for the children to speak only in English in the classroom?

The strongly bilingual-supportive response for this question was that it was 'not at all' important for children to speak only in English, with a rating of '5'.

6.3.1 Overall results for 'English-only in the classroom'

As can be seen in Figure 6.2, over two thirds (43.04 + 24.48 = 67.52%) of the teacher educators did not support an 'English-only' policy in the classroom. This was therefore a majority who gave a bilingual-supportive response.





The comments for this question could be classified into four main topics: antiracism, bilingual development, bilingual teachers, and the importance of English. These will now be discussed in turn.

Anti-racism

Most of the comments were strongly against an 'English-only' policy in the classroom, often linking this to an anti-racist discourse:

Language is about communication, not social engineering. (1107 Russian 5) Shades of Nazi Germany here, I feel. (3205 Somali 5) Teacher needs to celebrate all languages and promote [them] in the class. (2038 Māori 5)

This may reflect Donn and Schick's (1995: 70) comment that some New Zealand schools address race relations issues through policies to foster the use and teaching of community languages within the school.

Bilingual development

Some respondents made an explicit link to bilingual development in their comments:

Denying NESB children access to their first language denies them their greatest resource. Bilingual development should be encouraged not suppressed. (3168 Korean 4)

All education is enhanced by inclusion – New Zealand is a bilingual society. (4039 Māori 5)

This related to the special case of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, noted by some respondents:

Really important to value and use children's language. Treaty obligation to promote both Māori and English. (3074 Māori 5)

This demonstrates a change from the well-known historical policy of 'Englishonly' in New Zealand schools for Māori until the 1950s (see 1.2.1), the educational reasons for which are described in Donn and Schick (1995: 36):

Although the 1880 Native Schools Code allowed for the translation of Māori to English, mostly in junior classes, the practice was limited. The Native Schools Code made it clear that English was to be the language of instruction. It was believed that a second language would be learnt more quickly if the first language was not spoken at all.

However, the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education 1993: 7) now emphasises the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi and the place of Māori language and culture in the curriculum. One respondent queried whether the change might now be causing the opposite problem for first language Englishspeaking children in Māori immersion classes:

[Note] Is this not the mistake made with Māori children in the past? I see a similar thing happening in Kura Kaupapa Māori and it bothers me a little. (2115 French 5)

The concern about the place of English for many Māori children for whom English is their first language has also been raised by Hornberger (2002: 19) and Cummins (2000: 21-22). Cummins (2000: 194) points out that an assumption that the transfer of skills will automatically happen from Māori to English is 'seriously flawed'.

In contrast, some respondents emphasised bilingualism as a transition to English:

Ideally a mixture so child can understand - gradually diminish native language. (4035 Russian 3)

Other respondents who thought it was 'not at all' important to speak only in English still expressed some reservations, or did not seem to have considered the issues before:

As long as they are inclusive of any individual who cannot speak Māori. (3186 Māori 5)

I think it unrealistic and not necessary - even unhelpful at times. Obviously it will be important for the children to use English most of the time. (4028 Somali 4)

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I am unaware of the issues surrounding this question. (4065 Somali 5)
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In these cases it was interesting that respondents nonetheless gave the strongly bilingual-supportive response.

Bilingual teachers

However, some respondents took the bilingual emphasis even further, by turning the question around to become a problem with the teacher's language abilities:

The teacher should be able to be flexible and learn Māori as well. (4074 Māori 4) Based on (1) a misconception of how children learn English and (2) teachers' monolingual inadequacies. (1176 Russian 5)

This parallels an early policy in Aotearoa New Zealand, whereby teachers of Māori children were expected to have some knowledge of their Māori language (May 2001: 295). An extension of this idea has been described by Martin Blaker and Hardman (2001: 4), in relation to a pilot project undertaken in Auckland to train African refugees to teach literacy to their own people. They point out that it is obvious that educational results will be poor if a teacher is only able to communicate with the learners at a very basic level. This view was echoed in comments by some respondents:

L1 assists learning in English. If you don't have some English it's pretty stupid to be expected to limit your contributions to English only. (2130 Korean 4)

Got to understand the language before they can use it. (2085 Sāmoan 4)

Hill and Hawk's (2000) research on effective teaching practices noted that the effective teachers seemed to regard the children using their own languages as normal, and some actively encouraged it. Another respondent thought it depended on the nature of the class:

Children should use [their] Mother Tongue in class. Depends upon the goal of the class too (if bilingual class or not). This is a right - see UNCROC [United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child]. (1065 Somali 3)

The UNCROC declaration is among a number of United Nations documents covering linguistic human rights, extracts of which are provided in Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's (1995) advocacy of linguistic human rights as a means to social justice.

The importance of English

Only 8% (3.35 + 4.64 = 7.99%) of respondents clearly supported an 'English-only' policy in the classroom. Some of the comments from these respondents emphasised the importance of providing a supportive environment for learning English:

I really believe this. The playground, the home are not the formal learning environment and becoming proficient in spoken English should be high priority. (1087 Sāmoan 1)

New Zealand is an English speaking country. Immigrants should expect to develop fluency in English without losing their mother tongue. (1201 Korean 1)

These are a direct repeat of the former policies for Māori language noted above. Others emphasised the importance of English for social cohesion:

Otherwise he will never learn to speak with confidence or competence. (3030 Somali 1) It is better if they use English as a common language. It saves confusion.(4123 Sāmoan 2)

These comments illustrate Cummins' (2000: 232) description of the two main reasons for opposition to bilingual programmes: the first is through a racist and xenophobic belief in the divisiveness of multicultural public policy, the second is a 'common sense view' that children learning English 'should be immersed in English as the self-evidently best way to learn the language'. Although the scenario in my study does not refer to the formal type of bilingual programme referred to by Cummins, there is a similar discourse in the opposition to bilingualism expressed in these comments.

6.3.2 Language effect for 'English-only in the classroom'

Although individual respondents were not asked to compare different languages, it was possible to compare the difference in response among the whole population for different languages by aggregating the responses for the whole group. Figure 6.3 shows the rankings given to each language by the respondents who received them.

It can be seen that respondents given scenarios with the Māori or French child were least likely to support an English-only policy in the classroom: 81.16%

(26.09% + 55.07%) of respondents given the Māori scenario responded negatively to the importance of 'English-only' in the classroom, and 79.66% (22.03% + 57.63%) of those given the French scenario responded negatively. However, it is interesting to note that approximately one quarter of respondents chose the middle response, in other words speaking English only was neither 'very' important nor 'not at all' important for those responding to scenarios with Sāmoan (26.87%), Russian (23.19%) or Somali (29.69%) children.

100 -						
80 -						
60 -						
40 -					_	
20 -						
0 -						
	Maori	French	Samoan	Korean	Russian	Somali
	Maori N = 69	French $N = 59$			Russian N = 69	
Undecided						
□ Undecided □ Not at all	N = 69	N = 59	N = 67	N = 60	N = 69	N = 64
	N = 69 5.8	N = 59 1.69	N = 67 4.48	N = 60 8.33	N = 69 2.9	N = 64 3.13
□ Not at all	N = 69 5.8 55.07	N = 59 1.69 57.63	N = 67 4.48 32.84	N = 60 8.33 38.33	N = 69 2.9 39.13	N = 64 3.13 35.94
□ Not at all □	N = 69 5.8 55.07 26.09	N = 59 1.69 57.63 22.03	N = 67 4.48 32.84 25.37	N = 60 8.33 38.33 25	N = 69 2.9 39.13 30.43	N = 64 3.13 35.94 17.19

Figure 6.3 Results by language for 'English-only in the classroom' Scenario A Question (b) (Percentages)

An Anova test using difference of means was carried out to see whether these differences between the responses to each language were significant, with the 'undecided' responses removed. This showed that the language of the mother and child in the scenario version had a strong effect on responses to the importance of the children speaking only in English in the classroom (F = 4.28, df = 5, 348, p = 0.0009).

As the Anova test had established that there was a significant difference between languages, it was therefore necessary to examine which languages were different from the others. The mean scores given by respondents to each scenario version can be seen in Table 6.2. This shows that in scenarios with Māori and French, speaking only in English was more likely to be rated 'not at all' important, whereas in scenarios with Korean or Somali it was more likely to be rated as 'very' important.

Table 6.2Mean responses by language for 'English-only in the
classroom'
Scenario A Question (b) (max = 5)

Māori	French	Sāmoan	Korean	Russian	Somali
4.43	4.33	3.81	3.89	4.07	3.68

A further analysis of these results looked at the Anova at a finer level to examine the probabilities that the mean ratings for each language were different from each other, in other words the probabilities of the differences between each pair of languages occurring by chance. Table 6.3 shows that these probabilities were very small in three cases: Māori and Sāmoan (p = 0.0010), Māori and Somali (p < 0.0001), and French and Somali (p = 0.0008).

Table 6.3Comparison of languages for 'English-only in the classroom'
Scenario A Question (b)
Significance levels (p) for pairwise comparisons1

	Māori	French	Sāmoan	Korean	Russian
Māori					
French	0.5884				
Sāmoan	0.0010	0.0074			
Korean	0.0055	0.0284	0.6862		
Russian	0.0532	0.1819	0.1559	0.3390	
Somali	<.0001	0.0008	0.4727	0.2752	0.0332

As respondents with Māori or French scenarios were least likely to have rated speaking only in English as 'very' important, this difference means that for the whole population of respondents an 'English-only' policy in the classroom was

¹ As tabulated significance levels for pairwise comparisons take no account of the number of such tests, to control for overall 'experimentwise' error levels within questions, the tabulated significance levels (when small) need to be multiplied by the number of tests (15) to a first (and conservative) approximation. For this reason only tabulated significance levels less than or equal to 0.05/15 = 0.0033 have been highlighted in the tables.

least likely to be supported for Māori and French children, and most likely for Sāmoan and Somali children.

The importance accorded to the Māori language would be expected as the language of the indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand and an official language since 1987 (Waite 1992b: 30). The particular importance for Māori had been noted in some comments, even when respondents did not receive a scenario with a Māori child:

Other languages (e.g. Māori) will also be used. English should be encouraged but not made compulsory. (2173 Somali 5)

Donn and Schick (1995: 43) point out that the National Education Guidelines require schools to recognise the different cultural backgrounds of students in their charters, and they specifically emphasise participation by Māori and education in te reo Māori. However, as the following comment acknowledges, some children in New Zealand schools are here for a foreign language education:

Depends - fee paying Korean students - probably mostly yes. Māori or other groups - probably not. (4145 Māori 0)

The support for French is in accord with Skutnabb-Kangas' (1981: 95-96) discussion of 'cultural bilingualism', which she points out is usually used for adults learning a 'major' European language, and may reflect an older (European) ideal of 'the educated person' who had learnt some of these 'languages of culture'. Waite (1992b: 70) discusses the importance French has had as one of two 'traditional' languages (with Latin) in the New Zealand education system, with more students learning French than any other language in schools and university from 1970 to 1990. Although the Japanese and Māori languages overtook French in the 1990s, by 1999 French was once again studied by the highest number of students at high school (Ministry of Education 1993, see 1.2.4).

The contrast with that of responses to the Sāmoan and Somali scenarios may reflect the negative picture of Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand in terms of educational achievement, health status and employment (Pasikale 2002: 114), and the marginalisation of refugees within our society (Altinkaya and Omundsen n.d.: 13). Nur Abdi, Ahmed, Elmi, Hussein, Hussein and Hussein (2002) explain some of the problems for Somali parents, many of whom have not had any formal

education themselves and find it difficult to understand the school system in this country.

6.3.3 Summary and discussion of 'English-only in the classroom'

The strongly bilingual-supportive response for the second question in this scenario was that it was 'not at all' important for the children to speak only in English in the classroom. The largest group of teacher educators (43.04%) agreed with this, and therefore the results for this question again generally support an additive form of bilingualism. However, this support was lower than for the first question in the scenario, and it was interesting to see that nearly 8% of respondents supported an English-only policy, repeating the same discourse that was used to suppress Māori in the past.

The topics of the comments by respondents for this question are shown in Table 6.4. These show support for other languages mixed with the importance of English.

Table 6.4 Topics in comments for 'English-only in the classroom'

Topics

Anti-racism Bilingual development Bilingual teachers The importance of English

There was a statistically significant difference in responses for the language groups; those respondents who had been given a scenario with a Māori or French mother and child were more likely to give the bilingual-supportive response than those who had been given a scenario with a Sāmoan or Somali mother and child. The difference between attitudes towards these two groups is similar to that described by Cummins (2000: 18) in San Francisco, where private French-English bilingual schools have high status, but public school Spanish-English bilingual

education was voted out in a referendum. He describes the wider educational discourse this exemplifies:

French-English bilingual education is prestigious and legitimate whereas Spanish-English bilingual education is neither; bilingual education is 'the best of two educational worlds' for those whose parents are wealthy enough to pay for a private school, but it causes educational failure among low-income public school students. Bilingualism is good for the rich but bad for the poor.

This parallels the situation in Aotearoa New Zealand, where people from all the groups represented in the questionnaire are more likely to have a lower income than Pākehā New Zealanders.

These results therefore show a difference in the value of bilingualism according to social rather than linguistic factors, which may account for the variety of support in the comments.

6.4 Scenario A Question (c): 'Writing in L1'

The third question in this scenario aimed at determining attitudes towards maintenance of the children's biliteracy:

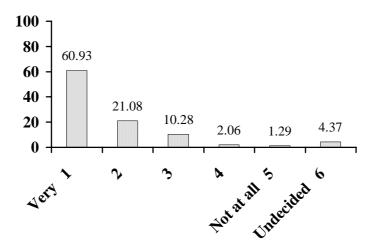
Your trainee suggests that it might be possible to get [mother] to help [son] and another [language] child in the class to write some stories in [language. How useful will it be to encourage the children to write some stories in [language]?

The strongly bilingual-supportive response for this question was that it would be 'very' useful to encourage the children to write stories in their language, with a rating of '1'.

6.4.1 Results for 'Writing in L1'

As can be seen in Figure 6.4, the majority of respondents (60.93 + 20.08 = 80.01%) thought it would be useful to encourage children to write in their first language.

Figure 6.4 Results for 'Writing in L1' Scenario A Question (c) (Percentages, N = 389, max = 395)



There were five main topics mentioned in the comments for this question, which will now be covered in turn: the social effects of first language use, the cognitive benefits of biliteracy, language awareness, benefits for other children, and practical issues.

The social effects of first language use

Many of the comments emphasised the social benefits of biliteracy for the child:

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Can do so much for the child's self-esteem and efficacy.
(1042 Māori 1)
Encourages culture. (4058 Korean 2)
```

These social benefits of encouraging the speaking, reading and writing ability of NESB children in their first languages are emphasised in Donn and Schick's (1997: 139) study of practices promoting positive race relations in New Zealand schools, particularly in 'bridging their "old and new lives". Other respondents emphasised first language maintenance:

Maintenance and fluency in first language is essential. (2020 Korean 1)

Kennedy and Dewar's study of programmes and support for NESB students in New Zealand's schools quoted one intermediate school ESOL co-ordinator / Deputy principal who pointed out that the children do not always want to write in their first language (1997: 139):

Until they've built up a vocabulary of English language, we allow them to do all their writing [in their first language], then bilingual writing. We encourage them to do bilingual writing - they hate doing it, they want to write in English but we try to encourage them to retain their home language as well.

This resistance may indicate the children's wish to fit in with others (see 6.6.1 below). One respondent, although strongly agreeing with the child writing stories in his first language, was wary of an element of compulsion:

Particularly if children self-identify as Māori. If [they] don't want to it would be oppressive. (4181 Māori 1)

Hornberger (2002: 19) has critiqued the role of English in Māori immersion schools, stating that it seems to be inadequately specified, and that the 'ecological' relations between languages should not be overlooked in multilingual environments in or out of schools.

The cognitive benefits of biliteracy

Other comments specifically identified the benefits of bilingual development:

Must be encouraged to write their own language as well as speak it. Being bilingual is an asset to the child. (3033 Russian 1)

This is the way to biliteracy. Children's meaning making and semiotic processes are embedded in [their] Mother Tongue. (1065 Somali 1)

This reflects Baker's (2000b: 107) view that biliteracy gives bilingual children gains in school performance, with cognitive and cultural advantages. One respondent noted an explicit benefit for the development of the children's ability across the curriculum:

They can demonstrate knowledge and understanding of tasks and skills, by using their strongest language. (1212 Russian 1)

Blackledge (1994: 43) found that bilingual children's work 'would sometimes improve dramatically' when they used their first language, particularly when telling stories. It is an example of the 'sociocultural literacy' approach outlined by Baker (2000b: 112), which argues that literacy is 'most easily and effectively' learned in the child's first language.

Language awareness

One supportive view identified the development of explicit language awareness in bilingual children:

First language underpins learning in other languages. Language patterns and structures are revealed. (3154 French 1)

The metalinguistic advantages for bilingual children have been identified by a number of researchers (Cummins 2000 182; Corson 1998: 162). Savva (1990: 250) describes the ability of a nine-year old Punjabi child in England to discuss the differences in language structure between her first language and English after writing the same story in both languages. This idea was developed in one respondent's mention of critical literacy:

This gives the children a critical perspective of languages which is often lacking in schools. I encourage the engagement of language perspectives so they are taught 'about' language as well as learning language. (2025 Somali 1)

In a critical literacy approach at school level, children are encouraged to include their own experiences in considering the alternative interpretations of texts, in particular the ideological perspective of the writer (Baker 2001: 336-337; Carrasquillo and Rodríguez 2002: 92). Cummins (2000: 263) describes how critical literacy is part of a transformative pedagogy which is 'an essential orientation in reversing the underachievement of culturally and linguistically diverse students'. An emphasis on empowerment was shown in comments by some respondents:

Empowerment and in the listeners' / readers' curiosity - Ioane will have to translate. Great! (4051 Sāmoan 1)

Empowering for a child who is confident [in] Māori and less so in English to have an opportunity for self-expression. (3006 Māori 3)

One respondent gave a cryptic comment linking the response to social theory:

Cultural capital, Bourdieu. (2123 Sāmoan 3)

Bourdieu's concepts of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital are analysed in relation to the teaching, learning and use of English by Pennycook (1997). In his discussion of the cultural capital of English, Pennycook (1997: 57) suggests that we need to ask what cultures, discourses, and ideologies are taught with English, and how to address the 'false promises' that may be held out by the acquisition of a good command of English. It may have been these false promises that the respondent above was referring to with this comment and the middle rating. Pennycook's analysis has been challenged by Sower (1998), who points out the problems of using Marxist structural analyses in the light of the collapse of Marxist regimes. However, Pennycook (2001: 44-45) states that his approach wishes to avoid the reductionism of Marxism through a view of language which focuses on the construction of social relations rather than as 'merely a reflection of society or a tool of ideological manipulation'.

Benefits for other children

The necessity for benefits to other children in the class were emphasised in some comments:

Gives success, practises the writing process, expands horizon of others in class, children can assist each other. Some sharing of content with rest would be good. (2131 Korean 1)

The concept of minority languages being used as a resource in language awareness work in British schools has been critiqued by Bhatt and Martin-Jones (1992). They point out that without a clear critical and anti-racist perspective there is a danger of representing community languages as 'exotica, as decontextualised emblems of diversity', only benefiting the monolingual students in the class (1992: 295). They advocate more support for the status of minority languages (1992: 298), a position which was indicated in the following respondent's comment:

Fantastic. Maybe some non-Sāmoan children will join the group. I hope the school will pay Mele. (3194 Sāmoan 1)

The New Zealand Ministry of Education's (1999) handbook for schools with NESB students states that schools need to develop policy and procedures for employing bilingual staff (1999: 53), although it appears that much of the bilingual support in schools is without any payment (Kennedy and Dewar 1997: 144-147, 161).

Practical issues

Some respondents supported the story writing in the child's first language as facilitating his transition to English:

Then they can be translated into English and written by the children in English. Often the teacher scribes the translation and the children copy what was written. (2145 Māori 1)

Quite a good way of getting a real story in English if the teacher /child /parent work together to translate. (1044 French 2)

However, this was turned around by another respondent who suggested that writing in the first language might facilitate a transition from English to the first language:

Transferring skills learnt in English to the French medium, multiple skill development. (2007 French 1)

Baker (2001: 353) reports that this type of biliteracy, where children learn in their second language before their first language, is the model successfully used in immersion education in Canada (although in that case the first language is the majority language, English). Some respondents who gave non-bilingual-supportive responses expressed worries about the teacher understanding the child's work:

Might be difficult if the teacher has no background in French. (3190 French 4) $\,$

This anxiety is discussed by Blackledge (1994: 51), who points out that when children use languages that monolingual teachers cannot understand, the teachers 'may be frustrated or even threatened', and that assessment might become difficult (as was raised in my initial interviews, see 4.3.3).

One respondent expressed doubts at children's first language abilities in writing:

It is unlikely that at Year 3 level the children could write in their first language - but if they can, then it is very useful. (2102 Somali 4)

The idea of writing in the child's first language seemed to be a new idea to two respondents, both of whom rated this item 'Undecided':

What is the motivation for this? Has the child/parent asked? A trainee with a 'good' idea? (3084 French 6)

Unsure of learning outcome here. (2087 Sāmoan 6)

These comments reflect the attitudes reported on by an English language teacher in Kennedy and Dewar's study, who noted that it was necessary to overcome a lot of teacher prejudice in their encouragement of the use of the children's first language in the classroom (1997: 139). However, only one definitely negative comment about the use of children's first language was given:

Not in the New Zealand classroom. Maybe at home? (1202 Korean 5) $\,$

A similar view is presented by Carrasquillo and Rodríguez (2002), whose section of suggestions for teaching of writing to ESL students in the United States has

only very brief mention of the use of the children's first language (2002: 105). They note that children who do not have 'language mastery' of grammar spelling, syntax and functions may not be motivated to write (2002: 107), and they stress that it is part of the individual teacher's role in the classroom 'to motivate students to see the need to write, to help them identify the information, and to use the most appropriate type of writing'.

6.4.2 Summary and discussion of 'Writing in L1'

The majority of respondents (60.93%) gave the strongly bilingual-supportive response for the third question in this scenario, which was that it would be 'very' useful for children to write stories in their first language. This is a high level of support for the development of biliteracy for children in mainstream classrooms, in accord with Cummins' (2000: 47) framework of interactions with educators in schools to empower or disable culturally diverse students, the first aspect of which refers to the incorporation of students' backgrounds:

[It] includes the extent to which literacy instruction in school affirms, builds on, and extends the vernacular literacy practices that many culturally diverse students engage in outside the context of school.

In fact, some respondents expressed doubts about the usefulness of using the child's first language in written work. The topics mentioned in comments are given in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5Topics in comments for 'Writing in L1'

Topics

Social effects of first language use Cognitive benefits of biliteracy Benefits for other children Practical issues

These topics seem to reflect a willingness on behalf of teachers to enter into educational partnership with culturally diverse communities, which Cummins (2000: 47) identifies as an empowering definition of roles for educators of language minority children. In this view the classroom pedagogy is empowering to the extent by which it promotes students' intrinsic motivation 'to use language actively in order to generate their own knowledge, create literature and art, and act on social realities that affect their lives'.

Baker (2000b: 116) notes that the 'fundamental issue' of literacy and biliteracy is political. The results in this scenario therefore indicate a generally positive political climate for biliteracy in Aotearoa New Zealand schools.

6.5 Scenario A Question (d): 'English at home'

The fourth question in this scenario focused on ideas about first language use in the home, to investigate the teacher educators' awareness of language maintenance issues:

[Mother] tells her that although the family has always spoken in [language], her son has insisted on using English at home since he started school. She wants to help [son] at school as much as possible. How important is it for the adults to speak in English at home?

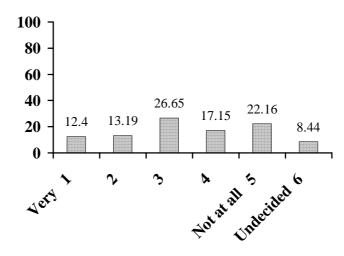
The strongly bilingual-supportive response for this question was that it would be 'not at all' important, with a rating of '5'.

6.5.1 Overall results for 'English at home'

The profile of responses for this question can be seen in Figure 6.5, which shows that the largest group of respondents (26.65%) gave the middle rating between 'very' important and 'not at all' important, although the next biggest group (22.16%) chose the strongly bilingual-supportive 'not at all' important response. The profile of responses was much flatter than in previous questions. If the two categories at the bilingual-supportive ('not at all') end of the scale are combined, it

can be seen that nearly 40% of respondents (22.16 + 17.15 = 39.31%) thought it was not important for parents to use English at home with their children.

Figure 6.5 Results for 'English at home' Scenario A Question (d) (Percentages, N = 379, max = 395)



This question caused some respondents to mention the problems they had in responding to the question, which may account for the middle rating being the largest:

This is a difficult question. The first language should be sustained primarily, but the adults may also want to do this and personal choice should be acknowledged. (3134 Somali 3)

A difficult one! Speaking French at home may help Jean with English at school but there is a place for Marie and Jean to speak English together as well. (1044 French 6)

There were four main topics in the comments by respondents: Maintenance of first language and culture, the role of the school, modelling language, and support for English. These will now be discussed in turn.

Maintenance of first language and culture

Many comments were made in this scenario about the need to maintain the child's first language:

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Maintaining first language is a difficult task and the home is about [the] only place it can be done. (2131 Korean 5)
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This approach is supported by Baker (2000a: 114), who emphasises that parents should continue to support the child's psychological development through use of

the first language at home. Another view emphasised the likelihood that the first language would provide a better model of language:

Mele is likely to have a higher level of grammar and vocabulary by speaking in her primary language. Better able to extend her son. (1162 Sāmoan 4)

Some thought there was no need for further emphasis on English:

They are saturated in English by television, their peers, etc. (3039 Māori 5)

This links to the ideas expressed in the second question about $M\bar{a}$ or immersion (see 6.3.1).

There were also comments about the need to maintain the child's culture:

Home could be the one place where his language, his identity, his culture is practised. (2113 Māori 5)

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 154) states that most parents who have switched from their own language have said they regret it later; 'they had the feeling their children know only a small part of them , and that they themselves had partly lost their own child'.

The role of the school

The role of the school in advising parents was questioned by several respondents:

School should not be dictating to parents and caregivers what they do at home. (1016 Sāmoan 5) $\,$

Corson (1998: 198-200) suggests ways in which schools can support first language development, even when all teaching is in English. This may include working with parents and communities to convince them of the value of supporting the first languages of younger children.

Some respondents raised the question of children rejecting their first language:

I believe it is very important, however, it would not be a good idea to 'turn the child off' French. Perhaps the parents/ family could use French and the child could reply in English. (2082 French 3)

The rejection by children of their first language has been commonly identified in the literature, although this may not happen when both languages are prestigious, such as with English and French (Grosjean 1982: 166). Baker (2000a: 64-66) points out that it is common for language minority children to reject their parents'

language in not wanting to be different, especially teenagers wishing to reflect their peer group culture. He states that the rejection is sometimes short-lived, and suggests parents act as 'gentle gardeners' rather than forcing the child to speak in the language. He endorses the idea mentioned by these respondents, where the parents continue speaking in their language to develop their child's 'passive' or 'receptive' bilingualism. As noted above, Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 154) points out that some parents do abandon their language at this stage and regret it later, and Baker (2000a: 66) notes that often adults later agree that their parents were right to continue with their language in face of teenage resistance.

Modelling language

The aim of a transfer to English was made explicit by some respondents:

Depends on the age of the child and how good the parents' English is. Younger children need L1 maintenance and development as a bridge to English development. Poor English at home is worse than fluent L1. (3168 Korean 3)

This appears to refer to the danger of semilingualism, which has been contested by a number of writers (see 2.3.2). Another respondent was unsure about the need for parental modelling in their children's language acquisition:

Depends on parental fluency in English. It is important that the parents model complete language pattern to kids. [Note] I think this is what I believe however, since reading Pinker, I'm not sure. (2115 French 6)

This comment may refer to Pinker's (1994) best-selling book which argues that language is an instinct. Although he notes that parents cannot 'stamp out' their children's developmental grammatical errors (1994: 281), he nevertheless does point out the importance of speech input for the child's language development, starting with 'Motherese' (1994: 279). He suggests that children use their parents' speech to construct their own mental grammar (1994: 285).

The need to ensure quality of language was mentioned by some respondents:

The essential factor is good modelling in whatever language is used. (3184 Māori 4)

Need to ensure that the language used is not a mixture of both. (4087 Sāmoan 2)

The idea of good modelling is supported by Baker (2000a: 86), who states that parents undermine the child's second language learning with 'incorrect linguistic structures or inexact expression'. He points out the negative attitudes towards

children mixing two languages (2000a: 63-64), but notes that children quickly learn who they can and cannot switch languages with. Some respondents identified speaking in English at home as reinforcing bilingualism:

The model of bilingual parents is helpful. (3156 French 2)

The use of both languages to the child is Baker's (2000a: xvii) third main strategy used by parents to produce bilingual children. However, he points out that more encouragement may be necessary in the case of a minority language (2000: 27):

When there is discouragement in the street, little reinforcement on the screen and in the school playground for minority language usage, parents are often pivotal in fostering favorability of attitude among the children to that minority language.

Support for English

However, others thought there was a need to support English. A quarter of respondents (12.40 + 13.19 = 25.50%) gave a non-bilingual-supportive response, responding that it was important for parents to use English at home:

Child needs to feel supported at home - his efforts to develop his skill in using English. (1015 Sāmoan 1) $\,$

In an ideal world they should be using some English - it's in everybody's best interest, especially the child's. (3205 Somali 2)

One respondent mentioned the role of children in their parents' English acquisition:

Usually the parents learn English from the child - speaking Chinese at home hasn't stopped D?? Chinese children being exceptional in English. (4106 Russian 4)

This comment seemed to be supportive of the children maintaining their own languages. In another case in which no rating was given, bilingualism was considered to be problematic:

Ideally child could be bilingual as long as not causing stress/confusion. (4145 Māori 0)

Baker (2000a: 186) points out that the concept of bilingualism causing confusion among children is typical of popular best-seller books on child care; often written by doctors or psychologists who are unfamiliar with the literature on bilingualism. He also points out (2000b: 44) that both monolingual and bilingual children experiment with usage while they are learning language.

6.5.2 Language effect for 'English at home'

This question again elicited differences in response among the whole population for the different languages presented in the scenario. Figure 6.6 shows that respondents given scenarios with Māori or French mother and child were less likely to support English in the home: 40.48% (29.41% + 11.46%) of respondents given the Māori scenario responded negatively to the importance of English in the home, and 50.84% (32.20% + 18.64%) of those given the French scenario responded negatively. In contrast, respondents given Sāmoan and Korean scenarios were most likely to support English spoken in the home: 30.30% (12.12% + 18.18%) of respondents given the Sāmoan scenario responded positively to the importance of English in the home, and 32.78% (13.11% + 19.67%) of those given the Korean scenario responded positively.

Figure 6.6 Results by language for 'English at home' Scenario A Question (d) (Percentages)

100 -						
80 -						
60 -						
40 -						
20 -						
0 -						
-	Maori	French	Samoan	Korean	Russian	Somali
	N = 68	N = 59	N = 66	N = 61	N = 62	N = 63
□ Undecided	10.29	11.86	1.52	9.84	11.29	6.35
Not at all	29.41	32.2	19.7	13.11	19.35	19.05
■	11.76	18.64	18.18	18.03	19.35	17.46
	23.53	23.73	30.3	26.23	29.03	26.98
	11.76	8.47	12.12	13.11	14.52	19.05
	11.70	0.17				

An Anova test using difference of means was carried out (with the 'undecided' responses removed) to see whether these differences between the responses to each language were significant. This showed that the language of the mother and

child in the scenario version had a strong effect on responses to the importance of the children speaking only in English at home (F = 2.55, df = 5, 329, p = 0.0280).

As the Anova test had established that there was a significant difference between languages, it was therefore necessary to examine what languages were different. The mean scores given by respondents to each scenario version can be seen in Table 6.6. This shows that in scenarios with a French mother and child, speaking in English was likely to be rated as 'not at all important', whereas in those with a Korean mother and child speaking English at home was likely to be rated as 'important'.

Table 6.6Mean responses by language for 'English at home'
Scenario A Question (d) (max = 5)

Māori	French	Sāmoan	Korean	Russian	Somali
3.36	3.73	3.09	2.91	3.35	3.15

A further analysis of these results looked at the Anova at a finer level to determine the probabilities that the mean ratings for each language were different from each other, in other words the probabilities of the difference between each pair of languages occurring by chance. Table 6.7 shows that these probabilities were very small in one case: French and Korean (p = 0.0014).

Table 6.7Comparison of languages for 'English at home'
Scenario A Question (d)
Significance levels (p) for pairwise comparisons2

	Māori	French	Sāmoan	Korean	Russian
Māori					
French	0.1384				
Sāmoan	0.2550	0.0097			
Korean	0.0667	0.0014	0.4493		
Russian	0.9507	0.1322	0.2960	0.0839	
Somali	0.3886	0.0219	0.7999	0.3259	0.4362

This difference means that the whole population of respondents were more likely to support speaking in English for Korean families and less likely for French families. The support for French might be expected, as a language of high international prestige (Baker 2000a: xviii, 203), and of high status in relation to English dating back to the Norman conquest of English in 1066, after which Robert of Gloucester stated (Baugh and Cable 1993, cited in Eggington 1997: 35):

For but a man know French men count him of little. But low men hold to English and to their own speech yet ... For men well know it is well for to know both.

Baker (2000b: 8) refers to prestigious bilinguals who 'own' two high status languages such as English and French as the 'crème de la crème'. He notes that they are often part of a social, cultural and economic élite, and that there has been no debate about the possible disadvantages of bilingualism for this group.

Similarly, the lower support for a less prestigious language echoes the debate in the United States, when a judge in a custody case told a mother she was abusing her daughter by speaking Spanish, and ordered her to speak English at home (Cummins 2000: 13):

Now get this straight: you start speaking English to that child, because if she doesn't do good [sic] in school, then I can remove her because it's not in her best interest to be ignorant. (*Maclean's* magazine 11 September 1995: 13, quoted in Cummins 2000: 14)

At this stage in Aotearoa New Zealand, Korean is an immigrant language and might be regarded as having low status, reflecting the anecdotal experiences such as that of the Park family whose lack of employment on arrival in this country caused them to be 'socially downgraded' (Rewi 2003: 56).

6.5.3 Summary and discussion of 'English at home'

In her review of the literature of factors influencing language maintenance and shift in Aotearoa New Zealand, Shameem (2001: 23) states that home language use has been the most influential contributor, and in Fishman's influential typology of threatened language statuses, 'intergenerational informal oralcy' is a crucial stage (1991: 94). It is therefore noteworthy that for this fourth question in

² See note for Table 6.3 for explanation of significance levels.

Results and discussion for Scenario A

the scenario, asking about the importance for adults to speak in English at home, the responses were not as clear-cut as for others in the scenario. The results showed a bimodal distribution, with the highest ratings for the middle category at just over a quarter (26.65%), and the next highest for the strongly bilingualsupportive category at just under a quarter (22.16%). This lack of a clear overall pattern of response may be caused by less direct relevance to the classroom for a question about the use of English at home. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that this is an area where teachers are giving parents suggestions (see 1.1), as in this description from a Sāmoan woman who grew up in Wellington in the 1960s:

As a matter of family policy, my parents chose to teach their children their language and their culture despite the fact that teachers and education experts told them that to do so would result in their children failing at school and becoming confused. (Heather-Latu 2003: 206)

A lack of direction to student teachers by teacher educators may therefore have negative consequences for children's bilingualism.

The topics raised by respondents in their comments are shown in Table 6.8. These show a generally high level of support for the child's first language at home.

Table 6.8Topics in comments for 'English at home'

Topics

Maintenance of first language and culture The role of the school Modelling language Support for English

Fishman (1991: 376-377) discusses the weakening of the home-school link in modern society, with the result that instead of parents or grandparents the employees of child care centres and schools provide much of the child's socialisation, including language. Fishman states that these people must therefore be involved in the process of reversing language shift.

Baker (2000a: 114-115) gives advice on language patterns in the home for parents. He suggests that there is 'usually' no need to change the home language:

If the only available schooling for the language minority child is through the majority language, the temptation is sometimes to change to the majority language at home. Well meaning professionals often advise the switch. The preference of politicians and public is often that minority inmigrants, in particular, integrate and assimilate through dropping their language. This is a real dilemma that involves a careful calculation of priorities in family and educational life.

However, this does imply that it might at times be of educational benefit to make the switch.

The second main finding for this question was that there was a significant difference between the answers by those respondents who were answering about a French family, and those who were answering about a Korean family. As with the earlier question in which there was a difference between languages this question again demonstrates the importance of French as an élite language, although it was contrasted with a different language for this question (see 6.3.2). A study by Starks and Youn (1998) mentioned that there was a 'public outcry' over the limited English language skills of Korean children in New Zealand schools, and found that 'these concerns are real ones' because 31.5% of the mothers had not learned English before coming to Aotearoa New Zealand, and 89% 'almost never' or 'never' used English in their home (Starks and Youn 1998: 8).

6.6 Scenario A Question (e): 'Pronouncing an L2 name'

The final question for this scenario aimed to elicit attitudes towards the pronunciation of the child's name, as symbolic of the child's culture and language.

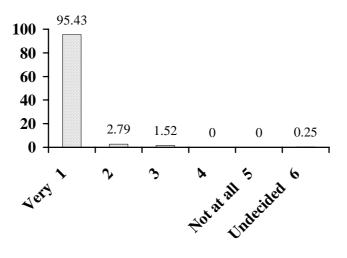
The teacher says that he finds the name ['son'] difficult to pronounce, so he uses the English name 'John'. How important is it for the teacher to pronounce [son's] name in [language]?

The strongly bilingual-supportive response for this question was that it would be 'very' important to pronounce the child's name in his own language, with a rating of '1'.

6.6.1 Results for 'Pronouncing an L2 name'

The results show a very high level of support for the correct pronunciation of children's names. As can be seen in Figure 6.7, 95.43% of respondents rated it 'very' important to pronounce the child's name in his own language.

Figure 6.7 Results for 'Pronouncing an L2 name' Scenario A Question (e) (Percentages, N = 394, Max = 395)



This result was surprising, given the high amount of anecdotal evidence of teachers anglicising non-English names, or of students anticipating this and providing a 'Christian' name. There were four main topics in the comments, which will now be discussed in turn: respect for the child, the child's identity, the child's choice, and the teacher's competence.

Respect for the child

There was considerable outrage and surprise from respondents that the teacher might suggest changing the child's name:

It is insulting to not use a person's proper name. (1151
French 1)
Using another name is disgusting! (3108 Russian 1)
Silly man. Names are important. Imagine if he called me
Myrtle! (4133 Somali 1)

The idea of respect for the child's cultural identity was mentioned by many respondents:

Shows respect for the child and his culture. (1108 Russian 1) $\,$

Shows you value/appreciate the need for affirming individual identity. (4162 Sāmoan 1) $\,$

The added dimension of recognition for the indigenous language was added by some respondents who received the Māori version of the scenario:

Names are our God-given taonga [treasures] - no one has the right to interpret, shorten or change that taonga - "near enough" is an arrogance. (2063 Somali 1)

It is the teacher's responsibility to make more than an "effort" to pronounce Hone's name correctly. It is important to Hone as an individual, and it certainly demonstrates respect for a "culture", that is indigenously Aotearoa/New Zealand. (1042 Māori 1)

The symbolism of names representing a minority culture is explained by Jernudd (1995), who identifies cases such as formerly with the Turks in Bulgaria where the state wishes to deny a minority group's existence by forbidding them to register names in their language.

The teacher's competence

Changing the child's name was regarded as a serious challenge to the teacher's professional competence by some respondents:

The child's name is part of their identity. Teachers who do not acknowledge [the] child's ethnicity positively should consider another profession!! (3120 French 1)

Sack the teacher - change the teacher's name to Mr Insensitive! (2133 Somali 1)

Ahh!! Shoot that teacher! How totally lacking in respect. What a mindless response! Enough said! (3168 Korean 1)

Baker (2000a: 161) describes situations in which schools do not value the child's

home, minority language, linking this to wider issues:

The monolingual school sometimes regards that minority language as worthless. The child's life-style, culture, religion, eating and dietary habits, even the 'foreign' names of in-migrant children are belittled.

Some respondents noted that similar practices have happened in the past in

Aotearoa New Zealand, and continue to the present:

I think we have anecdotes about teachers using English names for Māori names and the effects this has had in the past. It is a mistake we do not need to repeat. (2025 Somali 1)

Teachers really need to make the effort. I've seen and heard too many examples where teachers have butchered children's names or substituted names out of sheer laziness and disrespect. (3195 Sāmoan 1)

This supports Skutnabb-Kangas's (1981) discussion of symbolic-structural violence towards minority groups through the suppression of their language. She points out that schools play a part in this process, by causing children to internalise the 'rule's through shame and guilt (1981: 307), and cites an example where a Turkish girl in Sweden was encouraged by the headmaster to change her name from Fisun to Anna because it would be difficult for Swedes to pronounce and 'some nasty person' might make fun of her name (1981: 316).

However, there were also some comments which supported the teacher's use of the English version of the student's name:

It is the attempt to pronounce the name that conveys a positive attitude. However, adults find it extremely difficult to pronounce some names in languages other than English (e.g. Mandarin) so perfect use should not be expected. (1196 Sāmoan 3)

The teacher should improve his pronunciation of "Ioane" and "John" and be free to use either depending on circumstances. (4124 Sāmoan 1)

One respondent also saw the discussion of names as a learning experience about common English practice in regard to other languages:

Child needs to realise that a characteristic of English is the anglicising of foreign words; Wein - Vienna, Paree - Paris, etc. (4035 Russian 2)

Proper names are suggested as 'ideal targets' for language awareness activities in the German context by Luchtenberg (1998: 29), who proposes discussion in multicultural classrooms of a number of issues including critical issues such as forced changes of name.

The child's choice

A suggestion was made by some respondents that the child may prefer the change of name:

Totally incorrect and damaging to self-esteem to change a name, unless the child says to do this. (1216 Russian 1) $\,$

I think it is more important to ask a student what they want to be called - some prefer an English name to 'fit in' or because their own if mispronounced is worse. (2102 Somali 3)

Cummins (2000: 13) reports frequently hearing 'sad anecdotes' of children in Canada rejecting their home language and culture in order to fit in with the culture of the school and their peer group. They refuse to use their home language and wish to anglicise their names. This is similar to Savva's report (1990: 249) of her experiences as a speaker of Greek in England:

Why is it that so many bilingual adults of my generation have anglicised names? We anglicised our names to avoid being ridiculed for being different! My name was anglicised by the man who registered my birth. My parents said 'Eleni' and he thought my passage through life would be eased considerably if I was called Helen instead - and Helen it has been.

6.6.2 Summary and discussion of 'Pronouncing an L2 name'

Although the incorrect pronunciation of children's names has been identified as a common occurrence in the literature and anecdotally in this country, the majority of respondents chose the strongly bilingual-supportive response for this last question in the scenario, by advocating the importance of pronouncing a child's name correctly. This was the clearest bilingual-supportive response in the questionnaire, and respondents pointed out the connection between the child's name and his socio-cultural identity.

Table 6.9 shows the topic covered in the comments by respondents to this question, which show a high level of support for the teacher attempting a 'correct' pronunciation of the child's name.

Table 6.9Topics in comments for 'Pronouncing an L2 name'

Тор	ics				
Res	pect fo	r the c	hild		
The	child's	identi	ty		
The	child's	choic	e		
The	teache	r's con	npetenc	e	

Jernudd (1995: 129) discusses the issue of names in relation to human rights, particularly in terms of state policy, by using terminology from the ethnography of speaking:

It follows that if Other takes issue with Self's name, a unique identifier of Self, thus marking it as inadequate, then Other invites confrontation. There is potential conflict when Other demands or suggests a change of name by Self wholly or in part, or blocks registration of Self's chosen name. Otherinitiated name change or refusal to register a name are impositions on Self, both by reason of violation of the discoursal preference given to Self for adjustment (correction) in communication, and by reason of identity of Self with a name. These impositions can be construed as violations of a human right.

Kennedy and Dewar (1997: 142) describe how this right is incorporated into a primary school's policy in relation to first languages and NESB students generally: 'Every child has the right to have his/her name pronounced correctly'. That there is a need for this type of statement implies that the reality of attempting different pronunciations may be difficult in practice, and a role for teacher education programmes to help student teachers in this aspect.

6.7 Conclusions

This scenario investigated attitudes towards the use of a non-English mother tongue by a mother and her son, in situations which a primary teacher might typically face concerning the bilingualism of children in the class. The situations ranged from incorporating their first language into classroom practice, to advice given about the use of the mother tongue at home, to personal use of the child's language in the pronunciation of his name. Results showed support from teacher educators for the child's bilingualism, particularly in the classroom. This is supported by much research literature showing that developing a bilingual child's academic ability in two languages is related to a higher level of metalinguistic, academic and cognitive functioning (Cummins 2000: 182; Corson 1998: 162), and shows support for an additive approach towards bilingualism.

It was interesting to note that the support for the child's bilingualism was weakest in the area of advice about family language use. This may be because it was not regarded as relevant to classroom teachers, and confirmed the anecdotal evidence that some teachers are giving encouragement to the use of English at home. This is in contrast to the approach in recent literature from members of Māori and Pasifika communities themselves, who are now emphasising their active approaches to the revitalisation and maintenance of their languages by use in the home (for Pasifka examples see Sialiva'a 2003: 149, Anae 2003: 92). For two questions there was also a different amount of support according to the language the mother and child were speaking: 'English-only in the classroom', and 'English at home'. In both cases respondents who were asked about a French child were more likely to give bilingual-supportive responses, while in the first case those who were asked about a Māori child were also likely to give a bilingual-supportive response was more likely to be given for a Sāmoan or Somali student for 'English-only in the classroom', and for a Korean student for 'English at home'. These differences show the continuing support for French as an élite international language, and for Māori as the indigenous language, and demonstrate that attitudes about linguistic matters are strongly influenced by the ethnolinguistic background of the child, rather than his or her psycho-linguistic needs as a bilingual individual. The ethnolinguistic vitality of the child's language group therefore appears to have a strong influence on attitudes in these situations.

In Cummins' (2000: 44-45) framework for intervention for collaborative empowerment, he states that in a collaborative orientation children's identity is affirmed by the schooling, which 'amplifies rather than silences their power of *self*-expression'. The language practices of their ethnic group is seen as a part of this self-expression. Recent reports show that approaches which connect with the language practices in children's backgrounds have resulted in successes in Aotearoa New Zealand. In a study of Rosebank School in West Auckland, in which the ethnic background of students was over 95% non-Pākehā, a home-school partnership focused on literacy with parents (*Many Voices* 2003: 4-5). This resulted in an increase in students' self-esteem and sense of identity, as well as improvements in reading in both English and their languages.

A study with Sāmoan children at Finlayson Park School in South Auckland also identified the partnership between school and community as important to the success of the Sāmoan-English bilingual programme, in which 100% of children are reading at or above their age levels in both languages (McCaffery and Tuafuti 2003: 85-89). In these two school programmes the importance of teachers from the learners' own language group was identified as an important factor in its

success. Attitudes towards student teachers from diverse language groups will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION FOR SCENARIO B: THE VALUE OF LANGUAGE DIVERSITY

From: *National Programme*, Radio New Zealand Checkpoint Wednesday 2 October 2002, 5.35 pm

Interview by Gail Woods Bali Haque, President of the New Zealand Secondary Principals' Association

What sort of problems arise when you have got perhaps several overseas teachers in your school?

Hmm. It varies a lot - many of these overseas teachers are superb, they're quite outstanding, and they contribute hugely to New Zealand schools. But, in some cases - in a significant number of cases I would say, I suppose - there are some issues. There are cultural issues in terms of understanding what's happening in New Zealand; there are sometimes language issues, where the overseas teachers will have problems with accent, and you know that can be quite difficult. We get some superb – as I say, outstanding - teachers who may well find it difficult, because their English skills or their presentation isn't yet clear enough to satisfy a mid-stream fourth form Kiwi class, put it that way. And those are problems that need to be addressed.

What country are most of these overseas teachers coming from?

Look, that varies hugely according to where you are. There are an increasing number of South African teachers, Fijian teachers, teachers from the subcontinent, from the Pacific; they're coming from all over the place. We're getting applications from Russia; highly qualified people coming through who want to come and work and live and teach in New Zealand.

7.1 Introduction

This scenario presented a student teacher from one of the same six language groups as in Scenario A, namely Māori (Rangi), French (Pierre), Sāmoan (Salesi), Korean (Yong-Jin), Russian (Sergei) or Somali (Ghedi). It explored issues around the incorporation of the student teacher's language into his teaching:

[Student teacher] is a secondary teacher trainee in history and social studies at your institution. He speaks [language] as his first language, and although his English has a strong [language] accent, he communicates well with students. There were five questions following this statement, and results from each of these five parts to the scenario will now be presented in turn.

Comments by respondents have been included to illustrate themes in the responses as in Scenario A (see 6.1).

Each set of results is then analysed in relation to the 'diversity-supportive' response determined from the sociolinguistics literature (see 4.4 and 9.3.2). For three of the questions in this scenario there were significant differences according to the language the respondents received, and this is also discussed with the relevant question.

The chapter concludes with a summary of the main results from the scenario.

7.2 Scenario B Question (a): 'An L1 accent'

The first question investigated attitudes towards the student teacher's non-English accent:

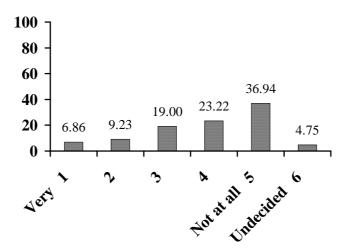
In the feedback session after a spoken presentation as part of your course, other trainees comment on [student teacher's] pronunciation. How important is it to take account of [student teacher's] accent in assessing his presentation?

The strongly diversity-supportive answer for this question would be that it was 'not at all' important, with a rating of '5'.

7.2.1 Overall results for 'An L1 accent'

Figure 7.1 shows that approximately 60% of respondents (23.22 + 36.94 = 60.16%) thought that it was not important to take account of the student teacher's accent in assessing his presentation. This result shows a negative response to the importance of the student teacher's non-English accent, and therefore shows support for the bilingualism of the student teacher, and language diversity.

Figure 7.1 Results for 'An L1 accent' Scenario B Question (a) (Percentages, N = 379, max = 395)



Two respondents queried this question itself, with one taking the opposite meaning from that which was intended by the question:

[... comment on Salesi's pronunciation] What sort of comment? Positive or negative? (2189 Sāmoan 1) 'take account of'? suggests 'make allowances for'. Patronising I'd say. (4051 Sāmoan 6)

However, other comments to this question indicate that this was not the general interpretation by respondents. They have been grouped into six topics for the following discussion: emphasis on content, the benefits of diversity, English for Māori, student teacher anxieties, classroom realities, and teacher modelling of language.

Emphasis on content

Many of the comments stressed that accent did not matter as long as the subject matter was not affected:

Because the presentation should be assessed for its CONTENT. (2139 Māori 5)

A teacher's world is increasingly complex. Part of dealing with that complexity is learning to focus on the exchange of ideas and meaning-making rather than labouring ethnocentric and divisive aspects of language. (1093 Sāmoan 5)

These were very positive comments, the second one reflecting the aims of educators such as Tuioti (2002: 135) for more Pasifika teachers who can use strategies and contexts appropriate to Pasifika students. It also supports Cook's (2002) critique of the 'monolingualist' belief in the supremacy of the native

speaker. He points out that that 'L2 users are not failures because they are different' (Cook 2002: 9).

Benefits of diversity

Some comments were very supportive of diversity among the student teachers:

very often based on racism. (1071 Somali 4)

How rich and wonderful to appreciate and enjoy a range of accents. (2020 French 5) Accented varieties are part of diversity and enrich the

variety of English beyond standard forms. Focus on accent is

Only one comment emphasised the beneficial effect that diversity among teaching staff might have in encouraging students from different ethnic backgrounds at

school:

Children with family links to the Sāmoan culture would benefit in terms of developing their own identity. (4087 Sāmoan 5)

This would be expected to be stronger among students from groups who accord low status to their own varieties of English, such as speakers of Pacific varieties (Mugler 2002: 68). There was backhanded support from one respondent who thought that the novelty of the student teacher's accent might compensate for any teaching faults:

The novelty of his accent may disguise other elements of his teaching. Children tend to pay more attention to an attractive accent so management issues may reduce. (3176 French 3)

It is interesting to note that this comment was from a respondent who had been given the scenario of a French mother and child. In Giles and Niedzielski's discussion of the 'language myth' that some languages are more beautiful than others, they point out that among English speakers the French language is often regarded as 'romantic, cultured, and sonorous' (1998: 85).

English and Māori

As might be expected, the Māori questionnaire version elicited some specific comments:

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Rangi's accent is valuable in that it will indicate to others (who are aware) his tribal affiliations. (3043 Māori 3)
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This response may indicate an extension of the function of solidarity described by King (1995: 56) as one of the purposes of Māori English (particularly in the use of Māori words and phrases). Other comments about the Māori teacher linked into observations about New Zealand English:

This is a most unlikely scenario given that all first language Māori speakers from Kaupapa Māori Huaraki programmes have good English accents too - impossible not to in our society. (1043 Māori 0)

What is a strong Māori accent? I don't know what you mean by a strong Māori accent and wonder if you have confused it with what I would call, if it was PC, a working class accent. My Māori students have a variety of accents most indistinguishable from Pakeha. Some who are native speakers of Māori have wonderful diction. Maybe you mean pronunciation. I do spend some time correcting this but most pronunciation I object to isn't particularly Māori; it seems to be the way our language is mutating. (2115 Māori 5)

These support Holmes' (1979: 123-124) discussion of the influences from Māori found in Māori and Pākehā children's speech, and Bayard's (1995: 167) findings that Pākehā listeners are unable to distinguish Māori speakers in many cases, but that features often thought of as 'Māori' English in fact reflect social class. The second comment also reflects the 'cultural cringe' Bayard discusses, in which the phenomenon of dialect loyalty found in other countries is less evident here, even though the prestige of a 'cultivated' New Zealand accent seems to be lessening (Bayard 1995: 113).

Student teacher anxieties

Some respondents focused on the anxieties of the student teachers themselves:

I note that the kids don't have a problem but generally when teaching, accent is an issue for ESOL trainees. (4033 Sāmoan 3) But I imagine Yong-Jin wants to improve his pronunciation. I have a lot to do with Korean immigrants and they do want to improve. (2004 Korean 5)

Others saw that accent might be a sensitive issue for the student teacher, needing thoughtful feedback:

Depends on a number of factors - his aspirations for his own language, whether it is grammatical, whether communication with children is OK. (1008 French 4)

Important to encourage him, and recognise his language. Point out his fabulous communication skills. Praise him on the work he has done for the presentation. Comment that if I had to present in a second language I would have found it difficult. (4123 $\mbox{Samoan 4})$

This would be expected from Dickie's (2000a: 12; 2000b: 98) study of Pasifika student teachers at Wellington College of Education, in which he found that the students identified problems with English. Although none of the difficulties with the English language referred directly to speaking, they demonstrated the concerns of Pasifika student teachers about their ability to cope with English in the context of teacher education. Fa'afoi and Fletcher's (2002) study of first year Pasifika student teachers in Christchurch also found that the student teachers identified English as a potential barrier in their teaching practice. This was reinforced by the comments of some respondents who still perceived potential problems with the student teacher's accent, although the scenario stated that he could communicate well with the students:

With regard to it being a possible blockage for learning from teenager's perspectives. (2106 Korean 2)

The accent will make communication difficult. This must be allowed for or compensated for by some other presentation skill or child centred learning. (3030 Russian 1)

Bresnahan, Ohashi, Nebashi, Liu and Shearman (2002: 181-182) found that students at college level in the United States were more likely to have negative attitudes towards teaching assistants with accents causing low intelligibility, and positive attitudes towards those with high intelligibility. They suggest that the positive attitudes might be because their low expectations were not met.

In the Australian context, Santoro (1999: 41) identified an associate teacher's critical comments in an English as a Second Language practicum as a reflection of her own insecurity rather than the Chinese student teacher's English ability:

She [the associate teacher] is attempting to enter an area which traditionally has been dominated by Anglo-Australians, some of whom have worked hard to gain entry to the middle classes from working class backgrounds. Many are likely to be protective of their positions in the hierarchy.

As the majority of the respondents to this study were the New Zealand equivalent of 'Anglo-Australians' (see 5.3.3), a similar insecurity and resulting protectiveness of their status may have been a factor in some of the responses to this question.

Classroom realities

A comment from one respondent qualified a low rating for the importance of the student's non-native accent, by identifying the realities of classrooms:

However, this is not how associate teachers in schools see it. (4030 Russian 5)

This demonstrates the 'age old quandary' for student teachers noted in a British teacher educator's journal (Robinson and Heyes 1996: 127), in which the attitudes of colleges of education towards multi-ethnic issues are more progressive than those in the schools where student teachers are carrying out their teaching practice.

A number of respondents noted that the assessment criteria would determine their response in a real life situation, although the question had intended to elicit the likelihood of them including accent in their assessment:

Because if it is a criteria in the assessment then it is taken into account. If it is not part of the criteria then it does not influence us. (4140 French 6)

These comments suggest that the respondents are using criteria determined by others in the teacher education programme, or that the criteria change in different parts of the programme. It was interesting that none of the respondents commented on the specifically difficult nature of speaking in an academic genre, and the burden this places on learners of English (Basturkmen 2002: 26).

Modelling of language

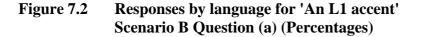
It might be expected that the issue of language modelling in language acquisition, especially spoken (and often first) language acquisition, would be taken up as an issue, reflecting Phillipson's (1992a: 194) 'native speaker fallacy' (see 4.3.4). The issue of modelling was taken up by some respondents:

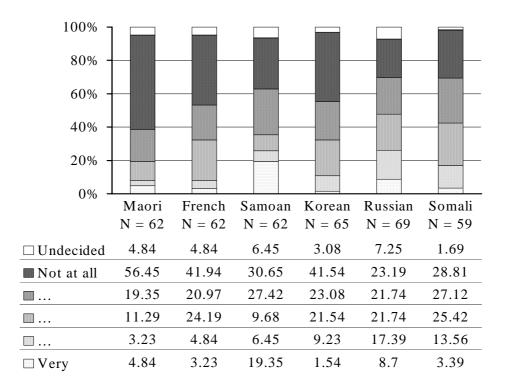
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As long as his communication is clear and accurate (i.e. grammatically). (1086 French 5)
Content important at secondary level. Less language modelling occurring. (4027 Sāmoan 4)
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The belief in the importance of modelling is discussed in 7.3.1 below.

7.2.2 Language effect in 'An L1 accent'

As with Scenario A, the questionnaire design allowed a comparison of the difference in response among the whole population for the six different languages. Figure 7.2 shows that the highest number of 'Not at all' strongly diversity-supportive responses were highest for Māori (56.45%) and lowest for Russian (23.19%), and the 'Very' strongly non-diversity-supportive responses were highest for Sāmoan (19.35%). This means that a non-English accent was rated as least important for student teachers speaking with a Russian accent, but most important for student teachers speaking with a Sāmoan accent.





An Anova test using difference of means was carried out (after the 'undecided' responses had been removed) to see whether these differences between the responses to each language were significant. The test showed that the language of the student teacher in the scenario version had a strong effect on responses to the importance of the student teacher's accent being taken into account in assessment of his presentation (F = 4.94, df = 5, 338, p = 0.0002). The average mean scores

given to each language can be seen in Table 7.1. This shows that a Māori accent (with a mean response of 4.25) was least likely to be taken into account in assessment by respondents, whereas a Russian accent (with a mean response of 3.36) was most likely to be taken into account.

Table 7.1Mean results by language for 'An L1 accent'
Scenario B Question (a) (max = 5)

Māori	French	Sāmoan	Korean	Russian	Somali
4.25	3.98	3.47	3.97	3.36	3.66

A further analysis of these results examined the probabilities that the mean ratings for each language were different from each other, in other words the probabilities of the differences between each pair of languages occurring by chance. Table 7.2 shows that these probabilities were very small in two cases: Māori and Sāmoan (p = 0.0006), and Māori and Russian (p <.0001). This means that a Māori accent was significantly less likely to be taken into account than either a Sāmoan or a Russian accent.

Table 7.2Comparison of languages for 'An L1 accent'
Scenario B Question (a)
Significance levels (p) for pairwise comparisons1

	Māori	French	Sāmoan	Korean	Russian
Māori					
French	0.2299				
Sāmoan	0.0006	0.0229			
Korean	0.1982	0.9469	0.0247		
Russian	<.0001	0.0050	0.6329	0.0054	
Somali	0.0085	0.1485	0.4048	0.1609	0.1836

As the accents of Māori student teachers were least likely to be taken into account in assessment by teacher educators, this difference means that both Russian and Sāmoan accents would be more likely to be taken into account. The result implies that the accents of speakers of these two languages might be regarded as problematic by teacher educators. It was interesting to note that this did not apply to Somali and Korean, as might have been expected for other languages of lower status. This might be explained by the respondents' lack of experience with student teachers with Somali or Korean accents in comparison with Russian and Sāmoan.

Some respondents specifically mentioned the possibility of different responses according to language background, although none of them mentioned the particular language groups which were significantly different in this question:

Unless pronunciation alters the understanding of certain concepts I would mark only on the content of the talk! I'd do the same if they spoke Japanese or French as a first language. (2145 Māori 4)

If it interferes with understanding him it is relevant. Also worth noting that New Zealand culture favours certain accents so students may reflect prejudices. (2130 Korean 3)

This last comment may be a recognition by respondents of the belief that some languages are more beautiful or ugly than others is actually a subjective response as 'the result of a complex of social, cultural, regional, political and personal associations and prejudices' (Giles and Niedzielski 1998: 92). Although it might be expected that French would be regarded in this way, in fact French was in the middle of the compared ratings for this question.

7.2.3 Summary and discussion of 'An L1 accent'

The results from this question show that the largest group of respondents (35.94%) did not think it is important to take account of a student teacher's non-English accent in the assessment of a presentation. This is a generally diversitysupportive response. However, nearly 20% of respondents gave the middle rating, rather than the 'undecided' rating, which means that a non-English accent is still an issue for these teacher educators. This is in spite of the scenario introduction stating that the student teacher communicates well with his students.

The topics raised in comments from respondents are shown in Table 7.3. These showed a largely supportive reaction from respondents, although some identified that the student teachers themselves, or the practicum associate teachers, or the students in schools, might have problems with the student teacher's accent.

¹ For explanation of significance levels see note for Table 6.3.

Table 7.3Topics in comments for 'An L1 accent'

Topics

Emphasis on content Benefits of diversity English for Māori Student teacher anxieties Classroom realities Modelling of language

There was a significant difference between the responses to different scenario versions, which showed that the accent of a Māori student teacher was least likely to be rated as important to be taken into account, while that of a Russian or Sāmoan student teacher were most likely to be taken into account. This difference may be through an acceptance and understanding of Māori accents in Aotearoa New Zealand, while Russian and Sāmoan accents are possibly perceived as a barrier to communication. On the other hand French is more likely to be perceived as an attractive accent, and Korean and Somali are less likely to have been experienced in the teacher education system. The concern about this result is that it may parallel Haig and Oliver's (2003: 277) findings in the Australian context that use of alternative and non-standard forms is associated with lower ability in teachers.

A comparison can be made with Parakrama's survey of attitudes towards nonstandard English in Sri Lanka, a variety which he states is largely marked by pronunciation (1995: 181, 200). He concludes that English as the language of colonialism still maintains the status quo of the élite:

Yet, at the same time, in its 'contaminated', 'non-standard', 'uneducated' form, this language is also fundamentally subversive of the old order. (Parakrama 1995: 203)

This subversion, or 'perverted power' (Thomas 1999: 169), may be reflected in accent in the case of teacher educators from non-English speaking backgrounds in Aotearoa New Zealand. Singh (1996) states that once 'internal sharing has been established within a community, then anyone who participates in that community is a native speaker, irrespective of that person being mono-, bi- or multilingual' (Singh 1996: 11). In a wider discussion of the role of linguists, Parakrama (1995:

205) advocates the active intervention of linguists in the 'valorising' of a broader standard in order to be freed from being the 'unwitting lackey of the status quo'. It may be that this valorising has already been successful to a degree in Aotearoa New Zealand in relation to Māori, but that it is still needed for those who speak immigrant languages such as Russian or Sāmoan.

7.3 Scenario B Question (b): 'Modelling 'standard' English'

The second question in this scenario focused on the importance of a student teacher modelling Standard English to children in classrooms; in particular written Standard English:

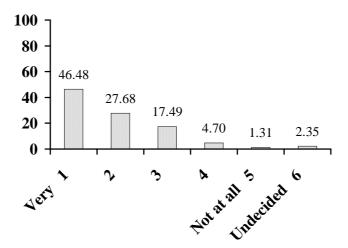
Colleagues have mentioned that [student teacher] may model non-standard written English to the children in his future classes. How important will it be for [student teacher] to model 'standard' written English in the classroom?

The strongly diversity-supportive response for this question was that it was 'not at all' important, with a rating of '5'.

7.3.1 Results for 'Modelling 'standard' English'

Figure 7.3 shows that about three quarters (46.48 + 27.68 = 74.16%) of respondents thought it was important for the student teachers to model 'standard' written English. This means that the majority did not give the strongly diversity-supportive rating.

Figure 7.3 Results for 'Modelling 'standard' English' Scenario B Question (b) (Percentages, N = 383, max = 395)



There were five main topics in the comments by respondents for this question, which will be discussed in turn: 'standard' versus 'academic' English, the status of English, learning language through modelling, issues for Māori, and the meaning of 'standard' English.

'Standard' versus 'academic' English

For some respondents, 'standard' English was important for the children's academic success, even if they saw it as only one variety. They equated 'standard' English with 'academic' English:

It is important that all teachers model 'standard' English in the classroom. It is the expected and accepted academic standard, and without it, success is less certain. In this context, written 'standard' English is important. (3168 Russian 2)

This is the crux here! The CALP level of formal standard English is the measure of 'success' and achievement in writing still. (3169 Māori 1)

It was interesting to note that these comments could be interpreted as expressing less a belief in the intrinsic qualities of academic English (as might have been expected in a conservative prescriptive view), than a belief in the educational necessity of providing students with access to the dominant language code. In Fairclough's critique of the concept of 'appropriateness' and Standard English in the British educational context, he points out that one role of appropriateness models of language variation is that they give prescriptivism 'a relatively acceptable face' (1995: 237), by assuming that there is a clear and uncontested

distribution of varieties among the uses of English. However, several comments also noted that *all* students have difficulties with the 'standard' code:

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No more important than for New Zealand trainees (and this is a bit of a variable!!!) (4017 Somali 2)
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The assumption here is that the student is not a 'New Zealand' trainee, although a Somali student is more likely to be from a refugee background than a foreign feepaying student, and therefore would probably regard himself as a New Zealander. The comment links to Phillipson's (1992a: 197) statement that the 'standard' language is acquired with difficulty by all learners, an idea which was extended by another respondent:

It is patronising to suggest that academic standards for Salesi should be dropped. (1009 Sāmoan 1) $\,$

The status of English

The status of English as the national language was perceived by one respondent to be under threat:

New Zealand is an English speaking country! Other cultures "protect" their language - so should we! (1202 Korean 1)

As this comment was in response to the scenario with a Korean student teacher, it may be part of the 'Asian invasion' political discourse which has been recurrent in Aotearoa New Zealand since the 1990s. Fleras and Spoonley (1991: 179) describe the ambivalence in New Zealand to government policies of the 1990s which aimed 'to turn new Zealand into an "Asian" country', and point out that the policies have resulted in levels of English becoming a focus of the 'cultural divide'.

Learning by modelling

Given that children acquire the phonological, syntactic and semantic rules of their language at a very young age and are 'more successful at this task than the most brilliant linguist' (Fromkin and Rodman 1998: 336), the negative effects on student language acquisition from a non-native teacher might have been disputed. However, there seemed to be no challenge to the idea that students would learn the 'non-standard' forms being modelled:

Students need to unlearn these patterns later and that is unhelpful to them. (1151 $\rm M\bar{a}ori$ 1)

This is more important with mid to low ability learners who cannot compensate for his lapses with their own knowledge. (3176 French 2)

In mainstream settings there seems to have been little research on this topic of the effect of non-native teacher modelling; it is regarded as self-evident that teachers who do not have control over 'standard' forms of written language will have problems in teaching writing. Lippi-Green (1997: 123-124) discusses a United States controversy over a petition against teachers who were not proficient in English, and who had non-native accents. She points out that in linguistic terms their accents would not be copied by children (who would only change to meet the accents of peers), and any effect would be in 'communicative effectiveness' as an overlay to the basic structure of language, which would be well-established in the children by the age of six. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that teachers with non-native English are less likely to be employed in Aotearoa New Zealand, as suggested in one comment:

Depends on the Board of Trustees - they will make a hiring decision based on parents' prejudices. (3075 Sāmoan 0) $\,$

However, the place of 'native' versus 'non-native' teachers is an issue in the English as a Second Language (ESL) industry, in which most teachers in English as a Foreign Language environments are not native speakers. Santoro (1999: 39) stresses the importance of modelling for English as a Second Language teachers:

Because of the importance of teachers as effective models in ESL education, student teachers' errors might be a legitimate concern.

Phillipson (1992a: 193-199, 1992b) suggests that non-native speakers with high English proficiency may in fact be more effective than native teachers, because while both groups need to be trained in order to analyse and explain language, non-native teachers have been successful language learners themselves and understand the linguistic and cultural needs of the students. This view was expressed by some respondents:

He may well model more correct standard English than 'native' speakers. (4152 French 1)

Generally bilingual speakers have a higher level understanding of different languages' structures and patterns. (2060 Russian 1)

Medgyes (1992: 339) adds that non-native teachers can teach learning strategies more effectively, are more able to anticipate language difficulties, and can benefit from sharing the learner's mother tongue. Most of these advantages will also apply for any children in a mainstream, rather than the English language classroom, and certainly for the children from the teachers' own language group. Rampton (1990: 19) proposes that 'language expertise' is a better model for language proficiency than 'nativeness', in order to shift the emphasis from who the teacher is, to what they know. Rampton also points out that expertise is a more just basis for teacher recruitment.

Issues for Māori

As might be expected, some respondents who had been given a Māori student teacher scenario identified specific issues relating to Māori language:

Where will Rangi teach? Māori immersion, mainstream? Rangi does have Māori as his first language. (3043 Māori 3) Whose non-standard? Māori "written" English is standard. (1067 Māori 0)

All student teachers need to have correct written English. I spend time on helping my students achieve good connected prose. Students who are native speakers of Māori often have trouble with word order. (2115 Māori 1)

It was interesting that there were few challenges to the idea of a Māori student with non-native written skills, given the very low number of Māori who are not also English speakers (see 1.2.1). This may reflect the idea of a 'Māori English' which is rejected by Bayard (1995: 167), supported by the writers of *Exploring Language* (Ministry of Education 1996a: 19), and described by Gordon and Deverson (1998: 145) as features of New Zealand English which occur more commonly in the speech of Māori speakers (see 2.4.3).

The meaning of 'standard' English

Some respondents emphasised the view from the Ministry of Education's *Exploring English* (1996a: 12) that 'standard' English refers only to the *syntax* of spoken and written English:

He is probably being judged by his accented variety of oral discourse. This has nothing to do with written syntax. (1071 Somali 2)

However, pronunciation is considered in a number of McArthur's (1998: 119-137) 44 citations for the linguistic use of 'standard' and 'Standard English' (see 2.4.3). Some respondents questioned the concept of 'standard' English, possibly noticing through the use of inverted commas that the term might be contested:

Is important - Not critical linguistically. Is critical socially/culturally and political. Needs to get it sorted out! (1072 Russian 3) 'Standard' is an elusive term. (2215 Somali 3)

Most teachers model non-standard English (if we're going to get picky!) (2070 Korean 3)

Other comments challenged the notion of a defined standard variety of English:

Depends who determines "standard" - not the Ministry of Education I hope!! (3205 Māori 2)

In fact, the English curriculum document is clear about the value of a variety of

Englishes:

Students should explore both local and international uses of oral, written, and visual English. New Zealand's unique linguistic situation includes its own distinctive varieties of English, and the indigenous language, Māori, which has an important influence on the development of English in New Zealand. (Ministry of Education 1994: 17).

However, this does not assign any value to the non-native varieties of English which occur in Aotearoa New Zealand. Some respondents expressed the view that New Zealand English is of a lower standard than other varieties:

It seems to me that New Zealand English is 'non-standard' anyway. This would depend on how 'bad' it is but if he communicates well I don't see it as a problem. (2025 Somali 5)

The mitigation in recognition of the student teacher's good communication may reflect the transition reported by Gordon and Deverson (1998: 172), by a younger generation which appears to support the encouragement of a distinctive New Zealand variety of English.

Other respondents thought that the student teacher's English language ability should be balanced with his ability in teaching the content areas:

Good grammar/ spelling is important but I think leaves us with a dilemma as Ghedi's talents lie with Social Studies, therefore perhaps these should be emphasised? (2173 Somali 3)

This raises the question of how such 'emphasis' can be managed, so that the teacher can get the support he needs in order to include a language aspect to the social studies lesson.

7.3.2 Summary and discussion of 'Modelling 'standard' English'

The responses for the second question in the scenario generally did not give the strongly diversity-supportive rating, which was a contrast with the diversity-supportive responses for the question on spoken English and shows strong support for Standard English when specifically mentioned. The largest group of respondents (46.48%) rated the importance of modelling 'standard' written English highly, although 17.49% of respondents gave the middle rating between 'very' important and 'not at all' important.

The topics raised in comments for this question are presented in Table 7.4, which shows a generally non-supportive approach.

Table 7.4 Topics in comments for 'Modelling 'standard' English'

Topics

'Standard' versus 'academic' English The status of English Learning language through modelling Issues for Māori The meaning of 'standard' English

This result means that there is very little critical awareness of what Fairclough (1995) refers to as 'the appropriacy of "appropriateness". Through this, learners can come to understand the hegemony of Standard English, and be encouraged into informed linguistic practice which will include the ability to use Standard English when they judge it appropriate:

And to appreciate the possibility, advantages, and risks of critical, creative and emancipatory practice as speakers and writers, and as critical readers and listeners, using for example other languages and dialects for the prestigious purposes and contexts where standard English is generally said to be appropriate. (Fairclough 1995: 250)

This approach is in contrast to that expressed in documents produced by the Ministry of Education such as the curriculum document and *Exploring Language* (1996a), and the comments in the questionnaire did not point towards such thinking by the teacher educators who responded.

McArthur's (1998: 113) continuum of responses to 'the interplay of standard English and English standards' was fully represented in the comments. At one end of the continuum was the *authoritarian response* in which Standard English '... *is* the language, the only form which an educational system can adopt and to which sensible people will aspire' (McArthur 1998: 113). This was demonstrated by some respondents who repeated the Language Across the Curriculum maxim:

All teachers are teachers of English. (2101 Russian 1)

Next on the continuum is the *libertarian response*, which favours a high standard but is 'less critical of those who fall short' (McArthur 1998: 114):

Modelling of it is essential - if strategies are in place for modelling and monitoring then Ghedi's own model will not be the only model. (2143 Somali 2)

He must be given additional professional help to achieve this. (3030 Russian 1) $\,$

McArthur's (1998: 114), middle *egalitarian response* in which '(m)any would prefer a thousand linguistic flowers to bloom rather than suffer the diktat of a class primarily concerned with protecting its own blossoms' was represented in terms of racism rather than class struggle:

This seems a racist comment! (4068 French 0)

There were fewer comments on the other side of the continuum. The *uncertain response*, a 'worry about the relationship between the standard of their schooldays and variety with which they have grown up' (McArthur 1998: 114) was shown by one respondent who chose the 'Undecided' option:

Tricky one! This modelling of non 'standard' English could provide lots of opportunities for discussion of different terms of communication and link to [the next question]. (2208 Korean 6)

At the other end of McArthur's continuum comes the *eclectic response*, in which 'the standard language is an essential, often admirable social artifact, but not necessarily the pillar without which the temple would fall' (1998: 114):

Yes it is important - although rather unfashionable to say so. (2216 Russian 1) $\,$

If these are the structures and genres that give students access to 'power', then they must be taught. (1185 Somali 1)

It can be like Māori where an 'expert' comes in and takes the class with the teacher present to learn alongside children. (3196 Korean 1)

The last of these responses opened the idea to different possibilities in classroom delivery to allow for Standard English to be presented, and supports a more critical approach to language awareness.

7.4 Scenario B Question (c): 'Language in social studies'

The third question took an aspect of the social studies curriculum in order to investigate attitudes towards the inclusion of a focus on language in a curriculum content area:

[Student teacher] develops a social studies unit to focus on language as a feature of culture and heritage. It investigates the [language] language as it compares with English.

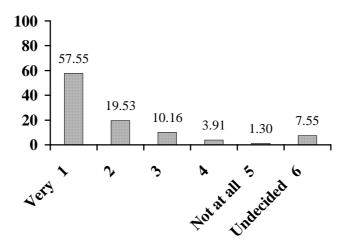
How valuable will this unit be for the children?

The strongly diversity-supportive response to this question is that it would be 'very' valuable for the children, with a rating of '1'.

7.4.1 Overall results for 'Language in social studies'

There was a strong result in support of the value of the social studies unit. Figure 7.4 shows that 57.55% of respondents thought it would be very valuable, compared with 1.30% who thought it would be not at all valuable.

Figure 7.4 Results for 'Language in social studies' Scenario B Question (c) (Percentages, N = 384, max = 395)



Some respondents were unequivocally enthusiastic about the student teacher including a unit focusing on his language:

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What an opportunity! (4077 Somali 1)
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A marvellous idea - should be compulsory for a host of reasons. (2020 French 1)
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The topics raised in the comments have been grouped into four topics for the following discussion: culture and language, cultural comparisons in social studies, the focus of social studies, and unit design.

Culture and language

The most common reasons for the respondents' support was the link between language and culture:

Language = culture and heritage; inextricably linked; language is often in the "too hard basket". More needs to be known about the unit to comment further. (1093 Sāmoan 1)

Heightens learners' awareness and appreciation of how language is constructed and conveys the underlying values/meanings of culture/heritage. (4121 Māori 1)

Language communicates powerful messages about culture, identity and attitudes and values. (2104 French 2)

Some respondents felt that the student teacher would be able to bring an authenticity to the unit:

The real 'McCoy...ivich'. (4162 Russian 1) Because of his expertise and experience - he will make it 'come alive' for children. (1050 French 1) What a neat opportunity to connect with learners. (2071 Somali 1)

These comments may encourage the collaborative relations of power advocated by Cummins (2000: 47), in which 'instruction promotes intrinsic motivation on the part of students to use language actively in order to generate their own knowledge, create literature and art, and act on social realities that affect their lives'. This will be especially likely if the student teacher comes from the community in which they are teaching.

Comparisons in social studies

The comparative aspect of the proposed unit was seen as a strength by some respondents:

If it encourages critical reflection - fosters understanding between cultures. (3124 Korean 2)

Comparing and contrasting, especially for mono-cultural children like many of those in New Zealand, is good learning. (3084 Russian 1)

Therefore, it seems that the majority of respondents do not concur with Beals' (2001) postmodern critique of comparisons of 'others' in the social studies curriculum:

For example, within the *Culture and Heritage Strand*, and also in the *Essential Learning* requirements, children come to an understanding of what it is to be a New Zealander through comparing themselves to other cultures and societies. This may seem straightforward, but what happens to children who immigrate to New Zealand? At this point one falls back again on what "citizen" once meant – the child is not labelled a New Zealander, but Romanian, Cook Islander, Muslim, etc. (Beals 2001: 205)

She states that these comparisons in the context of ideas such as 'identity' and 'citizenship' are examples of European assimilation policies, from the 'silent authoring Pakeha male voice of the document' (Beals 2001: 206). She advocates replacing them with that of 'subjectivity' from post-structuralist thinkers Baudrillard and Foucault, so that students study other discourses in addition to 'the democratic discourse and resulting claims to truth' (Beals 2001: 208).

The focus of social studies

Although 'language as a feature of culture and heritage' was taken directly from the social studies curriculum document, the relevance of the unit to the curriculum was questioned in a number of comments, even by some respondents who were teacher educators in the social studies curriculum area:

Not a good question! Depends on why he is doing this? What social studies strand is he focusing on? What understanding is he aiming for? (1015 Sāmoan 0) This would not be part of a social studies unit, so I will not comment. (3125 Somali 0) In my opinion, this is too esoteric a unit in this curriculum area. (2070 Korean 5)

This last comment linked into other comments by respondents who considered such a language topic unsuitable for young children:

Not with primary children. (4136 Korean 4)

In fact, the part of the curriculum which explicitly refers to language as a feature of culture and heritage is in Level 1 of the Culture and Heritage Achievement Objectives and Indicators; Level 1 stretches from pre-school to Year 6 (there are eight overlapping levels from junior primary to senior secondary school) (Ministry of Education 1997a).

Unit design

A number of comments stressed the importance of good design of the unit:

If it is well done - could be very valuable - we are too monolingual here. (2043 Māori 1)

As long as one is not preferred above the other. (1019 Māori 1)

Children (in New Zealand) need to be exposed to a variety of languages. However, if the curriculum is social studies then I would hope that Sergei studies values and children's perceptions in being confronted with new language. (3120 Russian 1)

These comments may indicate a concern that too strong a focus on language would not be appropriate in a social studies lesson, in spite of language so frequently being linked by respondents to culture, which was the focus of the achievement objective. In fact, a number of respondents (7.55%) were undecided about the question:

Depends on so many variables! Does he then make links to other languages? Does he allow children who have other languages to adapt the unit so they can focus on their own language? (1044 French 6) Depends on the class composition, racial mix, wider intentions, associate teacher's advice/guidance, etc. (4075 Sāmoan 6)

Depends on the content/approach. Could be very valuable if some generalised learning is included. (2101 Somali 6)

These comments may be a sign of the criticism made of the social studies curriculum that it is vague and difficult to operationalise in the classroom (Openshaw 2004: 268), a view that has been reinforced in a review by the Australian Council for Educational Research (Ferguson 2002), which stated that it 'does not provide schools and teachers with sufficient advice to implement programs that fulfil the aims of the learning area'.

7.4.2 Language effect in 'Language in social studies'

A comparison of the difference in response among the whole population for the six different languages is presented in Figure 7.5, where it can be seen that the highest number of responses for the unit being 'Very' valuable were for Māori, followed by Sāmoan and Somali. This means that a unit comparing Māori, Sāmoan or Somali languages with English would be more likely to be rated valuable than one comparing French, Korean or Russian languages with English.

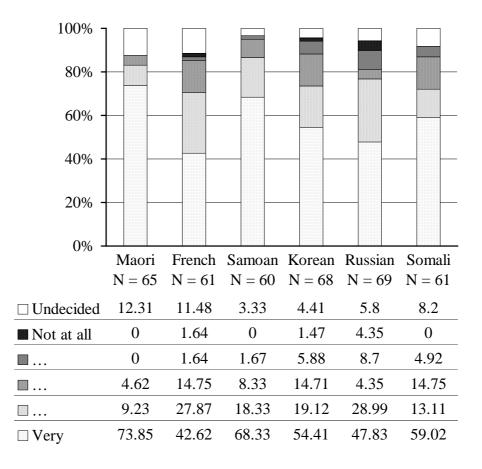


Figure 7.5 Results by language for 'Language in social studies' Scenario B Question (c) (Percentages)

An Anova test using difference of means was carried out (after the 'undecided' responses were removed) to see whether these differences between the responses to each language were significant. This showed that the language of the student teacher in the scenario had a strong influence on whether the respondent thought there was any value in a social studies unit comparing the student teacher's language with English (F = 4.85, df = 5, 332, p = 0.0003).

The average mean scores given to each language can be seen in Table 7.5. This shows that a unit based on Māori was most likely to be thought valuable (1.21), whereas a unit based on Russian was least likely to be thought valuable (1.86).

Table 7.5Mean results by language for 'Language in social studies'
Scenario B Question (c) (max = 5)

Māori	French	Sāmoan	Korean	Russian	Somali
1.21	1.78	1.41	1.75	1.86	1.63

A further analysis of these results examined the probabilities that the mean ratings for each language were different from each other. Table 7.6 shows that the probability of the differences between ratings of languages occurring by chance was very small in three cases: Māori and French (p = 0.0012), Māori and Korean (p = 0.0012) and Māori and Russian (p = 0.0001). This means that a unit investigating the Māori language was significantly more likely to be rated as valuable than a unit investigating French, Korean or Russian languages.

		B Question ice levels (p	(c)) for pairwi	se compari	sons
	Māori	French	Sāmoan	Korean	Russian
Māori					
French	0.0012				
Sāmoan	0.2357	0.0366			
Korean	0.0012	0.8874	0.0409		
Russian	0.0001	0.6204	0.0072	0.5039	
Somali	0.0169	0.3832	0.2200	0.4417	0.1583

Table 7.6 Comparison of languages for 'Language in social studies' Seconomic D Question (a)

As the Māori unit was most likely to be rated as valuable, this difference means that units comparing French, Korean or Russian languages with English would be least likely to be rated as valuable. Although there were no comments identifying specific cultural reasons why a comparison with Māori (as an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand and the language of the tangata whenua) might be considered the most valuable by teacher educators, this may have been implied in one comment:

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Particularly for children similar to Rangi. (2085 Māori 2)
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Another comment gave a linguistic reason for the usefulness of the unit:

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Knowledge of Te Reo, understanding 'youse' comes from Koutou
[you (plural)] etc etc etc. (2007 Māori 1)<sup>2</sup>
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As a unit investigating Māori was most likely to be rated valuable by teacher educators, this significant difference means that a unit investigating French, Korean or Russian would be least likely to be rated as valuable:

Probably better done in [the] weekend as Chinese children do in Chinese schools on Saturday. (1100 Korean 3)

² Stubbe and Holmes (2000: 278) note that this usage of 'yous' is also present in Afro-American Vernacular English, and most linguists trace it to the influence of Irish English in both cases.

It was interesting to note that this same result did not apply to Sāmoan and Somali. This might be explained in the case of Sāmoan by the high number of Pasifika children in New Zealand schools, and an awareness of Pacific culture, as noted by two respondents:

Depends how he does it. If it relates to the Pacific, this would be better. (3074 French 4) $\,$

Hard to say. It depends on the cultural mix of his students. (2008 French 3) $\,$

Another comment implies that children in New Zealand schools are 'English':

It will help them to know more about Sāmoan culture and their own (English) culture. (3099 Sāmoan 1)

However, there were no similar comments about Somali language. This may be because the number of students from East Africa entering teacher education programmes remains miniscule (see 1.4.2), although there is starting to be a media awareness of communities growing in some suburbs (for example, Schaer 2002).

7.4.3 Summary and discussion of 'Language in social studies'

The results of this question generally showed positive attitudes towards the bilingualism of student teachers, with 55.55% of respondents rating the integration of a language unit into the social studies curriculum area as 'very' valuable. This is in accord with findings from Dickie's (2000b: 102) study at Wellington College of Education, which reported that although indigenous Pasifika knowledge had been incorporated into a number of courses through the use of resources such as music, language, artwork, and dance, as well as tutorial readings and texts with a Pasifika perspective, the majority of Pasifika student teachers had never been encouraged to use their language.

The topics raised by respondents in their comments are shown in Table 7.7. These indicate that the teacher educators make a strong link between language and culture, although in some cases they are not clear about how to incorporate this into the social studies curriculum.

Table 7.7 Topics in comments for 'Language in social studies'

Topics

Culture and language Cultural comparisons in social studies The focus of social studies Unit design

The inclusion of language was a specific focus in recommendations by Yeh et al. (2002: 311) for teacher education in their study of Asian bilingual teachers in New York:

Teacher education that incorporates the unique experiences of bilingual educators can indeed offer teachers encouraging support, such as providing them with culturally appropriate teaching material and resources, promoting collaboration among teachers as well as with parents, and developing techniques for teaching the English language more effectively and efficiently.

Similar comments have been made for Pasifika teachers in this country by Tuioti (2002: 135), who particularly mentions the gap in values between home and school. The potential of social studies units to make links into the wider community were not raised by respondents in this study, although they are well documented in Kennedy and Dewar's (1997) study of programmes and support in New Zealand schools. This may give support to Beals' (2001) critique of the social studies syllabus, in which she states that it supports assimilation policies by comparison with the 'other', although Openshaw (2004: 279-280) points out that controversies over the role of the social studies curriculum are inevitable while 'New Zealanders themselves also remain at odds over a wide range of fundamental economic, social, political, cultural and educational matters'.

There was significantly more support for a unit comparing Māori language with English, than any other language. This may be explained by the confirmation of the importance of the Māori language in the 1986 Treaty of Waitangi finding which has resulted in an increase of resources and information to schools about their obligations towards their Māori students (Te Puni Kōkiri 1999: 14), and may include the teaching of Māori across the curriculum (Donn and Schick 1995: 64). In a critique of the New Zealand curriculum, Le Métais (2002: 37) identifies the

potential for cultural conflict between the teaching of English as the dominant language in mainstream schools and the curriculum statement that language is a 'vital medium for transmitting values and culture' (Ministry of Education 1993: 10).

Cummins (2000: 48) states that educators are 'constantly sketching a triangular set of images': identities as educators, the identity options highlighted for students, and the society students will be part of building. These could equally apply to teacher educators, student teachers and then to teachers in schools. The responses for this question showed some uncertainty by teacher educators about how to include language in the images they are creating.

7.5 Scenario B Question (d): 'Advice from a language expert'

The fourth question in this scenario aimed to investigate the attitudes of teacher educators to language as an area of specialist knowledge. It built on the previous question where the student teacher was proposing a social studies unit to compare his language as it compares with English:

[Student teacher] is worried that he does not have enough formal background in language to plan the unit well. He asks you whether he needs to seek advice from a language expert.

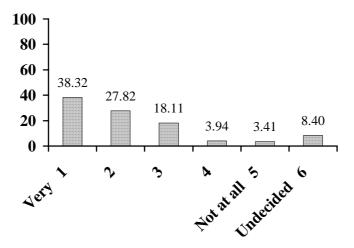
How important is it for [student teacher] to seek expert advice about comparing the two languages?

The strongly diversity-supportive response for this question was that it would be 'very' important, with a rating of '1'.

7.5.1 Results for 'Advice from a language expert'

Figure 7.6 shows that two thirds of respondents (38.32 + 27.82 = 66.14%) thought that it was important for the student teacher to seek expert advice. This result shows support for the student teacher's bilingualism, by helping him further develop a formal knowledge of his first language.

Figure 7.6 Results for 'Advice from a language expert' Scenario B Question (d) (Percentages, N = 381, max = 395)



The comments from respondents for this question were in five topics, which will be discussed in turn: good teaching practice, experts versus linguists, Māori experts, students as cultural experts, and the importance of English.

Good teaching practice

Many respondents commented that it was obvious good practice for a student teacher to seek advice if they were uncertain:

This is not specific to language. We should always seek advice before teaching material we don't know. (1182 French 1) Because to not do so would be silly. It shows he's a teacher not a politician. (1137 Somali 1) Teaching is a collaborative process - seeking help is [a] courageous virtue. More importantly making use of the help is to be applauded. (3120 Russian 1)

Experts vs linguists

However, there was considerable comment about the nature of the expert to be approached. There seemed a clear opinion that this did not need to be a university expert, and in particular it did not need to be a linguist:

(Comparative linguistics??) Experiencing some confusion in the terms here - language?? Or linguistics?? As important for Salesi as it is for anyone else; seeking advice on the development of a unit on language has no bearing on how he speaks English. (1093 Sāmoan 2)

He should be supported and assisted by a Head of Department. (4071 Somali 1)

It's not necessary to consult a linguist - just someone with some knowledge. (3117 Sāmoan 2)

These comments may be a reaction against the perception that as my study was in linguistics they believed the question was aimed at consulting with a linguist, and it was interesting to see their resistance to that idea:

I feel this question is leading. (1200 French 2)

Other comments relating to the pedagogy used in the unit advocated a discovery approach as an alternative to the student teacher seeking advice:

It may be equally valuable for Rangi and the children to discover the differences - but this will be enhanced by Rangi's knowledge about both languages. (1061 Māori 2)

Especially important for mid to low ability students if there is high teacher direction - self-directed activities by the students may reduce the need for Pierre to be perfect. (3176 French 2)

These comments imply that the process of discovery is most valuable, and that the knowledge they acquire of the result of this process is less important.

Māori experts

In contrast, a traditional Māori expert, a kaumatua (Māori elder), was more acceptable in the case of the Māori scenario:

The key for me here is how the term expert is defined. Might this be a Kaumatua from his Marae [tribal compound] - or does it have to be a University trained expert? (1079 Māori 1)

Tikanga [protocol] would indicate that for Te Reo, go to a kaumatua. For the English it is a learning opportunity for him. (2007 Māori 1)

One respondent was also concerned about the cultural outcome of the unit:

What will be the focus of this comparison. Will they be positive for Māori? (3043 Māori 6)

It would therefore seem that an awareness that language is embedded in a cultural context is well understood in relation to the Māori language, although no one with other versions made similar comments.

Students as experts

Some respondents did not agree that consultation with an expert would be necessary:

Probably wouldn't hurt but it would depend on the "expert" – they may make it too complicated for students. (2020 French 4)

He has got where he is through academia and should be able to plan effectively from his own language and culture. (3039 Sāmoan 5)

He should be able to compare proverbs and colloquial language, etc. Special words which reflect culture and environment. (3006 Russian 5)

Comments that student teachers should already be experts on their own culture are in contrast to findings by Dickie (2000b: 99), which point out the problems expressed by Pasifika student teachers when asked to justify an aspect of culture:

Students should not be expected to give an explanation or a view as an expert on their culture. This may make them feel threatened, and they may not want to give, or may not have, an explanation. (Dickie, 2000b: 104)

This point was also made by respondents in some comments relating to the understanding of someone's own language:

Unless specifically taught, most people don't have a formal, structural understanding of their own language. (1162 Russian 1)

It's good to analyse it and not be 'told'. However, as a native speaker he may not be aware (consciously) of his own language. Also, there are many good readings on such issues. (2130 Korean 3)

The importance of English

A further set of comments stressed the importance of English, possibly referring back to questions earlier in the scenario about the student teacher's non-English accent:

If Pierre wishes to teach through the primary medium of the English language then his planning needs to reflect his satisfactory levels of competence at the standard competency level. (3134 French 2)

It depends whether he can use a PC which has a grammar and spell check. (1150 Russian 0) $\,$

This equation of 'language' with 'English' is also made by Wright in his (1991) discussion of the language awareness of non-native teachers of English language in Britain:

The non-native's view of language may also be impermeable through a basic insecurity regarding proficiency in the language or even inferiority about the variety spoken. (Wright 1991: 65)

As a critical discourse analysis approach reveals (Fairclough 1989: 111), this use of 'language' to mean 'English' reflects the writer's ideological assumptions about the overriding importance of English. However, Wright emphasises the advantages for teachers who have been taught a metalanguage through a structural/grammatical background, which might apply to the student teachers in the French, Russian and Korean versions of the questionnaire.

7.5.2 Summary and discussion of 'Advice from a language expert'

The highest rating by respondents (38.92%) was given to the strongly diversitysupportive response to this fourth question in the scenario, in other words rating that it would be very important for a student teacher to seek advice from a language expert in planning a social studies unit to compare his language with English. In the case of Māori language, some respondents stated that this expert should be a kaumatua, or traditional Māori expert.

Table 7.8 presents the topics raised in the comments by respondents for this question. These show that while a number of respondents supported the idea of an expert advising the student teacher, others were more hesitant.

Table 7.8 Topics in comments for 'Advice from a language expert'

Topics	
Good teaching practice Experts vs linguists Māori experts Students as cultural experts The importance of English	

The comments of a number of respondents reflected an 'anti-linguist' sentiment. In discussions of 'folk linguistic awareness' Preston (1996: 72) notes that awareness of non-linguists depends on sociocultural factors rather than 'strictly linguistic facts', but suggests that both are important. This statement implies that there are some relevant facts which linguists are not interested in, confirming the ideas that some teacher educators expressed for this question. My interpretation of this is

that there is a perception of linguists (in this country) that through an emphasis on the *linguistic equalities* of different languages, dialects and varieties, they do not adequately address the *social inequalities* which are linked to the use of different varieties. This therefore leaves educators feeling that linguistics is irrelevant (other than perhaps for encouraging national pride in the development of a distinct variety of New Zealand English, as in Gordon and Deverson 1998: 171; Bayard 1995: 113). In a discussion of the relationship of language awareness and linguistics, Borg advocates stronger partnerships between linguists and language educators (1996: 123):

We need to go beyond a passive acceptance of the uneasy relationship between linguists and language pedagogy that currently exists, and to begin exploring ways in which this relationship can become bidirectionally productive.

The results from this question indicate that this dialogue is needed in the context of language in education in Aotearoa New Zealand.

7.6 Scenario B Question (e): 'Learning other languages'

The final question in this scenario aimed to find out the attitudes of teacher educators towards language learning, and to compare the responses to different languages presented in the various scenario versions:

A colleague of yours comments that as English is so important worldwide, if the children speak English they do not need a knowledge of [language]. How useful is it for New Zealand children to learn [language]?

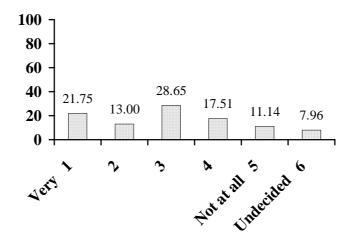
The strongly diversity-supportive answer for this question would be that it was 'very' useful, with a rating of '1'.

7.6.1 Overall results for 'Learning other languages'

As can be seen in Figure 7.7, the results show that teacher educators generally did consider that it was useful for children learning other languages (21.75% + 13.00% = 36.75%), compared to those who did not (17.51% + 11.14% = 28.65%). However, the pattern of responses to this question was quite different from that

for the previous questions in the scenario, with the middle response highest at 28.65%.

Figure 7.7 Results for 'Learning other languages' Scenario B Question (e) (Percentages, N = 377, max = 395)



This response pattern may show some ambivalence on the part of respondents, or perhaps an ambiguity in the question, as the number of 'undecided' ratings was quite small at 7.96%. Respondents may have interpreted the question to mean *all* New Zealanders should learn the language they were presented with. There were six main topics in the comments for this question, which will now be discussed: language awareness, cultural and cognitive benefits, importance of Māori, communication benefits, maintenance of language and culture, and practical considerations.

Language awareness

Some respondents included reasons for the importance of learning any other language. One was the help it provides with English:

It is not that French is necessarily so important, but that learning another language is important, for it helps with English (grammar, structure, cultural aspects, etc). (2068 French 3)

We learn about our own language through comparisons with other languages. So in that way, learning some Korean structures etc. is valuable. (3184 Korean 4)

The value of exploring contrasting structures with the students' own languages is affirmed for students learning Spanish in the United Kingdom by Hawkins (1999: 135), who states that this may be the 'most educative' aspect of learning foreign

languages. This view is also expressed in Aotearoa New Zealand Ministry of Education policy (*New Zealand Language Teacher* 2003: 5).

Cultural and cognitive benefits

Other comments emphasised a range of benefits:

```
Learning a second language - no matter which one - is of
benefit culturally, academically, cognitively. (3194 French
1)
Or any language really. The arrogance of native English
speakers towards other languages is a worry! The comment
disregards the other reasons for becoming bilingual - or
trying to, e.g. cultural awareness, intellectual
```

These comments agree with Waite's (1992a: 16) statements that learning another language 'can enrich the learner both culturally and intellectually'.

stimulations, etc etc. (3168 Russian 1)

The importance of Māori

The special case of Māori as the indigenous language was noted by some respondents:

More important that they learn Māori if they are learning a second language. (3170 French 5)

It is important for children to learn to use other languages, but in an overcrowded curriculum priorities have to be made. The time would have greater educational/social advantage if spent on Māori. (4131 Somali 3)

Not Somali in particular - but a language other than English. All New Zealand children should learn English, Māori and another language. (4107 Somali 1)

The last of these comments includes a bumper sticker slogan from the 1990s, and was quoted by several respondents. Attitudes expressed towards Māori are discussed more fully in 7.6.2 below.

Communication benefits

Other respondents stressed the importance of a communicative purpose for language learning, firstly for the international context:

Learning to speak another language fluently can be very useful, however, the standard of second languages learnt in schools is not necessarily enough to help communicate in the relevant countries. (4074 French 3)

If the opportunity is there for them then hopefully it will be taken - to enable communication and friendships to

develop - and who knows what learning Somali could open up for any New Zealand child in the future? (4065 Somali 0)

Secondly, some respondents noted the possibilities of communication in local contexts in Aotearoa New Zealand:

Poor question! Depends on where they live! e.g. Southlanders would not really need it but Aucklanders would - again, depending on where they live ... (1015 Sāmoan 0)

Useful for New Zealand children to know any other language. Existence of a speech community to interact with is more useful. Can Russian meet this criteria? (1072 Russian 3)

The easiest (access and practice) second language for New Zealand children.
The language is the way to understand the culture. (2007 Māori 1)

In the Education Review Office's 1994 report on second language learning, the most common of six reasons for undertaking second language study was for overseas travel, and the fifth was 'to communicate with native speakers of the language', which might include members of local communities (Education Review Office 1994).

Maintenance of language and culture

The aim of language and cultural maintenance was mentioned by a number of respondents:

Need to maintain culture and I am envious of bi-lingual people! (4106 Korean 2)

New Zealand Somali children? - New Zealand Somali children [Very] - Non-Somali New Zealand students [Not at all] (2059 Somali 0)

(Sāmoan children need Sāmoan). Any language is useful. If there are Sāmoan children in the class it is important to learn about this country. English needs work first. (4123 Sāmoan 3)

This last comment reflects the ambivalence of some respondents, who could see the need for language maintenance for some students but would prioritise an emphasis on English language development. The Sāmoan version of the scenario elicited particular comment about the numbers of speakers in this country:

Depending on other sources of richness. If I already learn Māori and French [Sāmoan is] not so important, but clearly [Sāmoan] is a New Zealand language and therefore should be acknowledged. (4051 Sāmoan 1)

However, one comment may have been a reflection of the low status the Sāmoan

language has:

The question is 'loaded' in its presentation. Sāmoan language doesn't stand a chance. (3039 Sāmoan 0)

This is an interesting comment on the design of the questionnaire, which in fact was intended to highlight the importance of each language. The learning of Sāmoan has been advocated in the conclusion to a study of a newly-migrated family of Sāmoan children in Dunedin (Taleni 1998: 28):

Bilingual skills are required in a number of situations at work and in the community. Learning a community language like Sāmoan will help both Sāmoan and non-Sāmoan learners to function more effectively in contexts in which Sāmoan is used.

Practical considerations

Practical considerations were identified in some comments:

It is essential for all students to have access to another language. If Yong-Jin is their teacher then it is possible to construct learning so students obtain knowledge of Korean and curriculum content simultaneously. Few teachers understand that this is possible. (4124 Korean 1)

Should have the choice if timetable and staffing allows for it at senior secondary. (2106 Korean 3)

These placed a low value on language learning, which was taken even further in one comment suggesting it be taken out of the curriculum altogether:

Perhaps as a hobby. Children need to be self-motivated. (3178 Korean 6)

This echoes the comment in the Education Review Office report into second language learning that a second language 'is often seen as an adjunct to the core curriculum, perhaps little more than a frill' (Education Review Office 1994).

7.6.2 Language effect in 'Learning other languages'

The Anova test showed that the language asked about in this question had a strong influence on the response as to the usefulness of New Zealand children learning the language (F = 19.41, df = 5, 324, p = <.0001). Figure 7.8 shows that the number of 'Very' responses were much highest for Māori.

100% -						
80% -						
60% -						
40% -						
20% -						
0.14						
()% -						
0% -	Maori	French	Samoan	Korean	Russian	Somali
0% -	Maori N = 65		Samoan N = 59		Russian N = 69	
0% - □ Undecided						
	N = 65	N = 62	N = 59	N = 64	N = 69	N = 58
	N = 65 1.54	N = 62 4.84	N = 59 8.47	N = 64 17.19	N = 69 7.25	N = 58 8.62
□ Undecided ■ Not at all	N = 65 1.54 0	N = 62 4.84 8.06	N = 59 8.47 10.17	N = 64 17.19 12.5	N = 69 7.25 13.04	N = 58 8.62 24.14
□ Undecided ■ Not at all ■	N = 65 1.54 0 3.08	N = 62 4.84 8.06 16.13	N = 59 8.47 10.17 16.95	N = 64 17.19 12.5 23.44	N = 69 7.25 13.04 26.09	N = 58 8.62 24.14 18.97

Figure 7.8 Results by language for 'Learning other languages' Scenario B Question (e) (Percentages)

The average mean scores given to each language can be seen in Table 7.9. This shows that Māori was most likely to be rated as very useful by respondents.

Table 7.9Mean responses by language for 'Learning other languages'
Scenario B Question (e) (max = 5)

Māori	French	Sāmoan	Korean	Russian	Somali
1.59	2.85	2.81	3.23	3.25	3.34

A further analysis of these results examined the probabilities that the mean ratings for each pair of languages were different from each other. Table 7.10 shows that the probability of the differences between ratings of language occurring by chance was very small for Māori and the five other languages (all were p<.0001). This means that Māori was significantly more likely to be regarded as useful than all other five languages.

Table 7.10Comparison of languages for 'Learning other languages'
Scenario B Question (e)
Significance levels (p) for pairwise comparisons

	Māori	French	Sāmoan	Korean	Russian
Māori					
French	<.0001				
Sāmoan	<.0001	0.8825			
Korean	<.0001	0.0884	0.0702		
Russian	<.0001	0.0579	0.0453	0.9138	
Somali	<.0001	0.0271	0.0212	0.6193	0.6808

Some respondents emphasised that their comment did not indicate a preference for the language presented in their scenario above others:

Any language other than English - French, Māori, Italian, Cantonese, Arabic .(2020 French 1)

But again depends on context. Certainly not a universal? Useful for some but as useful as Māori or Japanese or Strine³? (1048 Russian 5)

However, those respondents who were given the Māori version of the scenario were very supportive of Māori as the indigenous language in Aotearoa New Zealand:

Māori is the language of the land. It is unique to Aotearoa. (2115 Māori 1)

Many reasons why it's important; our other national language, part of being a New Zealander, necessary to understanding of another culture - language is identity, heritage values etc. all contained in a language. (4043 Māori 1)

Māori is an official language of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The fact that this issue is still debated shows how bicultural we are! (1049 Māori 1)

A well known hegemony that has perpetuated the marginalisation of Māori in its home. (1103 Māori 1) $\,$

It is a New Zealand official language. We use it when we want to impress foreigners who will visit for one day. We need it as part of our understanding of our Treaty partners. It is precisely because Land Court judges were ignorant of the language that they listened to Princess Te Puea Herangi speak - chanting genealogy for three days. At the end they ignored all that she said because they did not realise that this was the manner of establishing land claims. They were used to maps on paper - not chanted genealogy in Māori. (2145 Māori 1)

³ A popular (usually comic) representation of the Australian pronunciation of 'Australian'.

These positive comments support the ideals of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission) (n.d.) as stated on the website, which conclude with the Māori proverb:

Ko te reo te hā te mauri o te Māoritanga. Language is the very life-breath of being Māori.

The Commission states that strong cultural identity is necessary for the development of a diverse and harmonious society. The respondents in this study also appear to support the Government's Māori Language Strategy, in which the first of five policy objectives is 'to increase the number of people who know the Māori language by increasing their opportunities to learn Māori' (Te Puni Kōkiri 1999: 11).

The comments did not generally reflect the attitude to Māori noted by Harlow (1998) in his examination of the 'language myth' that some languages are better than others, and his discussion of the initiatives from the 1980s to try and reverse a trend of increasingly restricted use:

As these initiatives have progressed, it has been possible to notice in the reaction of some people the very attitude I have been referring to, that Māori is simply not capable of being used as an official language or as the language of education beyond the very basic level. (Harlow 1998: 10)

There were some comments, however, which were more qualified in their support of Māori language in schools:

Māori is an official language in New Zealand. You don't just dismiss it. Children need to build up vocabulary but don't need to become fluent speakers. (2079 Māori 3)

Māori is useful if it is a tool for communication. The question is ... how valuable is Māori as a tool of communication? (1079 Māori 6)

I do not advocate a compulsion at secondary level. (3127 Māori 2)

Waite (1992b: 18) warns that discussion about compulsory learning of languages

'rouses passions, both for and against', as demonstrated in another comment:

Should be compulsory Years 1-8!! (2133 Māori 1)

Compulsory teaching of Māori is not a policy of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission) (2000):

The Māori language is not, and has never been, a compulsory subject at any level of the education system in New Zealand. The Māori Language Commission does not advocate compulsion, preferring instead to promote positive attitudes to the language and respect for individuals language choice.

A pragmatic note about the resources necessary for the increased delivery of Māori language programmes was sounded by one respondent:

If the Māori language is going to survive! All children should learn at least some Māori language each year in primary school. Problem - do we have enough teachers who can teach it? (2043 Māori 2)

A wide range of Māori language programmes is described by Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development) (2000: 1), from learning the language by means of 'simple greetings and songs' through to study leading to formal qualifications; this range may reflect the problem of qualified teachers. The Government's Māori Language Strategy identifies strategies to increase teacher supply and the language proficiency of existing teachers (Te Puni Kōkiri 1999: 14).

Other respondents identified different language priorities:

New Zealand has less of a European connection these days - more emphasis should be placed on Asian languages. (1152 French 4)

It is moderately important, but from the point of view that any language that is pursued as a contrast / [??] to our own will be helpful - but better to choose a 'local' language closer to home. (1212 French 4)

It depends - all New Zealanders need some language of people who live here. Even if it is to say hello. Some New Zealanders need high level Korean language skills. (4028 Korean 0)

These reflect the ideas discussed by Waite (1992a), in which he discusses the relative importance of language issues in order to set a priority list for action, including factors such as trade relations and community language maintenance (see 1.3.2). Most of these are restated by the Education Review Office (1994), although without specific mention of language maintenance other than for Māori children.

7.6.3 Summary and discussion of 'Learning other languages'

The results for the final question in this scenario indicate some support for the teaching of a range of languages in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, the largest

response was for the middle category (28.65% of respondents), indicating that there is some uncertainty over this support, possibly as a result of the wording of the question.

Table 7.11 shows the topics raised in the comments for this question. They show a a generally supportive approach by respondents for the learning of other languages.

Table 7.11 Topics in comments for 'Learning other languages'

Topics

Language awareness Cultural and cognitive benefits The importance of Māori Communication benefits Maintenance of language and culture Practical considerations

Comments were equally emphatic at either end of the rating scale. At one end were those who strongly supported the idea:

For reasons too obvious to elucidate, it is vital for all children to have exposure to, if not learn, a second language. (4090 Russian 1)

At the other end of the scale, strong feelings were also evident, as shown in one succinct comment:

Rubbish. (1137 Somali 5)

However, the majority of comments were more positive, and 34.75% (21.75% + 13.00%) of respondents rated at the positive end of the scale compared with 28.65% (17.51% + 11.14%) who gave the negative ratings.

In *Aoteareo*, the discussion document on the development of a New Zealand languages policy, Waite (1992b: 18-19) advocates the learning of other languages:

One could claim that a subject like history enables students to appreciate other ways of thinking, feeling and sensing. Yet this aspect of language learning, when combined with the enhanced ability to manipulate language that bilingualism appears to bring, argues strongly for including the learning of another language in a common curriculum. The international critique of the New Zealand curriculum by Le Métais found that one of the two exceptions to a high degree of coherence between the Framework and subsequent Statements was the relatively low priority given to foreign language learning (Le Métais 2002: 66). She recommended changes to the curriculum titles to reflect the language concerned (Le Métais 2002: 68), and this has been recommended in the Ministry of Education's (2002a) Stocktake report (see 2.4.3).

Compulsory learning of languages is currently not common or popular in schools in Aotearoa New Zealand, possibly because parents will have reasons for or against any specific language. For example, Potter's (1999: 33) study of the Japanese-English bilingual venture at Chartwell School in Wellington found a resistance by non-Japanese parents to any particular language becoming compulsory, even in a school with clear links to the Japanese language and culture.

Māori was significantly more likely to be supported than any other language. This support appears to be less for the general reasons Waite outlines, than as a result of the successful promotion of the status of Māori as a taonga in Aotearoa New Zealand. Le Métais (2002: 35) notes that the reasons for the use of Māori terms used in all curriculum statements are not made clear; she suggests they could be to include Māori students or to signal different or wider meanings of the concepts involved. My understanding would be that the reasons are more symbolic, to indicate a bilingual and bicultural orientation through the curriculum documents. This therefore indicates another area where language issues are ill-defined, reflecting a decision-making process based on ideological grounds.

7.7 Conclusions

This scenario investigated language diversity in the context of a bilingual student teacher in a teacher education programme. The student presented to each respondent was from one of six different ethnolinguistic backgrounds: Māori, French, Sāmoan, Korean, Russian or Somali. These bilingual students would be qualifying to teach in all settings including mainstream, and potentially having

some control over the education of monolingual English speaking children. This is therefore a shift in power relationships from Scenario A, where the bilingual child was in a comparatively powerless position in the classroom.

In the United States context, Wong (2000: 128-129) identifies the need for 'creative partnerships' between school districts and schools of education, pointing out that 'priority must be placed on recruiting first generation college students from diverse racial, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds' in order to transform the politics of schooling. In this country an Education Review Office Report has identified tensions in multicultural schools when teachers lack awareness and sensitivity to other cultures, especially from 'distant countries', with the following lacklustre support for bicultural and bilingual teachers:

Employing teachers of other cultures may help, although they may not necessarily embrace their own cultures. Teachers with the relevant language skills may be hard to find and even harder to retain. Thus broad cultural understanding among teachers may be an unrealistic expectation. (Education Review Office 2000)

However, the report does include schools which have teachers and support staff from different cultures, schools with close connections with their communities, and schools with positive role models of different cultures, as examples of 'good practice' in multi-cultural schools. There is no connection made between this and the question of how to address the problem of 'finding teachers with the relevant language skills' who will 'embrace their own cultures', such as through encouraging the 'creative partnerships' advocated by Wong above, or the 'collaborative creation of power' advocated by Cummins (2000: 44).

The results in this scenario were supportive of diversity in four questions: 'a non-English accent', 'language in social studies', 'advice from a language expert', and 'learning other languages'. However, the largest number of respondents gave the strongly non-diversity-supportive rating for the 'modelling 'standard' English' question, which indicates strong support for Standard English among teacher educators. This reflects the approach to Standard English expressed in the Ministry of Education's materials (see 2.4.3), and other New Zealand resources for teachers such as by Emmitt, Pollock, and Limbrick (1996: 63):

We need to accept the language and be sensitive to the features of the students' dialects, particularly when responding to students' reading,

. . .

writing and speech. If a student is dictating to us, we should record it faithfully. If a student imposes a dialect on the reading of a text, do not treat the change as an error, but rather, realise that meaning has been constructed. Later you can go back to the word in the text and use it as the basis for a discussion of language differences.

This quotation comes after a paragraph which has pointed out that the language of power used in government, education and the media is 'general New Zealand English', which can be called 'the standard dialect', which is 'to be used by all speakers for writing'. This therefore implies that the discussion of language differences with the student who has dictated in a 'non-standard' dialect, no matter how sensitive that discussion is, will be based on developing control of the 'standard'. The emphasis is on 'using language appropriately in different contexts' (Emmitt, Pollock and Limbrick 1996: 64) which is the normative view critiqued by Fairclough (1995: 236), in which students are taught about the importance of 'standard' forms without any indication that these may be challenged or changed, as they would be in a 'critical language awareness' approach (Ivanič 1990: 126) or 'critical awareness of discourse' approach (Fairclough 1999: 79) (see 2.4.2). An alternative view to that of Emmitt, Pollock and Limbrick was expressed by Holmes twenty years ago (1982: 43-44):

Normally, when a child says something in non-standard English, everyone else in the class will understand, for only rarely are such utterances unintelligible to those who use mainly standard forms. They can simply be accepted.

When children are first learning to write, much of what they write is likely to be personal, for example, labels on pictures and greeting cards for parents. There is no need to insist on standard forms for this writing, and children will be more enthusiastic if they are not being corrected constantly.

Holmes pointed out that teachers will need to work on building understanding with parents if non-standard forms are being accepted in school work (1982: 44-45, 49), which is in line with Cummins' (2000: 45) model of intervention for collaborative empowerment. It seems that current materials written for teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand are less likely to reflect that approach.

There was a statistically significant difference in the responses to the different ethnolinguistic backgrounds of the students presented for three questions: 'a non-English accent', 'language in social studies', and 'learning other languages'. In each case the Māori student was more likely to be supported than any other language. The accents of Russian or Sāmoan student teachers were least likely to be supported, while French, Korean or Russian languages were least likely to be supported in a social studies unit. It is evident that there is a strong awareness of and support for Māori language and culture in the curriculum. In the international critique commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Le Métais (2002: 18) comments:

The most dominant feature of the New Zealand curriculum - from the outsider's perspective - is the strong emphasis on recognising and protecting New Zealand's bicultural heritage and the features unique to New Zealand. ... A corollary of this approach is the relative weakening of the commitment to recognising and drawing on the culture and traditions of the other groups in New Zealand's multi-cultural society.

Within this country, the approach has been that the development of multiculturalism can only be carried out in relation to biculturalism, or the relationship between Pākehā and Māori, through its challenges to the domination of one cultural group (Jones, Marshall, Matthews, Smith and Smith 1995: 178). Statements such as those by the Waitangi Tribunal (1989: 27-28) are clear that the rights of Māori are paramount, but with the establishment of other groups such as the Pan Asian Congress formed in October 2002⁴, some individuals from other ethnic groups are claiming the need for a 'voice' in partnership with other New Zealanders:

We are tired of hearing about how we detract from value by taking places in scholarships, or taking jobs that supposedly other Kiwis want. We are tired of not being given recognition in statistics, and being lumped together with 'Others'. Quite frankly, we are tired of being the exotic 'other'. (Wong Liu Sheng, cited in Brown 2003: 58)

This may be reflected in shifts in the ethnolinguistic vitality of the groups they represent. In this study 'Asian' was represented by Korean, which is one of the more recent groups to arrive in Aotearoa New Zealand.

At education policy level, there is a strong focus on Pasifika education, for example in the Ministry of Education. Tuioti (2002: 133) states that the main issue for Pasifika education in Aotearoa New Zealand is the 'continuing inadequate academic achievement rates of Pacific students'. She highlights (2002: 134-135)

⁴ The goals of the Pan Asian Congress can be seen on their website at http://www.nzpac.org.nz.

low teacher expectations and the mismatch between home and school values as the two areas which need to be resolved. Pasikale (2002: 117) states that a major challenge for Pasifika people in Aotearoa New Zealand is to articulate a vision of Pacific education which is 'Pacific-defined and Pacific-driven', rather than the deficit model currently perpetuated by mainstream education. She points out that this needs to come from those who have demonstrated personal success in education (2002: 121). It is apparent that these issues can only be overcome by increasing the number of Pasifika teachers in schools, as has been a goal of the Ministry of Education for some years (Ministry of Education 1996b; 2001b).

While Māori and Pasifika students are mentioned in Ministry documents, there is little or no focus on what is happening for small minority groups such as Russian in Aotearoa New Zealand, as the focus starts to shift to accommodate rapidly growing groups such as from Asia. However, the number of people from the former Soviet Union is growing quickly, and although representing a large number of ethnicities, it is claimed that they share an ability in the Russian language (Russian Information Portal in New Zealand 2003). The 2001 census recorded 903 Russian speakers aged between five and 19 years of age (Statistics New Zealand 2003b) (See also 1.2.2). In materials for teachers such as Learning Media's Many Voices there has been some reference to the particular needs of more recent groups such as Korean (Starks and Youn 1998) and Somali (Humpage 1998; Nur Abdi et al. 2002). However, in-depth research with these groups is yet to take place, and it is to be hoped that the lessons learned from earlier groups will result in a smoother response to their needs in the education system, including an encouragement for students from such groups to enter into teacher education.

CHAPTER 8

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION FOR SCENARIO C: LANGUAGE ISSUES IN THE CURRICULUM

From: New Zealand Listener Amp No. 256 (for original writing by people of school age) 28 June 2003, p. 43 IN LITERACY In literacy on Fridays I find it hard to concentrate Miss asks me to think of my father's food But I tell her I'm tired I show her my red-rimmed eyes And she asks me what I did last night I did my homework I tell her And lean my heavy head on My hands I can't think I watch her write these words And wonder what will come Next Miss makes me so furious I just feel like cracking Her face Desmond Siakifilo

8.1 Introduction

The third scenario in the questionnaire for this study was based around two middle school teachers exploring a number of general issues around language in the school curriculum, in the context of a conference:

Moana and Tim are teachers from a middle school (Years 7 to 10). They are at an education conference giving a joint presentation on developments in the school curriculum, particularly as they involve language issues.

The first question related to race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, the second examined the change of curriculum name from 'Language' to 'English', and the other three were more specific questions concerning language in the curriculum. As in the description of results from the previous scenarios, where comments from respondents are given I have included:

- the confidential coding I used for checking purposes
- a number corresponding to the rating they gave:
 - 0 = no rating

1 = 'Very' to 5 = 'Not at all'

6 = 'Undecided'

In each case, the questions are discussed in terms of the bilingual/diversity supportive ratings determined from the literature (see 4.4. and 4.3.3). Unlike the first two scenarios, there were no specific languages used. The ethnic backgrounds of Tim and Moana were not identified other than through their names: *Tim* is a commonly used English or Pākehā name, and *Moana* is commonly used in Polynesian languages such as Māori and Sāmoan.

The results from the five questions in this scenario will be presented and discussed in turn, followed by overall conclusions from the scenario.

8.2 Scenario C Question (a): 'Language in race relations'

The first question of the scenario focused on the importance of language in race relations throughout the education system:

Tim states that the education system has a responsibility to improve race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, and that language issues are part of this.

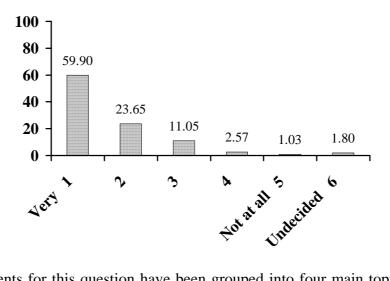
How important is the role of language in this responsibility?

The strongly bilingual/diversity-supportive rating for this question was that language would have a 'very' important role in the responsibility of education to improve race relations in this country, with a rating of '1'.

8.2.1 Results for 'Language in race relations'

Most respondents (59.90 + 23.65 = 83.55%) believed that language issues were an important part of race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, as shown in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1 Results for 'Language and race relations' Scenario C Question (a) (Percentages, N = 389, max = 395)



The comments for this question have been grouped into four main topics for the following discussion: recognition of the Māori language, language and identity, language and cultural understanding, and the need for in-depth analysis of issues.

Recognition of the Māori language

Respondents frequently mentioned the importance of the connection between language and race relations for Māori. Possibly as a result of my use of the bilingual name 'Aotearoa New Zealand' in the scenario statement, some seemed to be assuming that this was the only context of race relations:

If you mean Māori language - yes, it is important. (4136 0)

The relationship between language and identity is emphasised by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission) (n.d.: 2):

If a language is lost, the cultural identity of the group is considerably weakened, which in turn alters the very nature of the society of which that group is part. In light of this, it may be considered important to retain and promote the Māori language, in order, amongst other things, to develop a diverse and harmonious society.

Another respondent explained that the recognition of the language went beyond the language itself:

Recognition of Māori language and inclusion of concepts - help cultural awareness / recognition of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. (4069 2)

The significance of using Māori words for Māori concepts is emphasised by Parker (1999: 188) in his critique of English in Aotearoa New Zealand from an outsider's perspective. He states that it is 'implicitly, probably unconsciously, racist' to use Pākehā words for 'attitudes and behaviour rooted deeply in the culture and history of the Māori'. He also points out that it is common for Pākehā 'who want to demonstrate their ultimate New Zealandness' to use Māori expressions (1999: 189). Donn and Shick's research on ways to promote positive relations in New Zealand schools stress the importance of Māori political activism in bringing 'questions about connections between sovereignty, knowledge, language, and culture and its relation to education in all its aspects' to the forefront of national attention (Donn and Schick 1995: 28). One comment reflected this:

High profile of Te Reo and other international or community languages has a 'spill-over' effect into wider issues in society. (3169 1)

This emphasis, however, may be less for other languages:

Very important for Māori, slightly less so for others. (2070 1)

The question of where this leaves children who speak other languages has been raised in an international critique of the curriculum, in which a tension is identified between the rights and needs of the Māori and those of other groups (Le Métais 2002: 66):

This tension is apparent not only in the inclusion statements but also in the representation (or lack of it) of the language, culture, context and learning styles of the different ethnic groups.

However, some respondents from both ends of the ratings challenged the importance of Māori language in New Zealand schools:

If you are suggesting that Māori should be compulsory I don't think so. (3126 5) But context [is] important - Tokenism is often the result of trying to use Māori, for example. (1048 1)

The proposition that Māori should be compulsory may be referring to the last question of Scenario B for those who had the Māori version (see 7.6.1). It might also be a reference to statements such as that by then Race Relations Commissioner Gregory Fortuin, that the Māori language should be compulsory at

primary level at least (Fortuin 2002: 4), although as stated in the previous chapter this is not a policy of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission).

Language and identity

Many comments from respondents emphasised the links between language and identity in several ways. One was *cultural* identity:

Language is the vehicle for expressing culture. (3006 1) Language is a culture, without it there is no culture. Teachers can influence the children they teach, in so many ways positively. (1042 1) Language is the heart and soul of any culture. (4162 1) Language is central to cultural survival and identity. (4181 1)

This was extended to the idea of *national* identity included in one comment:

Language must be nurtured and supported if the development of a national identity and culture is to be recognised. $(3193\ 1)$

A focus on a multicultural national identity is affirmed in the English curriculum document, which states that students will 'understand and appreciate the heritages of New Zealand through experiencing a broad range of texts written in English' (Ministry of Education 1994: 9). One respondent referred to a range of cultures and languages:

Language is the communication that can be most useful. We need to make a real effort to make our children feel valued (all cultures). $(4123\ 1)$

The pedagogical benefits of this approach are explained in Fleras and Spoonley's (1999: 32) description of the difficulties for minority students in Aotearoa New Zealand relating to their lack of cultural capital from the dominant group:

Students whose cultural capital is incongruent with a Eurocentric knowledge base are unlikely to benefit from the imposition of texts and pedagogy that are imbedded in the dominant language and concepts.

The importance of language to express *individual* identity was also articulated:

Language is the umbilical cord to our wairua [spirit], our essential selves. (2063 1)

Language and cultural understanding

The need for an understanding of other cultures was a focus of some comments at both ends of the rating scale:

Language is part of understanding culture - it is a "taonga" [cultural treasure]. (4059 1) Fundamental issues such as understanding cultural beliefs,

practices, leads to tolerance. (4079 4)

One comment probably referred to the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New

York, which had recently taken place when the questionnaire was distributed:

As one travels it becomes clear New Zealand is very monolingual - does this equate with less tolerance?? Overseas events raise questions!! (1008 2)

This also reflects the understanding of the prevalence of monolingualism in this country that many (middle class Pākehā) New Zealanders only discover when they travel outside Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia, traditionally for the first time in their early twenties.

The need for in-depth analysis of issues

A final group of comments challenged the idea that race relations should be the role of education, although they did not give negative ratings:

Is this really the responsibility of the education system? It has a role but not the responsibility. (1066 0)

Whole lot of other societal issues need to be considered. (3181 2)

Rather than reducing the focus on language, these comments seemed to be highlighting the need for a more in-depth analysis of the question:

[language issues] Definition? [role of language] My definition may be different to yours. It is important that you get people to unpack and deconstruct the language used in 'race relations'. (4167 1)

[language issues] Do you mean - fluency, - pronunciation? It is important - but focus only on language (e.g. pronunciation) can be a smoke screen for lack of understanding of or commitment to, wider structural issues. It is important to talk about - racism, - oppression - call it as it is. (2216 1)

The complexity of issues of culture and language is highlighted by Baker (2001: 414), who points out that these are interlinked with politics at personal, group, regional and national levels. This point was extended in several comments which focused on the implications of language learning in race relations:

This is a two (three) edged sword. The process of teaching a second language can be divisive, constructive, or just confusing. (4124 3)

A coherent approach to language learning (i.e. a languages policy) will have implications for attitudes towards cultures; hence relations. (3168 1)

This second comment refers to the well-known lack of a formal languages policy, on which there has been no further development since *Aoteareo* (Waite 1992a; 1992b) (see 1.3.3).

8.2.2 Summary and discussion of 'Language in race relations'

This first question showed a strong belief in the importance of language in race relations, with over 80% of respondents rating it as important. This position might be predicted from the school curriculum, which states as a principle that it reflects 'the multicultural nature of New Zealand society' (Ministry of Education 1994: 7):

It will ensure that the experiences, cultural traditions, histories, and languages of all New Zealanders are recognised and valued. It will acknowledge the place of Pacific Islands communities in New Zealand society, and New Zealand's relationships with the peoples of Asia and the South Pacific.

The explicit link between the different ethnic communities and language issues is therefore supportive of the bilingualism of children in the classrooms, and this was supported by a large number of respondents. However, the specific mention of Asia and the South Pacific raises the question of the situation for groups from other regions increasingly represented in Aotearoa New Zealand, such as Somali and Russian communities.

The topics raised by respondents who made comments with their ratings are shown in Table 8.1. A range of issues were identified, but communities other than Māori were rarely mentioned.

Table 8.1 Topics in comments for 'Language and race relations'

Topics

The recognition of Māori language Language and identity Language and cultural understanding The need for more analysis of issues

The use of multicultural education in the school as a way to address the frequent societal domination of language minority groups based on political and ideological aims is discussed by Baker (2001: 405). He describes 'weak' and 'strong' forms of multicultural education. (These relate to 'strong' and 'weak' forms of bilingualism, see 2.3.3). In the 'weak' form, multicultural education focuses on 'cultural artifacts' such as beliefs, values, eating habits, dress and gestures, but does not focus on the home language of the children. Baker points out that in Europe, this type of education is linked to citizenship education but may have assimilation aims (Baker 2001: 408). In the 'strong' form of multicultural education, attention is also paid to the minority language, often through language awareness programmes for both minority and majority language speakers. Although Baker also points out that there is debate about the degree to which schools are able to prevent racism and prejudice (Baker 2001: 412), this seems to be an expectation of the education system of Aotearoa New Zealand. However, while the focus remains firmly on issues for Māori, the approach for other groups remains unclear. It therefore appears that there is support for a strong form of multicultural education for Māori children, but a weak form for the children of other groups.

8.3 Scenario C Question (b): 'English or Language?'

The next question in this scenario focused on changes in the English curriculum itself. This referred to the debate which started with the draft curriculum in 1993, about whether the document should reflect the traditional primary sector approach of referring to this aspect of the curriculum as 'Language', or the secondary sector approach of 'English' (McPherson 1994: 8). The resulting curriculum includes

'Language and Languages' as one of the seven Essential Learning Areas, with curriculum statements for 'English', 'Māori', 'Japanese', and other languages. The change referred to is therefore relevant for teachers at primary level (Years 1 to 8):

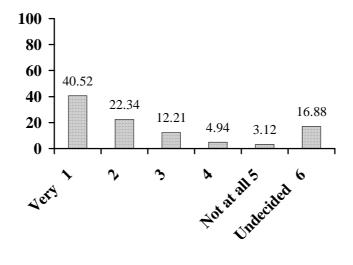
Tim notes that he has recently changed to talking about 'English' with the children, instead of 'Language', as it was in the old curriculum. How significant is this change?

The strongly bilingual/diversity-supportive response for this question was that a change from talking about 'Language' to 'English' is 'very' significant, with a rating of '1'.

8.3.1 Results for 'English or Language?'

The results show that most teacher educators gave the bilingual/diversitysupportive response that the change from 'Language' to 'English' was significant (40.52 + 22.34 = 62.86%), as can be seen in Figure 8.2.

Figure 8.2 Results for 'English or Language?' Scenario C Question (b) (Percentages, N = 385, max = 395)



Comments for this question identified both positive and negative aspects of the significance of the change, as in the question asked by one respondent:

I am not clear about this question. Is Tim being specific about languages? Or is he marginalising other languages? (1049 0)

The four main topics raised by respondents will now be discussed in turn: concepts versus labels, the place of other languages, the importance of English, and usage in different sectors.

Concepts vs labels

Some respondents thought a change in terms was significant only if it represented a change in Tim's thinking about 'language' and 'English':

Depends if it's a conceptual change or simply in terminology. (1008 6) Important if this carries through to his speaking about Sāmoan or other particular languages, i.e. showing his value system. (2079 1) Utterly superficial - it doesn't matter what he calls it. (3205 5)

The implication here was that a conceptual change was important, but that in some cases it might be only a change of labels for the same concepts (although this too would be noteworthy). In other comments, respondents showed support for the Ministry of Education's decisions:

It is important for children to know the meaning of both words and for teachers to follow Ministry of Education guidelines. (1066 2) You cannot interpret ratings on this item. It is very significant to me because the relevant curriculum document is called "English". That does not minimise the importance

These comments may reflect annoyance with the controversy over 'language' and 'English', which one participant in the exploratory interviews had called divisive, identifying a sense of wishing to move on to the implementation of the curriculum (I-14).

The place of other languages

of language. (4176 1)

Other respondents' comments supported the change because it highlights the fact that English is only one of many languages:

I agree in being specific otherwise there is an implicit connection between 'language' being only English. (2025 1) 'English' allows for equal value to other languages. (1075 1) This alerts everyone to the fact that New Zealand has more than one official language and many community languages, e.g. Sāmoan. (2145 1) The benefits against monolingualism were specified in some comments:

This changes the monolingual colonial view and will change discourse of class re bilingualism. (1065 1) I think 'English' is a more precise term and it acknowledges that English is only one of many languages. Perhaps it is a less monolingual attitude. (3168 2)

This implies that there is a problem with monolingualism, which is linked to colonialism. The need for an understanding of bilingualism in its own terms has been emphasised by Cook (2002), pointing out that second language users have different uses for language from monolingual users, and they have different knowledge of their first and second languages. He challenges linguistics to make these issues more central:

Linguistics should either acknowledge that the normal human being actually uses more than one language, and so accept that much of its descriptions concern L2 [second language] users, or it should restrict its scope to the dwindling handful of isolated pockets of 'pure' monolinguals, now hard to find even in the mountains of Papua New Guinea. (Cook 2002: 23)

The importance of English

The second main reason for the significance of the change was in a negative sense, in that it reflected the dominance of English and devalued other languages:

'Language' is more inclusive. (2073 0) Took focus away from children's bilingualism to focus on English only. A real problem. (1072 1) "English" sounds ethnocentric! (1033 1) Using "English" in this way is making a statement that marginalizes Māori and languages of minority migrant groups. (1212 1) It marks a worrying trend in the New Zealand system. Languages are being devalued. (3027 1) Unfortunately, the English curriculum is making English hegemonic and is discriminating against students who, say love literature, but are NESB. (2008 1)

The link to students from non-English speaking backgrounds emphasises the point raised by Heney in her materials for schools with second language learners (1996: 37), that it is 'very affirming' for students from other language backgrounds 'to ensure that language-rich does not confine itself to English-rich'. Waite (1992b: 6) stresses that 'language' and 'English' are not the same, and that it should be clear

Results and discussion for Scenario C

that the concepts of language description can be transferred to other languages. Some language academics have not been convinced that the new curriculum statement would allow this to happen. While the new syllabus was still in draft form, Crombie and Paltridge (1993: 18) argued for a different Language curriculum statement which would be relevant to all children in Aotearoa New Zealand whatever their language background or schooling medium.

However, some respondents emphasised the value of English:

Reflects our society. (2106 2) If we accept that English is the Lingua Franca of commerce, internet, popular culture. (1032 2) English speaking people need to be as proud of their language and culture as any other group. (1202 1)

This last comment is in line with Eggington's (1997) contemporary metaphor of English that 'English is language under threat'. He points out that this has been accepted by native English speakers in English-speaking countries with high immigration:

Sadly, the partial social acceptance of this metaphor has led to opportunistic politicians pulling at xenophobic heartstrings in order to further their careers. (Eggington 1997: 44)

The accusation of such opportunism has been made in Aotearoa New Zealand towards the leader of the New Zealand First Party, Winston Peters, who is well known for his stance on immigration in combination with English language issues (see 1.2.3, and media quote introducing Chapter 3).

Usage in different sectors

The final topic in comments for this question applies to the context of the debate between 'language' and 'English', a debate which reflected the traditional terms used in the different education sectors: 'language' in the primary sector and 'English' in the secondary sector (McPherson 1994: 8) (see 4.3.5). Respondents reported different experiences of usage in their comments:

Could be positive or negative. It may make Tim aware that English is one of many languages. In the old days many teachers talked about 'language' when they meant 'English'. (4107 1)

Most people still call it 'language' that I have heard. (1023 6)

Have never struck the 'language' label. Suspect people think it means 'English' anyway. (4051 3)

[language] - never in secondary English. I use both and 'literacy/literacies' etc. depending on context. (4043 0) In Aoteareo Waite (1992b: 6) points out that in English-medium schools in New Zealand it is appropriate that the teaching of language description takes place

'mainly within the framework of English language and literature', therefore combining the two terms and levels.

8.3.2 Summary and discussion of 'English or Language?'

The results from the second question in this scenario showed that 40.52% respondents thought the change from 'Language' to 'English' was 'very' significant, which was the strongly bilingual/diversity-supportive response. Agreement with the significance of the change in name for the curriculum could be for positive or negative reasons, and the topics raised by respondents in comments for this question are shown in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2	Topics in	comments for	'English or	Language?'

Topics Concepts vs labels The place of other languages The importance of English Usage in different sectors

Although the title implies that it might concern wider issues of language, the Ministry of Education's *Exploring Language* is clearly focused on the English language:

The impetus of this book arose out of teachers' concern that they needed to know more about how the English language works in order to implement the objectives of Exploring Language that are set out in English in the New Zealand Curriculum. (Ministry of Education 1996a: 1)

The book frequently moves from discussions about 'language' to discussions about 'English language'. For example, the paragraph following on from the previous quotation refers only to the teaching of 'language' and 'language studies', and the next one mixes 'the teaching of English language' with 'language use', and so on.

This has the effect of equating 'language' with 'English', and 'English' with 'language'. This seems to be common in educational settings, for example May (2002: 9) notes that he regularly hears teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand referring to bilingual students as having 'no language'. Later discussion in *Exploring Language* of the need to support the language development of children for whom English is a second or third language refers to the needs of teachers 'to understand their own language, and language in general' (Ministry of Education 1996a: 3), thereby implying not only that all teachers will be native speakers of English, but that *Exploring Language* will lead to the understanding of English and (all?) other languages.

The name of the curriculum is still debated, as noted in the following discussion by Tracey (2001: 19):

Changing the subject's name to 'Communication' (very sterile sounding), or 'Media' (too much baggage, perhaps) or 'Language' (I quite like this as it focuses on the essence of English, it's conceptually up-to-date, and it links neatly to the National Curriculum framework) would help 'reframe' the subject for students.

This comment has the interesting implication that there might currently be some resistance to the name 'English' by students.

In her discussion on key issues in language education in Aotearoa New Zealand, McPherson (1994) points out that the Education Forum, a conservative think tank group, also criticised the blurring together of Language and English in the draft English curriculum document (see also 2.4.3):

It may be that in trying to achieve a balance between language and English, the draft English curriculum fails to do real justice to either. (McPherson 1994: 8)

This criticism could equally be made of the final document. Further comment has come from Le Métais (2002) in her international critique of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, particularly on one passage in the English document:

Where students have some facility in the first language, they should initially be encouraged to explore tasks in that language, moving between their first language and English. (Ministry of Education 1994: 15).

She states that this 'sets teachers a formidable challenge when dealing with students whose first language is not English' (Le Métais 2002: 34).

Subsequent to this critique, the Curriculum Stocktake Report (Ministry of Education 2002a) has recommended that Language and Languages/Te Kōrero me ngā Reo should be divided into two separate learning areas:

- i English or Te Reo Māori
- Languages (foreign, community, heritage, and second language learning in English)

This division was envisaged by the original curriculum writer (see McFarlane 2004: 285), and may lead to a clarification of the position of the different types of language learning. However, it also serves to emphasise the importance of English and Māori, without providing any further support for the understanding and development of 'language' for bilingual (or multilingual) children. It could therefore be said that a changed curriculum will reflect a *more* monolingual view of language.

8.4 Scenario C Question (c): 'Language across the curriculum'

The middle question in this scenario aimed at investigating the suggestion made during the trialling of the questionnaire that teachers were diluting both English language curriculum objectives and other content area objectives, through the over-use of tasks such as descriptive writing about scientific phenomena (for example, 'write a poem about clouds'). Integrated units of work would include specific plans for outcomes across different areas of the curriculum:

Moana suggests that primary teachers are being encouraged to focus more clearly on curriculum area objectives, and to avoid overlap with language objectives except in integrated units of work. How important is it for language objectives to be included in all curriculum areas?

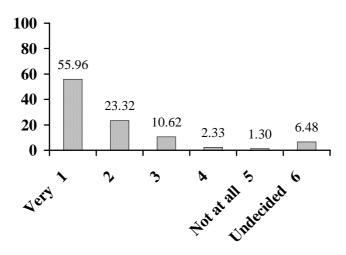
The strongly bilingual/diversity-supportive response for this question was that it would be 'very' important, with a rating of '1'.

Results and discussion for Scenario C

8.4.1 Results for 'Language across the curriculum'

Nearly 80% of respondents (55.96 + 23.32 = 79.28%) agreed that language objectives were important in all curriculum areas, as can be seen in Figure 8.3.

Figure 8.3 Results for 'Language across the curriculum' Scenario C Question (c) (Percentages, N = 386, max = 395)



This agreement with the inclusion of language objectives was strongly expressed in many comments:

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Language is crucial to all subject areas. (2102 1)
For our trainee teachers for Kura Kaupapa Māori [Māori
medium schools] it is imperative. (1140 1)
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There were six topics covered in the comments with the ratings for this question, which will now be discussed: language and the formation of concepts, integration and planning, the optimal age for a language focus, language and mathematics, the definition of language, and teacher education needs.

Language and the formation of concepts

Some respondents referred to Vygotskian theory, in which 'the word maintains its guiding function in the formation of genuine concepts' (Vygotsky 1986: 145):

You cannot conduct teaching and learning without oral, visual, or written language - social development, Vygotsky. (1068 1) Pretty difficult to negotiate meaning without language component. (2071 2) Every lesson should be built on sound linguistic principles.

Every lesson should be built on sound linguistic principles. Schooling is about moving students from non-verbal to verbal communication irrespective of curriculum - language is a

tool not a topic. You teach "building houses" not "hammers". (4124 1)

Carrasquillo and Rodríguez (2002: 29-30) note that if Vygotsky's theories are accepted, then it is the responsibility of schools to provide the range of experiences necessary for the development of language for social and academic purposes. However, Cummins (2000: 65) states that the ideas of Vygotsky and other theorists (see 2.3.2) all make 'essentially one-dimensional distinctions between highly contextualised 'everyday' uses of language (and/or thought) and uses that are relatively less contextualised and more abstract'. Cummins states that for both language and content to be acquired it will be necessary for tasks to provide contextual and linguistic supports as well as cognitive challenges (Cummins 2000: 71).

Integration and planning

A further topic amongst those respondents who thought that it was 'very' important to include language objectives across the curriculum was a concern at the fragmentation of the curriculum:

Knowledge should not be fragmented and compartmentalised and other curriculum areas provide opportunities for outworking and language learning. (2104 1)

The standard of literacy has systematically declined because "language" has been dealt solely with in language lessons. (3205 1)

If there is no integration, teachers will run out of time - Too much to cover: too short a day. (4106 1)

The division of the curriculum into discrete subjects is mentioned by Waite (1992b) as common in secondary education, but less so in primary schools which are more integrated. However, even in secondary schools '(m)any teachers other than English teachers recognise their role in teaching not only the fundamental concepts of their subject but also the specialist terminology required to discuss the subject' (Waite 1992b: 6). Some respondents added cautionary comments about the inclusion of language objectives in all curriculum areas:

Not overkill - should be in context with studies. (3006 1)

Language will be embedded in all curriculum areas but if we keep making it the focus it can detract from the curriculum area focus, e.g. technology. $(4160\ 4)$

Only include language objectives as they relate to the curriculum area. But always try to help learners improve their English. $(2043\ 4)$

Gibbons' book of strategies for teaching language in Australian classrooms with children for whom English is a second language stresses that 'language objectives must be carefully planned and matched with appropriate content' (1991: 13). Emmitt, Pollock and Limbrick (1996: 190) also point out that if teachers wish students to be able to carry out certain functions, then they need to programme activities accordingly. Gibbons (1991: 17) points out that the planning is particularly important when studying abstract concepts, because '(i)f there is a gap in the learner's language resources, then the thinking processes that are dependent on them will also be restricted'. One of the respondents stressed a similar point:

You need to remember that setting language objectives when they are not critical to the experience may deter children with learning disabilities and NESB children from full participation. (3176 2)

Gibbons also notes that teachers need to provide opportunities for migrant children to learn more than basic language structures in English (1991: 18).

The optimal age for a language focus

There was one comment about the most useful age for language objectives to be a focus in the curriculum:

Important - not always possible. Significant for middle and upper programme. (3179 3)

This may be referring to the strategies outlined by (Baker 2000a: 138-139), in which young bilingual children in an immersion setting are not corrected for the 'errors' characteristic of interlanguage, and a formal focus on the form of language is not introduced until the end of elementary schooling. The idea that young children are not ready for explicit language knowledge is challenged in the British context by Sealey (1990: 51), who suggests that 'not only children's competence as language users, but also their ability to reflect on their experience of language in use, begins to develop very early on'. She advocates more explicit discussion of language with children. The New Zealand curriculum document states that linguistic terminology will be used in the earlier school years 'as the need arises', but will be increasingly required as students develop more abstract conceptual knowledge (Ministry of Education 1994: 17).

Language and mathematics

The special relationship of mathematics with language was raised by several respondents:

Need to be clear about what a "language" is, e.g. is maths a language? (4181 2) Just look at how many good mathematicians struggle with literacy. (1152 1)

e.g. English language use and tasks as in Mathematics even, although specific language achievement objectives may not be in the units. Communication is part of the maths achievement objectives. (4134 3)

The language of mathematics is defined by Carrasquillo and Rodríguez (2002: 150) in their discussion of the integration of language and mathematics learning, in which they state that mathematics is 'a language that expresses the size, order, shape and relationships among quantities'. They point out that both language and mathematics educators suggest that the nature of mathematics language means that it is difficult for all children whatever the language of instruction, and they examine the language of mathematics divided into the components of vocabulary, syntax, semantics, discourse, and word problems (Carrasquillo and Rodríguez 2002: 150-156). (See also discussion of mathematics in 6.2.1).

The definition of language

Some comments again raised the issue of whether it is appropriate to use 'English' or 'language', referring back to the previous question in the scenario:

But how are you defining 'language'? (2050 1) Primary teachers, at least, use 'English' and 'language' synonymously. (2142 1) Do you mean 'English'?? Each curriculum has its own 'language', e.g. music, literacy, science, etc. (4136 0)

Gibbons (1991: 14) suggests an approach based on the functions used across the curriculum, such as 'classifying', 'hypothesising', or 'describing', and then identifying the relevant language structures and vocabulary associated with each function.

Teacher education needs

At both ends of the rating scale there were comments which focused on teacher education for language objectives across the curriculum: All teachers need to know how language is the medium of delivery of content. <u>All</u> our trainees must complete an assignment which requires them to identify content and language objectives. $(3169\ 1)$

I believe that experienced teachers can do this well. Student teachers need a starting place. Focus on planning, also including processes [and] objectives, links language. (3154 6)

Some comments in this section indicated a lack of confidence in respondents' abilities to teach about language:

I don't know enough about this: we would see some aspects of language as being very important. (1021 0) Teachers often have a poor grasp of language in non-language

Therefore, although most respondents agree with the importance of language work in classrooms, some point out that many teachers do not have the confidence to implement it adequately.

8.4.2 Summary and discussion of 'Language across the curriculum'

subjects. Need to raise competence. (4068 1)

For the third question in this scenario, a majority of respondents (55.96%) gave the bilingual/diversity-supportive response that it would be 'very' important for language objectives to be included in all curriculum areas. This demonstrates agreement with Waite's (1992b: 6) discussion document *Aoteareo*, in which he states that 'studying ways language works can increase learners' abilities to use their first and second languages in pursuit of their learning goals'.

There were six main topics included in the comments, as shown in Figure 8.3. Although these supported the importance of language, they also tended to raise questions, perhaps indicating a lack of clarity and confidence.

Table 8.3 Topics in comments for 'Language across the curriculum'

Topics

Language and the formation of concepts Integration and planning Optimal age for a language focus Language and mathematics The definition of language Teacher education needs

Some of the respondents identified in this question the underlying approach of Language Across the Curriculum (LAC):

The case for Language Across the Curriculum has been proven, I think. (2008 1) $\,$

All teaching is language teaching. I think all teachers should be encouraged to identify and include English objectives in all their planning and teaching - whatever the curriculum area. (3168 1)

Franken and McComish (2003) point out that attitudes towards language in the content areas changed after the British report *A Language for Life* which included a chapter called 'Language across the curriculum' was published in 1975. They identify the results for teachers in this country:

Over the last 10 years in New Zealand, nearly all teachers have probably been exposed to some form of professional development or other input exploring the teaching and learning implications of the mediation through language of the content they teach. (Franken and McComish 2003: 50)

Examples of successful applications of such professional development are described in Penton (2002), and she reports that there have been observable positive changes in teacher practice. Donn and Schick's (1995) research into school programmes which promote positive race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand includes a chapter titled 'Learning through Language/Language Across the Curriculum', which explains the method:

The Language Across the Curriculum (LAC) approach obliges teachers in all subjects to look at the language which is used in their subject areas and in their classrooms. ... LAC challenges teachers to examine their own assumptions about the language they use, and increases teacher appreciation of the communication needs of students.' (Donn and Schick 1995: 213)

They point out that the approach is particularly useful for students from non-English backgrounds, although it is also helpful for other groups of students who have felt culturally or linguistically marginalised (Donn and Schick 1995: 226). One of the basic tenets of a language across the curriculum approach is quoted above in one of the respondents' comments: 'All teaching is language teaching'. This goes beyond the teaching of vocabulary, 'to the next level of taking responsibility for the language in the classroom' (Donn and Schick 1995: 215), and involves separating strategies from subject area knowledge; teaching learning strategies is 'more compatible with the holistic approaches to learning characteristic of many non-Anglo-European cultures' because they are not subjectbased (Donn and Schick 1995: 219). Strategies are then re-focused onto the subject area material, as in Whitehead's (1992) handbook for language across the curriculum which focuses on a range of learning strategies for teaching the 'specialised vocabulary and language structures or grammars of each subject area' (Whitehead 1992: 8). However, it is interesting to note that the Ministry of Education's (1996a) resource *Exploring Language* does not use the term 'language across the curriculum', which may indicate that it has not been accepted by some teachers.

There appear to be three sources for the different areas of focus by those who promote the integration of language objectives across the curriculum. The first comes out of a English mother tongue background, in which a metalanguage is provided to ensure that children use their language more effectively, such as that in *Exploring Language*. This aims at transferring the intuitive knowledge (all) children have about language into 'an explicit understanding of how the English language works':

Conscious control over language comes from understanding how it works and having a means of describing, discussing, and analysing their own language and the language of others. (Ministry of Education 1996a: 9)

However, a challenge to the importance of explicit knowledge about language has come from Carter (1990: 16), who states:

A major unanswered and unexplained question in knowledge about language for pupils concerns the relationship between knowledge about or reflection on language and a development of competence in the use of language. This may be regarded as an updated version of the old prescriptive grammar tradition. A second area of focus advocates learning strategies such as those explained by Whitehead (1992). The third area comes out of a second language teaching background such as by Gibbons (1991); this has less emphasis on teaching a metalanguage, but focuses on functions and the grammar that arises from them. The challenge in planning for language in schools is to integrate these approaches for the best outcomes for all of the children.

I consider that the differences between these approaches may account for the confusion of teachers and teacher educators, which I have summarised in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4Different approaches to Language across the Curriculum

Source of approach	Focus
Mother tongue learners	Metalanguage
Content areas	Strategies
Second language learners	Functions

Beaugrande (1998: 150) advocates an 'inclusive' meta-language about language and meta-discourse about discourse, although:

... the task is still beset by deep-lying uncertainty, due to a long accumulation of vagaries, inconsistencies, and technicalities, and to unresolved tensions between ancient versus modern, tradition versus innovation, conformity versus creativity, and so on.

The development of such a metalanguage has so far been unmet in Aotearoa New Zealand.

8.5 Scenario C Question (d): 'Language knowledge'

The fourth question in this scenario concerned the explicit knowledge that teacher educators thought it would be necessary for teachers to have about language:

Tim claims that although many classroom teachers would like to include a focus on how language is structured and patterned, they do not know enough about how to do this. How important is it for all teachers to be able to teach about

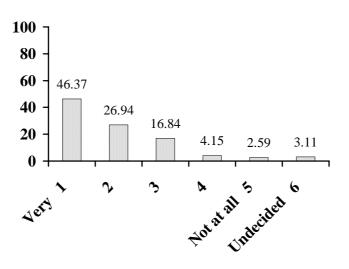
language patterns and structures?

The bilingual/diversity-supportive response for this question was that it would be 'very' important for all teachers to be able to teach about language patterns and structures, with a rating of '1'.

8.5.1 Results for 'Language knowledge'

The results can be seen in Figure 8.4, which show that nearly three-quarters of respondents (46.37 + 26.94 = 73.31%) thought that it was important for teachers to be able to teach about language patterns and structures.

Figure 8.4 Results for 'Language knowledge' Scenario C Question (d) (Percentages, N = 386, max = 395)



There were six main topics given as reasons in comments to support the ratings for this question: Effective teaching of metalinguistic awareness, language use versus language knowledge, classroom realities, needs for primary and secondary sectors, historical approaches, and the language knowledge of student teachers. These will now be addressed in turn.

Effective teaching of metalinguistic awareness

The first topic related to the previous question, with a focus on the effective teaching of metalinguistic awareness to children:

To ensure students are effective users of language in a wide range of registers and genres the teacher needs to be able to be explicit and that requires metalinguistic awareness. (1061 1) There are "basics" that teachers should have. Teachers can't avoid using and "teaching" about language. (1049 3)

The need for teachers to have this explicit knowledge of grammar in order to explain options to students, such as how changing from passive to active constructions might improve their writing, is clearly stated by Emmitt, Pollock and Limbrick (1996: 88). One respondent noted that the curriculum does now cover language structures:

The essential area - Language and Languages - has sections of language skills and communication. There are also essential skills. (3120 1)

A critical perspective was hinted at in one case:

Knowing how things works can make it easier to identify problems and/ or play with conventions in a deliberate way. $(2077 \ 2)$

These comments are in line with the critical language approach advocated by Ivanič, in which a creative view of language is used to challenge language norms (1990: 125-126).

However, some respondents emphasised a more practical approach to correction:

Teachers are always role models and even if they don't teach structures directly, they must be able to model and "correct" children where necessary. (1202 2)

In addition, caution was again expressed by respondents about the need for 'linguistics' (see 7.5):

Especially the monolingual teachers here in New Zealand. Language patterns and structures are integral to understanding the curriculum per se. However, it would be concerning if this meant "linguistic analysis" without reference to cognitive aspects. (1093 1)

This linked to comments which highlighted the special needs of students from a non-English speaking background:

Especially when dealing with NESB learners. (2102 1)

Teachers cannot give specific feedback and guidance to students if they are unable to identify and clearly describe Results and discussion for Scenario C

their language use. This is particularly so with increasing numbers of NESB students who exhibit atypical errors. (3168 1)

The categorisation of errors associated with second language learners as 'atypical' reflects a perspective in which these students are 'problems'. This points to a gap in training and knowledge about the extent to which these children are present in New Zealand schools, and a familiarity with strategies for teaching second language children.

Language use vs language knowledge

Language use was contrasted with language knowledge by some respondents:

More important is their ability to use it accurately, and expect high standards. (1015 2) $\,$

It is specialised knowledge for English teachers/Language teachers. However, all teachers need to model it. (4151 5)

Realistically, some teachers will never develop a wide understanding of language. So it's important that a school has a core of language 'experts' on the staff. (2139 3)

However, one respondent identified first language use as a more valuable focus:

It is more important for teachers to acknowledge and permit use of different languages for learning purposes, i.e. use of first language. (2167 3)

Emmitt, Pollock and Limbrick (1996: 190) discuss the needs of teachers in a programme focusing on the functions of language, commenting that teachers themselves need to be able to perform these functions and be well-informed about how to teach them, as was expressed by some respondents:

Knowledge of structure is important but also so is knowledge of genre/ language function. (1140 2)

It is not necessary that they teach language patterns explicitly but it is essential that they understand these patterns so they can construct effective learning experiences for students. (4124 3)

Language knowledge was extended to include cultural differences in one comment:

Language structure typically reflects cultural values (e.g. differences of complexity of pronouns in Māori vs English). (1212 1)

This may be referring back to the link between language and cultural understanding discussed earlier in this scenario (see 8.2.1). The framework for academic language learning proposed by Cummins (2000: 273-274) has a focus

on meaning, language and use, to support the children's linguistic and cognitive development as well as their literacy skills. This implies that teachers need more than the ability to use and model language.

Classroom realities

A note of pragmatism about classroom realities was also sounded by some respondents who gave middle ratings:

Necessary but also needs to be seen as relevant to youngsters. (3196 3)

It is part but must not dominate enjoyment, engagement and meaning. (4112 3) $\,$

The need for materials to be relevant to students is recognised in Richmond's three-part description for the British materials produced for Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) of teacher's knowledge about language (1990: 42). He suggests that 'in language as in any other area of knowledge, the teacher's own enthusiasm for the topic is likely to generate enthusiasm among pupils'.

Different needs for primary and secondary sectors

The target sector of the student teachers was a factor for some respondents, although without agreement about whether a knowledge of language is more important at primary or secondary levels:

[Very] - for primary teachers. [Not much] - for secondary teachers in curriculum areas other than English. (2043 0) Dependent upon level. Very important at higher levels. (4056 0) All teachers need to know, regardless of teaching level, this. (4075 1)

Exploring Language states that although most primary school teachers have an understanding of how language works, very few have explicit knowledge: 'They have learned to operate effectively with a limited linguistic knowledge and range of terminology' (Ministry of Education 1996a: 2). The book further states that high school teachers of English with literature degrees may face similar challenges.

Historical approaches

Other respondents commented on the historical changes of the teaching of language in Aotearoa New Zealand:

We are paying the price for years when this was not included by many teachers. (1066 1) We've shirked the issue for way too long. (3181 1) The 'Exploring Language' document and videos mean that many have more knowledge of this than 10 years ago. (4107 2)

Exploring Language reinforces these views in a chapter with a historical overview of teaching grammar in this country until the 1994 curriculum (Ministry of Education 1996a: 231-236). This points out that although the 1961 primary level syllabus advocated an integrated approach to teaching grammar, from the 1960s learning about the structure of the English language was 'virtually ignored' in some primary classrooms, the Forms 3 to 5 syllabus in the 1970s reflected changes at the primary level, and there was no syllabus at the senior secondary level until 1994. *Exploring Language* asserts that the curriculum 'acknowledges the need for students to learn more about the English language than they have over recent years' (Ministry of Education 1996a: 236), but that this should be used in authentic contexts rather than in isolation. This complements the finding from the field of second language teaching of a lack of a modern approach to grammar in textbooks used in this country (Smith and Basturkmen 2001: 24).

Language knowledge of student teachers

Issues were raised by a number of teacher educators about the level of knowledge of their students:

All teachers need to be familiar with syntax and language of their subjects. Refer them to Exploring Language resource. Needs to be part of pre-service in all curriculum areas. (4043 0) But unlikely given entry criteria for student teachers. (1100 1) My students are limited, often, because they don't understand this. (2115 1) We teach this in [our course]. We are competing against incorrect modelling in the public arena (e.g. advertising / text messages, Americanisms). (3178 1)

In addition, some of the respondents made comments that indicated their own lack of confidence:

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Not my area of expertise. (2049 0)
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I wish someone taught me more about this! (2020 1)

Teacher development is mentioned in *Exploring Language* as an 'essential adjunct' to the book, 'but developing depth of knowledge about language will take time' (Ministry of Education 1996a: 5). The Ministry of Education found that 67% of English teachers mentioned using *Exploring Language* (Ministry of Education 2003c), which implies that teachers do use the resources provided.

8.5.2 Summary and discussion of 'Language knowledge'

The results for this question showed strong support for all teachers to be able to teach about language patterns or structures, with 46.37% of respondents rating it as 'very' important. This is in accord with documents such as the Ministry of Education's *Exploring Language* (1996a: 9) which states that 'students need to hear teachers using appropriate terminology, in context, throughout their schooling', and Waite's (1992b: 24) discussion document *Aoteareo*, in which he states that 'all teachers need to be equipped to teach their students how to interpret the kind of information their subject presents'.

Topics raised by respondents in comments for this question are shown in Table 8.5. While a number of these focused on a need for the teaching of metalinguistic awareness, others identified as more important the ability to use the language, and an anti-expert feeling was again expressed in conjunction with a lack of confidence.

Table 8.5Topics in comments for 'Language knowledge'

Topics
Effective teaching of metalinguistic awareness
Use versus knowledge
Classroom realities
Different needs for primary and secondary sectors
Historical approaches
The language knowledge of student teachers

The studies on the language knowledge of student teachers by Wray (1993), Cajkler and Hislam (2002), and Nicholson (1999) reported in 2.4.4 all describe pre-tests and post-tests between which some formal knowledge about language is taught, but do not describe what they taught the students about the purpose of this knowledge for their future teaching; there seems to be an assumption that the students are learning it for its own sake rather than for pedagogical purposes. The more applied approach in studies by Cross, de Vaney and Jones (2001), Haig and Oliver (2003), and Gagliardi (1995), in turn focused less on a technical knowledge of language. A combination of the two approaches, using a metalanguage as described in the previous question, would provide teachers with the tools to deal with the range of classroom language issues.

The comments by teacher educators responding to this question in the current study focused on the implications for the teaching across curriculum, and although they similarly identified a lack of understanding among the student teachers, they also identified it amongst themselves. In a study of programmes for students from non-English speaking backgrounds in Aotearoa New Zealand schools, Kennedy and Dewar (1997: 185) found that although some of the participants identified the need for training in second language acquisition and other cultures, some considered that it was 'preferable or more appropriate' to be able to gain these skills in a 'more hands-on or practical way' than a formal course. This may link to the 'anti-linguistics' feelings expressed by others.

The framework for a transformative pedagogy by Cummins (2000) includes meaning, language and use, implying a need for teachers to be confident in their abilities in order to take a transformative orientation.

8.6 Scenario C Question (e): 'Structure vs other goals'

The final question in this scenario focuses on the importance of 'language patterns and structures'. This term was intended to mean grammatical and functional uses of language as covered in *Exploring Language* (Ministry of Education 1996a), compared with the other language goals in the curriculum, which might be the other 'processes' such as 'thinking critically', and 'processing information', or

details of the 'functions' such as 'expressive writing', 'poetic writing', or 'transactional writing' (see Table 2.5). The introduction of this new terminology into the English curriculum meant that some teacher educators felt that there was no time left to address other general language goals across the curriculum:

Moana notes that the pressure to get through all three oral, written and visual language strands in the curriculum leaves little time for teachers to focus on details.

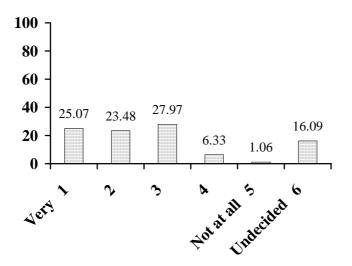
How important are language patterns and structures compared with other language goals?

The strongly bilingual/diversity-supportive response for this question was that language patterns and structures would be 'very' important compared with other language goals, with a rating of '1'.

8.6.1 Results for 'Structure vs other goals'

The results in Figure 8.5 show that although nearly half of the respondents (25.07 + 23.48 = 48.55%) thought that language patterns and structures were important compared with other language goals, 27.97% of respondents chose the middle option, and 16.09% were undecided. This means that the largest single category was the middle rating, rather than the strongly bilingual/diversity-supportive response.

Figure 8.5 Results for 'Structure vs other goals' Scenario C Question (e) (Percentages, N = 379, max = 395)



However, support for language structures was expressed in many of the comments, and one respondent identified a strong intrinsic interest:

They are interesting in their own right (but this probably reflects my background in language / literature). (1038 1)

There were four main topics identified in the comments: language for learning and communication, structure of the curriculum, the importance of oracy, and grammatical standards.

Language for learning and communication

For some respondents this was considered useful for learning about language itself:

Understanding the structure of one language and comparing it with the structure of another language(s), helps us to learn about the nature and importance of language itself - and about how international students experience difficulties in learning English! (1212 2)

For other respondents, teaching about language was important in order to help with learning and communication in general:

I think there is a strong link with mathematics here structures and patterns help enormously to make sense of it all! (1082 1)

These patterns and structures help us master the language we are using, so it becomes an effective tool for communication and relationship. $(2100\ 1)$

Language encompasses much more than patterns and structures. The ability to communicate effectively forms the basis for all learning. Socialisation into effective communication is important. (2167 3)

The wider social context was emphasised by one respondent:

Again within the New Zealand context te reo Māori and English language patterns and structures need to come first. My preference would be for te reo to have prominence because it is the official language. (3195 1)

This follows priorities established by Waite (1992a: 18), which place Māori language revitalisation at the top of the ranking in response to 'past inaction and present urgency' (see 1.3.2).

Structure of the curriculum

The high number of middle response ratings may have been due to a perceived criticism of the curriculum in the question. The structure of the curriculum was supported by some respondents:

Language patterns and structures are the key to successful written and oral language and are implicit within many areas of visual. (3180 1)

One of three process that should be part of all teaching: critical thinking, processing information, exploring language. (4106 2)

Sorry your question is ambiguous. All language guidelines selected by the school including English deserves quality teaching. See NEGs [National Education Guidelines] and NAGs [National Administration Guidelines]. (3120 0)

These comments were all supportive of the curriculum as it stands; there were no comments critical of the curriculum. Other respondents thought that integration of curriculum objectives was the answer to the pressure in the curriculum:

I don't agree with 'Moana'. If visual and oral language is incorporated/integrated through the programme, it is not a pressure. (4136 0)

Like other Essential Learning Areas this is always a challenge. Needs to look at working alongside colleague who have integrated the strands without watering down content. (2106 1)

The teaching about patterns and structures needs to occur in meaningful contexts as provided by talk and story (two of the strands). (Else very boring and counter-productive). (2131 3)

Other comments highlighted integration in the curriculum:

Don't like too much focus on language separately - should be integrated. (2109 3)

The English curriculum states that although the oral, written and visual strands are presented in isolation, 'they will in practice be integrated in a language-rich environment' (Ministry of Education 1994: 22).

The importance of oracy

Some respondents extended the importance of integration of curriculum goals to a focus on balance and variety, particularly with an emphasis on oracy:

A balance of oral, written and visual is required. The past privileged written literacy with little attention to oracy. Now visual literacy is very important. (1071 3) Of equal importance: - some students are more visual or oral learners - some cultures are more oral (3006 0)

These responses show that a critique of the modern stress on oracy is less relevant in a Pacific context, in which a strong oral culture has been stressed as a traditional cultural form of 'literacy' (Tuafuti 2000).

Grammatical standards

The standard of grammatical ability was again raised in some comments:

Many adults struggle to construct grammatical sentences. It is not that they were never taught how; rather they have chosen to assign this skill low priority. (3178 2)

Depends on what you mean by language patterns and structures. Someone needs to do something about accurate structure of written language because the standard is often appalling in our students!!! (1015 2)

These comments link to the issue of standards discussed in relation to Scenario B (see 7.3). Cummins (2000: 141) discusses the idea of 'standards' in the context of the current standards-based reform in the educational systems of many countries worldwide:

Frequently a crisis mentality with respect to 'declining standards' has been actively encouraged by governments and business to gain public support for massive reform of the educational system. In most cases, there is little evidence to support claims of declining standards and the 'literacy crisis'.

The context of these reforms also results in an 'awkward reality' for second language students (Cummins 2000: 141). Others were clear that the topic of language was not their area:

Not my area of expertise - would need to know more about this. (4021 6)

This is in contrast to the many statements in curriculum and related documents which stress the importance of an understanding of language by all teachers, and it might therefore be expected of all teacher educators.

8.6.2 Summary and discussion of 'Structure vs other goals'

The results from this last question in the scenario showed that although most respondents affirmed the importance of language patterns and structures in the curriculum, many were doubtful that they were more important than the other language-based goals, and the middle rating was the highest at 27.97% of respondents.

Table 8.6 Topics in comments for 'Structure vs other goals'

Topics

Language for learning and communication Structure of the curriculum Importance of oracy Grammatical standards

The findings of Hill and Hawk (2000) emphasise the importance of a focus on language for effective teachers in low decile schools in Aotearoa New Zealand:

Throughout many of the lessons, there were examples of teachers taking time to work on vocabulary and language structures. Most teachers expected and demonstrated that they would be teachers of language as well as of their particular subject. Very often, it was not the students asking for an explanation of a particular word that prompted a discussion. These teachers constantly checked for understanding of words, and concepts, throughout the lessons.

Cummins (2000: 157) discusses the problems for second language learners in standards-based systems, suggesting that although the needs of English language learners could be integrated, most teachers have had 'minimal exposure to these issues in their pre-service education'. He believes that a transformative pedagogy goes beyond 'effective instruction' when students 'engage actively with the instructional process' (Cummins 2000: 280).

There seemed to be strong support by respondents for the way language is framed within the current curriculum documents. This is not in accord with teacher's experiences reported in the National School Sampling Study, in which 40.3% of English teachers reported that they would like to see changes to the structure or organisation of the English curriculum statement, 35.1% said they would not, and 24.6% appeared undecided (Ministry of Education 2003c). However, the way in which the question was asked in that study ('Would you like to see any changes made to the structure/organisation of the English curriculum statement?') may have led a high level of respondents to indicate a wish for change.

Therefore, the final question in this scenario identified that teacher educators agree with the importance of language issues in the curriculum, where they believe language is currently adequately represented. However, they do lack confidence in the teachers' abilities in language areas.

8.7 Conclusions

The third scenario in the questionnaire was designed to investigate a range of issues about language in the curriculum, including how the curriculum reflects the wider social context.

The results showed that for questions about language and race relations, the relationship between 'English' and 'Language' in curriculum documents, the importance of language across the curriculum, and the importance of language knowledge for all teachers, teacher educators generally gave bilingual/diversity-supportive responses. However, in the question about the importance of language structure compared with other language goals, the pattern of responses was less clear, with the largest group of respondents choosing the middle rating. This may indicate a support for the current structure of the curriculum.

Cummins argues that 'mainstream' schooling needs a transformative pedagogy if the needs of diverse student population are to be met, through a focus on meaning, language and use with the core components of *critical literacy*, *critical language awareness* and *acting on social realities* (Cummins 2000: 280). The challenge to inequality which is essential to this approach does not appear to be reflected in the responses to this scenario by teacher educators, who generally seem to be satisfied with the way the curriculum is addressing the language needs of the diverse student population in this country, in spite of their lack of confidence in formal features of language.

It is interesting that although two international reviews of the New Zealand curriculum have pointed out that the bicultural dimension of the curriculum is very strong with its emphasis on recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi (Le Métais 2002: 35, Ferguson 2002: par. 2.3.2), both have pointed out the need to give more specific examples of ways in which Māori and other non-Pākehā contexts can be included in the curriculum (Le Métais 2002: 37, Ferguson 2002: par. 3.3.2). These views were reflected in responses to this scenario. This implies that the attitudes towards inclusiveness as portrayed in the curriculum documents are positive in the affective dimension, but do not include cognitive or conative dimensions. The result may be a 'veneer of vacuous multicultural rhetoric' which masks coercive relations of power Cummins (2000: 252). This explains the lack of clear theory in the area of language for teachers, student teachers, and teacher educators conveyed in the comments for this scenario. It may be that because the curriculum itself does not reflect a clear theory of language, teachers rely on Exploring Language, and other resources according to their perspective and background. The lack of trust in linguists serves to compound this lack of clarity. Franken and McComish (2003: 39) identify a particular need for curriculum guidelines to meet the needs of students from a non-English speaking background.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 313) refers to the structural and symbolic violence that results in the education of minority children when they do not know enough of their parents' language and culture to be able to appreciate it, and their culture has no place in the schooling system. This separates the children from their parents' culture, and makes them ashamed of it. In Jones' (1991) study of an Auckland girls' school the failure of Pasifika girls in lower streams was found to be constructed by the school, a situation which she describes as symbolic violence.

School-home partnerships and 'quality alignments in practices between teachers and parents/caregivers' are identified as important research-based characteristics of effective links to facilitate learning in Alton-Lee's (2003: vii) report into quality teaching for diverse students in Aotearoa New Zealand. Nash (2000: 84) argues for 'organic relations' between schools and Pacific communities in order that the outcomes for Pasifika students are improved. Wells points out (1999: 146) that the needs for students entering a new country and language in their adolescent years are particularly important, although teachers are often unwilling or unprepared to devolve responsibility to students which would enable them to take a more active role in their own education. It is also important to acknowledge that some students themselves may have more positive views than their teachers, who draw on a wider knowledge of structures and systems (Watts and White 2002: 5). However, the potential alienation of students is vividly portrayed in the poem by a Pasifika student in Aotearoa New Zealand which introduces this chapter. The frustration and anger expressed in the poem signals the physical violence predicted by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 324) as the response to structural violence.

CHAPTER 9

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES: MEASURING THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND TESTING THE MODEL

From: *The Dominion* Monday February 28 2000, p. 9

Hear our voices ... in two languages Jonathan Milne

Members of the Silver Ferns know the words in English and Maori, but most All Blacks shuffle their feet and appear not to know either version.

The Government's call for the first verse of New Zealand's national anthem to be sung in both languages before international sports matches was always going to cause difficulty for many New Zealanders, both Māori and Pākehā. But even the Returned Services' Association has agreed that it is a good idea for the anthem to be sung in both languages - as long as the original English words are sung first.

9.1 Introduction

In order to measure whether the questionnaire was useful as a tool to identify the attitudes of teacher educators, multivariate analyses were carried out using the multiple variables of Questions (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) for each of Scenarios A, B, and C. (Univariate analyses using Anovas have been reported in the results for each scenario in previous results chapters.) The statistical package SAS (SAS Institute 1996) was used for these analyses.

This chapter will outline three different multivariate analyses used on this data, with each of the five questions in the three scenarios as variables: Multivariate Analysis of Variance (Manova), Principal Components Analysis, and Factor Analysis.

I will then present a brief analysis of the effect of background variables, in order to test the model I had developed based on the literature, which suggested that the attitudes of teacher educators towards bilingualism would be affected by their personal backgrounds (see 2.5).

The multivariate analyses only included data from respondents who responded fully to all questions in each analysis. For example in Scenario A, out of a possible 395 responses 82 were excluded because the respondents had ticked 'undecided' or made no response to at least one of the five questions.

Three types of multivariate analysis were used: Multivariate Analysis of Variance (Manova), Principal Components Analysis, and Factor Analysis. Each of these was carried out in each scenario with all five questions, followed by combinations of scenarios. The analyses and their results will now be described in turn.

9.2 Multivariate Analysis of Variance (Manova)

A Multivariate Analysis of Variance (Manova) test was carried out in order to determine where the differences between the six languages were largest in Scenarios A and B, for the variables Questions (a) to (e). The test was also carried out for Scenario C in order to see whether the languages each respondent answered for in the other two scenarios had any effect on their answers in this scenario, which did not change according to language in the way that Scenarios A and B did.¹

The test used was Roy's Greatest Root, which is a method of testing whether each explanatory variable in Manova is statistically significant, and was carried out by SAS Proc GLM (Generalized Linear Model). This test was used because as statistical authority Donald Morrison points out in his discussion of alternative multivariate analyses, in test simulations 'for the case of a single large population root the Roy statistic tended to have the highest empirical power' (Morrison 1976: 224). The test provides an Eigenvalue with the percent of variance explained by the characteristic vector of the variables found in the test. This Eigenvector, or characteristic vector, is described by a set of coefficients, and shows the combinations of questions used which would maximise the differences between languages.

¹ SAS also provided tests for Wilks' Lambda, Pillai's Trace, and Hotelling-Lawley Trace, but these were not necessary to reach the required conclusions and have therefore not been tabulated.

9.2.1 Manova for Scenario A

The results for Scenario A can be seen in Table 9.1, which shows that 65.23% of all the variance between languages can be shown by the characteristic vector made up of the five coefficient values (F =5.67, df = (5, 275), p <.0001).

Question	Question name	Characteristic vector
a	'L1 in the classroom'	0.0369
b	'English-only in the classroom'	0.0451
с	'Writing in L1'	0.0028
d	'English at home'	0.0264
e	'Pronouncing an L2 name'	0.0009

Table 9.1Scenario A - Roy's Greatest Root
(Eigenvalue = 0.1030, Proportion = 0.6523)

The relative scale of the coefficients is the important aspect. It can be seen that the strongest coefficients are for Question (a) and Question (b), with Question (d) slightly weaker. Therefore, the characteristic vectors which would best show the differences between languages in Scenario A, using the coefficients for each question, can be written approximately as:

 $A = a + b + \frac{1}{2}d$

This combination gives a score which is the most different possible for the languages used in Scenario A when all responses for each language are added together. In other words, a rating made up of a combination of results from Question (a) ('L1 in the classroom'), plus Question (b) ('English-only in the classroom'), plus half of Question (d) ('English at home') would give results which would maximise the differences between languages for Scenario A. It was interesting to note that the last two of these questions had shown statistically significant differences between languages in the Anova test (see 6.3.2, 6.5.2), when each question in Scenario A was considered separately.

9.2.2 Manova for Scenario B

The same Manova was carried out for Scenario B. The results can be seen in Table 9.2, which shows that 77.69% of the variance between the languages used in that scenario can be shown by the characteristic vector made up of the five coefficient values given (F = 13.87, df = (5, 226), p = <.0001).

Question	Question name	Characteristic vector
a	'An L1 accent'	-0.0091
b	'Modelling 'standard' English'	0.0033
с	'Language in social studies'	0.0112
d	'Advice from a language expert'	0.0097
e	'Learning other languages'	0.0522

Table 9.2	Scenario B - Roy's Greatest Root
	(Eigenvalue = 0.3069, Proportion = 0.7769)

Therefore, the characteristic vector which would best show the differences between languages in Scenario B, using the coefficients for each question, can be written approximately as:

 $B = \frac{1}{5}(-a + c + d) + e$

In other words, a rating made up of a fifth of the results obtained by subtracting Question (a) ('An L1 accent') from Question (c) ('Language in social studies') and Question (d) ('Advice from a language expert'), and then adding Question (e) ('Learning other languages') would give results which would maximise the differences between languages for Scenario B.

A further finding for Scenario B was that the language used in Scenario A had a significant effect (F = 3.77, df = (5, 226), p = 0.0027), whether or not it came before or after Scenario B.

Question	Question name	Characteristic vector
a	'An L1 accent'	-0.0068
b	'Modelling 'standard' English'	0.0428
с	'Language in social studies'	0.0649
d	'Advice from a language expert'	-0.0082
e	'Learning other languages'	-0.0296

Table 9.3Scenario B by Language used in Scenario A
Roy's Greatest Root
(Eigenvalue = 0.0834, Proportion = 0.6177)

Therefore, the characteristic vector which would best show the effect of languages used in Scenario A on questions in Scenario B, can be written approximately as:

$$B = c + \frac{2}{3}b - \frac{1}{2}e$$

In other words, a rating made up of a combination of Question (c) ('Language in social studies'), two-thirds of the results from Question (b) ('Modelling 'standard' English'), and a half of Question (e) ('Learning other languages') would give results which would maximise the differences between languages used in Scenario A on responses in Scenario B.

9.2.3 Manova for Scenario C

The results for Scenario C are shown in Tables 9.4 and 9.5. Although there was no language variable used in this scenario, the data was tested to find whether the languages in Scenarios A or B affected the responses in this scenario. Table 9.4 shows that the language used in Scenario A had a statistically significant effect on the results for Scenario C (F = 4.49, df = (5, 214), p <.0007), and this characteristic vector accounted for 57.85% of the variance in responses caused by the language in Scenario A. The effect was strongest for Question (d) ('Language knowledge'), followed by Question (a) ('Language in race relations') and Question (c) ('Language across the curriculum').

Question	Question name	Characteristic vector
a	'Language in race relations'	-0.0240
b	'English or Language?'	-0.0115
c	'Language across the curriculum'	0.0152
d	'Language knowledge'	0.0684
e	'Structure vs other goals'	0.0041

Table 9.4Scenario C by Language used in Scenario A
Results for Roy's Greatest Root
(Eigenvalue =0.1049, Proportion = 0.5785)

This result means that respondents rated the question about the importance of teacher knowledge about structures differently according to the language they were presented with in Scenario A, whether it came before or after Scenario C in their particular version. This points to respondents reading the whole questionnaire before answering any of the scenarios, and to them interpreting questions in this light. Some respondents may have read Question (d) to refer to language patterns and structures across languages.

Table 9.5 shows that the language used in Scenario B also had a statistically significant effect on the results for Scenario C (F = 3.72, df = (5, 214), p <.0030), accounting for 70.39% of the variance in responses. In this case, the strongest effects were found on Question (c) ('Language across the curriculum'), followed by Question (a) ('Language in race relations'), Question (b) ('English or Language?') and Question (d) ('Language knowledge').

ations' -0.0491
auons -0.0491
0.0342
curriculum' 0.0652
e' -0.0287
oals' -0.0013
-

Table 9.5Scenario C by Language used in Scenario B
Results for Roy's Greatest Root
(Eigenvalue =0.0869, Proportion = 0.7039)

This means that in Scenario C respondents were affected not only by the language given in Scenario A but also by the language given in Scenario B. There may have been an interpretation by respondents that Question (c), which asked about the importance of language objectives in all curriculum areas, referred to the inclusion of other languages in some way.

9.3 Principal Components analysis

A principal components analysis was also carried out using SAS in order to determine the main sources of variability in the data. This provides a coefficient for each question which is weighted for its relative importance in the scenario. The principal component vector can therefore be said to reflect whatever is causing the major influence on the variability in the data. As this questionnaire was designed to show the attitudes towards bilingualism and language diversity, a reasonable expectation was that the principal component vector would reflect the bilingual/diversity-supportive ratings which had been established from the literature (see 4.4).

Table 9.6 shows that the bilingual-supportive rating for each question was highest at either the 'very' or the 'not at all' response. For example, in Question (a) concerning the usefulness of L1 in the classroom the response 'very' was rated bilingual-supportive, so this question was rated in a positive direction, whereas in Question (b) ('English-only in the classroom') the response 'not at all' was rated bilingual-supportive, so this question was rated in a negative direction.

Scenario name	Scenario introduction	Question item	No.	Question	Question name	Theoretical bilingual- supportive direction
A bilingual child in the	One of your trainees has been teaching a maths unit as part of her	Your trainee notices [mother] speaking to [son] in [language] while she is helping him with his maths activities.	a	How useful is it for them to speak about the task in [language]?	'L1 in the classroom'	+
classroom teaching practice at a primary school. There are several parents who help the class. One is a [language] woman, [mother], mother of a Year 3 boy, [son]. The family are fluent speakers	a primary school. There are several parents who help	The class teacher has said that he encourages the children to use English at all times in the classroom.	b	How important is it for the children to speak only in English in the classroom?	'English- only in the classroom'	-
	Your trainee suggests that it may be possible to get [mother] to help [son] and another [language] child in the class to write some stories in [language].	С	How useful will it be to encourage the children to write some stories in [language]?	'Writing in L1'	+	
	of [language], which they use at home.	[Mother] tells her that although the family has always spoken in [language], her son has insisted on using English at home since he started school. She wants to help [son] at school as much as possible.	d	How important is it for the adults to speak in English at home?	'English at home'	-
		The teacher says that he finds the name [son] difficult to pronounce, so he uses the English name 'John'.	e	How important is it for the teacher to pronounce [son] name in [language]?	'Pronouncing an L2 name'	+

Table 9.6Bilingual-supportive ratings for Scenario A

9.3.1 Principal component for Scenario A

Table 9.7 shows the coefficients of the first principal component in Scenario A, with the direction of each question on the bilingual-supportive scale from the literature. It can be seen that the coefficients form a pattern switching from positive to negative, with similar weightings for the first four questions but a weaker weighting for Question e. This principal component explained 36% of all variability in Scenario A.

Question	Question name	Principal component	Theoretical bilingual- supportive direction
а	'L1 in the classroom'	0.5496	+
b	'English-only in the classroom'	-0.4123	-
с	'Writing in L1'	0.5892	+
d	'English at home'	-0.4105	-
e	'Pronouncing an L2 name'	0.1106	+

Table 9.7First Principal Component - Scenario A
(Eigenvalue = 1.8126, Proportion = 0.3625)

The principal components for Scenario A follow the theoretical bilingualsupportive ratings given for each question. The weaker weighting given for Question (e) might be expected given that 95.43% of respondents gave the bilingual-supportive rating of 'very' for the importance of pronouncing the child's name in his first language, and there was consequently little variance among responses.

Scenario name	Scenario introduction	Question item	No.	Question	Question name	Theoretical bilingual- supportive direction
of secondary language teacher diversity trainee in history and social studies at your institution. He speaks [language] achis first language, and although his English has a strong [language] accent, he	teacher	In the feedback session after a spoken presentation as part of your course, other trainees comment on [student]'s pronunciation.	a	How important is it to take account of [student]'s accent in assessing his presentation?	'An L1 accent'	-
	social studies model non-standard writ at your in his future classes. institution.	Colleagues have mentioned that [student] may model non-standard written English to the children in his future classes.	b	How important will it be for [student] to model 'standard' written English in the classroom?	'Modelling 'standard' English'	-
	language, and although his English has a strong	[Student] develops a social studies unit to focus on language as a feature of culture and heritage. It investigates the [language] language as it compares with English.	с	How valuable will this unit be for the children?	'Language in social studies'	+
	accent, he communicate s well with	[Student] is worried that he does not have enough formal background in language to plan the unit well. He asks you whether he needs to seek advice from a language expert.	d	How important is it for [student] to seek expert advice about comparing the two languages?	'Advice from a language expert'	+
		A colleague of yours comments that as English is so important worldwide, if the children speak English they do not need a knowledge of [language].	е	How useful is it for New Zealand children to learn [language]?	'Learning other languages'	+

Table 9.8Diversity-supportive ratings for Scenario B

9.3.2 Principal component for Scenario B

Table 9.8 shows the bilingual-supportive rating direction determined from the literature for Scenario B. Table 9.9 shows a further principal components analysis applied to the five questions of Scenario B, with the bilingual-supportive rating direction included. It can be seen that coefficients for the questions in Scenario B form a pattern where the first two coefficients are negative, followed by a positive to negative pattern. The coefficient for Question (d) shows the smallest effect.

Question	Question name	Theoretical bilingual- supportive direction	Principal component
а	'An L1 accent'	-	-0.4558
b	'Modelling 'standard' English'	-	-0.3303
с	'Language in social studies'	+	0.5740
d	'Advice from a language expert'	+	-0.1990
e	'Learning other languages'	+	0.5604

Table 9.9First Principal Component - Scenario B
(Eigenvalue = 1.5565, Proportion = 0.3113)

The first principal component for Scenario B therefore follows the theoretical bilingual-supportive ratings for all questions except Question (d), which concerned 'Advice from a language expert', and appeared to elicit responses which ranged from an 'anti-linguistics' response, to a 'politically correct' response which assumed that any speaker of the language was an 'expert' in that language (see 7.5.1). The low weighting in the principal components analysis implies that this question is measuring something that is different from the other questions, which means that from a theoretical perspective as measured by the principal components it is not measuring attitudes towards language diversity.

Scenario name	Scenario introduction	Question item	No.	Question	Question name	Theoretical bilingual- supportive direction
	Tim are teachers from a middle school (Years 7 toresponsibility to improve race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, and that language issues are part of this.langua respon respon	How important is the role of language in this responsibility?	'Language in race relations'	+		
	10). They are at an education conference giving a joint presentation on	Tim notes that he has recently changed to talking about 'English' with the children, instead of 'Language', as it was in the old curriculum.	b	How significant is this change?	'English or Language?'	+
	developments in the school curriculum, particularly as they involve	Moana suggests that primary teachers are being encouraged to focus more clearly on curriculum area objectives, and to avoid overlap with language objectives except in integrated units of work.	с	How important is it for language objectives to be included in all curriculum areas?	'Language across the curriculum'	+
	language issues.	Tim claims that although many classroom teachers would like to include a focus on how language is structured and patterned, they do not know enough about how to do this.	d	How important is it for all teachers to be able to teach about language patterns and structures?	'Language knowledge'	+
		Moana notes that the pressure to get through all three oral, written and visual language strands in the curriculum leaves little time for teachers to focus on details.	e	How important are language patterns and structures compared with other language goals?	'Structure vs other goals'	+

Table 9.10Bilingual/diversity-supportive ratings for Scenario C

9.3.3 Principal component for Scenario C

Table 9.10 shows the direction of the bilingual/diversity-supportive rating determined from the literature for Scenario C. The principal components analysis applied to Scenario C is presented in Table 9.11. This shows that the coefficients for the first principal component for the questions in Scenario C are all positive, with Question (b) weaker than the other weightings. The theoretical scale for this scenario was also all in a positive direction.

Question	Question name	Theoretical bilingual- supportive direction	Principal component
а	'Language in race relations'	+	0.3346
b	"English' or 'Language"	+	0.1969
с	'Language across the curriculum'	+	0.4771
d	'Language knowledge'	+	0.5541
e	'Structure vs other goals'	+	0.5609

Table 9.11First Principal Component - Scenario C
(Eigenvalue = 1.7603, Proportion = 0.3521)

The first principal component for Scenario C therefore follows the expected bilingual/diversity-supportive ratings given for each question. Question (b) concerned the change of name from 'Language' to 'English' in the primary curriculum, and its weak weighting indicates that this question is measuring something other than a straightforward attitude towards bilingualism. The results from this question showed that those who thought that the change was 'very' significant did so for two opposite reasons; one was that the change was positive because it showed the importance of other languages, and the other that it was negative because it privileged English over other languages (see 8.3.1). This splitting of the reasons for the responses may have caused the weak weighting of this question.

9.3.4 Principal components for the three scenarios

Table 9.12 shows the results of the principal component analysis for the whole questionnaire. The table includes the direction of each question according to the bilingual/diversity-supportive response. It can be seen that the directions are the same in 14 out of the 15 questions; the only question which is different is Scenario B Question (d), with a very small weighting in the opposite direction. This principal component accounts for approximately 18% of all the variance in responses for the three scenarios in the questionnaire.

Question	Question name	Principal component	Theoretical bilingual/ diversity- supportive direction
Scenario A			
a	'L1 in the classroom'	0.3788	+
b	'English-only in the classroom'	-0.2766	-
с	'Writing in L1'	0.4217	+
d	'English at home'	-0.2727	-
e	'Pronouncing an L2 name'	0.1225	+
Scenario B			
а	'An L1 accent'	-0.1348	-
b	'Modelling 'standard' English'	-0.1275	-
с	'Language in social studies'	0.3718	+
d	'Advice from a language expert'	-0.0370	+
e	'Learning other languages'	0.3400	+
Scenario C			
a	'Language in race relations'	0.3331	+
b	'English or Language?'	0.1792	+
с	'Language across the curriculum'	0.1614	+
d	'Language knowledge'	0.1659	+
e	'Structure vs other goals'	0.1630	+

Table 9.12First Principal Component - Scenarios A, B, and C combined
(Eigenvalue = 2.7470, Proportion = 0.1831)

The principal component analysis therefore supports the theoretical bilingualsupportive ratings which had been determined from the literature.

9.4 Factor analysis

A set of Varimax factor analyses were carried out using SAS in order to find clusters of variables, in this case the scenario questions. This program splits the data into factors and to the maximum extent possible loads variables onto one factor or another. The starting point for the factor analysis was the principal component analysis presented in 9.3 (although the two techniques are not statistically equivalent). Given enough factors, factor analysis tends to split out subsets of variables found in the principal component analysis. For example, with two factors for Scenario A, the first two factors tend to separate out two parts of the first principal component:

Principal component	Factors		
a b c d	1	2	
+ - + -	(a, c)	(b, d)	

Factor analyses were carried out on each individual scenario, Scenarios A and B together, and all three scenarios.

9.4.1 Factor analyses for individual scenarios

Tables 9.13, 9.14, and 9.15 show the results for the individual scenarios. The heavily loaded variables in each factor have been highlighted, and it can be seen that each variable (or question) falls primarily on one factor. Three factors were chosen on the basis that in all cases the variance explained exceeded 1.0 (which is the average value when the maximum possible number of factors is fitted).

	Question name	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Variance		1.4498	1.2000	1.0192
Question				
a	'L1 in the classroom'	0.8829	-0.0856	-0.0878
b	'English-only in the classroom'	-0.0925	0.8007	-0.0250
	'Writing in L1'	0.7939	-0.2382	0.1793
с	'English at home'	-0.1716	0.7033	0.0315
d	'Pronouncing an L2 name'	0.0449	0.0122	0.9888
e	-			

Table 9.13	Factor	analysis	of Sce	nario A
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Therefore, Table 9.13 shows that in Scenario A the Questions (a) and (c) define one factor relating to L1, while Questions (b) and (c) define another relating to English, and Question (e) on its own defines another factor.

	Question name	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Variance		1.4690	1.0219	1.0093
Question				
а	'An L1 accent'	-0.5412	0.2720	0.0445
b	'Modelling 'standard' English'	-0.0710	0.0579	0.9876
с	'Language in social studies'	0.7578	0.1610	-0.1633
d	'Advice from a language expert'	-0.0305	0.9577	0.0532
e	'Learning other languages'	0.7719	-0.0395	0.0497

Table 9.14 shows that in Scenario B, Questions (a), (c) and (e) define one factor relating to other languages, Question (d) defines another factor, and Question (b) defines a third factor.

Table 9.15Factor analysis of Scenar	rio C
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	Question name	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Variance		1.5456	1.2721	1.0060
Question				
a	'Language in race relations'	-0.0650	0.8266	0.1570
b	'English or Language?'	0.0262	0.0965	0.9879
с	'Language across curriculum'	0.2669	0.7517	-0.0309
d	'Language knowledge'	0.8640	0.0816	-0.0291
e	'Structure vs other goals'	0.8501	0.0881	0.0592

Table 9.15 shows that in Scenario C, Questions (d) and (e) define one factor, Questions (a) and (c) define a second factor, and Question (b) defines a third factor.

Therefore, the factor analyses for the three scenarios show that while the questions all investigate attitudes towards bilingualism and language diversity, at a finer level of analysis they can be seen to be looking at different concepts (as summarised by the names for each question).

9.4.2 Factor analyses of combined scenarios

Table 9.16 shows a factor analysis of Scenarios A and B combined. It can be seen that in this case only two factors resulted using the criterion that the variance explained exceeded 1.0, and these essentially contrasted Scenarios A and B.

In these tables the meaningful contribution to a factor has been decided at 0.4472, since $0.4472^2 = 20\%$, in other words the loading between factor variables explains 20 percent of the variance. Therefore, all coefficients above 0.4472 have been highlighted.

		Factor 1	Factor 2
	Variance	2.0474	1.5230
Question			
Scenario A			
а	'L1 in the classroom'	0.7196	0.1186
b	'English-only in the classroom'	-0.6270	0.0304
с	'Writing in L1'	0.7404	0.1938
d	'English at home'	-0.5042	-0.1569
e	'Pronouncing an L2 name'	-0.1225	0.5989
Scenario B			
а	'An L1 accent'	-0.1578	-0.3860
b	'Modelling 'standard' English'	-0.1192	-0.3040
с	'Language in social studies'	0.3212	0.5907
d	'Advice from a language expert'	0.2867	-0.4433
e	'Learning other languages'	0.3075	0.5479

Table 9.16Factor analysis of Scenarios A and B combined

This result therefore means that the most important aspect in terms of factors is that the two scenarios are testing different underlying concepts or issues. This would be predicted from the different topics of the scenarios, 'A bilingual child in the classroom', and 'The value of language diversity', which investigated the issue of bilingualism in the classroom from two different perspectives. Table 9.17 shows the results of the factor analysis when all three scenarios were combined. It can be seen that with five factors (where the number of factors is determined by using only those whether the variance explained exceeded 1.0), no clear picture emerges. However, as with the individual scenarios each variable (or question) generally falls only on one factor.

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Variance	2.7471	1.7362	1.2386	1.1607	1.1134
Question					
Scenario A					
a	0.6278	-0.2199	0.2573	-0.3765	-0.0037
b	-0.4586	0.2844	-0.2903	0.0268	0.0428
c	0.6989	-0.1700	0.2411	-0.3284	0.0796
d	-0.4520	0.3261	0.0397	-0.1254	-0.2280
e	0.2030	0.1793	-0.5097	-0.1595	0.0901
Scenario B					
a	-0.2234	0.0736	0.4656	-0.1542	0.5910
b	-0.2113	-0.1326	0.2759	0.3836	0.2687
c	0.6163	-0.0865	-0.1996	0.1006	-0.3816
d	-0.0613	-0.1936	0.3464	0.4092	-0.4548
e	0.5635	0.0278	-0.2693	0.2846	0.1658
Scenario C					
a	0.5521	-0.0004	0.2035	0.3118	0.0173
b	0.2970	-0.0865	-0.3744	0.1737	0.4644
c	0.2676	0.4749	0.1256	0.5290	0.1342
d	0.2750	0.7514	0.1706	-0.1723	-0.0900
e	0.2702	0.7572	0.1295	-0.0543	-0.0406

Table 9.17	Factor analysis of Scenarios A, B, and C combined
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This result again confirms that the questions within the three scenarios were investigating different concepts.

9.5 Discussion of multivariate analyses

Three different multivariate analyses were used on this data, with each of five questions in the three scenarios as variables: Multivariate Analysis of Variance (Manova), Principal Components Analysis, and Factor Analysis. The implications of the results for each of these three analyses will now be discussed.

9.5.1 Manova results

The first analysis was a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (Manova), which was used in order to determine where the differences between the six languages were largest in each scenario. As would be expected, the main effects of language used in Scenarios A and B were according to the languages used in those scenarios. However, there were also 'carry over' effects, with the responses to Scenario B also affected by the language used in Scenario A, and the responses to Scenario C affected by the languages used in Scenarios A and B, whatever the order the scenarios were presented in. Because Scenario A ('A bilingual child in the classroom') affected both other scenarios, and Scenario B ('The value of language diversity') affected Scenario C ('Language issues in the curriculum'), this shows that Scenario A was the most powerful scenario, followed by Scenario B. This order also follows the development of practical to theoretical, with Scenario A focused on classroom decisions for children, Scenario B focusing more on planning language diversity in the classroom, and Scenario C widening the focus to the place of language in the curriculum.

The methodological implications of this finding are therefore to emphasise the importance of a practical focus in questionnaire design; although it might seem that a wide range of theory is being reduced to a single component, these results showed that attitudes were more clearly identifiable when respondents were asked about a particular classroom decision point, while remaining consistent with underlying attitudes (as other multivariate analyses showed). The fact that the influence of the more practical scenarios was evident no matter what order the scenarios was presented in also shows that, in a short questionnaire at least, respondents are likely to read the whole questionnaire through before answering any of the questions.

The theoretical significance of the 'carry over' effect is that it gives further support to a difference in attitudes towards bilingualism according to the different language contexts, because respondents gave different answers to the whole questionnaire according to the language of the mother and child they were presented with in Scenario A. This therefore points to the nature of attitudes towards bilingualism being determined by the political and ideological context of the language and the groups they are spoken by, rather than by an understanding of the effects of bilingualism itself. In other words, although the cognitive needs of the six individual children in Scenario A could be said to be identical in terms of understanding the mathematical task in Question (a), respondents answered differently according to the language background of the child. This indicates the over-riding importance of the socio-cultural context in the way teacher educators are approaching language issues in teacher preparation courses. They appear to follow priority orders such as that proposed by Waite (1992a: 18; 1992b: 72) for a national focus, even when they are making decisions which affect the support given to individual children.

The careful design of the questionnaire so that it was able to assess the carry over effects of questions from one scenario to another is an important and unusual feature of this study. Questionnaires are seldom able to provide this useful information, and there seems to have been no other linguistic study that has considered this issue.

9.5.2 Principal Components Analysis results

The second multivariate analysis was a Principal Components Analysis, used to determine the main sources of variability in the data. The first principal component vector provided coefficients which were compared with the expected ratings determined from the literature. For 14 out of the 15 questions in the three scenarios of the questionnaire the principal component followed the expected ratings. This therefore means that the questionnaire was testing attitudes towards bilingualism and language diversity rather than some other construct.

The one question which did not follow the pattern was Question (d) in Scenario B, which asked about the importance of seeking expert advice on comparing the student teacher's language and English ('Advice from a language expert'). The

expected response in support of bilingualism was that it would be 'very' important to seek advice when teaching about the language, rather than relying on a native speaker's knowledge of their own language. Even though the majority of respondents did give the expected diversity-supportive response, the comments indicated that for some people the suggestion that the student needed to consult an expert showed a lack of confidence in non-English speaking knowledge, and they saw no need to obtain expert linguistics knowledge. In other words this question may have been eliciting a (negative) attitude towards 'Western linguistics' as a field of expertise, rather than an attitude towards language diversity.

However, this coefficient had the weakest weighting in the first principal component, and was the only one in the opposite direction from what had been predicted from the literature as indicators of an attitude towards diversity. The principal component analysis therefore provides an empirical justification and consequently an operational definition for the theoretical ratings based on the literature.

9.5.3 Factor Analysis results

The third multivariate analysis was a Factor Analysis, carried out in order to find clusters of scenario questions into factors. The analysis did not show a clear clustering of the scenario questions into factors. This therefore meant that the three scenarios were testing different underlying aspects of attitudes towards bilingualism and language diversity, and that within scenarios the questions were investigating different concepts. The significance of this finding is that it supports the inclusion of all of the questions and scenarios in a questionnaire as indicators of separate components of attitudes towards bilingualism and language diversity.

However, the fundamental question for factor analysis, namely how many factors to choose, means that these factor analysis results are not as important or useful as the principal component analysis (or the Manova when comparing languages).

9.6 Effect of background variables

I now turn to an analysis of the effect of background variables on the teacher educators' responses to the questionnaire scenarios. This was in order to test the model I had developed based on the literature, which suggested that the attitudes of teacher educators towards bilingualism would be affected by their personal backgrounds (see 2.5).

I will firstly describe the variables, explain how these were tested against the results, and finish by showing the implications of the findings for the model.

9.6.1 The background variables

Information on respondents' backgrounds had been collected in the last section of the questionnaire (see Appendix F). These questions became the following variables:

'sector of teacher education' (primary or secondary)
'designation' (lecturer or tutor)
'status' (full-time or part-time)
'subject areas'
'years as a teacher educator'
'years as a classroom teacher'
'gender'
'age'
'ethnic background'
'highest educational qualification'
'first language'
'other languages learnt'
'linguistics study'
'willingness to be included in a follow-up'
'other comments' (their inclusion or not)

Responses from the questions which provided information on the variables have been described and discussed in Chapter 5.

9.6.2 Testing the background variables

In order determine the possible effect of the respondents' backgrounds on their responses, the principal component scores from each of Scenarios A, B, and C were regressed via analysis of variance (Anova) against the languages for Scenarios A and B, and those background variables which had a (given) limited number of response categories. This excluded the open-ended variables: 'subject areas', 'highest educational qualification', 'first language', and 'other languages learnt', because the resulting number of categories meant the size of the sample in each would be too small to make meaningful comparisons. Therefore, the remaining variables tested were: 'sector of teacher education', 'designation', 'status', 'years as a teacher educator', 'years as a classroom teacher', 'gender', 'age', 'ethnic background', 'linguistics study', 'willingness to be included in a follow-up', and 'other comments'.

The results showed that none of the background variables were significant for any of the scenarios at the 1% level, even without the necessary adjustment to significance levels from the program output (in other words, multiplication by the number of principal components) which provides conservative tests. The results suggest that none of the background variables in this group, when taken as one of the group, has any significant effect on responses to any of the scenarios.

A further test was carried out with each of same background variables individually. The only one which showed any significant effect on responses to any scenario was 'willingness to be included in a follow-up'. This reinforced my impression that respondents who were more supportive of bilingualism and language diversity were more likely to agree to participate in the follow-up study. This would be predicted from the literature on social desirability (see 4.5.1 and 4.5.2), which would suggest a willingness to provide the 'politically correct' responses supportive of Māori-English bilingualism in particular, and therefore those respondents whose views corresponded to this might be more ready to participate further. This reinforces the importance of the follow-up results where they were less supportive of bilingualism and language diversity, because the follow-up participants came from the most supportive group in the total sample of respondents.

9.6.3 Implications for the model

The results show that the background variables did not have any significant effect on responses to any of the scenarios. This leads to the conclusion that the differences between responses for the different languages in the scenarios were caused by other factors. The other factor I had included in my model of teacher educators' attitudes towards bilingualism and language diversity was the ethnolinguistic vitality of the students' language group. The lack of significance of personal background variables indicated in these results therefore highlights the importance of this variable.

9.7 Conclusions

The multivariate analyses of the three scenarios therefore support the strength of this questionnaire as a tool to measure the attitudes of teacher educators towards bilingualism and language diversity. They point to the value of scenarios in measuring attitudes, and the importance of including a practical focus in questionnaire items. They also show that although the questions and scenarios were measuring different ideas, they were all but one measuring components of the construct of bilingualism and language diversity; this one question was measuring attitudes towards the field of linguistics. Most importantly, these multivariate analyses support the strength of the questionnaire design in eliciting attitudes across the whole population which show that the language usage needs of individual students are perceived differently according to the wider ethnolinguistic status of their languages. Further findings from multivariate tests that background variables did not have any significant effect on responses also point to the importance of the ethnolinguistic status. These results therefore have implications for a model of teacher educator's attitudes towards bilingualism and language diversity, which will be described in Chapter 11.

CHAPTER 10

FOLLOW-UP STUDY: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

From: *The Dominion* Tuesday 29 February 2000, p.10

Editorial: English as she is taught

With active encouragement from certain educational theorists, the message has got around that when it comes to using English, just about anything goes.

If schools and universities believed their mission was to prepare the next generation for life in a dumbocracy, that would not matter too much. Of course, none will confess to that agenda, though some of their products lend substance to the theory. At all levels, there is plenty of evidence that high standards in English are not expected as a matter of course - rather the reverse.

Creativity and self-expression are sometimes advanced as being more important than correctness in the use of language. Good teachers, however, have always understood that it is necessary to have the tools to be creative with. They include reading and writing skills, accurate spelling, the ability to put sentences together, correct pronunciation, speaking clearly. Language is a precision instrument, though not a frozen one, and being "near enough" should be no more acceptable than "just missing" the notes in playing the oboe or violin. In teaching other languages, incidentally, there is not the same sloppy tolerance of mis-spellings and incorrect grammar.

10.1 Introduction

The third phase of this research project was a follow-up study with a group of questionnaire respondents. This study had two aims:

- a To further explore current classroom practice around language in current teacher education programmes, with a focus on critical language awareness.
- b To validate the questionnaire findings by exploring the extent to which responses were reflected in teacher education practice.

Although the questionnaire was designed with the aim of ensuring that respondents could not anticipate the 'correct' answers, it was felt that self-report data might reflect an ideal rather than the realities of classroom practice. The follow-up study therefore involved the evaluation of materials used in teacher education by a selection of the questionnaire respondents.

10.2 Methodology for the follow-up study

A group of twenty-four people was contacted from the questionnaire respondents, and asked if they were willing to provide teaching materials for further analysis. Nineteen responded with materials.

10.2.1 Selection of participants

Participants were chosen from the questionnaire respondents. The last question in the questionnaire had asked, 'Would you be willing to be included in follow-up interviews for this project?' (See Appendix F). Of the 395 respondents, 194 had ticked the 'Yes' box for this item, and of these a number of participants were identified to represent a range of institutions, subject areas, ethnic backgrounds and range of responses (see below). I then telephoned people on this list until twenty-four people had been contacted. I asked if they would be willing to participate in a follow-up phase of the project by providing any materials they had been using in their pre-service teacher education courses. If they agreed, I sent emails to confirm the request (see Appendix I). They were offered copies of their completed questionnaires, but no one requested this. Five people declined to take any further part (see 10.3.1 below), and materials were received from 19 participants.

10.2.2 Analysis of materials

The materials were analysed using an evaluation tool developed from Ivanič's checklist of critical objectives for language learning (Ivanič 1990: 131-132), which had also been used in the questionnaire development (see 4.4). The evaluation tool comprises a scale for the analysis of materials provided by teacher educators, shown as Table 10.1. The first two columns of the table repeat Ivanič's numbering and critical objectives, which she divided into 'a critical awareness of the relationship between language and power', 'critical awareness of language variety', and 'turning awareness into action'.

The middle section of the table outlines the application of Ivanič's objectives to the materials provided by the 19 participants. Firstly there is a column containing the evaluation ratings developed to analyse the materials. As the type and amount of materials varied from person to person depending on how much they supplied, the ratings are based on zero rating for 'no mention' of each topic, rather than a negative rating (which might have been appropriate if a full range of their teaching material could have been viewed). For each objective there is a positive rating for what Ivanič describes as a 'creative' view of language, shaped through social practice, and negative ratings for a 'normative' view, accepting the status quo (Ivanič 1990: 125). For example, the first objective is to 'Recognise how people with power choose the language which is used to describe people, things and events'. A zero rating was given for materials which did not mention alternatives in describing people, things or events, and positive or negative ratings were given for materials which did mention relevant factors, according to the type of mention:

2	Discussion of 'power' reasons for alternative labels
1	Positive mention of alternative labels
0	No mention of alternatives in describing people, things,
	or events
-1	Negative mention of alternative labels
-2	Discussion of support for traditional labels

The materials provided by participants were then analysed to identify instances of statements relevant to each of the objectives. Next to the evaluation ratings is a column containing the number of participants whose materials contained any relevant statements to the objectives. These ranged from a maximum of six instances for Objective 1, to zero instances for Objective 13. In some cases these mentions would be very brief and implicit, and in others might be intertwined through the approach taken through the materials, so this measure is indicative of the quantity of critical objectives covered in the materials.

The next column contains a list of contexts in which such statements were made in the materials. For example, materials from six participants included statements relevant to Objective 1, including mention of alternatives in labels describing people, things, or events. The materials from one of these participants had notes for the teaching of New Zealand English. These concerned the origins of place names in Aotearoa New Zealand, with a description of the traditional Māori names, their first renditions in English, and the changes through the influence of the British explorer Captain James Cook:

NZ English History Influence of James Cook Map: Tavai Poenammoo (Sth Island) Eahienomauwe (Nth Is) cf Te Wai Pounamu (also Te Waka a Maui) Te Ika a Maui ... From Cook - many NZ place names (See map) (Note changes: Mt Cook, Cook's Gardens) Captain Cooker Slang: Take a Captain (Cook) Trade names: Cooks Wines, etc Participant 2)

This excerpt was given a '2' rating, because it included reasons for the alternative place names which related to historical issues of power in Aotearoa New Zealand. Materials from another participant focused on strategies for creative thinking in a science context. The task encouraged students to think about different labels for species of whales:

When the grouping and labelling is complete, challenge students to construct new labels for existing groups, and new groups using the words from with an existing group. . . . Ask students to compose questions that help them think further about the words and labels they listed in their elaborated brainstorm. Participant 7)

This excerpt was given a rating of '1', because it required students to think about the process of assigning labels and descriptions in science. For this objective none of the materials provided by participants fell into the 'normative' end of the scale, in which alternative labels or descriptions might have been discussed with unconditional or unquestioning support for traditional descriptions.

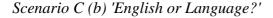
I considered it important not to give a series of 'negative' ratings to participants who had willingly shared their materials for research scrutiny. Although this remained a possibility, it was important to formulate the evaluations so that they would be objective as possible, and the 'negative' ratings were phrased in a way which did not imply that the materials were supporting educationally unsound practice. For example, if materials got a negative rating for Objective 11, 'Recognise how language can either be offensive or show respect - and choose your language accordingly', there was no implication that they were *promoting* offensive or disrespectful language. The negative rating was for a normative approach, and therefore the descriptor, 'Criticism of 'politically correct' language usages', was designed to reflect how such a normative attitude would be reflected by teacher educators.

The last column in Table 10.1 shows the items from the questionnaire which had been designed as indicators for the critical objective. For example, for the first objective mentioned above ('Recognise how people with power choose the language which is used to describe people, things, and events'), there were two related questions from the questionnaire:

Scenario C (a) 'Language in race relations'

Tim states that the education system has a responsibility to improve race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, and that language issues are part of this. How important is the role of language in this responsibility?

(Very = 5)



Tim notes that he has recently changed to talking about 'English' with the children, instead of 'Language', as it was in the old curriculum. How significant is this change?

(Very = 5)

The questionnaire ratings given by respondents were adjusted to the bilingual/diversity-supportive scale (see 4.4). In other words, questions which had 'very' as a bilingual-supportive response (such as the two questions from Scenario C shown above) were given a rating of '5', as were questions which had 'not at all' for the bilingual/diversity-supportive response. Ratings were therefore from '1' to '5', with '0' for a non-response to a questionnaire item. In this follow-up study a comparison was then made of the responses given to selected items in the questionnaire by participants, with the critical language awareness evaluation of the materials they had provided.

Although the questionnaire items had been designed to be indicators of the same objectives as those for the evaluation ratings, they were obviously addressing the objectives in fixed contexts of the scenarios, and as in the case of the two excerpts given above these contexts were often quite different in the teaching materials of the follow-up study. In many cases, there were no instances of the objective being addressed at all. Consequently, the ratings from the materials and the questionnaire were used as indicators for comparison only, rather than in a detailed numerical analysis.

Table 10.1Evaluation of critical objectives in teacher educators' materials
(Critical objectives from Ivanič, 1990: 131-132)

A CRITICAL AWARENESS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND POWER

	Critical objectives (Ivanič)		Critical objectives (Ivanič) Evaluation ratings			Questionnaire	
No.	Objective			No.	Context in materials	indicators	
1	Recognise how people with power choose	2	Discussion of 'power' reasons for alternative labels	6	Place names in Aotearoa NZ	C(a) 'Language	
	the language which is used to describe	1	Positive mention of alternative labels		Labels for Tangata Pasifika	in race relations'	
	people, things and events	0	No mention of alternatives in describing people, things, or		Science labels/terms	C(b) 'English or	
			events		Gender and discourse	Language'	
		-1	Negative mention of alternative labels		Definitions in maths		
		-2	Promotion of traditional labels		Definitions of 'technology'		
2	Understand how many types of language,	2	Analysis of the difficulties of élite varieties	4	Standard English	B(b) 'Modelling	
	especially written language, have been	1	Mention of difficulties of élite varieties		Academic references/citations	'standard'	
	shaped by more prestigious social groups,	0	No mention of the difficulties of élite varieties		Assignment quality	English'	
	and seem to exclude others. This is what	-1	Mention of qualities of elite varieties		Professional educational	C(a) 'Language	
	makes them hard to understand, hard to use	-2	Promotion of élite varieties		language	in race relations'	
	confidently, or hard to write.				Meta-language		
3	Understand how the relative status of	2	Analysis of different language use according to status	2	Power of language	A(e)	
	people involved affects the way we use a	1	Critical mention of link between status and language use		Technological terms in	'Pronouncing an	
	language. (For example, a doctor speaks	0	No mention of participant status and language use		marketing	L2 name'	
	differently from a patient).	-1	Positive mention of link between status and language use			C(d) 'Language	
		-2	Promotion of different language according to status			knowledge'	
4	Recognise that when power relations	2	Analysis of language change linked to social change	2	Geographical change and	A(b) 'English-	
	change, language changes too - both	1	Positive mention of language change		language change	only in the	
	historically and between individuals.	0	No mention of language change		Te reo learning	classroom'	
		-1	Negative mention of language change			C(a) 'Language	
		-2	Promotion of status quo in language			in race relations'	
5	Understand how language use can either	2	Analysis of alternatives to language 'correctness'	1	Grammar in assignments	A(d) 'English at	
	reproduce or challenge existing power	1	Critical mention of language 'correctness'		-	home'	
	relations	0	No mention of notions of language 'correctness'			B(b) 'Modelling	
		-1	Positive mention of language 'correctness'			'standard'	
		-2	Promotion of rules for language 'correctness'			English'	

B CRITICAL AWARE Critical objectives (Ivanič)		ESS OF LANGUAGE VARIETY Evaluation ratings	An	plication in follow-up materials	Questionnaire
No.			No.	Context in materials	indicators
prejudice about mir languages, other languages of the wo	Recognise the nature of prejudice about minority	 Analysis of prejudice towards language diversity Mention of prejudice towards some language varieties No mention of prejudice towards language diversity Mention of equality of language varieties Promotion of equality of language varieties 	4	Support for home languages Varying linguistic backgrounds of students Community languages	A(b) 'English-only in th classroom' B(a) 'An L1 accent' B(e) 'Learning other languages'
7	Understand why some languages or language varieties are valued more highly than others	 Analysis of the social basis of language status Concern about effects of different status of languages or varieties No mention of different status of languages or varieties Concern about use of low status languages or varieties Promotion of high status languages or varieties 	3	Standard English Language is a gift from God Language and gender	B(b) 'Modelling 'standard' English' B(c) 'Language in socia studies' C(b) 'English or Language'
8	Understand how devaluing languages or language varieties devalues their users	 Promotion of first language use Positive mention of other language use (concern about loss) No mention of language maintenance Concerned mention of uses of other languages Promotion of transition to English 	2	Pacific students' language loss in Auckland Affirmation of L1 in classrooms	A(a) L1 in the classroom' A(b) 'English-only in th classroom' A(c) 'Writing in L1'
9	Value your spoken language	 Promotion of spoken varieties as well as written Mention included of spoken varieties No mention of spoken language Emphasis on written language varieties Promotion of literacy, literature only 	5	New Zealand English Literature Oracy/oral language Māori oral literacy (te Reo Korero)	A(d) 'English at home' B(a) 'An L1 accent'
10	Recognise that speakers of languages and varieties other than standardised English are experts	 2 Support for use of non-standard varieties 1 Mention of other varieties as a resource 0 No mention of other languages or varieties in school work -1 Mention of other varieties as a problem -2 Support for transition to standard varieties 	3	ESOL students' first language vocabulary Māori dialect variation Māori terms in science	A(c) 'Writing in L1' B(c) 'Language in socia studies'

C TURNING AWARENESS INTO ACTION

Critical objectives (Ivanič)			Evaluation ratings	Арј	plication in follow-up materials	Questionnaire indicators
No.	Objective			No.	Context in materials	_
11	Recognise how language can either be offensive or show respect - and choose your language accordingly	2 1 0 -1 -2	Analysis of anti-offensive language usage Positive mention of changed usages No mention of respectful/offensive usages Negative mention of 'politically correct' language usages Criticism of 'politically correct' language usages	1	Sexist practices in schools	A(e) 'Pronouncing an L2 name' C(e) 'Structure vs other goals'
12	Recognise what possibilities for change exist in current circumstances, and what the constraints are	2 1 0 -1 -2	Analysis of possibilities for change in classroom usage Positive mention of change in classroom language usage No mention of possibilities for change in classroom language usage Negative mention of changes in classroom language usage Support for status quo in classroom language usage	2	Use of L1 in classroom Learning about language for science Integrating Māori into technology lessons	A(a) 'L1 in the classroom' B(d) 'Advice from a language expert' C(c) 'Language across the curriculum'
13	Learn how to decide whether to challenge existing language practice in particular circumstances	2 1 0 -1 -2	Analysis of challenges to existing practice Positive mention of challenges to existing practice No mention of challenges to existing language practice Negative mention of challenges to existing practice Promotion of status quo in face of change	0	Parent initiatives for a homework centre	A(b) 'English-only in the classroom' C(d) 'Language knowledge'
14	Learn how to oppose conventional language practice if you want to	2 1 0 -1 -2	Strategies for opposition to conventional practice Positive mention of alternative practice No mention of opposition to conventional language practice Negative mention of alternative practice Strategies to maintain conventional practice	1	Gender awareness Language use by minority groups	A(c)) 'Writing in L1' B(c) 'Language in social studies'

10.3 Background of follow-up participants

In order to protect the anonymity of participants, the background information has been combined and there is little cross-referencing of results, or identification of sources of material. The background of participants was chosen to reflect as much diversity as possible, rather than to reflect the proportions represented in the population of respondents (see 5.3).

10.3.1 Gender

The gender balance of follow-up participants was 13 female (68%) to 6 male (32%), which was similar the proportion of questionnaire respondents at 66% female and 34% male.

10.3.2 Ethnic identity

The ethnic identities which can be seen in Table 10.2 show proportionally more diversity than among the questionnaire respondents. This is partly because they are described in a different way in the follow-up study; in order to protect participant identities while retaining the full range of different ethnicities represented, combined ethnic groupings are not indicated (in Section 5.3.3 I used combined groupings with less detail, in order to show proportions of the respondent population). I made a deliberate effort to include participants from a range of ethnic backgrounds, which was considered important in a study which manipulated ethnic background as a variable in the questionnaire design. However, a disproportionately small number of respondents from non-Pākehā/European backgrounds had ticked the box indicating agreement to participation in a follow-up phase of the research, and some declined to take part when I contacted them. Reasons given for declining were concern by some Māori about research not undertaken in a framework of Kaupapa Māori, or Māori-centred research, a paradigm currently being promoted as a response to the

historically exploitative approach of Pākehā researchers on Māori (Tolich 2002: $170)^{1}$.

11
3
4
2

Table 10.2 Ethnic background of follow-up participants

10.3.3 Materials used in the follow-up study

The school sector for which the materials sent were preparing teachers is indicated in Table 10.3. This shows that the highest number were for future teachers at the primary level (11), followed by secondary (7), and one set of materials was aimed at both primary and secondary (1).

Table 10.3Target school sector for follow-up materials

Sector	No. (total = 19)
Primary	11
Secondary	7
Primary and secondary	1

Table 10.4 shows that a wide range of topics was covered in the materials provided. Materials included course outlines, lecture notes, study guides, readings, and assessment guides. Most were sent as email attachments, and ranged from four to 105 pages.

¹ Tolich points out that as a result of the promotion of Kaupapa Māori research, there is a situation of 'Pākehā paralysis' where Pākehā researchers deliberately exclude Māori from their samples. He points out that this exclusion contravenes the Treaty of Waitangi, and advocates an approach based in cultural safety parallel to that outlined by the Nursing Council of New Zealand (Tolich 2002: 175).

Торіс	No. documents (max = 19)
Education	1
Language	2
English	1
Māori language (for mainstream)	2
Pasifika education	1
Assessment and evaluation	1
Developmental psychology	1
Science	3
Gender in education	1
Technology	2
Multicultural studies	1
Sport history	1
Mathematics	1
Literacy for teaching	1
Critical thinking	1

Table 10.4Topics in follow-up materials

10.3.4 Teacher education institutions

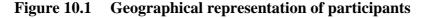
The institutions in the follow-up study represented a range of providers. However, teacher educators at Wānanga (Māori providers) or those who teach on Māori immersion programmes were not approached for this phase, since their materials would be in Māori which I do not have sufficient proficiency to read.

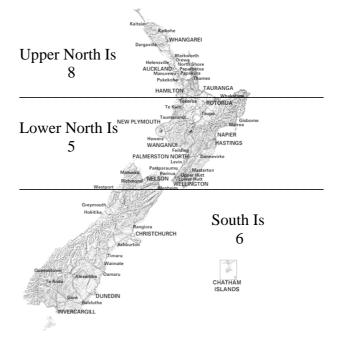
Table 10.5Institutions of follow-up participants

Type of institution	No.
	(total = 20)
Teachers' college	10
University	7
Private provider - Christian	3

10.3.5 Geographical distribution

A good geographical distribution was ensured in the follow-up study, as shown in Figure 10.1, since there is considerably more ethnic diversity of the population in the North Island, particularly in Auckland, and the issues resulting from this diversity could be expected to be more of a focus in teacher education in these areas. There is also more population in the north, and the numbers from each region were chosen with consideration of the relative densities.





(Source of map: http://www.govt.nz/en/aboutnz)

10.4 Results of follow-up analysis

The materials from each participant were examined in order to locate any mention of the language issues covered in this research project. Excerpts were then taken and analysed by using the relevant part of the framework shown in Table 10.1. Codings were also checked by another sociolinguist. The excerpts were then compared with the responses the participants had given for the relevant questionnaire items also shown in the table. Only the material participants had written themselves was used in the analysis. Where readings were included in study guides, I have only used the commentary written by the participants.

Because the materials are not comparable in terms of length, topic, or sector, I have carried out a qualitative rather than quantitative analysis, and will therefore describe ideas and topics which became evident in the analysis. These will be reported in relation to the two aims of the follow-up study: what they show about current teacher education practice around language, and how the questionnaire responses were reflected in teacher education practice.

The participants were invited to send any materials, particularly those with a language component. This elicited a wide range of types of material in terms of subject area and approach towards language. When examples are given below, they are followed by the participant number, and the rating given according to Table 10.1. Ivanič's (1990) 14 critical objectives which formed the basis of the analysis were divided into three parts, which will now be discussed in turn: critical awareness of the relationship between language and power, critical awareness of language variety, and turning awareness into action.

10.4.1 Critical awareness of the relationship between language and power

The relationship between language and power is a basic principle of critical language awareness as it has developed from Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995: 222; Clark and Ivanič 1999: 63) (see 2.4.2). Consequently, the first five objectives are concerned with this principle.

Objective 1

Recognise how people with power choose the language which is used to describe people, things and events.

- 2 Discussion of 'power' reasons for alternative labels
- 1 Positive mention of alternative labels
- 0 No mention of alternatives in describing people, things, or events
- -1 Negative mention of alternative labels
- -2 Promotion of traditional labels

As can be seen in Table 10.1, the first objective in this part was mentioned by the highest number (seven) of the 19 participants of any of the objectives in the checklist. Mention of how people with power label people, things and events occurred in a variety of contexts: Place names, labels for Tangata Pasifika, science labels/terms, gender and discourse, geography and language change, definitions in mathematics, and definitions of 'technology'. Some examples from this objective have already been given in the explanation and analysis above (see 10.2.2), but the strongest link to the theory of critical awareness was in materials provided by Participant 10, in a discussion of gender issues in education:

Make sure you understand what is meant by 'unravelling' old ways of perceiving things by rereading [the] definitions of: . Discourse Power and its relation to discourse, e.g. whose ways of seeing and doing things becomes widely accepted as the 'right' way? Whose views and practices get 'left out'?' (Participant 10, 2)

A particular example of alternatives in labelling was analysed in materials focusing on pedagogical issues for Pasifika students:

'Polynesian' was often used in the 1970s and early 1980s. However, I believe the term 'Polynesian' to have serious limitations as a descriptor, ... Alternate terms, such as 'Pacific Islander', emerged ... Other terms have been used by the state and its agencies, such as 'Pacific Islands'... The term 'Pacific Islander' is undoubtedly a social construction ... My preference is 'Tangata Pasifika' - because it sounds like a name that came from the group itself. (Participant 4, 2)

The issues therefore addressed in these materials were designed to challenge the student teachers to consider options in their own practice as teachers. This consciousness raising aspect of critical language awareness is what Janks and Ivanič (1992: 307) have stated is 'part of a process in which we learn how to emancipate ourselves and others'.

Further examples concerned the terminology used in the curriculum itself, as in this mention of choices made in the mathematics curriculum:

Note that the terms 'volume' and 'capacity' are used interchangeably throughout the measurement strand of the Mathematics in the New Zealand Curriculum. (Participant 16, 1)

An extended discussion about the meaning of 'technology' in the curriculum was provided by one participant:

'Technology' is used by most people as a noun, rather than as a verb. When used as a noun it refers to products and artefacts that tend to be characteristic of highly developed Western economies and social systems. . . When used as a verb the word 'technology' is referring to the process of creating or producing the products and artefacts. . . .

The research I have referred to throughout this paper has provided insight into the language issues which must be addressed when constructed for teachers in training. I have realised that we must address the issue of developing shared understandings about technology, technological literacy and technological practice if we are to produce teachers who are capable of implementing both the letter and spirit of the new curriculum. Participant 13, 1) These discussions are therefore clear in indicating that other alternatives are possible, as in Ivanič's (1990: 125) 'creative' view of language. Although they are not encouraging challenges to these labels, of course this might well happen in class. This reflects Fairclough's (1995: 220) statement that 'educational practices themselves constitute a core domain of linguistic and discursive power and of the engineering of discursive practices'. The terms have been decided by curriculum writers (for the Ministry of Education), and an explanatory rather than challenging approach to terminology is understandable in the context of the newness of technology as a subject².

The two indicator questions from the questionnaire from this objective were C(a) 'Language in race relations', and C(b) 'English or Language?':

Scenario C (a) 'Language in race relations'

Tim states that the education system has a responsibility to improve race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, and that language issues are part of this.

How important is the role of language in this responsibility?

(Very = 5)

Scenario C (b) 'English or Language?'

Tim notes that he has recently changed to talking about 'English' with the children, instead of 'Language', as it was in the old curriculum. How significant is this change?

(Very = 5)

All the participants whose materials included this objective, including those mentioned in 10.2.2, gave a '5' rating (the maximum bilingual/diversity-supportive rating) for the first question. Participants 2, 7,10, and 16 also gave a '5' for the second question, however, Participants 4 and 13 gave a '0' (in other words, they gave no response). This indicates that they were unsure about the significance of the curriculum name change to 'Language' at primary level, and shows that the questionnaire was able to identify such points of tension.

² The *Technology in the New Zealand Curriculum* document for Year 1 to Year 13 was completed in 1995, replacing the 1986 *Forms 1 to 4 Workshop Craft Syllabus for Schools* (Ministry of Education 1995: 5).

Objective 2

Understand how many types of language, especially written language, have been shaped by more prestigious social groups, and seem to exclude others. This is what makes them hard to understand, hard to use confidently, or hard to write.

- 2 Analysis of the difficulties of élite varieties
- 1 Mention of difficulties of élite varieties
- 0 No mention of the **difficulties of élite varieties**
- -1 Mention of qualities of elite varieties
- -2 Promotion of élite varieties

The second objective in this part was mentioned by four participants. This aspect of critical language awareness has been an important focus in the studies about critical language awareness at tertiary level, particularly as it relates to the difficulties of academic language (for example, Clark 1992, Ivanič and Simpson 1992, and discussion of these in Fairclough 1995: 227-228). The examples in the materials provided by participants concerned Standard English, academic references/citations, assignment quality, professional educational language, and meta-language. All examples focused on a need for student teachers to have productive competency:

```
References and citations
Full, correct, and appropriate APA references and citations.
(Participant 6, -1)
At the conclusion of this course, the student will be able
to:
a Demonstrate understanding of, and control over the
structures and conventions of standard English.
b Use an appropriate meta-language to talk about
language.
c Demonstrate the ability to use standard English
appropriate to the educational setting.
...
(Participant 18, 1)
```

The mention of appropriateness in this second excerpt has been critiqued by Fairclough (1995: 233), arguing that 'such models incorporate profoundly misleading assumptions about sociolinguistic variation' (see 4.2.3). However, the mention of need for 'control' over the structures of Standard English may point to its potentially difficult nature, and this was also indicated in other materials by the undertakings of lecturers to provide assistance for the achievement of Standard English:

Lecturers will provide support and advice to students regarding any aspect of their assignments to assist them in achieving the necessary standard by the due date. (Participant 15, 1)

Throughout your course at College, and in practicum in schools, you will be expected to present material in both written and oral modes. You are required to use accepted standard English in these formal and professional settings.

If it is evident that you need assistance to develop your skills in using standard English, you will be required to enrol in [a literacy skills course]. (Participant 17, 1)

These excerpts reflect a belief in the value of Standard English. In the context of schools, Fairclough (1995: 224-225) points out that while there is 'no doubt whatsoever' that Standard English provides life chances for some learners, it is necessary to expose learners to critical views about Standard English for four reasons: to be realistic about the ability of schools to reverse social inequalities, to avoid legitimising an 'asymmetrical distribution of cultural capital', to avoid portraying inequality as diversity (when only Standard English is appropriate for certain occasions), and to avoid attributing 'socially legitimised stigmatisation of varieties' to individual prejudice. It is obvious that for such an approach to be introduced with children in schools, the teachers themselves would need to educated within a critical language pedagogy, but such an approach was not reflected in the materials provided. The lecturers' assistance mentioned in the materials may have conformed to Clark's (1992: 135) statement about the responsibilities of teachers for critical language awareness:

But above all the issue is to help students 'unpack' the university and find out what is expected, what their obligations and rights are.

She describes how this approach solves a tension between leading the students to an awareness of the dominant conventions and alternatives, while also providing them with the resources they need for academic success.

The two indicators for this objective were B(b) 'Modelling 'standard' English' C(a) 'Language in race relations':

Scenario B Question (b): 'Modelling 'standard' English'

Colleagues have mentioned that [student teacher] may model non-standard written English to the children in his future classes.

How important will it be for [student teacher] to model 'standard' written English in the classroom?

(Not at all = 5)

Three of the participants (Participants 15, 17, and 18) gave a '1' rating to this question, and Participant 6 gave a '5'. As this question was directly related to the question of Standard English, and the three participants who gave this high rating had referred directly to Standard English in their responses, this shows a high level of consistency with the questionnaire.

Scenario C Question (a): 'Language in race relations'

Tim states that the education system has a responsibility to improve race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, and that language issues are part of this.

How important is the role of language in this responsibility?

(Very = 5)

The second question was included as an indicator for this objective as it indirectly addressed issues of prestige in social relations. The same three participants (Participants 15, 17, and 18) gave a '5' rating to the second question, while Participant 6 gave a '3' (the middle rating between 'very' and 'not at all' important). It was interesting to note that the same participant had given different ratings for these indicators, which suggests the questionnaire's positive potential for identifying different sets of view points.

Objective 3

Understand how the relative status of people involved affects the way we use a language.

- 2 Analysis of different language use according to status
- 1 Critical mention of link between status and language use
- 0 No mention of **participant status** and language use
- -1 Positive mention of link between status and language use
- -2 Promotion of different language according to status

This objective was only mentioned in materials by two participants, and rather indirectly. The first excerpt was a general statement about language:

Language closes or opens doors. Participant 5, 1)

This implies another participant in an interaction (and by mentioning the closing of doors first it emphasises the negative consequences of particular language uses in some interactions). The second example is from materials for a technology assignment, in which the language used by producers of disposable napkins is analysed:

As you have discovered there are a wide range of disposable nappies available to the consumer, each supposedly designed to meet the different needs of the users. . . . To help you describe what you see you will need some technological terms that describe the product and its parts. These are supplied for you below. They were taken from the Huggies website, as well as from the packaging that comes with the different brands. . . (Participant 13, 1)

The importance of language in the relationship between the producer and consumer is clearly signalled in this task, as the website descriptions show how the nappies are 'supposedly designed to meet the different needs' of consumers. It is interesting that this task is in the context of a technology assignment, which has content aims rather than language aims, and does not explicitly address the issue of participant status. It is an example of Fairclough's 'technologisation of discourse' (1995: 220), which he says is a trend which requires the capacity for critique of language by students in educational institutions.

The indicators for this objective were A(e) 'Pronouncing an L2 name', C(d) 'Language knowledge':

Scenario A Question (e): 'Pronouncing an L2 name'

The teacher says that he finds the name ['son'] difficult to pronounce, so he uses the English name 'John'.
How important is if for the teacher to pronounce [son's] name in [language]?
(Very = 5)

Scenario C Question (d): 'Language knowledge'

Tim claims that although many classroom teachers would like to include a focus on how language is structured and patterned, they do not know enough about how to do this. How important is it for all teachers to be able to teach about language patterns and structures?

(Very = 5)

Both participants whose materials were relevant to this objective had given a rating of '5' to the first question (as had 95.43% of respondents, see 8.5.1), and Participant 5 also gave a rating of '5' to the second question, while Participant 13 gave a '3'. These were therefore bilingual/diversity-supportive responses; although Participant 13 gave a middle rating for the second question, their supporting comment was strongly in favour of the ability to teach about language patterns and structures:

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I do and I am a technologist. Language has multiple patterns, meanings, structures, etc. (Participant 13)
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Objective 4

Recognise that when power relations change, language changes too - both historically and between individuals.

- 2 Analysis of language change linked to social change
- 1 Positive mention of language change
- 0 No mention of **language change**
- -1 Negative mention of language change
- -2 Promotion of status quo in language usage

The fourth objective was addressed in materials by two participants in relation to changes in language as a result of social change. The first is from geography materials discussing the environmental degradation of Easter Island:

. . . an increase in the population meant that more land was being cleared to grow crops, and as the rats were eating the palm nuts there was little or no regeneration of the remaining forest. At the same time the palms were still being felled for rollers to move statues, and for canoe building.

. . .

On Rapa Nui, and nowhere else in the Pacific, the word 'rakau'(tree, wood, or timber) also meant 'riches' and 'wealth'. (Participant 11, 1)

The second example is from materials concerning the teaching of Māori language and protocol, and establishes a modern alternative for introductions, for those who do not have the traditional (Māori) relationships with a particular place:

Whanaungatanga (family relationships): Encourage the ropu
(group) to introduce themselves.
One way is the above introduction:
'Pirongia is my mountain
Waipa is my river etc . . .
Another way could be:
'My name is . . .
I come from . . .
But now I live at . . .
I am married to . . . with . . . children . . .
We have . . . daughters . . . '
(Participant 8, 1)

Although this is explained in English, the formulaic introduction is a direct translation from the Māori. It is interesting that neither of these examples refers to changes in English usage. However, the introduction of aspects (including language) from other cultures into mainstream education and teacher education is itself a reflection of the developments described in Donn and Schick's report of ways to support a positive racial climate in New Zealand schools, in which they note the importance of combining cultural and academic knowledge in the classroom (Donn and Schick 1995: 278).

The questionnaire indicators for this objective were A(b) 'English-only in the classroom' and C(a) 'Language in race relations':

Scenario A Question (b): 'English-only in the classroom'

The class teacher has said that he encourages the children to use English at all times in the classroom. How important is it for the children to speak only in English in the classroom? (Not at all = 5) Scenario C Question (a): 'Language in race relations'

Tim states that the education system has a responsibility to improve race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, and that language issues are part of this. How important is the role of language in this responsibility?

(Very = 5)

The participants both gave a rating of '5' for both of these questions; the maximum on the bilingual-supportive scale. This therefore shows that the orientation of both participants was towards a critical awareness of change.

Objective 5

Understand how language use can either reproduce or challenge existing power relations.

- 2 Analysis of alternatives to language 'correctness'
- 1 Critical mention of language 'correctness'
- 0 No mention of **notions of language 'correctness'**
- -1 Positive mention of language 'correctness'
- -2 Promotion of rules for language 'correctness'

The last objective in this part was addressed by one participant in terms of the necessity to maintain traditional roles:

Traditionally certain people were designated ceremonial roles according to certain criteria and they had to learn the necessary skills in oratory, karakia (prayer), and tradition. Today, this is still necessary. Participant 8, -2)

This statement is supported by a quote which points out that speaking on a marae is a ceremonial role rather than a 'democratic right'. This comment no doubt refers to the rules and prohibitions which govern speaking on some marae (as outlined by Te Tauri Whiri The Māori Language Commission n.d.), and may also refer to the well-known controversy about the marae speaking rights of women (see Bidois 2001, for example), although this issue came to general Pākehā attention after the participant's materials had been written ³.

³ The issue of the rights of women to speak on marae came to wide Pākehā attention in 1998 when then Leader of the Opposition Helen Clark was refused permission to speak on the marae at the

The questionnaire indicators for this objective were A(d) 'English at home' and B(b) 'Modelling 'standard' English':

Scenario A Question (d): 'English at home'

The class teacher has said that he encourages the children to use English at all times in the classroom.

How important is it for the children to speak only in English in the classroom?

(Not at all = 5)

Scenario B Question (b): 'Modelling 'standard' English'

Colleagues have mentioned that [student teacher] may model non-standard written English to the children in his future classes. How important will it be for [student teacher] to model 'standard' written English in the classroom?

(Not at all = 5)

Participant 8 gave a rating of '5' for the first question, and a rating of '2' for the second. This therefore shows the tensions between a wish to support the child's first language on the one hand, and a belief in the need for Standard English on the other hand. Fairclough (1995: 242) analyses this as the 'contemporary dilemma' of a transmission of the hegemonic dialect 'while making the politically necessary concessions to liberalism and pluralism' through the promotion of respect for other dialects and languages. He critiques the notion of 'appropriateness' which is used in response to this dilemma (see discussion of Objective 2 above).

10.4.2 Critical awareness of language variety

The second part of Ivanič's (1990) checklist contains five language objectives concerning language variety. She states that a critical view of language variety 'takes account of the way in which power relations determine the status of languages and language variety' (Ivanič 1990: 127). Fairclough (1995: 225) points

official celebrations for Waitangi Day (the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and Aoteroa New Zealand's national day).

out that different ideas about language and sociolinguistic variation are at 'the root of different conceptions of language awareness work'.

Objective 6

Recognise the nature of prejudice about minority languages, other languages of the world, and varieties of English.

- 2 Analysis of prejudice towards language diversity
- 1 Mention of prejudice towards some language varieties
- 0 No mention of prejudice towards language diversity
- -1 Mention of equality of language varieties
- -2 Promotion of equality of language varieties

The first objective in this part was included in participant materials through four topics: support for home languages, varying linguistic backgrounds of students, and community languages. In the materials on language learning from one of the participants, the link between variety and power was made explicit:

The tension for teachers is between valuing the home language of the student and preparing students to live and work in a society where their language is not the language of those with economic power. Participant 1, 2)

This tension is addressed by Fairclough's (1989: 239) discussion of the need for education to develop the critical consciousness of children:

It is therefore no part of education to present to children any element of their humanly produced and humanly changeable social environment as if it were a part of the natural environment over which they have no control.

He therefore advocates critical language awareness as the approach by which to address issues such as those expressed in the materials above.

Two of the excerpts addressed the possibility of prejudice towards different varieties in an implicit but positive way in their course objectives:

This course will develop teachers' sensitivity to the significance of culture, ethnicity, community languages and second language development in the learning environment. (Participant 14, 1)

Course aims: . . . To develop some initial understandings and competencies to plan, teach and evaluate writing and visual language programmes that: . . . are sensitive to children's varying abilities, as well as their varying social-cultural and linguistic backgrounds. (Participant 9, 1)

The materials on language learning from another participant mentioned the need of attention to Māori students, although without specific details:

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Teachers in mainstream classes need to plan their programmes so that they are relevant to Māori students. (Participant 5, 1)
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These examples all show an orientation towards the recognition of language variety by teachers in the classroom. As is noted in the discussion by Donn and Schick (1995: 31) of race relations in New Zealand schools:

Teacher awareness of the role of racial attitudes, and of culture and language, is seen as the pivotal factor in teachers' ability to meet students where they are and provide the necessary supports for them to work together and to learn in the classroom.

They point out that United States and British approaches to positive race relations in schools, which can be divided into cultural awareness training, racism awareness training, and antiracist strategies, are different from those in this country, where aspects from all three approaches are used (Donn and Shick 1995: 31). However, Fairclough (1995: 225) points out the dangers of blaming individual prejudice rather than the social forces for the stigmatisation of varieties.

The questionnaire indicators for this objective were A(b) 'English-only in the classroom', B(a) 'An L1 accent' and B(e) 'Learning other languages':

Scenario A Question (b): 'English-only in the classroom'

The class teacher has said that he encourages the children to use English at all times in the classroom. How important is it for the children to speak only in English in the
classroom?
(Not at all $= 5$)

The participants had given largely bilingual-supportive ratings for this question: Participant 1gave '5', Participant 5 gave '3', Participant 9 gave '4', and Participant 14 gave '5', which reflected their attitudes as expressed in the materials provided. The highest ratings were given by Participant 1, who had mentioned power relations explicitly, and Participant 14, who was one of the participants who mentioned the children's other languages.

Scenario B Question (a): 'An L1 accent'

How important is it to take account of [student teacher's] accent in	In the feedback session after a spoken presentation as part of your course, other trainees comment on [student teacher's] pronunciation.
1 1 1	
	How important is it to take account of [student teacher's] accent in assessing his presentation?

(Not at all = 5)

The ratings for this question were also diversity-supportive: Participant 1 gave '5', Participant 5 gave '5', Participant 9 gave '3', and Participant 14 gave '3'. Again the highest rating was given by Participant 1, who had mentioned power relations explicitly, as well as by Participant 5, who had mentioned the needs of Māori students.

Scenario B Question (e): 'Learning other languages'

A colleague of yours comments that as English is so important worldwide, if the children speak English they do not need a knowledge of [language].

How useful is it for New Zealand children to learn [language]?

(Very = 5)

The ratings by participants were slightly lower for this question, as reflected the overall responses. They were all mostly at the middle rating, with one slightly higher: Participant 1 gave '3', Participant 5 gave '3', Participant 9 gave '4', and Participant 14 gave '3'.

These results therefore show that for this objective there was general agreement between the types of comments made in the materials provided by participants, and the ratings they gave in the questionnaire.

Objective 7

Understand why some languages or varieties are valued more highly than others.

- 2 Analysis of the social basis of language status
- 1 Concern about effects of different status of languages or varieties
- 0 No mention of **different status of languages or varieties**
- -1 Concern about use of low status languages or varieties
- -2 Promotion of high status languages or varieties

Some of the examples related to this objective were similar to those of the previous objective. The first two excerpts made direct linkages between language diversity and social factors:

To have economic and academic success in New Zealand society it is crucial to be fluent in English Language and associated literacy. Standard English is required for access to higher education, and ultimately to power. Every student has the right to learn standard English, but also every student has the right to have his or her language of origin valued and respected.

... While all students must be taught language, those who come from homes where, for whatever reason, standard English is not the normal form of communication will require special assistance.

(Participant 1, 2)

We think that this poststructuralist approach provides some very useful insights into understanding gender as a complex and often contradictory range of social practices that pivot around our use of language, our emotions and desires. (Participant 10, 2)

Both of these excerpts again referred to the tensions highlighted in Objective 6, between an understanding of the consequences to the individual's background by changing the power relations, and a wish for them to gain access to the power. In a tertiary academic environment these tensions can be addressed directly, through readings of critical literature in a 'safe' classroom environment (Janks 1999: 118; Wallace 1999: 102; Clark 1992: 130). Fairclough (1995: 225) points out the importance of also addressing the tensions with children:

Elevating the standard means demoting other varieties. Again, there is likely to be a mismatch between the liberalism and pluralism of the schools, and the children's experience. It is these mismatches, based upon well-meaning white lies about language variation, that carry the risk of detrimental effects; either they will create delusions, or they will create cynicism and a loss of credibility, or most probably a sequence of the former followed by the latter.

A religious dimension was included by one participant:

Language is a gift from God that needs to be nurtured and developed if it is to be used in the way He intended. The complex inter-relationships of the components of an English classroom programme are a challenge to pre-service teachers. (Participant 9, -1)

This excerpt was given a lower rating because it locates language variety outside social forces, in other words the variety to be used should be the one 'He intended'. This may imply a challenge to academic language norms (such as reference to Biblical authority in academic writing), or may be requiring students to conform to other 'Christian' norms not considered (such as a prohibition against blasphemy in common use in everyday speech).

The indicators for this question were B(b) 'Modelling 'standard' English', B(c) 'Language in social studies' and C(b) 'English or Language?':

Scenario B Question (b): 'Modelling 'standard' English'

Colleagues have mentioned that [student teacher] may model non-standard written English to the children in his future classes.

How important will it be for [student teacher] to model 'standard' written English in the classroom?

(Not at all = 5)

The two participants whose materials had been given a high critical language awareness score gave a rating of '5' (Participant 1), and '0' (Participant 10). The tensions discussed above in the use of standard English were evident in Participant 10's comments for this question, after giving no rating:

Tricky one! This modelling of non 'standard' English could provide lots of opportunities for discussion of different forms of communication and link to [the following question suggesting the development of a social studies unit on the student's language].

Participant 9, whose materials had scored '-1', gave a rating of '1' for this question.

Scenario B Question (c): 'Language in social studies'

[Student teacher] develops a social studies unit to focus on language as a feature of culture and heritage. It investigates the [language] language as it compares with English. How valuable will this unit be for the children?

(Very = 5)

All participants with materials for this objective gave a rating of '5' for this question.

Scenario C Question (b): 'English or Language?'

Moana suggests that primary teachers are being encouraged to focus more clearly on curriculum area objectives, and to avoid overlap with language objectives except in integrated units of work.

How important is it for language objectives to be included in all curriculum areas?

(Very = 5)

Participants 1 and 10 gave a rating of '5' for this question, and Participant 9 gave a slightly lower rating of '4'.

This comparison therefore shows that the differences between participants in the materials was in the same direction as in the questionnaire, with those participants whose materials provided excerpts which gained higher evaluations for the critical objectives also giving higher ratings on the bilingual/diversity-supportive scale of the questionnaire.

Objective 8

Understand how devaluing languages or language varieties devalues their users.

- 2 Promotion of first language use
- 1 Positive mention of other language use (concern about loss)
- 0 No mention of **language maintenance**
- -1 Concerned mention of uses of other languages
- -2 Promotion of transition to English

The third objective in this part, to understand the effect of devaluing languages or varieties in devaluing users, was addressed in materials by two participants. Materials from one participant addressed the issue of first language maintenance:

There is also the issue of the student's language of origin and the responsibility or otherwise of schools to nurture this. A recent publication looks at the Manukau region, New Zealand's 'most multilingual area'. Demonstrated is that different Polynesian languages are in varying states of health, and that there is a fear of language loss amongst some groups of people. (Participant 1, 2)

In other materials, the importance of affirming the students' identities was stressed:

Language programmes should be learner-centred:
 - Should affirm the value of the learner's own language
 and experience.
(Participant 5, 1)

Fairclough (1995) points out the problem of approaches which aim to add Standard English to students' language repertoires, without replacing their own languages or dialects, through the suggestion that all varieties are appropriate for some contexts (Fairclough 1995: 235). He points out that this leaves the domains 'of the private and the quaint' for other varieties, and excludes the most prestigious domains. Ivanič (1990: 124) gives an example of this diglossia, in the British context:

For example, a child in Haringey may use Turkish at home, Arabic in the Mosque, Black British English in the playground, and 'standard' English in the classroom. . . . The dominant conventions of appropriacy are treated as natural and necessary.

She further points out that prejudice can be entrenched by not addressing the fact that all languages or varieties do not have equal status.

The indicators from the questionnaire for this objective were A(a) 'L1 in the classroom', and A(b) 'English-only in the classroom':

Scenario A Question (a): 'L1 in the classroom'

Your trainee notices [mother] speaking to [son] in [language] while she is helping him with his maths activities.

How useful is it for them to speak about the task in [language]?

(Very = 5)

Both participants gave a rating of '5' to this question.

Scenario A Question (b): 'English-only in the classroom'

The class teacher has said that he encourages the children to use English at all times in the classroom. How important is it for the children to speak only in English in the classroom? (Not at all = 5)

Participant 1 again gave the bilingual-supportive rating of '5' to this question, while Participant 5 gave a '3'. These ratings are therefore in the same order as those given for the excerpts from their teaching materials relevant to this objective, with Participant 1 giving slightly more bilingual-supportive ratings and getting slightly higher evaluation ratings.

Objective 9

Value your spoken language.

- 2 Promotion of spoken varieties as well as written
- 1 Mention included of spoken varieties
- 0 No mention of **spoken language**
- -1 Emphasis on written language varieties
- -2 Promotion of literacy, literature only

Mention of this objective in several materials occurred with an emphasis on oracy as an important mode of language in the curriculum:

Language encompasses both the oracy and the written forms. (Participant 1, 1)

Application of personal learning to the delivery of language lessons, with respect to the way ideas influence primary school education in oral, written and visual language will provide background for the delivery of a model language lesson. (Participant 5, 1)

In [. . .] we closely explored oral language and reading. Now in this paper, [. . .], pre-service teachers will continue to explore theory, research and teaching practice as a means to consider the relative merits of various approaches to the teaching of literacy . . . (Participant 9, 1) In Fairclough's analysis of the concept of 'appropriateness' in language, he states that the development of a competence-based view of language education has 'a new emphasis on 'oracy' and spoken language education' (Fairclough 1995: 233). He points out that competence-based models evolved from 'enterprise culture' models of education in the 1980s (1995: 240):

Their success seems to correspond to the changes in the nature of work and corresponding increase in demands upon the communicative and linguistic abilities of workers.

This is linked to the 'appropriateness' model, which reinforces Standard English and therefore becomes hegemony of the 'traditional establishment'. From this viewpoint, the inclusion of 'oracy' in the excerpts above would not indicate a critical approach to language. However, in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, an approach which values oracy is often regarded as legitimising the traditions of Māori and Pasifika cultures represented here which were not based on a written language. This is stated strongly by Tuafuti (2000: 10):

For some cultures, literacy is about reading, writing, and promoting abstract thought, rationality, and critical thinking. To others, it is about oral language, memorisation, and transmission of belief and values that enlighten the knowledge of heritage and ethics.

She explains that traditional Sāmoan literacies are based on expectations of 'āiga (family) and lotu (church) and are 'totally different from the expectations of the English-language, literacy-based programmes in schools in New Zealand' (Tuafuti 2000: 11) (see also 8.6.1).

This viewpoint was reflected in the materials from one participant on Māori language which were heavily focused on spoken language, and included an assignment task which asked students to investigate the role of 'oral literacy' in traditional Māori acquisition of knowledge:

```
[Course objectives]
The focus is on oracy (real meaningful), a little reading
and a little writing.
. . .
[Assignment]
With reference to readings from [. . .], critically examine
the merits and limitations of:
- Te Reo Korero (oral literacy); and the way in which
Māori traditionally acquired and retained knowledge.
- Te Reo Tuhituhi (written literacy); the impact of
this form of education on Māori by Māori and
Missionary from the period 1816-1867.
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 Te Reo Pākehā (English only); and the impact of teaching Māori children in English from 1867-1970 and the suppression of Te Reo Māori in the process.
 Relate this to your own learning of 'Māori' on this course.
 (Participant 3, 2)

Another mention of spoken language was in the context of teaching about New Zealand English, which valued local idiom:

Later - simply The North Island, The (Middle) South Island (Note use of definite article 'the') Have you ever heard people saying simply 'North Island/South Island?(Other than in an adjectival form, e.g. South Island High Country?) 'The North Island' - idiomatic New Zealand English (Participant 2, 1)

The indicators for this objective were A(d) 'English at home' and B(a) 'An L1 accent':

Scenario A Question (d): 'English at home'

[Mother] tells her that although the family has always spoken in [language], her son has insisted on using English at home since he started school. She wants to help [son] at school as much as possible.

How important is it for the adults to speak in English at home?

(Not at all = 5)

Although all of the excepts had been given positive evaluations for this objective, the participants had given a range of ratings for this question: Participants 1 and 3 gave '5', and Participant 9 gave '4', while Participant 2 gave a '1'.

Scenario B Question (a): 'An L1 accent'

In the feedback session after a spoken presentation as part of your course, other trainees comment on [student teacher's] pronunciation. How important is it to take account of [student teacher's] accent in assessing his pronunciation? (Not at all = 5)

There was again a range of ratings given by participants for this question: Participants 1 and 2 gave a rating of '5', Participant 9 gave a '3', and Participant 3 gave a rating of '1'. These rating showed a lack of consistency between each other, as well as in comparison with the materials. The questions may have been tapping into different underlying concepts, or perhaps this range of responses reflects a conflict between the two approaches mentioned above; that of an emphasis on a modern competence-based model of language contrasted with a wish to support traditional methods of literacy learning.

Objective 10

Recognise that speakers of languages and varieties other than standardised English are experts.

- 2 Support for use of non-standard varieties
- 1 Mention of other varieties as a resource
- 0 No mention of **other languages or varieties in school work**
- -1 Mention of other varieties as a problem
- -2 Support for transition to standard varieties

The final objective in this part was included in materials from three participants. The first example is from notes about language learning, and implies that 'linguistically rich' homes do not always have to be English speaking:

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In linguistically rich homes the rate of vocabulary expansion can be 2000 plus words per year. For ESL students this vocabulary may not be in English. (Participant 1, 1)
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Materials from another participant explored dialects used by different Māori tribes:

A knowledge of Māori language terms was included in a science curriculum pretest used by one participant:

```
Give the meaning of the following Māori terms:
Harakeke
Te reo Māori
Nga kararehe
```

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Give the Māori terms for the following:
Nest
Family
Māori medicine
. . .
(Participant 12, 2)
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The intention of student teachers having an understanding of Māori terms may be an example of the sociolinguistic 'points of stability' becoming destabilised (Fairclough 1995: 247), in other words the traditional acceptance of the overriding importance of English for teachers in New Zealand is challenged with an expectation of them having knowledge of relevant Māori terms in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The indicators for this question were A(c) 'Writing in L1', and B(c) 'Language in social studies':

Scenario A Question (c): 'Writing in L1'

Your trainee suggests that it may be possible to get [mother] to help [son] and another [language] child in the class to write some stories in [language]. How useful will it be to encourage the children to write some stories in [language]?

(Very = 5)

The ratings which participants gave for this question were all high: Participants 1 and 3 gave '5', and Participant 12 gave '4'.

Scenario B Question (c): 'Language in social studies'

[Student teacher] develops a social studies unit to focus on language as a feature of culture and heritage. It investigates the [language] language as it compares with English. How valuable will this unit be for the children?

(Very = 5)

For this question, Participant 1 gave '5', and Participant 12 gave '4', while Participant 3 gave '0' or no rating (although with a positive comment). This therefore shows congruence between high bilingual/diversity-supportive ratings given by participants whose materials related to this objective, and positive ratings for the excerpts from the materials.

10.4.3 Turning awareness into action

There were fewer examples in the teacher educators' materials of the objectives in the last part of Ivanič's checklist, which relates to Fairclough's (1995: 231) emphasis on social emancipation.

Objective 11

Recognise how language can either be offensive or show respect - and choose your language accordingly.

- 2 Analysis of anti-offensive language usage
- 1 Positive mention of changed usages
- 0 No mention of **respectful/offensive usages**
- -1 Negative mention of 'politically correct' language usages
- -2 Criticism of 'politically correct' language usages

The first objective in this part was mentioned in materials by one participant, in the context of gender studies:

. . . had this been our school the issues would present a direct and personal challenge to our assumptions, values and attitudes. To what extent would we be ready to accept the risqué joke, or to tacitly condone the teasing of one child by another or to ignore graffiti scrawled on a desk or in a textbook, or to ignore sexist remarks in the classroom or openly challenge comments made by the principal, or the chair of the BOT [Board of Trustees] or an angry parent? (Participant 10, 2)

This example fits with Janks and Ivanič's (1992: 320) description of critical education:

In our view critical educators should help learners to identify situations in their own lives in which they currently feel dominated, and recognise the role language plays in this domination.

It was interesting there were no examples in the materials discussing racist terms, as might have been predicted.

The indicator questions for this objective were A(e) 'Pronouncing an L2 name' and

Scenario C Question (e) 'Structure vs other goals':

Scenario A Question (e): 'Pronouncing an L2 name'

The teacher says that he finds the name ['son'] difficult to pronounce, so he uses the English name 'John'. How important is it for the teacher to pronounce [son's] name in [language]? (Very = 5)

Scenario C Question (e) 'Structure vs other goals'

Moana notes that the pressure to get through all three oral, written and visual language strands in the curriculum leaves little time for teachers to focus on details. How important are language patterns and structures compared with other goals?

(Very = 5)

Participant 10 gave both questions a bilingual-supportive rating of '5', and this accords well with the excerpt in the materials.

Objective 12

Recognise what possibilities for change exist in current circumstances, and what the constraints are.

- 2 Analysis of possibilities for change in classroom usage
- 1 Positive mention of change in classroom language usage
- 0 No mention of **possibilities for change in classroom** language usage
- -1 Negative mention of changes in classroom language usage
- -2 Support for status quo in classroom language usage

Changes in approach were mentioned in three sets of materials. The first related to the maintenance of children's minority languages, with a positive mention of change in the United States context:

As a black woman who cares deeply about the needs of black children, [Lisa Delpit] is quite pragmatic about the way forward for the children: "They must be encouraged to understand the value of the code they already possess as well as to understand the power realities in this country. Otherwise they will be unable to work to change these realities". (Participant 1, 1)

Another excerpt advocated science teachers learning more about how language works:

Using or preparing a science text or resource require analytical skills of the teacher: is the text appropriate for the content? Does it use the right language? Is it pitched at the right level? . . . Most of us are not trained in language skills. Many English language teachers know how to analyse a text. It may be worthwhile working with such a teacher, or pick up a book or two that teaches these skills. (Participant 12, 1)

The third excerpt focused on the integration of Māori language into information

technology in the classroom:

Information Communication Technology: Examples of work created by students for the University Kohanga Reo. Creation of booklets, laminated posters etc. using the digital camera and using te reo Māori for numbers, colours, position. Showing students how to insert the macron on the computer. Links between the Mangere Central School video based on a Sāmoan language nest and the Technology curriculum possibilities for working for Kohanga Reo. In the focus session students are referred to different ways they can be looking at inclusion of [Te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori] in their planning. This includes: - . . . - The use of te reo to convey concepts that are important in Technology education, e.g. kaitiakitānga, tapu, taonga, mana, koha. (Participant 19, 2)

These materials focused on practical strategies for change in the use of language in the classroom. This may result in what Fairclough (1989: 243) refers to as 'emancipatory discourse', or 'discourse which goes outside currently dominant conventions in some way'. A linked example he gives is of British children writing local history in a minority language or non-standard variety. While the use of Māori language in this country might not be outside dominant conventions to the same extent, it is nevertheless less commonly incorporated into all curriculum areas in the mainstream.

The indicators of this objective were A(a) 'L1 in the classroom', B(d) 'Advice from a language expert', and C(c) 'Language across the curriculum':

Follow-up study

Scenario A Question (a): 'L1 in the classroom'

Your trainee notices [mother] speaking to [son] in [language] while she is helping him with his maths activities.

How useful is it for them to speak about the task in [language]?

(Very = 5)

All the participants whose materials were relevant to this objective had given bilingual-supportive ratings to this question: Participants 1 and 19 gave a '5', and Participant 12 gave a '4'.

Scenario B Question (d) 'Advice from a language expert'

[Student teacher] is worried that he does not have enough formal background in language to plan the unit well. He asks you whether he needs to seek advice from a language expert.

How important is it for [student teacher] to seek expert advice about comparing the two languages?

(Very = 5)

The ratings from the three participants were also diversity-supportive for this question: Participant 1 gave a '5', and Participants 12 and 19 gave a '4'.

Scenario C Question (c) 'Language across the curriculum'

Moana suggests that primary teachers are being encouraged to focus more clearly on curriculum area objectives, and to avoid overlap with language objectives except in integrated units of work.

How important is it for language objectives to be included in all curriculum areas?

(Very = 5)

Two participants gave bilingual/diversity-supportive ratings for this question: Participant 1 gave '5', and Participant 12 gave '4'. However, Participant 19 gave a '2', which is a contrast to the high score given to their excerpt. This may be because the question referred to language objectives in general, and the extract was specifically focused on Māori language, which is a special case of language focus. In general the relevant materials for this question showed an awareness of possibilities for change in language use, and the ratings given in the indicator questions were bilingualism/diversity-supportive. The one case where these contrasted with each other points to the high awareness of the place Māori language in the school curriculum, perhaps in contrast with the place of other languages.

Objective 13

Learn how to decide whether to challenge existing language practice in particular circumstances.

- 2 Analysis of challenges to existing practice
- 1 Positive mention of challenges to existing practice
- 0 No mention of challenges to existing language practice
- -1 Negative mention of challenges to existing practice
- -2 Promotion of status quo in face of change

This objective was similar to the previous one, but with a focus more clearly on the *challenges* to existing practice rather than analysis of *possibilities* for change. This approach did not appear frequently in participants' materials, which may mean that teaching about challenges to existing practice is less appropriate in a pre-service teaching context, and that this would be more likely to appear in inservice course materials.

The one excerpt describes research on a change initiated by parents in an Auckland school:

She studied the progress and development of a Tongan homework centre, which can be described as a community or more precisely, a parent initiative. Despite an initial lack of cooperation from the secondary school that their children attended, the parents (with the help and support of a Tongan community worker) established a weekly homework centre, with Tongan tutors.

Students identified the learning benefits for themselves because of the tutor's bilingualism (explanations of key concepts in Tongan to develop understandings) and the culturally based styles of their interactions, which seemed to 'fit' smoothly. (Participant 4, 2) It is interesting that this is not a change which was incorporated into the school's own ways of teaching these children, but as an additional teaching situation in which learning could take place through their own culturally-appropriate styles, including bilingually (as happens in high schools in Tonga itself). This was scored as a challenge because the school did not support the change.

The indicators of this objective were A(b) 'English-only in the classroom' and C(d) 'Language knowledge':

Scenario A Question (b): 'English-only in the classroom'

The class teacher has said that he encourages the children to use English at all times in the classroom.

How important is it for the children to speak only in English in the classroom?

(Not at all = 5)

Scenario C Question (d): 'Language knowledge'

Tim claims that although many classroom teachers would like to include a focus on how language is structured and patterned, they do not know enough about how to do this. How important is it for all teachers to be able to teach about language patterns and structures?

(Very = 5)

Participant 4 gave a rating of '3' for both of these questions. This middle rating suggests that, in contrast with an 'undecided' or 'no response' rating, the participant perceives that there are situations in which either end of the scale might be appropriate, and highlights the complexities of the issues.

Objective 14

Learn how to oppose conventional language practice if you want to.

- 2 Strategies for opposition to conventional practice
- 1 Positive mention of alternative practice
- 0 No mention of **opposition to conventional language** practice
- -1 Negative mention of alternative practice
- -2 Strategies to maintain conventional practice

The final objective is again similar to others in this part of Ivanič's framework, but is the most action-oriented. Wallace (1999: 103) points out that there are differing views about whether critical pedagogy should encourage students to take immediate action over oppression or a longer term challenge to social inequity, particularly if the students are themselves members of 'disadvantaged' groups. She notes that terms such as 'empowerment' and 'emancipation' in relation to 'disadvantaged groups' may cause people in such groups to feel more marginalised (Wallace 1999: 101). In terms of language issues, student teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand are generally not 'disadvantaged', as they tend to come from Pākehā backgrounds and therefore speak English, the dominant language in our culture (see 1.4.2). However, Wallace stresses the importance of critical language awareness for all students (1999: 102):

For CLA to be meaningful as a longer-term educational project it needs to be seen as valuable for mainstream students. Indeed there is greater need to educate white middle class students in critical language study which they may not otherwise feel much disposed to pursue, simply because their immediate interests are not at stake.

Clark's (1992) description of a course investigating the discourses of academic writing states that 'empowerment' and 'emancipation' are important, and she emphasises that this enables the students to use 'the power gained through awareness to act' (Clark 1992: 118). Fairclough (1989: 243-244) acknowledges the 'shock' potential of empowerment when it reveals the immutability of existing orders of discourse, and points out that it can contribute to their transformation through 'the systematic de-structuring of existing orders and restructuring of new orders'.

Challenges to conventional practice were mentioned in materials by two participants. The first was in the context of gender awareness:

The difficulty with attempting to confront hegemonic practices is that they are assumed to be natural. . . The point of access for examining this culture is the tapestry of visible language (e.g. policy documents, curriculum materials), artefacts (e.g. trophy cabinets, photographs of former cohorts, uniform) and rituals (e.g. assembly, prize-giving, meetings with parents) which make up the fabric of everyday life.

By examining how staff meetings are conducted, how the entrance foyer is arranged, how language is used in communication with parents, it is possible to map the values and norms that underpin practice. (Participant 10,1)

A second example came referred to the language use of minority ethnic groups:

. . . more distinctive culturally based features such as language can (and often are) utilised by ethnic groups in political struggles not only to demarcate their boundaries (delineating those who are 'in' and those who are 'out'), but also as 'rallying cries' or symbols of solidarity. This can be particularly powerful in the pursuit of social change and justice. The concerted struggle by Maori in the early 1980s to protect and nurture Te Reo Māori, via the establishment of Te Kohanga Reo and later, Kura Kaupapa Māori, is a powerful example from our own nation. (Participant 4,1)

As with the example for Objective 13, these examples described strategies of challenge rather than advocating them, which may be most appropriate at the inservice level of teacher education.

The indicators of this objective were A(c) 'Writing in L1' and B(c) 'Language in social studies':

Scenario A Question (c): 'Writing in L1'

Your trainee suggests that it may be possible t get [mother] to help [son] and another [language] child in the class to write some stories in [language].

How useful will it be to encourage the children to write some stories in [language]?

(Very = 5)

Both participants whose materials related to this objective gave a '5' rating for this question.

Scenario B Question (c): 'Language in social studies'

[Student teacher] develops a social studies unit to focus on language as a feature of culture and heritage. It investigates the [language] language as it compares with English. How valuable will this unit be for the children?

(Very = 5)

Participant 4 gave a '3' rating for this question, while Participant 10 gave a '5'. This therefore shows that the questionnaire ratings gave a similar picture to that presented by the materials, although with more variation.

10.5 Summary and discussion of follow-up study results

The follow-up phase of this research was carried out in order to further explore current teacher education practice, and to compare this with responses given in the questionnaire. A group of 19 participants, chosen to represent a wide range of teacher educators, provided examples materials used on their courses. I then analysed these materials using an evaluation scale developed from Ivanič's (1990) checklist of critical objectives for language learning, and compared the results with the ratings participants had given to indicator questions from the questionnaire.

10.5.1 Current teacher education practice

The materials showed that language issues are being discussed in a wide variety of teacher education contexts, and these apply to the range of curriculum areas.

As might be predicted, there was a particular focus on Māori language, with some materials showing that the integration of strategies for including Māori language are well-developed in the teaching programmes. A second area was issues for children from other language backgrounds, although this seems to be at a theoretical awareness-raising level rather than practical level across the curriculum. Another area was general issues around language as they relate to the particular topic or subject area being studied, such as gender in education or the

technology curriculum. Finally, some materials included a focus on the development of the student teachers' own language use.

The level of critical language awareness evident in these materials was of a medium rather than high level; many of the materials showed some awareness of the issues without taking the critical perspective which Clark and Ivanič (1999: 67) emphasise is so important:

... CLA [critical language awareness] as a curriculum aim is not only relevant but even crucial to modern life.

10.5.2 Comparison with questionnaire

The materials generally showed a high level of congruence with the questionnaire responses, which as well as providing validity to the questionnaire itself (see 3.2), also provided the triangulation of results which had directed the development of the methodology used in the research (see 4.2.1).

In several cases, there was a wider range on the bilingual/diversity-supportive scale in the questionnaire responses than in the evaluation ratings in the analysis of follow-up materials. There are two possible explanations for this. Firstly, the questionnaire may have stimulated the respondents to make judgements about aspects which they might not usually consider in their teaching. This could have led them to answer in ways which had not crystallised into coherent viewpoints on the issues canvassed. Secondly, the materials for the follow-up study were selected by participants in the context of my research on language issues, and a wider random analysis of teacher education materials might have produced a wider range of approaches.

10.6 Conclusions

Nineteen participants generously provided me with copies of teaching materials for this follow-up study, which provided some insight into the approaches to language issues across teacher education programmes, although of course the sample size means that it cannot be regarded as representing all teacher educators.

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The analysis carried out in this study was an example of the critical analyses Wallace (1999: 99) refers to as 'introspective critiques whose degree of conviction is inevitably, largely subjective', and the participants provided their teaching materials while knowing the general area of my interest. However, it was an innovative step in the analysis, and was itself validated by the congruence with the questionnaire data as noted above. In addition, using this checklist allowed for an objectivity of analysis of the materials that a more global scrutiny would not have provided, and testing and further development of the tool could be a fruitful area for future research.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSIONS: ATTITUDES OF TEACHER EDUCATORS TOWARDS BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE DIVERSITY IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

From: *The Christchurch Press* Friday 24 January 2003, p. A10

Letter of the week

NZ Identity

Sir

Jenn Bestwick (January 13) says that New Zealand should become more confident in its own identity and that "New Zealand is an exceptional place to live". My sentiments exactly.

A trip to the United States in 2001 revealed just how patriotic the Americans are. Stars and Stripes flags were flying everywhere, including on ordinary homes, and were outward evidence of the national pride felt by ordinary Americans. We should be proud to be New Zealanders and fly our flag as proof of this, I suggest.

Also, I believe that we should welcome immigrants, recognising their obvious need and desire to maintain their own culture and language. However, I believe that they too should first and foremost be proud to be New Zealanders and be willing to use English in everyday situations outside the home and/or in cultural activities.

A. M. Torrance St Albans, January 14

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter I conclude the study by returning to the three main questions which directed the research (see 1.1.2). The first asked about the attitudes of teacher educators towards bilingualism and language diversity, towards children and student teachers from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds, and to language issues in schools. The second asked how these attitudes are evident in pre-service teacher education, and the third asked what factors contributed to these attitudes.

I will begin the chapter with an overview of the findings and a discussion of their implications, together with some recommendations. I will then make suggestions for future research, before some final comments.

11.2 Attitudes of teacher educators towards bilingualism and language diversity

In order to answer the first research question concerning the attitudes of teacher educators towards bilingualism and language diversity, a two-page questionnaire was sent to all staff in the 22 teacher education institutions which prepare teachers for the compulsory primary and secondary sectors in Aotearoa New Zealand. The questionnaire responses provided the quantitative data for the study, as well as qualitative data in the form of comments made on the questionnaire.

A total of 395 eligible responses were received, with an estimated response rate of 63.8%. The questionnaire contained four sections, made up of three scenarios and a set of background questions. Each scenario comprised five questions designed to measure the cognitive, affective and conative aspects of attitudes towards bilingualism. The scenarios were presented in different orders to compensate for an 'order effect', but this was not found to have any significant effect on responses.

The questionnaire responses provided a picture of pre-service teacher education in Aotearoa New Zealand. This has been undergoing rapid change over the last twenty years; the number of institutions has increased, the composition and length of courses has expanded, and the nature of the teacher education programmes has diversified to include a focus on particular types of education such as Māori immersion or Christian. Staff in teacher education programmes are predominately Pākehā, although this is proportionate to the general population, as is the percentage of Māori.

The specific areas of focus for this first research question were addressed in each of the three scenarios in the questionnaire. These were devised to explore concepts of critical language awareness derived from Ivanič (1990). The findings from the scenarios are summarised in turn in the following sections.

11.2.1 Children from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds in the classroom

In the first scenario, respondents answered five questions about a bilingual mother and her Year 3 son from one of six language groups: Māori (Marama and Hone), French (Marie and Jean), Sāmoan (Mele and Ioane), Korean (Mi-na and Jeong-Hwa), Russian (Mariya and Vanechka) or Somali (Mariam and Jwahir). The scenario centred around questions which arose for a student teacher on teaching practice in the classroom where the child's mother was a parent helper.

The majority of teacher educators were positive about three ways proposed for supporting the bilingualism of the child in the classroom: the use of the child's first language for a mathematics task, encouraging the child to write stories in his first language, and pronouncing the child' first name in his language. In addition, a majority did not support an 'English only' policy. However, the majority gave the middle rating when asked about the importance of speaking in English at home for the adults in the bilingual child's family.

Comparisons were made between attitudes expressed to Māori, French, Sāmoan, Korean, Russian, and Somali children and their families. Teacher educators were significantly less likely to support the use of English in the classroom for French children and more likely to support the use of English for Sāmoan, Russian or Somali children. They were also less likely to support English at home for French and Māori families, and more likely for Korean families.

11.2.2 Student teachers from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds

In the second scenario of the questionnaire, respondents answered questions relating to a student teacher from one of the same five language groups as in the previous scenario: Māori (Rangi), French (Pierre), Sāmoan (Salesi), Korean (Yong-Jin), Russian (Sergei) or Somali (Ghedi). The scenario was focused on issues of language diversity in the classroom.

Overall the results were supportive of student teachers who had a non-English accent, the inclusion of language comparison in a social studies unit, seeking

advice from a language expert, and the learning other languages. However, respondents gave ratings which indicated uncertainty about the importance of modelling 'standard' English.

There was significantly more likelihood of support to be expressed for the Māori student teacher in responses to three of the questions: in his accent, in incorporating a focus on his language into a social studies unit, and in the usefulness of New Zealand children learning his language. In the first case a Russian or Sāmoan student teacher were least likely to be supported.

11.2.3 Language issues in the curriculum

The third questionnaire scenario focused on language issues in the curriculum, through presenting statements attributable to two middle school teachers (Moana and Tim).

Respondents gave supportive responses to statements and questions about the importance of language in race relations, the change in curriculum title from 'Language' to 'English', the importance of language objectives being included in all curriculum areas, and the importance for all teachers to teach about language patterns and structures. There was mixed support for the importance of attention to language patterns and structures compared with other language goals.

11.3 Attitudes towards bilingualism and language diversity in pre-service teacher education

The second main research question was the focus of a qualitative follow-up study with 19 of the original respondents. This involved analysis of materials such as lecture notes, tasks and assignments used in their teacher education courses, in order to examine how the attitudes towards bilingualism and language diversity identified in the questionnaire results were linked to classroom practice. Evidence from these materials showed a strong focus on inclusion of the Māori language in teacher education, from a symbolic use of subject titles, to an exploration of the integration of Māori language into teaching programmes in schools. There was also an awareness of issues for children from other language backgrounds, although this lacked a practical emphasis. General issues around language as they referred to particular topics (such as gender issues) or subject areas (such as technology) were well covered, and there was some focus on the development of the student teachers' own development of academic language awareness and use.

The follow-up study used a tool for analysis developed from Ivanič's 1990 checklist of critical objectives for language learning. This formed the basis of an evaluation of the critical objectives in teacher educators' materials. It was found that there was some critical awareness in the follow-up materials, which tended to be at the level of awareness of the issues, rather than the 'creative' view of language described by Ivanič (1990: 125) as necessary in a critical approach. There were few materials which took a 'normative' or uncritical view of language. This analysis was also mapped against the respondents' questionnaire ratings, and a high level of congruence was found between the two sets of results.

The findings from the questionnaire and follow-up study demonstrated that coverage of language in pre-service teacher education varies according to the interest of individual teacher educators or departments. For example, a language-across-the-curriculum' approach was a strong focus in some programmes, while others relegated all teaching about language to the English, Māori, English as a Second Language or foreign language staff.

11.4 Factors contributing to the attitudes of teacher educators

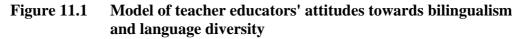
The model of attitudes of teacher educators towards bilingualism and language diversity first proposed and outlined in 2.5 has been modified to incorporate the results from the research in this study, and is presented in Figure 11.1. The main change to the model has been the removal of background variables, because none of the variables of age, gender, ethnic background, first language, teacher

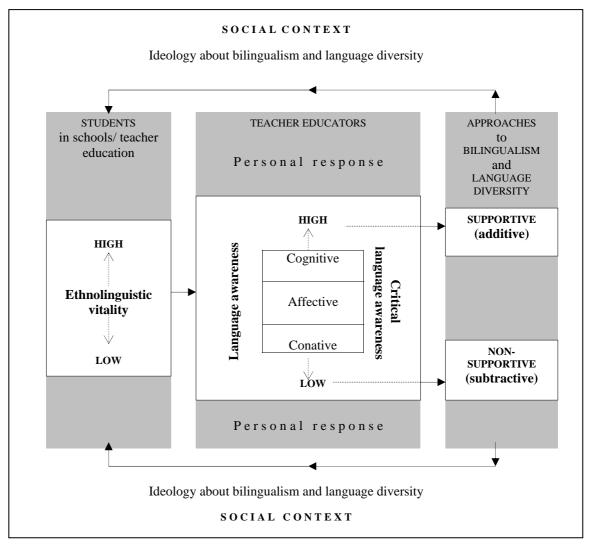
Conclusions

education sector, designation, status, subject area, years as a classroom teacher, years as a teacher educator, highest education, other languages learnt, or linguistics study were found to be significant in affecting the attitudes of teacher educators (see 9.6).

The influences on teacher educators were therefore assumed to be related to the wider social context. In other words the model predicts that teacher educators are influenced by the prevailing ideology about bilingualism and language diversity, particularly as it is expressed in the education system, and the specific ethnolinguistic vitality of various groups in the community. The personal response of individual teacher educators to these factors is then represented in the cognitive, affective and conative dimensions of language awareness and critical language awareness.

The model suggests that the outcomes of these attitudes are likely to be evident in the approaches in teacher education towards bilingualism and language diversity. A high level of critical awareness generates a supportive approach resulting in an additive form of bilingualism, with the addition of English to bilingual children's language repertoires. A low level of critical awareness leads to a non-supportive approach resulting in a subtractive form of bilingualism, with English replacing the children's first languages.





11.5 Implications of the findings

There are four main implications of these findings, each of which will now be discussed with its recommendations. The first is the lack of a theory of language in education, and the second extends this to the uncomfortable relationship between linguistics and language in education. The third implication relates to the place of children from all ethnolinguistic backgrounds in the education system, and the final implication relates to the need for teacher education to be resourced to meet the needs of these children.

11.5.1 Lack of a coherent theory of language in education

The first implication of these findings was the lack of a coherent theory of language in education in Aotearoa New Zealand. This can explain the finding that the generally positive attitudes of teacher educators towards bilingualism and language diversity vary in some cases according to the ethnolinguistic status of the individual students. A more robust theory of language in education would take account of the similarities of cognitive, social and linguistic developmental needs of children from all backgrounds.

The current view of language as expressed in curriculum documents tends to be vague, conservative and normative, with an untheorised emphasis on 'standard' English. There are particular gaps in the approach for children who use more than one language, other than perhaps Māori. The approach of individual teacher educators is therefore personal, and the results for a specific cohort of student teachers may vary considerably.

A particular gap in the theory of language appears to be in the area of bilingual development. Cook (2002: 24) points out the importance of this aspect:

If any child exposed to two languages can acquire them, the standard account of language acquisition has to accommodate children who, at the same time, know two languages with two sets of parameter-settings.

Walker (forthcoming) has proposed the need for bilingual and multilingual outcomes for migrants, in order facilitate their social, cultural and psychological wellbeing and to complement the official Māori-English bilingualism in Aotearoa New Zealand. The view of language and literacy acquisition prevalent in the education system in this country appears to be based on a monolingual model. As the number of children who are users of two languages increases, it becomes more important for teachers to operate within a theory of language which accounts for the development of the bilingualism and multilingualism of these children.

Recommendation 1: That policy makers work together to develop a coherent theory of language in education.

11.5.2 Language and linguistics in education

The second implication of the findings of this study relates to the first, but extends the lack of theory in education to the uneasy and uncertain relationship between linguistics and language in education.

In Waite's (1992a: 6) discussion document *Aoteareo* he states that thought needs to be given to 'the inclusion of the study of linguistics and language behaviour in a broad school curriculum'. This comment elicited a response by Crombie and Paltridge from Waikato University (1993: 19):

As linguists, we do not under-value linguistics as a discipline. Nevertheless, we believe that too narrow a view of what constitutes language awareness could be dangerous and that any discussion of language awareness as it affects school currincula should depend on a prior, explicit theoretical, ideological and philosophical statement which is made available *in advance* for public scrutiny.

The basis for this suspicion of other linguists is unclear. In fact, Waite's later discussion in *Aoteareo* advocates a higher level of public awareness of a wide range of language issues, in sections called 'Language planning', 'Linguistics: Description of language', and 'Language and Power' (Waite 1992b: 5-8). Harvey (1999: 58) attributes the absence of a language policy in Aotearoa New Zealand to the lack of a politicised and activist research agenda among language professionals, and calls for 'a genuine research alliance' between language academics and teachers.

In the British context, Carter (1990: 17-19) discusses the incorporation of knowledge about language from other social sciences (such as sociology and the psychology of language) into educational approaches used in the British Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) materials. He states that this potentially makes the distinctions between linguistics in education and language in education 'passé' (Carter 1990: 19). However, while the need for a theory of language discussed above is an aspect of the education setting in Aotearoa New Zealand, this lack of a distinction means that the insights which a perspective from linguistics can offer are being missed.

Recommendation 2 That linguists promote linguistics as a valuable technical body of knowledge on language issues, including those in education.

11.5.3 Children from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds in education

The third implication of this study is that the place of children from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds varies in the education system of Aotearoa New Zealand. This was evident from the results of some of the scenario questions, in which the responses were significantly different according to the language group of the people in the scenario.

The difference in attitudes towards people from different language groups might perhaps be expected from one of the objections to the recognition of te reo Māori, and the Waitangi Tribunal's 1986 response (Waitangi Tribunal 1989: 27-28):

Objection

If Māori is to be given official recognition, we will have to recognise other ethnic minority languages as well – Sāmoan, Tongan, Chinese for example.

We do not accept that Māori is just another one of a number of ethnic groups in our community. It must be remembered that of all minority groups the Māori alone is party to a solemn treaty made with the crown. None of the other migrant groups who have come to live in this country in recent years can claim the rights that were given to the Māori people by the Treaty of Waitangi.

The emphasis expressed in this finding is reflected in the New Zealand Curriculum, which strongly supports Māori but remains unclear about the place of other ethnolinguistic groups. This was also highlighted in one of the international critiques carried out as part of the 2002 Curriculum Stocktake (Le Métais 2002). May (2002a: 29-30) proposes that institutional support for minority groups be provided according to the principle in international law that requires it (only) 'where numbers warrant'. However, this is in contrast to Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester's (2000: 118) argument that the 'voice and agency of every learner in every classroom is the only ethically acceptable solution' to the education of a linguistically and culturally diverse population.

Recommendation 3: That clearer policy be developed for the inclusion of all ethnolinguistic groups in the curriculum.

11.5.4 Teacher education for bilingualism and language diversity

The final implication from this study is that student teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand are being inadequately prepared for providing support to the increasing numbers of bilingual children in our schools. It can be assumed that if more support is needed for the teacher educators, as indicated above, then this will follow through for the preparation of teachers. In the Canadian context, Cummins (2000: 251) emphasises that some improvements in the education for students from minority language groups would not be expensive:

For example, faculties of education could ensure that all new teachers who graduate have had at least some preparation with respect to making academic content comprehensible to ELL (English language learning) students.

The results from this study indicate that in some cases such preparation is occurring pre-service teacher education in Aotearoa New Zealand (see also Coxon Anae, Mara, Wendt-Samu and Finau 2002), but without a coherent theory of language in education it remains inadequate to meet the needs of the burgeoning population of bilingual children in our schools.

A related aspect is the need to ensure that teachers are recruited from all ethnolinguistic groups, with appropriate teacher education courses (see for example EXMSS Off Campus 2004: 13).

Recommendation 4: That all pre-service teacher education include information on ways of supporting bilingualism and language diversity.

11.6 Limitations of the study

There were several limitations to the present study:

- 1 In order to maximise the response rate, the questionnaire needed to be brief, and it was decided to keep it to two sides of a page (see Section 4.2.4). Therefore, although the wording of every question was tested to ensure that the desired meaning was conveyed in the least number of words, this may have resulted in some questions appearing ambiguous, or unexpectedly categorical to some respondents.
- 2 Although the questionnaire was designed to minimise the effect of a socially desirable response (see Section 4.5.5), it is not possible to totally eliminate this effect, which is always a potential source of error in self-report data from questionnaire responses.
- 3 The follow-up study included a limited number of participants, who chose documents for analysis from their teaching materials, which resulted in a wide variety of material types. The findings from this study can therefore only be suggestive, and a more in-depth study would be necessary for them to be more conclusive.

11.7 Suggestions for further research

There are a number of areas in which further research in the area of language in education would be of benefit, particularly through approaching the issues from other perspectives. Future research could focus on the student teachers themselves.

A second area of potential research is in classroom-based practice which incorporates a bilingual approach, to complement studies such as Vine's (2000; 2003a, 2003b) micro-level analysis focusing on the development of English in bilingual learners. It would also be of interest to investigate these issues from the teachers' or the children's perspectives.

In addition, the relationship between the fields of linguistics and education needs further research, in order to clarify the points of tension raised in this study and to suggest ways to strengthen areas of common interest.

11.8 Final thoughts

The stories of previous generations of children who were not able to use their full language repertoire in schools in Aotearoa New Zealand continue to be told, as in this heartfelt account by a Niuean educator Joycelyn Tauvihi (2000: 7):

When my family migrated to New Zealand in 1973, my New Zealand education began in an English-speaking environment. I did not understand or speak English and found it very difficult to act appropriately with children and teachers because of the lack of a mutual language. I felt that I was being treated as nearly invisible or like a baby by other children. I felt frustrated and became withdrawn, and those others who were trying to communicate with me became frustrated also. For me to learn a new language, I had to be socially accepted by those who spoke the language, but to be socially accepted, I had to be able to speak their language.

Thirty years later, this description of her classroom experiences is echoed in the account of the interactions of a five year old Sāmoan boy 'Fa'afetai' and his classmate William, who have been instructed to talk in pairs, although Fa'afetai is a beginner in English (Vine 2003: 116):

Fa'afetai pushed and pulled William's arms. Then William asked Fa'afetai, "what do the doctors and nurses do at the hospital?" Fa'afetai's response was "huh", said with rising intonation. William repeated his question, which shows that he thought Fa'afetai either did not comprehend or at least did not hear the question. Fa'afetai said "um", smiled at William and then said "fish". William said a lengthened "noo" and laughed. Fa'afetai laughed, rocked back, rolled onto his back and put his legs in the air.

This interaction shows the frustrations that Fa'afetai is experiencing in trying to communicate with his classmate without adequate English. Through an approach which allows children to incorporate their own languages into classroom work, many of these frustrations could be overcome. Tauevihi (2000:7) continues her story with an alternative vision:

I believe that the ideal school language programme involves children in many activities promoting ordinary talk and encourages them to experiment with various languages. When all teachers are resourced so that they are able to facilitate the development of the bilingual capabilities of the children in their classes, the narratives of future generations of children from the full range of ethnolinguistic backgrounds represented in schools may be changed into descriptions of (bilingual) achievement. A partnership of educators and linguists will help this aim to be realised.

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Appendix A: Glossary of Māori terms used¹

Oxford Unive	V. (ed.) 1997. <i>The Dictionary of New Zealand English</i> . Auckland: rsity Press. ary, on-line at http://www.learningmedia.co.nz.
(te) ao	world
Aotearoa	New Zealand, usually translated as 'Land of the long white cloud' (See King 2003: 41-42 for history of this name)
hangarau	technology
hauora	health
iwi	Māori tribe
kaitiakitanga	(traditional) guardianship
karakia	prayer
kaumatua	Māori elder
kia ora	greetings, literally 'may you be well'
kōhanga reo	Māori medium pre-school, literally 'language nest'
(te) kōrero	talk, discussion
koutou	you (two or more)
kura kaupapa Māori	Māori medium school, literally 'school with Māori foundation/principles'
marae	meeting house and grounds
marautanga	curriculum, syllabus
mātauranga	education, knowledge
(ngā) mihi	greeting(s)
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent (see 1.1.3 for discussion)
pāngarau	mathematics
pūtaiao	science
(te) reo - (ngā) reo	language, sometimes 'the language' = the Māori language - languages
rōpū	group
tangata	person, people
tangata whenua	Māori people, literally 'people of the land'

¹ Pronunciations of many of these words can be heard on the English-Māori Word Translator at http://kel.otago.ac.nz/translator.

Appendices

taonga	cultural treasure, treasured artifact
tapu	sacred, forbidden
tikanga	customary values and practices
tikanga a-iwi	social studies
(Te) Tiriti o Waitangi	(The) Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 between a representative of the British crown and certain Māori chiefs
wairua	spirit, soul
whakapapa	n. genealogical table, family tree, v. to recite or recall a whakapapa
whānau	(extended) family
whanaungatanga	relationship
(whare) wānanga	house of learning, now university

Appendix B: New Zealand Curriculum Framework documents

Language and Languages Te Korero me Nga Reo

Language development is essential to intellectual growth. It enables us to make sense of the world around us. The ability to use spoken and written language effectively, to read and to listen, and to discern critically messages from television, film, the computer, and other visual media is fundamental both to learning and to effective participation in society and the work-force.

Language is a vital medium for transmitting values and culture. Confidence and proficiency in one's first language contribute to self-esteem, a sense of identity, and achievement throughout life. Students need opportunities to strengthen and build confidence in their use of language for a range of situations, purposes, and audiences. The early years of schooling will continue to emphasise the importance of language and literacy learning. Throughout their schooling, students will be provided with frequent opportunities to observe, learn, and practise oral, written, and visual forms of language, to learn about the structures and use of language, and to access and use information.

Students will have the opportunity to develop their ability to create, and respond critically to, a wide range of texts, including works of literature and examples from the media. In selecting authors and texts, schools will have regard to gender balance and to the inclusion of a range of cultural perspectives.

The curriculum will promote the use of language that does not discriminate against particular groups of people. Provision will be made for students who have special learning needs in the area of communication.

Within New Zealand, a number of languages are used on a daily basis. Each has its own intrinsic value. For most students, the curriculum will be taught in English, for some, it will be taught in Maori, and for some in a Pacific Islands for other language.

Because English is the language of most New Zealanders and the major language of national and international communication, all students will need to develop the ability and confidence to communicate competently in English, in both its spoken and written forms. Provision will be made for students whose first language is not English.

Maori is the language of the tangata whenua of New Zealand. It is a taonga under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi and is an official language of New Zealand. Students will have the opportunity to become proficient in Maori.

Students whose mother tongue is a Pacific Islands language for another community language will have the opportunity to develop and use their own language as an integral part of their schooling. The nature of mother tongue programmes will be decided by schools in response to local community needs and initiatives.

All students benefit from learning another language from the earliest practicable age. Such learning broadens students' general language abilities and brings their own language into sharper focus. It enriches them intellectually, socially, and culturally, offers an understanding of the ways in which other people think and behave, and furthers international relations and trade. Students will be able to choose from a range of Pacific, Asian, and European languages, all of which are important to New Zealand's regional and international interests.

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English in the New Zealand Curriculum

EXPLORING AND LEARNING ABOUT LANGUAGE

Exploring and learning about the language of a variety of texts increases students' awareness of how language varies over time and according to context. This knowledge will help them respond confidently to, and develop control over, the wide range of texts and language uses required for learning and living in society.

Knowledge about language is an area of intrinsic interest, worthy of attention in its own right. It is important for students' language development. Such knowledge, expressed in relevant terminology, enables students to talk about texts in an informed way. All students must learn the conventions of formal English. Learning how to make their knowledge of language explicit provides a basis from which they can make informed and conscious choices of language.

Students should explore and develop an understanding of:

- the structure of texts, sometimes called discourse structure;
- grammar, or the way words and phrases are formed and combined (see also: morphology and syntax, •Selected Glossary);
- the conventions of written forms, including spelling and punctuation;
- semantics, or word meanings, and the relationships among these meanings;
- phonology, including sounds, stress, and intonation.

Although these elements are listed separately, students should be aware that they are interrelated, and that they interact in communicating meaning.

To develop their knowledge about the organisation and functions of language, and to enable text to be discussed with others, students will need to understand and use linguistic terminology. In the earlier years of schooling this should be explained as the need arises. As students progress, they develop concepts and knowledge which are increasingly abstract and detailed, and therefore require a more extended terminology to describe language and how it functions in communicating meaning.

Students learn best about language as they use it in authentic contexts. The systematic exploration of language is an integral part of working with all oral, written, and visual texts.

Students can also learn about language by investigating specific language topics, such as language in use in particular situations or aspects of the history and development of English. The language of a chosen sport (in different contexts, such as a biography, television commentary, or rule book), the use of sexist language, or the historical development of New Zealand English would be appropriate examples.

In the senior secondary school, students can also explore language by comparing English with another language, such as Maori, or any other language spoken or taught in the school or community.

Students should explore both local and international uses of oral, written, and visual English. New Zealand's unique linguistic situation includes its own distinctive varieties of English, and the indigenous language, Maori, which has an important influence on the development of English in New Zealand.

Teachers should build on students' own knowledge to help them make explicit their understandings about language. As students develop their knowledge of language, they are better able to analyse and evaluate their own and others' use of language in terms of its appropriateness for the user, purpose, and audience.

Teaching and learning examples for exploring language are included in this statement.

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SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE NEW ZEALAND CURRICULUM

Culture and Heritage

He taonga tuku iho na nga tipuna. A cultural treasure handed down from our ancestors.

ACHIEVEMENT AIMS

From their study of Culture and Heritage, students will understand: the contribution of culture and heritage to identity; and the nature and consequences of cultural interaction.

Students will consider how culture and heritage contribute to their own identity and to the identity of others, as individuals and as group members. They will learn about the identities that are important to people, including national identity and cultural identity. Students will compare the features of their own culture and heritage with those of others. They will discover how communities reflect the cultures and heritages of their people and find out how and why culture and heritage are developed, transmitted, and maintained. Culture is dynamic, and students will learn how and why cultures adapt and change. They will understand how culture influences people's perception of, and responses to, events, issues, and activities. They will discover how communities and nations respond when their identity is challenged.

Students will examine the nature and consequences of cultural interaction as they investigate the customs and traditions associated with cultural activities and find out how people interact within cultural groups and how cultural groups interact with other cultural groups.

Students will learn how cultures and heritages are influenced by the movement of people and the spread of ideas and technology. In studying people's attitudes and responses to diversity, students will become aware that people often operate in several cultural settings.

Retrieved 28 August 2002 from http://www.tki.org.nz/r/socialscience/curriculum/strands_e.php

Appendix C: Initial interviews - Participant information sheet

5 March 1999 PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET Language study I am a lecturer at International Pacific College, currently carrying out doctoral research in Linguistics at Victoria University of Wellington. I am developing a questionnaire for use with teacher educators at a number of institutions around New Zealand. I am therefore seeking teacher educators from a range of subject areas to participate in exploratory interviews about the use of language. The results of these interviews will help me develop the questions for the questionnaire. If you volunteer to take part, I will ask you a number of questions about your use of and opinions about language. Your responses will be used to formulate appropriate questions for a written questionnaire which will be given to other teacher educators in New Zealand. Each interview will take between 30 and 60 minutes, and will be recorded on audio cassette. The only person besides me to have access to my notes and recordings will be my supervisor, Professor Janet Holmes, and any information you give will be treated as confidential. Notes will be destroyed at the end of the project, as will recordings unless you indicate that you would like them returned to you. If you have any questions or would like to receive further information about the project, please contact me or my supervisor, Professor Janet Holmes, at the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Study of Victoria University, P O Box 600, Wellington, phone (04) 472-1000. **Hilary A Smith** Lecturer Faculty of International Studies hsmith@ipc.ac.nz

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH	

Language study

I have been given, and have understood, an explanation of this research project. I
have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my
satisfaction. I understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information that I
have provided) from this project at any time before data analysis is complete,
without having to give reasons.

I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and supervisor. The published results will not use my name, and no opinions will be attributed to me in any way that will identify me. I understand that the tape recordings of interviews will be electronically wiped at the end of the project unless I indicate that I would like them returned to me.

I would like the tape recordings of my interview returned to me at the conclusion of the project.

I understand that the data I provide will not be used for any other purpose or released to others without my written consent.

I understand that I will receive a copy of the questionnaire which is developed as a result of these interviews, and a summary of the results of the research on its completion.

I agree to take part in this research.

Signed:

Name (please print):

Date:

Г

Appendix D: Initial interview schedule

		EXPLORATORY INTERVIEWS
		Language study
Name		
A	Gener (Check	al background :list)
	i	Institution
	ii	Role
	iii	Subject areas
	iv	Length of time as a teacher educator
	v	Teaching background
	vi	Length of time as a teacher

Focused questions

B

I'd like to ask some questions about your language background.

1 Language background

i

Have you studied any other languages?

	Language 1	Language 2	Language 3
What?			
Where?			
How long?			
What level of ability did you achieve?			
Did you enjoy studying it/them or was it hard work?			
Do you use it/them now?			

ii Have you got any plans to learn another language?

iii Can you use any other languages?

	Language 1	Language 2	Language 3
What?			
Where did you learn it?			
What is your level of ability?			
What situations do you use it in?			

iv How do you feel about being able to use more than one language?

2	Language awareness These questions are about language in general:	
	a	Study
	i	Have you ever studied about language formally, eg linguistics?
	ii	Have you ever learnt about how people learn languages?
	iii	What do you personally think about such language topics?
	iv	Do you currently spend much time on reading about language topics?
	b	Bilingualism
	i	What effect if any do you think that knowing two languages has on children when approaching learning (in your subject area)?
	iii	Do you think the advantages or the disadvantages are stronger for these children?
	iv	How important do you feel it is for children to maintain their other languages?
	vi	Do you mention these differences in lecturing on your subject area?

3	Critical language awareness Now I have some questions about language issues in general:	
	i	What language issues would you identify in NZ as a whole?
	ii	What do you think are currently the main language issues in education?
	iii	How important do you think these issues are?
	iv	Are these issues relevant in your lecturing?
4	Role of	schools
	i	What role do schools have for children who use more than one language?
	ii	Whose responsibility do you think it is to decide on what the role is?
	iii	How important do you feel it is for children to include their other languages in their school work? In all curriculum areas?
	iv	Do your lectures cover how teachers can apply the material to children who use more than one language?

С	Scenarios In this section I'm going to ask you about some imaginary scenarios:	
	1	If you had a Taiwanese teacher trainee interested in how Taiwanese children cope with (your subject area) in class, what issues would you discuss with them?
	2	What would your response be to a trainee who wanted to develop bilingual materials in English and Samoan for (your subject area)?
	3	A Maori student suggests that the concepts of (your subject) need to be presented differently for Maori students, in order to reflect different language and culture frameworks. What do you tell them?
	4	What strategies do you suggest to trainees who have in their classes immigrant students with a high level of knowledge in (your subject area), but a low level of English ?
	5	What do you tell a trainee who has many language errors in their assignments, due to them following patterns from their first language?

D	Sentence completion In this final section I'm going to read the start of a sentence, and ask you to complete with the first thing that comes to mind:	
	1	Children who arrive in schools with no English
	2	Sometimes I wish language teachers would
	3	Hearing children speaking their first language in the classroom makes me feel
	4	People who ask for more bilingual materials in schools
	5	Learning a second language is
	6	Schools who have many children from different language groups
	7	Parents of children from non-English backgrounds
	8	School language policies
	9	When I see writing from children in 'broken' English
	10	Trainees who speak other languages should

Appendix E: Results from initial interviews - Sentence completions

Q1	С	hildren who arrive in schools with no English
	1	they should be allowed to use their own languages, you should make an attempt, you should pair them up.
	2	should be given more hands-on work, and a buddy.
	3	need to be greeted by teachers who can speak their language.
	4	are difficult to teach in a monolingual society.
	5	need all the support and resources they possibly can to fit in with the New Zealand education system.
	б	presumably want to learn some.
	7	feel very isolated.
	8	should be encouraged to develop their English skills.
	9	suffer.
	10	should be encouraged and nurtured in their new environment. Important that the classroom teacher very quickly comes to see the level of the child and be able to bring that child forward from that point.
	11	have special needs, and require special help.
	12	need to be supported.
	13	must find life very difficult.
	14	need lots of help.
	15	need a lot of support.
	16	need the same sort of love and care and attention as everyone else.
	17	are often completely overwhelmed and swamped.
	18	are privileged.
	19	do not come to schools with no language.
	20	providing they've got a strong first language it's OK to me, if they arrive in schools without English. As [M. says, English is in your face.
	21	if their native tongue is Maori they are very lucky. [what about if Taiwanese or Sāmoan?] they need lots of support, need lots of resourcing. As long as their first language is valued in the school, it's fine. When it's not valued then the child themselves feel undervalued.

Q2 Sometimes I wish language teachers would ...

- 1 be more understanding of where the other person is coming from.
- 2 understand the situation of language learners.
- 3 share their expertise with other teachers. We've all got so much to learn from so few teachers who have actually got these skills.
- 4 help students find ways to help themselves.
- 5 just take time to sit back and watch what children are doing, and build on that.
- 6 so long since ...
- 7 (hard to give a response, I sort of haven't had...)
- 8 go more slowly.
- 9 see things from kids' points of view.
- 10 realise that they're looking at a total human being, and realise that the language is certainly a very important part and vehicle for communication. Nevertheless they would see to it that they're looking at a total wholeness, looking at whole child and be very careful to in no way to lessen that child's self-esteem if they perceive a fault in their language development.
- ESOL teachers ...
- 11 share their knowledge.
- 12 teach in the classroom rather than in their own individual offices.
- 13 make their lessons more interesting. I've heard a couple and I thought, 'God if I were there I'd be so bored'.
- 14 watch their language themselves.
- 15 speak in English.
- language teachers ...
- 16 pay attention to what the child *can* do, not tell me what it can't do; look for successes, in other words.
- 17 be less concerned about teaching the language of the dominant culture.
- 18 learn another language.
- 19 understand that language is more than English.
- 20 be provided with adequate resourcing.
- 21 put the book away and go with the heart.

Q3	Hearing children speaking their first language in the classroom makes me feel
1	great.
2	satisfied that they can express themselves.
3	really pleased for those kids. I think it's important.
4	proud of them.
5	perhaps not knowing enough to get in beside them.
6	entertained.
7	in awe that they have a skill that I haven't mastered.
8	inadequate.
9	interested.
10	quite excited, because society is all the richer for having a diversity of people taking part in it, therefore as a teacher I would certainly recognise that child and create a situation where they could stand tall in own culture.
11	[never happened]
12	very excited.
13	delighted.
14	a great joy.
15	excited but also scared.
16	comfortable, satisfied.
17	excited.
18	happy.
19	inadequate.
20	like it's worthwhile going to work.
21	that there is hope for us.

Q4	People who ask for more bilingual materials in schools
1	should be given it.
2	are looking for other alternatives.
3	need to be encouraged.
4	need to be assisted.
5	have got every right to do so. There's quite a lot coming through.
6	need it.
7	well, I suppose they have to join the queue with everybody else (for resources).
8	are ensuring children's language development is promoted.
9	don't usually get good answers.
10	are to be encouraged. I would have to admit that I'm not very conversant with the wide range of materials that are no doubt available, but certainly I'd encourage such people to explore available resources.
11	are sensible, obviously have a need.
12	are switched on.
13	are asking for very necessary materials and should be supported more.
14	need support.
15	-
16	are evidence of an ongoing need.
17	need to keep asking until it becomes
18	are very aware.
19	are acknowledging the reality of New Zealand's language community.
20	never get listened to.
21	are probably only asking for what is an immediate need and not what is really the entire need. So they are probably only asking for a small percentage of what is actually really what they deserve - what they should be given as a right.

Q5	Learning a second language is
1	I'm sure it's wonderful and I wish I could learn a second language and I think it needs good aural skills.
2	essential for a harmonious society.
3	probably essential.
4	utmost of importance in today's world.
5	it would be difficult in primary schools at the moment, because of our lack of resources.
6	difficult.
7	best done at a very early age.
8	a nightmare.
9	powerful.
10	a very important part of our development as human beings. After all, we live in a very diverse cultural country now, and the signs are it will become increasingly more so, therefore it's important that children and certainly our student teachers are very aware of the bicultural and cultural situations in which they find themselves.
11	an advantage.
12	very healthy.
13	hard work, for me!
14	a delight.
15	difficult but worthwhile.
16	extremely useful - understanding language structure, increasing cognitive understanding in all areas of the curriculum. Helps your brain grow.
17	worthwhile.
18	exciting.
19	often made more difficult by teachers.
20	cognitively expanding, blimmin' hard (we're trying to recapture our first language).
21	in New Zealand is blimmin' hard.

Schools who have many children from different language groups ... Q6 should do all they can to help them, probably have got 1 lots of outside support. should have many teachers from different language 2 groups. 3 are richer and more vibrant in my experience. [are] the cream of all schools. 4 5 have a chance to celebrate differences and a chance to learn a lot, perhaps avoid bigotry, therefore a much more balanced view - rather than them 'out there'. 6 have lots of work to do. have to have specialised staff, special training 7 (understanding). have a lot of complex issues to face. 8 9 are rich but challenged. often face very considerable challenges (in [this 10 city] two to three examples) therefore it's very important that they have got the resource in terms of parents, other members of the community, to support the children who come in with this wide diversity of languages, especially Ethiopian. 11 often are stretched for resources, put pressure on teachers. 12 are very fortunate. have a rich cultural diversity and need to put 13 resources into giving children confidence in the second language. 14 represent the world. 15 are a wealth of knowledge and acceptance. 16 are very challenging to work in. need to be resourced differently. 17 18 are in South Auckland, and the teachers are predominantly white. have a linguistic richness that can't be achieved in a 19 monolingual speaking community. 20 have a pool of experience - a wealth of experience 21 upon which to call.

r	
Q7	Parents of children from non-English backgrounds
1	probably want their children to learn to speak English.
2	should be encouraged to visit the school.
3	need to feel welcome, and need to contribute to how the schools' running (primary). An advocate, feel isolated/alienated feel part of what's going on, make a contribution.
4	require help to assist their kids in New Zealand classrooms.
5	need special care from schools. Simply to make them welcome and be able to come and share their knowledge with the school.
6	must feel they have to put a lot of a bit scary
7	need to learn the new language as quickly as possible so they can communicate with their children and their children's friends.
8	must experience a lot of frustration and difficulty.
9	usually don't understand what happens in classrooms.
10	may find it a little difficult to adjust to the demands of the classroom environment in which they find themselves.
11	often have difficulty in communicating with the school and establishing a two-way communication.
12	must find our education system difficult to deal with at times.
13	must feel really bewildered by the New Zealand school system.
14	have much to offer the school.
15	have a hard road to hoe.
16	are extremely varied, and they vary from Russian to Iranian to Sāmoan, very few Māori.
17	can influence the speed at which their children settle.
18	should speak their own language to their children all the time.
19	should encourage the retaining and the use of the first language.
20	need to be strong to maintain it that way.
21	-

Q8 School language policies ... 1 (Is there such a thing as a school language policy?) differ from school to school. They have to make some effort to ? English, and maintain should have an input from the community 2 3 (I'm going to be cheeky)... probably don't exist. Probably for curriculum delivery that would assume English. I have never yet seen a school policy for multilanguage. Some Auckland schools are forging ahead. should be made by those teachers who are affected (not 4 by someone outside). 5 should state about celebrating variety, celebrating excellence. 6 7 should be flexible, and reflect the needs of the parents and children. should take into account the multi-cultural nature of 8 the school population. are wildly variable. 9 10 are probably quite diverse and I would have to admit that I'm not an authority in this area. - [schools can't scratch their nose without a policy] 11 12 are not always very well done. 13 - [not required in secondary schools?] are fundamental to the organisation to the school. 14 15 need to be holistic and encompass a wide range of fields and a wide range of cultures. 16 are great fun to write. need to take account not only of the how and what of 17 languages, but need also to address the significance of language per se. 18 should include multilingualism. 19 should include children from a range of linguistic backgrounds - the difference between 'language' and 'English', unfortunately the curriculum is now called English, but I think that's just being honest, it's acknowledging that in fact we're doing our instruction in English. 20 are easy to write, but more difficult to implement. 21 need to reflect the community's language policies (iwi ...)

```
Q9 When I see writing from children in 'broken English' ...
  that's fine.
1
2
  I encourage them to write more (and not necessarily correct
   their English).
  I'm pleased that they are writing at all, and I think it's
3
   totally acceptable. Even children who speak English will
   probably ... developmental.
  it's difficult to read but I feel for them.
4
  I would be looking at the stage the child is at and thinking
5
   about what the child can already do, and thinking about the
   next stage I can help them build on.
  couldn't distinguish between first language
6
   I would encourage, I'd say they have done well to get it that
7
   far. Positive encouragement.
8
  I have to stop myself from correcting it.
  I sigh and look for patterns.
9
10 I certainly encourage them. When you write you are revealing a
   very important part of yourself and quite often the broken
   English has huge meaning to the child who has written it. My
   job as a teacher is to try to decipher what the meanings of
   the words are.
  When I see writing with lots of mistakes from migrant children ...
11 no different from Pakeha children, a teaching and assessment
   need.
12 I know that I have plenty to work on.
   broken English ...
13 I try to understand what they are trying to say. I think the
   content is more important than the delivery. Encourage not to
   limit ideas by what they can say. Idea is more important, even
   if they have to use words from their own language. Help them
   with some strategies - encourage them to use a word processor.
14 When I see emergent writing \ldots I look for the developmental
   stage which the child is at.
15 I'm initially concerned, but it would be good to know how long
   they've been in New Zealand and how old they are.
16 ['broken English' an oral thing?]I'm usually very thrilled
   because they are making an effort.
17 I welcome their efforts; it's only a start.
18 I think that ... blank!
19 we say 'approximations' - we see a child that's taking risks,
   it gives us a great deal of information abut the child's
   learning or use of English.
20 I accept it if the quality in their first language is
   observable.
21 -
```

Q10	Trainees who speak other languages should
1	use their own language, help me to understand that language better, use it to help other students understand languages differ across cultures
2	be encouraged to encourage others to learn more different languages.
3	be highly prized.
4	be valued in the classroom. (No, I don't think they are). Lacking recognition of other people's cultures and what they bring, e.g. Muslim kids not sitting with others. Don't value the other aspect - comes from primary schools.
5	celebrate and acknowledge the strengths that they've got.
6	do whatever anyone else does.
7	share their knowledge and skills of that language with other groups of children.
8	do as much as possible to increase their English whilst at the same time retaining their own language.
9	teach us how to.
10	be greatly encouraged to encouraged to continue in their own personal skills as well as becoming more proficient and fluent in English.
11	endeavour to use it as a strength, ensure that (an accent) is not a barrier to children learning.
12	be encouraged to use their languages.
13	be encouraged.
14	be proud of their bilingual brains and see that they have a wonderful resource to offer schools.
15	ensure that they don't lose their other language.
16	make sure they keep them up so they maintain their bilingual talents.
17	feel empowered.
18	be able to teach the other languages.
19	(diversity) value the fact that they have an additional linguistic support to draw from and make use of that.
20	be recognised for that ability.
21	be considered an asset to the teaching pool of New Zealand.

Appendix F: Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Are you currently teaching on pre-service teacher education courses for the primary or secondary sector? \square NO \rightarrow Please post this form back so that you can be in the draw to win a book voucher! \square YES \rightarrow Please read the scenarios and tick one of the boxes to show your position on the scale. SCENARIO 1 SCENARIO 2 One of your trainees has been teaching a [Student teacher] is a secondary teacher trainee maths unit as part of her teaching practice at in history and social studies at your institution. He a primary school. There are several parents speaks [language] as his first language, and who help the class. One is a [language] although his English has a strong [language] woman, [mother], mother of a Year 3 boy, accent, he communicates well with students. [son]. The family are fluent speakers of [language], which they use at home. In the feedback session after a spoken presentation as part of your course, other Your trainee notices [mother] speaking to trainees comment on [student teacher]'s [son] in [language] while she is helping him pronunciation. with his maths activities. a How important is it to take account of [student a How useful is it for them to speak about the teacher]'s accent in assessing his presentation? task in [language]? Very Not at all Undecided Not at all Undecided Very Comments: Comments: Colleagues have mentioned that [student The class teacher has said that he teacher] may model non-standard written encourages the children to use English at all English to the children in his future classes. times in the classroom. b How important will it be for [student teacher] to b How important is it for the children to speak model 'standard' written English in the only in English in the classroom? classroom? Very Not at all Undecided Very Not at all Undecided Comments. Comments. Your trainee suggests that it may be possible [Student teacher] develops a social studies unit to get [mother] to help [son] and another to focus on language as a feature of culture [language] child in the class to write some and heritage. It investigates the [language] stories in [language]. language as it compares with English. c How useful will it be to encourage the children How valuable will this unit be for the children? с to write some stories in [language]? Very Not at all Undecided Very Not at all Undecided Comments: Comments: [Student teacher] is worried that he does not [Mother] tells her that although the family has have enough formal background in language to always spoken in [language], her son has plan the unit well. He asks you whether he insisted on using English at home since he needs to seek advice from a language expert. started school. She wants to help [son] at d How important is it for [student teacher] to seek school as much as possible. expert advice about comparing the two d How important is it for the adults to speak in languages? English at home? Very Not at all Undecided Not at all Undecided Very Comments: Comments: A colleague of yours comments that as English The teacher says that he finds the name is so important worldwide, if the children speak ['son'] difficult to pronounce, so he uses the English they do not need a knowledge of English name 'John'. [language]. e How useful is it for New Zealand children to e How important is it for the teacher to pronounce [son]'s name in [language]? learn [language]? Not at all Undecided Not at all Very Very Undecided Comments: Comments:

Please turn over ...

□ Other:

Native

ability

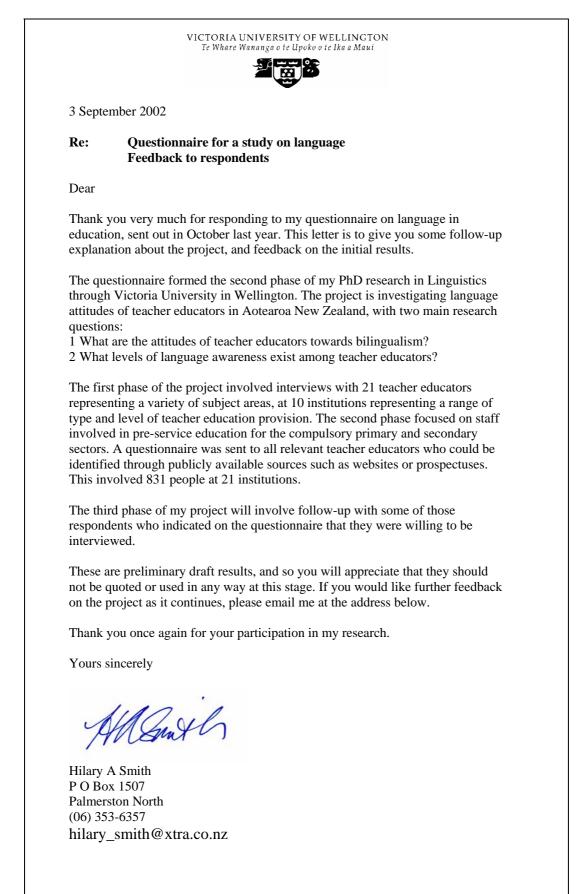
SCENARIO 3 YOUR BACKGROUND Moana and Tim are teachers from a middle What teacher education programmes do you teach 1 school (Years 7 to 10). They are at an on? education conference giving a joint □ Primary □ Secondary □ Other: _ presentation on developments in the school curriculum, particularly as they involve 2 What is your designation? language issues. □ Lecturer □ Tutor □ Other: Tim states that the education system has a 3 What is your status on the teacher education responsibility to improve race relations in programme? Aotearoa New Zealand, and that language □ Full-time □ Part-time issues are part of this. a How important is the role of language in this responsibility? 4 What are your subject areas? Very Not at all Undecided Comments: 5 For how many years have you been a teacher educator? Tim notes that he has recently changed to □ 0-4 □ 5-9 □ 10-14 □ 15-19 □ 20+ talking about 'English' with the children, instead of 'Language', as it was in the old For how many years have you been a classroom 6 curriculum. teacher? b How significant is this change? □ 0-4 □ 5-9 □ 10-14 □ 15-19 □ 20+ Very Not at all Undecided 7 What is your gender? Comments: □ Female □ Male 8 What is your age group? □ 20-29 □ 30-39 □ 40-49 □ 50-59 □ 60+ Moana suggests that primary teachers are being encouraged to focus more clearly on 9 What ethnic group do you identify with? curriculum area objectives, and to avoid 🗆 Maori Pakeha/European overlap with language objectives except in □ Other: integrated units of work. c How important is it for language objectives to What is your highest educational qualification? 10 be included in all curriculum areas? Very Not at all Undecided 11 Which language did you speak first at home? Comments: 12 What other languages have you learnt? Please choose up to three languages in which you Tim claims that although many classroom have the highest ability, and rate your ability for teachers would like to include a focus on how each one: language is structured and patterned, they do No not know enough about how to do this. ability d How important is it for all teachers to be able to teach about language patterns and structures? Very Not at all Undecided Comments. 13 Have you ever taken a university-level credit course in linguistics or applied linguistics? □ Yes 🗆 No Moana notes that the pressure to get through Would you be willing to be included in follow-up 14 all three oral, written and visual language interviews for this project? strands in the curriculum leaves little time for 🗆 Yes \square No teachers to focus on details. e How important are language patterns and 15 Any other comments? structures compared with other language goals? Not at all Undecided Very Comments: Thank you very much. Please send this back in the envelope provided so that you are in the draw to win!

Appendix G: Letters to questionnaire recipients



	VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui
8 November 2001	
Dear	
	Re: Study about language
I hope you receive PhD study on lang	ed the two-page questionnaire I sent you recently as part of my guage.
probably been ver responded in the la	I have not received a reply from you. I realise that you have y busy and may not have had time to reply. If you have ast few days and your reply is in the mail, then thank you very lisregard this letter.
could respond as s	d time to reply yet, then I would very much appreciate it if you soon as you have the time to do so. The questionnaire was bout 10 minutes, so should not be too time-consuming.
me or my supervis	aeries about the questionnaire, please do not hesitate to contact sor Professor Janet Holmes at the School of Linguistics and e Studies at Victoria University.
Thank you very m	uch.
Yours sincerely	
Hilary A Smith P O Box 1507 Palmerston North	

Appendix H: Feedback to questionnaire respondents



DRAFT RESULTS

Of the 831 questionnaires sent out, 534 were returned, of which 395 were completed by the target group of teacher educators currently teaching on pre-service courses for the primary or secondary sectors. The estimated response rate of those eligible was calculated at 63.8%.

1 BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

General

• 66% were females and 34% were males.

• The largest group of respondents was in the 50-59 age group (46.1%), followed by 40-49 age group (34.7%).

• 78.7% of respondents identified as Pakeha/European, 9.1% as Maori, 3% as Maori and Pakeha/European, 3% as other European, 1.7% as Pacific, and 4.3% as other ethnic groups.

Education and teaching background

• The subject areas of respondents are shown in the following table:

Subjects taught by questionnaire respondents

Subjects	Number (Max = 395)
Education	
Professional practice	128
Education/Matauranga theory	90
Education with a special focus	21
Curriculum subjects	
Mathematics/Pangarau	46
Science/Putaiao	40
Arts/Nga toi	48
Social studies/Tikanga a iwi	37
Technology/Hangaru	36
Health & physical	37
wellbeing/Hauora	
Culture	
Multicultural education	29
Maori education/Matauranga	20
Maori	
Pasifika education	7
Language	
English and literacy	65
Foreign languages	3
Maori/Te reo	19
Language/Nga reo	29
No response	11

A wide range of subject areas was therefore represented in the respondent group.

• The largest group of respondents had been teaching more than 20 years (26.3%), and the length of time respondents had spent in teacher education peaked in two groupings of categories: the first grouping was of 5-9 years (27%) and 10-14 years (24%), and the second grouping the category of more than 20 years (22.5%).

• The highest educational qualification was a Doctorate for 15.2% of respondents, Master's degree for 44.3%, Postgraduate diploma or Honours degree for 11.1%, Bachelor's degree for 23%, and undergraduate qualifications for 4.8%.

Language background

- 93.4 % of respondents spoke English first at home.
- 2.3% of respondents spoke Maori first at home.
- 83.5% reported some ability in at least one other language.
- 4.3% reported native ability in a second language.
- 20% had taken a university level course in linguistics.

This shows that although most respondents were mother tongue English speakers, many also had knowledge of other languages.

2 SCENARIO RESULTS

Each questionnaire asked for responses to three scenarios (presented in different positions in different questionnaire versions in order to balance the effects of order). Each scenario included five questions with tick boxes on a five point scale.

Scenario A: A bilingual child in the classroom

This scenario presents a mother in a primary classroom speaking to her son about a mathematics activity. The mother and child are from one of six language backgrounds, chosen to represent a range of language groups: Maori, French, Korean, Russian, Samoan or Somali.

Results (percentages)

a How useful is it for them to speak about the task in [First language]?

Very				Not at all	Undecided
81.4	13.3	3.8	0.5	0.3	0.8
How	v important	is it for the	children to	speak only in E	English in the clas
Very				Not at all	Undecided
3.4	4.6	20.1	24.5	43.0	4.4
	st language		courage the	e children to wr	ite some stories in
T 7				NT / / II	T T 1 1 1
Very				Not at all	Undecided
60.9	21.1	10.3	2.1	1.3	4.4
60.9					4.4
60.9 Hov				1.3 beak in English	4.4 at home?
60.9 I Hov Very 12.4 e Ho lan	v important 13.2	is it for the 26.7	adults to sp 17.2	1.3 beak in English Not at all 22.2 pronounce [Son	4.4 at home? Undecided 8.4 n's] name in [First
60.9 1 Hov Very 12.4 e Ho	v important 13.2 w important	is it for the 26.7	adults to sp 17.2	1.3 eeak in English Not at all 22.2	4.4 at home? Undecided 8.4

These results show a high level of support for encouraging the use of the mother tongues of children from non-English speaking backgrounds.

Scenario B: A bilingual student teacher

This scenario presents a student teacher from one of the same six language groups, and explores issues around the incorporation of his language into his teaching. He communicates well but has a strong accent, which is noticed while he is making a spoken presentation. He develops a social studies unit which compares his first language with English.

Results (percentages)

а

e

How important is it to take account of [Student teacher's] accent in assessing his presentation?

Very				Not at all	Undecided
6.9	9.2	19.0	23.2	36.9	4.8

b How important will it be for [Student teacher] to model 'standard' written English in the classroom?

Very				Not at all	Undecided
46.5	27.7	17.5	4.7	1.3	2.4

c How valuable will this unit be for the children?

Very				Not at all	Undecided
57.6	19.5	10.2	3.9	1.3	7.6

d How important is it for [Student teacher] to seek expert advice about comparing the two languages?

Very				Not at all	Undecided
38.3	27.8	18.1	3.9	3.4	8.4

How useful is it for New Zealand children to learn [Student teacher's language]?

Very				Not at all	Undecided
21.8	13.0	28.7	17.5	11.1	8.0

The results above indicate a generally high level of support for student teachers from non-English speaking backgrounds to integrate their language and culture into their teaching.

			-	fic questions cor	
esults (percer	ntages):				
a Ho	w important	is the role o	f languag	e in this respons	ibility?
Very				Not at all	Undecided
59.9	23.7	11.0	2.6	1.0	1.8
b Hov	w significant	is this chan	ge?		
Very				Not at all	Undecided
40.5	22.3	12.2	4.9	3.1	16.9
Very				Not at all	Undecided
56.0	23.3	10.6	2.3	1.3	6.5
d Ho		is it for all t			6.5 n about language
d Ho pat Very	w important terns and str	is it for all t uctures?	eachers to	be able to teach	6.5 n about language Undecided
d Ho pat	w important	is it for all t		be able to teach	6.5 n about language
d Ho pat <u>Very</u> 46.4 e Ho	w important terns and str 26.9	is it for all t uctures? 16.8 are languag	eachers to	be able to teach Not at all 2.6	6.5 n about language Undecided 3.1 compared with oth
d Ho pat <u>Very</u> 46.4 e Ho	w important terns and str 26.9 w important	is it for all t uctures? 16.8 are languag	eachers to	be able to teach Not at all 2.6	6.5 n about language Undecided

Appendix I: Email confirmation of follow-up participation	Appendix I:	Email	confirmation	of follow-up	participation
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Dear [participant]

Further to our telephone conversation this morning, I'd like to thank you very much for agreeing to be involved in the follow-up phase of my research on language in education through Victoria University.

I'd like to find out more about what happens in teacher education courses across a range of subjects, so I'd really appreciate it if you could send some of the materials you have used this year on one or more of your courses with preservice student teachers.

I'm interested in:

- course outlines

- teaching materials that you have written, particularly anything with a language component

- anything else you think might be useful or interesting

Everything you send will be used anonymously in my research. It will not be possible for you to be identified personally in my thesis, nor for any particular information to be linked with your specific institution.

Thank you very much!

Hilary Smith P O Box 1507 Palmerston North ph (06) 353-657 fax (06) 353-8357

Appendix J: Statistical commentary

Prof. Stephen J. Haslett

Director, Statistics Research and Consulting Centre, Massey University

Statistical design

The experimental design embedded in this survey is a replicated three way factorial design, with the three factors being 'order of scenarios', 'language used in Scenario A', and 'language used in Scenario B'. The three way analysis of variance (Anova) is a relatively simple design, although other methods of describing ordering of scenarios and interactions between effects have complicated the analysis. The experimental design is also complicated by unequal replication due to the number of respondents not being an integer multiple of the number of three-factor combinations (in that 216 could not fit exactly into 831), by not all people to whom the questionnaire was sent being eligible, and by non-response. The experimental design is thus unbalanced (and consequently requires conditional (Type III) rather than sequential (Type I) sums of squares for analysis), and determining eligibility and controlling non-response are important considerations.

However, the survey was designed to be a census, so that although there are complications for the experimental design, the survey design is simple. Consequently specialised sample survey software (e.g. SUDAAN, STATA, WestVar) rather than for example SAS or SPSS, was not required for analysis.

The statistical analysis per se also requires something more than establishing which of the three factors are statistically significant. For example, the interaction between particular use of language for the second scenario presented, relative to the first, may be of interest.

Linking of the experimental design to demographic factors adds further complexity, as at the level of a particular combination of demographic data a smaller amount of information is available than for a three factor analysis of variance (Anova). This issue is discussed in more detail in the context of particular analyses. However, the general principles are well established in the statistical literature, with the required technique an analysis of covariance (Anova).

The variables analysed within scenarios were categorical or interval rather than continuous. The required analyses allowed for this fact by using generalised linear model techniques (for example, McCullagh and Nelder 1989) rather than the more familiar linear models, so that proportions answering each option in each question in each scenario are the variables analysed in a logarithmic scale. However, the structure of the design remains unaltered; it is still a three way factorial as an analysis of covariance model, only instead in the context of a generalized linear (rather than a linear) model.

The scales used for the attitude questions in the questionnaire (regardless of the language chosen for the scenarios) are Likert scales. These distinguish views on a scale which is ordered (i.e. ordinal) for each individual, but in which differences between gradations on the scale are not necessarily equal (i.e. not necessarily

interval). Strictly speaking the responses to each Likert scale form ordinal categories rather than interval data and should be treated as such statistically.

Forming mean scores, for example by treating one extreme as '1', the other (on a five point scale) as '5', and finding scale averages, treats the scales as interval. Since Likert scales are ordinal, some caution is warranted. Nevertheless these mean scores provide useful summary measures, since they are able to summarise scores over the entire scale in a single measure. They also allow use of Anova techniques where differences in mean value between subgroups are compared. Formally, however, statistical techniques for ordinal data are required for analysis (Agresti 2002).

One alternative extension of Anova to ordinal categorical data again involves mean response models (Grizzle, Starmer and Koch 1969; Agresti 1984: 148).

The models described in the univariate analyses of this project's data are Anova models, since these are far less difficult to explain and interpret. The linear model provides a useful and more easily interpreted approximation to the non-linear 'generalized linear' model form (This issue is discussed more extensively in the next section).

Nevertheless, more formal testing (using ordinal categorical data analysis techniques) which for these data and statistical tests give very similar results, have been undertaken as a formal check (See section below, for example). As Agresti (2002: 3-4) notes:

The position of ordinal variables in the quantitative-qualitative classification is fuzzy. Analysts often treat them as qualitative, using methods for nominal variables. But in may respects, ordinal variables more closely resemble interval variables than they resemble nominal variables. They possess important quantitative features: Each category has a *greater* or *smaller* magnitude of the characteristic than another category; and although not possible to measure, an underlying continuous variable is usually present.

Linear and Alternative Models

Linear models fit a dependent variable with a set of explanatory ones, by treating the dependent variable as interval i.e. they assume that on average adding a fixed amount to the scale of the dependent variable changes the model by adding a constant that does not depend on the original level of that scale.

Alternative models make fewer assumptions.

Logistic models continue to use a dependent variable and a set of explanatory ones, but for an ordinal dependent variable instead fit a model on a transformed scale that is a function of the logarithm of the probability of scoring below each set point on the original scale (see for example, Agresti, 1984). Logistic models are generally more appropriate than linear ones for count data, e.g. for data consisting of the numbers of people who score at a certain level on a scale.

Loglinear models are even more flexible. They again use logarithms of probabilities, but they also allow a different relationship to hold between explanatory variables and the dependent variable at each point of the ordinal scale, and they do this by dropping the distinction between dependent and explanatory variables (see for example Agresti, 2002).

Loglinear and logistic models are similar because both involve taking logarithms, in this case of the proportions of people responding at or below a particular level on the scale for the dependent variable.

In the questionnaire, the scale used for questions within scenarios is ordinal with five points.

The analyses tabulated and the models fitted in the body of the thesis are linear models fitted using Proc GLM (for General Linear Model) in the statistical package SAS. As mentioned above, such models threat the ordinal scale as interval, i.e they assume that the points 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4, 4 and 5 are equal steps on the ordinal scale for the score. Since the scale is ordinal rather than interval, this is clearly an approximation.

However the benefit of this approximation, when appropriate, is that it simplifies the interpretation of results in comparison with those from fitting some alternative models (e.g loglinear models), by considering the overall effect of explanatory variable across all levels of the scale. If the effect of the explanatory variables on the model is the same at every level of the original score, plus a fixed constant for each step on the original scale, and the probabilities used in the model are not too near zero or one, then the linear model will be very similar to a particular type of logistic model (in which the effect of the explanatory variables on the model is the same at each level of the transformed score, plus a fixed constant for each step on the transformed scale). Both these types of model are in some sense "overall" models: they consider the average effect of the explanatory variables across all the levels of the score variable.

This appendix details the justification of the approximation of linear models by such logistic models for this data. Since it is the overall effect of the explanatory variables on the score that is of interest (rather than their effect at each level of the score) the alternative models fitted are all logistic (rather than loglinear) models.

A formal mathematical treatment of the approximation of logistic by linear models is possible (and is discussed in Agresti, 1984). For 'overall' models such as those used here, the circumstances in which the approximation is a good one are essentially that the logistic and linear scales match well in the range of the score data.

A less abstract way of checking the assumption is possible, given a particular dataset such a that collected in this study. That is to fit both the linear and logistic models using the same set of explanatory variables and compare the probabilities that each explanatory effect is significant in the two types of model. When the significance probabilities are very similar, the approximation is sound.

For the present study, a number of such comparisons of linear and logistic models are necessary. For each, significance levels for both the linear and logistic model have been tabulated below.

Score	Linear Model	Logistic Model	Set of explanatory effects fitted
sAa		-	langnmA ordA langnmB langnmA*ordA
sAb	langnma p=0.0011	langnma p=0.0048	langnmA ordA langnmB langnmA*ordA
sAc	-	-	langnmA ordA langnmB langnmA*ordA
sAd	langnma p=0.0313	langnma p=0.0237	langnmA ordA langnmB langnmA*ordA
sAe	-	-	langnmA ordA langnmB langnmA*ordA
sAa	-	-	langnmA ordA langnmA*ordA
sAb	langnma p=0.0008	langnma p=0.0037	langnmA ordA langnmA*ordA
sAc	-	-	langnmA ordA langnmA*ordA
sAd	langnma p=0.0290	langnma p=0.0239	langnmA ordA langnmA*ordA
sAe	-	-	langnmA ordA langnmA*ordA
sBa	langnmb p=0.0002	langnmb p=0.0001	langnmB ordB langnmA langnmB*ordB
sBb	-	-	langnmB ordB langnmA langnmB*ordB
sBc	langnma p=0.0003	langnmb p=0.0009	langnmB ordB langnmA langnmB*ordB
	langnmb p=0.0092	langnma p=0.0030	
sBd	-	-	langnmB ordB langnmA langnmB*ordB
sBe	langnmb p<0.0001	langnmb p<0.0001	langnmB ordB langnmA langnmB*ordB

Table AJ.1Significant effects and significance levels: Linear and logistic
models with identical explanatory variables

In essence, Table AJ.1 covers all the models fitted in this study. Note that the effects that are significant (and also those that are not) in every one of these 15 models are the same, whether a linear or logistic model is fitted, and the significance levels for significant effects is very similar. This is strong evidence that, in this study at least, a linear model is a sound approximation to a logistic one. This is the justification for using linear rather than logistic models when tabulating and explaining the study results in the body of the thesis.

References

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