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> TESOLANZ
> Linguistics and Applied Language Studies
> Victoria University of Wellington
> PO Box 600
> Tel: (04) 463 5600
> Fax: (04) 463 5604

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THE TESOLANZ JOURNAL

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EDITORIAL

This 24th volume of The TESOLANZ Journal is a special edition containing the proceedings of the 14th National Conference for Community Languages and ESOL, which was organised by TESOLANZ (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages New Zealand) Inc. and CLANZ (Community Languages Association New Zealand). The conference was held in Wellington, New Zealand, from Thursday 10th to Sunday 13th July, 2014. The conference convenors were Dr Angela Joe and Nicky Riddiford of Victoria University of Wellington.

Thanks to all those who attended and participated, CLESOL 2014 was, as always, a stimulating and enjoyable few days, when teachers from all sectors of the ESOL community in Aotearoa came together to learn, share ideas, and catch up with old friends and colleagues. The timetable consisted of thirteen parallel streams covering various aspects of our profession from teacher education, leadership and advising, to diverse classrooms, blended learning, and integrating language and content. Papers were also presented from the fields of literacy, vocabulary and corpus studies, and testing and assessment, as well as the four core skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing.

The contents of this journal give a taste of the wide variety which characterised the offerings under the conference theme of Essentials for Learning and Teaching: Ko te Pu, Ko te Ako. The articles selected for publication reflect the spirit of CLESOL 2014 in that they focus on key elements for successful teaching and learning. This volume is divided into two parts: articles and summaries. The first section consists of full-length academic papers, while the second part contains brief reports of some of the research which was presented.

In Part I, in the first article Andrew surveys the field of critical pedagogy in TESOL and distils current research into a list of principles, before describing three teachers' applications of these to their practice. Following this Edwards examines how much grammatical knowledge New Zealand primary teachers need to have in order to utilise effectively the Ministry of Education resources for supporting ELLs, and finds that it is a quite substantial amount. In the third paper, Gabillon and Ailincai investigate the beneficial effects of artefacts and gestures on the quality of communication in CLIL classrooms in French Polynesia. Otto then describes a co-operative initiative with the Malaysian government to bring English classes to a disadvantaged community in Malaysia. In the fifth article Song considers the challenges of providing appropriate English language workplace training to Chinese software engineers in the outsourcing industry. Next Brookie identifies the various strategies used by teachers to deal with intercultural conflict in immigrant ESL classrooms. In the final paper Field presents her findings on how best to improve reading skills of adult migrants.

In Part II, Pilott summarises an investigation into how migrant pronunciation affects employers' decisions about acceptability for employment. Tarasova and Taylor then describe the experience of piloting Trinity College's Certificate for Practicing English Language Teachers at a university in Thailand. Our third summary by Revis reports on family language practices among two different ethnic groups of refugees in Wellington: Colombian and Ethiopian. Finally Harvey closes our volume with her history till the present day of the longtime quest to have a nationwide languages policy accepted in New Zealand/Aotearoa.

In conclusion, thanks go to all presenters who submitted their papers for consideration in this special edition of the journal. Part of the process involved in preparing a manuscript for publication involves responding to questions and advice from experienced peers. In this respect I am grateful to the eight reviewers who, willingly giving their time and expertise, worked hard and long to read and report back on many manuscripts each, and to write detailed and constructive feedback to the many contributors.

ARTICLES

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY IN TESOL AND ELT: APPLICATIONS TO PRACTICE

Martin Andrew

Victoria University, Melbourne

Abstract

This paper draws on practitioners' experiences of applying tenets from critical pedagogy, 'the pedagogy of hope' (Freire, 1970, 1998) to three exemplars of critical practice in TESOL. While multicultural and sociocultural approaches in the discipline have emphasised the centrality of the social, cultural and communicative aspects of language learning and teaching, they glide over the criticism that no language is, in Pennycook's (2001) term, "innocent" and no discourse separate from the powerful ideology that produced it. In addition to its emphasis on the imperialistic freight of English, critical pedagogy has an impetus for social action through teacher and learner empowerment that can take many other forms. This study draws on literature to identify the grass-roots features of critical pedagogy and applies these tenets to practical examples. In the process, it contributes to a much-bemoaned gap in critical pedagogy literature: the space where theory meets practice in TESOL or ELT.

Why Critical Pedagogy in TESOL?

Sociocultural and multicultural approaches in TESOL stress the importance of social, cultural and communicative aspects of language learning and teaching and emphasise the situated nature of language learning and the development of complex learner identities (Hawkins & Norton, 2009). They do, however, gloss over the criticism that no language is, in Alastair Pennycook's (2001) terms, "innocent" and that no discourse is separate from the powerful ideology, the idea that to speak English is to acquire access to the global power and communicative capital that produced it (Canagarajah, 1999; Hawkins & Norton, 2009). This paper suggests that English language teachers can become aware of another thread in the fabric: the "attitude" towards (not theory of) teaching and learning that is exemplified by critical pedagogy (Akbari, 2008, p.282). To achieve this, the paper provides a list of applicable features of critical pedagogy that is intended to be practical in use, and three brief examples of critical pedagogy in action from my own and a colleague's practice. Awareness of critical practices enables teachers not only to understand learners as psychosocial, complexly motivated individuals, but also to understand the privileges that proficiency in English appears to offer an elite group over disadvantaged groups, and, moreover, individuals' potential roles in community development and in making contributions to social justice and educational change. As Joan Wink wrote in 2000, that which was starting to be called 'critical pedagogy' *"makes us look at the world, and it makes us look at our individual role in the world, the community, the classroom"* (p.44).

The attitude of the critical pedagogue chiefly manifests itself in TESOL in New Zealand in two ways. Firstly, it offers teaching and learning contexts (materials, activities, tasks, events, interventions, site visits) that interrogate topics related to oppression and power inequality through dialogue (discussion,

debate, group work, project work, practicums and placements). Secondly, it realises the importance of the language teacher as an arbiter of cultural representation to newcomers, outsiders, others. In a New Zealand context this means migrants, immigrants, refugees and even international students, whether they are sojourners (such as study abroad students or working holiday students) or cosmopolitans (such as learners from China or Hong Kong desiring access to English as a boost for future prospects). In New Zealand, this can also mean Pasifika students, placed in ESOL classes as a matter of educative expediency (that is, motivated by identifying 'deficiency' rather than appropriate need). 'Interventions' might be innovative ways of introducing themes of inequality into the classroom, or they might be responsive ways of discussing diverse aspects of local culture and society, such as how the electoral system works, why the Waitangi Tribunal exists or how to interact with a homestay family. Discussion of a media story such as those relating Winston Peters' "two Wongs don't make a right" *faux pas* ('shameful' or 'a joke'?), is an obvious instance (Manning, 2014). More broadly, a language teacher with the attitude of critical pedagogy can expose and interrogate:

> the complex relationships between majority and minority speakers and cultural groups, and between diverse speakers of the majority language, thus having the potential to disrupt potentially harmful and oppressive relations or power (Hawkins & Norton, 2009, p.33).

As early as 1992, Ira Shor suggested teachers develop habits of thought, reading and speaking that:

> go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organisation, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse (p.129).

Today, we understand this as critical thinking, inherent in critical reading, involving at a pedagogical level a multiplicity of literacies or ways of doing (and undoing) and understanding texts. At the crux of the critical in ELT or TESOL is, as Allan Luke (2004) indicated, "how people use texts and discourses to construct and negotiate identity, power, and capital" (p.21). Critically-minded instructors, then, not only encourage habits of deconstructing normative thinking and unpack ideology, bias and discursive freight in texts (Auerbach, 1995), they also make spaces for the cultures and perspectives of all class members and their identities ("pedagogical safe houses", Canagarajah, 2004, p.116). They interrogate the plights of the oppressed and the other with application of Freire's "problem posing education" (1970, p.65) central to his pedagogy of hope – any activity that stimulates appropriate dialogue between educators and students and encourages reflection as an act of pedagogical intervention. Critical instructors make praxical links (that is, connections between thinking and doing, theory and practice) with communities to which learners have belonged or desire to belong (Wink, 2000; hooks (sic), 2003). Crucially, the practice of critical pedagogy in the discipline has been called "a grass-roots activity for the betterment of the community" (Ooiwa-Yoshizawa, 2012, p.28).

Drawing on lived experience offers opportunities for dialogue (Freire, 1970). Instructors embody what Norman Fairclough (1995) called 'critical language awareness', attend to Pennycook's (2001) 'critical applied linguistics' and apply Margaret Hawkins' and Bonny Norton's (2009) vision of the 'critical' as focusing on how dominant ideologies 'drive' the construction of understandings and meanings that privilege some and oppress others (p.31). It might also involve Kumaravadivelu's (2006) conception of 'critical', concerned with:

> connecting the word with the world. It is about recognising language as ideology, not just system. It is about extending the educational space to the social, cultural, and political dynamics of language use (p.70).

No language is innocent, nor can ELT or TESOL be so, therefore spaces for cultural identities are crucial:

> The language we teach, the materials we use, the way we run our classrooms, the things students do and say, all these can be seen in social and cultural terms, and thus, from a critical perspective as social political and cultural political questions (Pennycook, 2001, p.129).

In harnessing an awareness of what is critical, instructors are "transformative agents" (Hawkins, 2004, p 5) supporting collaborative engagement in situated activities, making learners aware of the social construction of affective factors impacting on their achievement of language learning goals and understanding learners' possibilities for the future.

In our work as TESOL and ELT practitioners, we should bear in mind that critical pedagogy is an *attitude* not a prescriptive *theory,* and this attitude evolves in teachers through experience and reflection. Its goals are intuitively appealing to instructors in ELT: it reflects awareness of discrimination and marginalization to maximise inclusion and re-presentation (and representation), and legitimises the stories of practitioners and learners, empowering both groups. It leads to authentic learning (Breunig, 2009) and agency (Akbari, 2008).

Hence, following a brief identification of the gap in research about critical pedagogy in TESOL, I will present, in the useable form of bullet points, a list of 'grass-roots' (Ooiwa-Yoshizawa, 2012) features of critical pedagogy based on a thorough distillation of the literature - and in fact structurally serving as a literature review. The list is influenced by the ways of coming to know that are embedded in the twenty-five indigenous projects Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) itemises as acts of "reclaiming, reformulating and reconstituting" (p.143). These blend indigenous practices and ways of being into existing methodological frameworks.

Where's the Gap?

In recent years, ELT scholars have indicated the need for more practical, and praxical, exemplars of critical pedagogy in action in the discipline. In 2008 Ramin Akbari wrote:

> Most of the discussion on CP has been limited to its rationale and not much has been done to bring it down to the actual world of classroom practice, for which it was originally intended (p.278).

In 2009, Hawkins and Norton noted that accounts of critical language teaching practices are "hard to find" (p.33) and exemplified instances of critical practice in ELT that were "situated, responsive, and contextual" (p.37). In 2010, Graham Crooks sought operable examples of critical ELT praxis, noting an absence of descriptions of critical practices, tasks and activities. In 2011 Nasser Rashidi and Faeze Safari identified a hole in research where critical pedagogies are applied to specific materials. Akbari (2008) called on instructors in the discipline to attend to "the messy, unpleasant aspects of social life" (p.282).

Attempts to create research that plays into this gap, such as the article you are reading, are beginning to emerge. For instance, in 2012, Iranian scholars Reza Pishghadam and Elham Naji Meidani warned that exposing students' subject positions as helpless – an unintended result of an attempt to impose critical pedagogy in a classroom culture that was not ready for it - may lead to dark places: "Getting students acquainted with critical issues is like opening a Pandora's box, having detrimental effects on students' lives" (p.477). In the light of difficulty of finding 'operable' resources on critical pedagogy in TESOL, I am asking the questions:

> How can TESOL and ELT practitioners create "pedagogical safe houses" where students' own identities coexist with powerful discourses?
>
> What kinds of praxical pedagogical innovations can promote agency, community and hope in EFL contexts?'

Methodologically, this paper is a subjective academic narrative (Arnold, 2011), valorising self-reflection, observation and analysis as contributors to academic knowing and aware that academic texts such as this are a *bricolage* of "the scholarly, the anecdotal…and the autobiographical" (Arnold, 2011, p.66). As 'data', I draw upon my own findings from a range of studies and those of a colleague, and all of these studies use eclectic qualitative but grounded approaches in themselves. Methodologically and structurally this paper utilises a subjective, yet still empirical, mode of understanding and (re)presenting 'data'.

For the remainder of the paper I will begin to answer the above questions in two ways. Firstly by

suggesting a range of achievable characteristics of critical pedagogy, and secondly by offering three brief examples of instructors conducting teaching and learning interventions that are informed by these precepts.

What are the 'grass-roots' of critical pedagogy in TESOL?

The following are selected 'grass-roots' **(**Ooiwa-Yoshizawa, 2012) features of critical pedagogy in ELT or TESOL that contribute to building agency, community and hope:

- Emphasising lived experiences as a way to represent the communities' beliefs and needs within curricula (Akbari, 2008; Giroux, 2011)
- Making links between the location-specific classroom and the community (hooks, 2003; Akbari, 2008)
- Regarding learners' L1 as a resource to be utilised (Akbari, 2008)
- Posing thought provoking-questions from generative themes emerging from analyses of learners' lived experiences and teaching and learning experiences (Rashidi & Safari, 2011) and creating opportunities for dialogue (Freire, 1970)
- Dealing with the daily problems of learners and encouraging self-reflexive analysis of students' experience and critical consciousness, hence emphasising the role of the student as decision-maker (Rashidi & Safari, 2011)
- Realising even those immured by a culture of silence are capable of critically examining the world via dialogical encounters with others (Freire, 1970)
- Understanding language as a practice that both constructs and is constructed by the ways learners perceive themselves in terms of their communities and memberships, histories and imagined communities (Norton & Toohey, 2004)
- Being a role model: embodying a way of doing teaching and learning by demystifying the power relations hidden in pedagogical activities (Canagarajah, 2005) and making the teacher a co-learner (Rashidi & Safari, 2011)
- Interrogating texts, "institutions, social relations and ideologies as part of the script of official power" (Giroux, 2011, p.4)
- Understanding the teacher's voice is itself subject to ideologies and beliefs and other external and internal voices (Pennycook, 2001) because the powerful forces creating systems of schooling originate elsewhere (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 2011)
- Empowering and encouraging students' voices through maximising opportunities for storytelling and dialogue and breaking down the notion that the teacher's voice is the source of authority (Freire, 1970)
- Focusing on the relationship between language learning and social change which includes recognising diversity (Ooiwa-Yoshizawa, 2012)
- Foregrounding the plights of minorities, the disempowered, the disenfranchised, the Other within our materials and ways of being to enter into dialogues on the nature of domination and subjugation (Pennycook, 2001; Akbari, 2008)
- Recognising that spaces of marginalization incorporating social and cultural practices can simultaneously become sites of resistance *and* hope (hooks, 2003; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012)
- Creating and selecting materials to accord with sociopolitical and cultural conditions of a student group and to meet their needs (Rashidi & Safari, 2011). Even better is to allow the group to determine these itself (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012)

- Applying teaching and learning approaches that echo this relevance while being challenging in ways that tread the balance between appropriate and challenging/subversive (Canagarajah, 2004; Ooiwa-Yoshizawa, 2012)
- Taking into account learner readiness and "intellectual advances" when arranging the content of ELT materials (Rashidi & Safari, 2011, p.255)
- Building a classroom community, creating opportunities for dialogue, using alternative methods of assessment and evaluation, involving students in experiential activities, community service learning and projects and critical analyses of media artefacts such as films (Breunig, 2009).

This list is not intended to be finite; nor can it be. It does, however, represent a 'state of play' list that ELT and TESOL teachers might use as a way of identifying characteristics of critical pedagogy that might suit their attitudes towards teaching and learning in the discipline.

The next section of the paper gives three examples of critical pedagogy in action. These examples from my own and colleagues' teaching practice may not embody critical pedagogy in its complex entirety, but are informed and motivated by some of the features listed above.

Three examples of practice

Community placement as critical praxis

Forefather of critical pedagogy, Henri Giroux (2011), wrote:

> It is crucial for educators not only to connect classroom knowledge to the experiences, histories and resources that students bring to the classroom but also to link such knowledge to the goal of furthering their capacities to be critical agents (p.7).

Mary Breunig's (2009) study of critical praxis emphasised community service pedagogy as a key mode of bringing a critically pedagogical standpoint to language learning. The community placement, like a work placement, is a pedagogical intervention aimed at getting students to apply their theoretical and linguistic learning from the classroom into the world beyond the classroom with a view to promoting authentic learning (Andrew & Kearney, 2007; Benson & Reinders, 2011; Keith, 2005). Community placements are pertinent in EAL contexts where classes comprise migrants, permanent residents and refugees but also accommodate international students who might not have an integrative investment in participation in real world learning (Andrew, 2011).

Creating a bridge from the classroom to the real world is a central tenet of critical pedagogy and the community placement engages learners in exploring the social world and comparing it to the theoretical one portrayed in classrooms. In effect, volunteering in the community becomes critical praxis, with students as apprentice ethnographers reflecting on the linguistic and cultural repertoires of the communities they join. These communities might be aged care homes, charity shops, advice bureaux, kindergartens or specialist organisations such as the Foundation for the Blind. Initially observers within an effective community of practice, they eventually relax into the role of participant

and even become members. As Wengerian apprentices (in 1998's *Communities of practice),* students observe lived literacy practices (Andrew, 2011) including Gee's (1996) "ways of being in the world" and "socially situated identities" (p.3) and record them in a reflective diary, which is a record of their learning and the locus of assessment. In these journals, students realise how desire to fit in is an investment to perform linguistically and to participate as a community member. In these reflections, learners report a variety of forms of learning from their practicums, notably opportunities to speak with greater confidence, building agency and hope (Andrew & Kearney, 2007). As Green (2001) illustrated, community placements provide students with chances to engage in experiential activities that enable them to examine and rethink their attitudes toward identity, race, class and economic injustices.

More than 100 students participated in the community placement research project run by Unitec New Zealand as part of the English as an Additional Language degree-level unit *Culture and New Zealand Society.* There is room here for just one example. Dana (not her real name), a Chinese student, chose to work in Auckland's Central City Mission to fulfill her required ten hours of community placement. In her journals, she writes that this process allowed her to 'get in deeper' and to 'put in both feet'. Her placement, which she calls 'this unforgettable life experience', brought her into contact with multiple Kiwi discourses including profanities that may not be repeated here. In her case and that of many others, the discourses students encounter can be life-changing and illustrative of Pennycook's (2004) critical moments. Dana spoke with a homeless Maori woman and expressed empathy:

> My second conversation was with a Maori elder and her family had gone. She told this to a complete stranger who served her a cup of coffee – me. I felt Maori people's kindness through her trusted eyes: they love to talk to people, they love to share their stories, and they love to smile. They trust people, they stick together and care about each other even though they are in extreme life situation.

This response goes further than linguistic and cultural learning into an understanding of human need. This instance exemplifies students' investments in engaging with the indigenous and the oppressed and shows in pedagogical terms how reflexivity impacts learning about their own humanity. In the words of other researchers into culture and identity, community placement contains the potential for learners to "get a sense of the humanity of other people" (Moran, 2001, p.8) and to "find spaces for the enhancement of human possibility" (Norton, 2000, p.153). In so doing, participants in community service in the global village "discover new and marginalised parts of themselves and so create multiple selves, in relationship to different communities" (Keith, 2005, p.11).

Ethnography of difference in English for Academic Purposes

In the context of an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) program at an Australian university Marianne Grey (2009) created another teaching and learning innovation echoing Giroux's (2011) mantra and illustrating Breunig's (2009) critique of critical pedagogy outlined as the last of my bullet points above. Espousing an ethnographic method of authentic learning, Grey sent her EAP students into the community to collect and photograph artefacts with which to record their multi-literate stories

of diversity in the form of posters.

The study applies a critical form of ethnography in a purposeful way to meet the sociopolitical and cultural needs of a defined student group as well as their assessment requirements. It involves 'being-in' the midst of data-collection. Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari (1987), this intervention, a project on race and diversity, made the students nomadic "ethnographers of difference", focused on the practices of a community of difference and engaged with their processes of "becoming" (p.121). Grey aims "to establish an ambience of trust, co-operation, risk-taking and the formation of new and different alliances" (p.127). Like the community placement project, one of the rationales of the project was to examine difference in the light of post-structural understandings of identity. Grey wanted to achieve this by deconstructing the norms that categorise the class members themselves: "In EAP, if students are labeled according to their gender, race, culture, sexuality, nationality, culture, language, religion and so on, there is an assumption of overarching sameness within each category rather than that of difference" (p.126). The artefacts they perform as a result of their ethnography of difference are hybrid images where learners "collectively appropriate the genre of the poster and imagine something different" (p.132).

Aside from the critically pedagogical prism and the pedagogic representation of nomadism, Grey's text, published in the prestigious and conventional *Journal of English for Academic Purposes,* resists the Cartesian linearity that typifies orthodox academic thought, and is constructed with a logic Grey calls a "poststructuralist discursive framework" (p.128). The text itself is nomadic, rhizomatic, and structured around critical moments "when things change … where someone gets it" (Pennycook, 2004, p.330). Organising the text around 11 key themes builds the reflexive (the researcher's awareness of her own complicity and use of 'musings' as data) and the experiential (the discovery of the student ethnographers) into the text. The discourse structure reflects its content. It emulates Grey's consciousness of hybridity, difference and nomadic self- identification. This becomes "innovative, resourceful, practical, and opportunistic" (p.127). Critical pedagogy is incorporated not only in a teaching intervention but also in the students' means of representing it and, in turn, the researcher's mode of representing the story of the learners' "becoming".

Building autonomy to enhance applied real world listening strategies

My third instance linking critical pedagogy to language learning once more involves students facing authentic challenges beyond the classroom, this time with the purpose of extensive listening in authentic contexts and applying strategies to two-way communicative interactions. Listening is arguably the least researched of the major skills in ELT (Flowerdew & Miller, 2005) and there is in particular a gap in critically-motivated pedagogies that link the acquisition of listening strategies and skills to real world interaction. Particularly for migrants in EAL settings, opportunities to listen to authentic and even semi-authentic local texts, complete with paralinguistic features, are limited, making progress towards agency complex (Hunter & Cooke, 2007). Such students may be facing damaged identities and hardships related to feelings of displacement and not belonging (Norton, 2000; Ooiwa-Yoshizawa, 2012). One way of filling this gap is by employing a situated pedagogical approach to teaching and assessing listening using portfolios which incorporate real world two-way listening events as well as one-way text-based practice listening activities. A range of listening

strategies can be taught in the classroom or via Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL, e.g. CD-Roms; online applications) and websites, but it is only when applied in the real world that the student can build autonomy and agency as a two-way communicator in English (Hunter & Cooke, 2007).

In my role as a lecturer in EAL at a tertiary institute in Auckland, I devised a portfolio-based system for assessing students' progress towards their listening goals as members of future imagined communities (such as wider society, workplaces and future sites of study). I reasoned that only by being in society could the tenets of this pedagogical principle reach fruition and the students *become* the listeners they needed to be. Over an 8-week period of a 12-week program, learners were taught listening strategies including some targeting paralinguistic features such as pitch, intonation and linking. Students applied strategies to four real-world contexts or digital texts weekly. Within their portfolios, they described their role in the transaction and reflected on their application of strategies and communicative development. These reflections revealed students were becoming confident, agential and responsive to real world situations.

The portfolio represents "an album of literacy performances" (Ferris & Hedgcock, 2005, p.322). This makes for a valid mode of assessing the development of strategic learning beyond the classroom (Benson & Reinders, 2011). The students reported applying the strategies in a range of contexts from enquiring about rules on a staff room wall to discussing the apocalypse with Jehovah's Witnesses. These students demonstrated technical autonomy (Benson, 1997), taking agential initiative in their learning in physical environments and demonstrating metacognitive awareness by describing their planning, monitoring, reflection and evaluation of their listening events. Listening portfolios offer learners a window onto their strategic learning and metacognitive development. Noticing one's own progress impacts confidence and agency. These occur "when they attempt to take control of their learning" (Gao & Zhang, 2011, p.28).

Conclusion

Critical pedagogy is an attitude towards one's students and the world that can bring cultural, social and humane capital to individuals and communities within ELT and TESOL contexts. It comprises a range of features and characteristics, many of which are itemised in this study, which instructors can apply, and/or continue to apply, with increasing reflexivity. Those (Breunig, 2009) stress creating community in the classroom and opportunities for belonging beyond it by maximising opportunities for authentic dialogue, and involving students in learning experiences such as community service and critical analyses of media artefacts. These are some of the features of the three examples of educational praxis – linking theoretical concepts to teaching practice – that are described in this article. Recognising *ex tempore* opportunities for such teaching, particularly from different sides of the media, is a characteristic of such an educator, as is continual reflection on the power we exert over students and how they employ text.

The exemplars of praxis described here are the work of educators actively and reflexively embodying the tenets of critical pedagogy into their practices of teaching and learning within and beyond the

classroom, creating a bridge between the two. To be and become a critical pedagogue requires examining the textual practices of privileged texts (that is, potentially any text published in English) and the powerful discourse communities they belong to (such as the genre of academic writing). Such actions enable students to access "pedagogical safe houses" (Canagarajah, 2004, p.116), spaces of complex individual identity, within and beyond the classroom. When we esteem learners' lived experiences, we recognise their communities' beliefs and allow them space for expression needs within curricula (Akbari, 2008; Giroux, 2011). Safe houses are a special metaphor for such communities as the classroom or the imagined and future communities discovered by students on community placement practicum, or sought by extensive listening students as part of a reflective portfolio of authentic listening events or the borderless hybrid identities in posters that Grey's (2009) students produced. Importantly, these examples reveal opportunities for *difference* as well as likeness (Canagarajah, 2002) and encourage the expression of humanity as well as sociolinguistic literacy. In educators' nurturing of enhanced and empowered identities, there are opportunities for agency and transformation (Akbari, 2008) as students come to "name" the world they experience (Freire & Macedo, 1987) and become presences within it (Freire, 1970), not merely passive observers through a classroom window.

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GRAMMATICAL TERMINOLOGY IN RESOURCES FOR SUPPORTING ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS: WHAT DO NEW ZEALAND MAINSTREAM PRIMARY TEACHERS NEED TO KNOW?

Sue Edwards

Waikato Institute of Technology

Abstract

The literature surrounding teacher knowledge endorses the importance of English language and mainstream teachers' grammatical knowledge. In New Zealand primary schools, documents produced for teacher support of English language learners (ELLs) require grammatical knowledge, as they contain a considerable amount of grammatical terminology. The study reported below examined three documents: The English Language Learning Progressions (ELLP) (2008), the English Language Intensive Programme (ELIP) (2008), and Supporting English Language Learning in Primary School (SELLIPS) (2009). The aim of the study was to classify and analyse grammatical terminology in these documents, to indicate teacher grammatical knowledge required to utilise the documents effectively. The findings reveal the amount, type, and density of grammatical terminology in the documents, the number and type of different grammatical terms and the most frequently occurring terms. Further, unexpected, findings were obtained regarding information for teachers in the documents about grammatical terms.

Introduction

The literature regarding teacher knowledge refers to a number of different kinds of knowledge. An essential area of teacher knowledge is 'content knowledge' (Shulman, 1987), which refers to teachers' explicit knowledge of the subject matter they teach. In the field of English language teaching, there is agreement that teacher knowledge about language and, within that, knowledge about grammar, form important constituents of teachers' content knowledge (e.g. Derewianka, 2001). But what of mainstream teachers who have English language learners (ELLs) in their classrooms – should these teachers' content knowledge also include knowledge about language in general, and about grammar in particular? In the New Zealand primary school context, key curriculum documents, as well as documents designed for teacher support of ELL learning, suggest that this is the case, as they contain conspicuous use of grammatical terminology. This paper reports on a study of three support documents, and aimed to ascertain the amount and type of grammatical knowledge that primary school teachers need to possess in order to use these documents effectively.

The decision to focus on the grammatical knowledge needed by primary teachers (rather than secondary teachers) was largely a practical one; the task of analyzing the primary school documents alone was time-consuming. However, although there is a slightly higher proportion of ELLs in secondary schools (25.2% of students) than primary (22.5%) (Education Counts, 2014), there are significantly more ELLs in primary schools who are eligible for Ministry of Education ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) funding - 25,002 (79.7%), compared to 6,376 (20.3%) in secondary schools (Ministry of Education, 2013). This may increase the probability that primary school teachers are aware of these students and their needs.

Defining 'grammar'

Swan (2005, p.3) asserts that "even if you feel you know pretty well what grammar is, you might not find it easy to define." He provides a broad definition of grammar as "essentially a limited set of devices for expressing certain kinds of necessary meaning that cannot be conveyed by referential vocabulary alone" (p. 7). A more restricted view of what constitutes 'grammar' is offered by Thornbury (1999, p. 2), who states: "Grammar is conventionally seen as the study of the syntax and morphology of sentences…", where syntax is defined as: "The system of rules that cover the order of

words in a sentence", and morphology as: "The system of rules that cover the formation of words" (p. 2). Other authors (e.g. Myhill, Jones & Watson, 2013, p. 78; Crystal, 2005, p. 236) concur that syntax and morphology are usually seen as the two key components of grammar.

Grammar can also be viewed at the level of discourse, or whole texts, and 'grammar in context', i.e. the specific context of the subject matter being taught, is now the recommended approach to teaching and learning English grammar in countries where English is the dominant language. This is known as a 'functional' approach to language (e.g. Derewianka, 1998; Derewianka and Jones, 2012; Jones & Chen, 2012). A functional, whole-text approach is seen in documents for supporting ELLs in New Zealand, for example: "Teacher knowledge about language can be supplemented with information from grammar texts which promote learning and teaching at whole text level, rather than isolated sentences and words which are divorced from curriculum-related texts" (Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 5). However, the same document recognizes the importance of syntax and morphology with the statement that texts described in the document "promote a focus on word, sentence and whole text analysis" (p. 4). While acknowledging that grammar should be situated in a context, the current study focuses only on these two aspects of grammar in order to limit the scope of the study.

Background

Historical and current contexts

In the New Zealand context, there have been a number of shifts in expectations regarding teacher grammatical knowledge, as seen in the curriculum documents that have been published over the last four decades. These are summarized by Jeurissen (2010), who describes a shift from 'no mention of grammar' in the English Curriculum of 1983, to a 'return to grammar' in the 1994 Curriculum. It was recognized at this point that teachers may lack grammatical knowledge, but it appears that attempts to develop this lacked continuity.

The most recent curriculum document was published in 2007; it includes both implicit and explicit references to grammar. However, these grammatical references are limited, with only one or two grammatical terms included at each level of the English curriculum descriptors. There is no explicit reference anywhere in the 2007 English Curriculum descriptors to specific word-level language features, and at sentence level, apart from a reference in the Year 1 descriptors to simple, compound and complex sentences, is limited to the statement: "uses a variety of sentence structures, beginnings, and lengths". There are also few implicit grammatical references. At years 2-8 of the curriculum, the only statement alluding to aspects of grammar is the following: "gains increasing control (or uses) a range (or wide range) of text conventions, including grammatical and spelling conventions, appropriately, effectively, and with accuracy". However, although these references are brief and implicit, they assume teacher knowledge of 'grammatical conventions'; potentially this includes many aspects of syntax and morphology.

There are also few grammatical terms referred to in two other important documents produced to support the Curriculum: The Reading and Writing Standards (The National Standards) (Ministry of Education, 2009a), and the Literacy Learning Progressions (LLP) (Ministry of Education, 2010). The Standards were written to "make the reading and writing demands of the curriculum explicit" (p.5), and the LLP has a similar purpose, to "describe the specific literacy knowledge, skills, and attitudes that students draw on in order to meet the reading and writing demands of the curriculum" (p. 2). Both documents prioritise whole-text features, and both mention only 14 different grammatical terms from years 1 to 8. However, as with the Curriculum, both documents imply substantial teacher grammatical knowledge, with statements such as the following: [students will have the skill of] "identifying the specific language features and structures of many text types" (Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 16); [students will write] "grammatically correct sentences" (Ministry of Education, 2009a).

Further documents were published (or revised) in 2008 and 2009 to support teachers working with ELLs in mainstream classes. In comparison with the Curriculum, the Standards, and the LLP, these contain numerous references to specific grammatical terms at word and sentence level. These

documents are the subject of the current study: The English Language Intensive Programme (ELIP), (Ministry of Education, 2008a); The English Language Learning Progressions (ELLP) (Ministry of Education, 2008b); Supporting English Language Learners in Primary Schools (SELLIPS) (Ministry of Education, 2009b). The subtitles of the ELLP and the SELLIPS state that they are "A resource for mainstream and ESOL teachers" (Ministry of Education 2008b, 2009b). The third resource (ELIP) states that it is "intended to be used alongside the SELLIPS" (Ministry of Education, 2008a, p.2), implying an expectation that mainstream teachers will use it. These three documents confirm the implication seen from the overview of Curriculum-related documents in the previous paragraph that teachers need a detailed understanding of grammatical terminology at word and sentence level.

Why is teacher knowledge about grammar important?

In the context of English language teaching, there is general agreement that teacher grammatical knowledge is a key component of teacher knowledge. Derewianka (2001, p. 268) acknowledges this and asserts that a knowledge of grammar can assist teachers to identify learner needs, develop appropriate programmes to meet those needs, respond to learner queries about grammar, assess the effectiveness and accuracy of particular aspects of a learner's language use, understand how the grammar of a learner's first language may influence their learning of English, as well as evaluate, select and develop teaching materials.

In the mainstream context, teacher grammatical knowledge can also be used for the same purposes, as well as in the teaching of writing (e.g. Myhill et al, 2013; de Jong & Harper, 2005, p. 109), and to enact the curriculum in general (e.g. Jones & Chen, 2012).

The New Zealand Ministry of Education asserts that "an understanding of some of the language features and text structures of texts in the curriculum areas will assist mainstream teachers to support the language acquisition of English language learners" (2008a, p. 4). This support includes teaching grammatical terms and concepts, as shown by the following statements:

- "Words for English grammar should also be taught, including the words 'noun', 'noun phrase', 'adjective', 'verb', 'verb phrase', and so on" (Ministry of Education 2008b, p. 42)
- "Many of the grammar points require extended scaffolded explanation suited to the context" (Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 2)
- "It is important to try and explain not just the 'what' of a grammar point, but also the 'why'" (Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 5)

Previous research regarding teacher grammatical knowledge

Teacher knowledge about grammar has been researched fairly extensively with English language teachers (e.g. as summarised by Borg, 2003). However, in recent years, teacher grammatical knowledge has also become a concern for mainstream teachers in English-speaking countries, as their respective education systems have introduced English curricula which include increased amounts of grammatical terminology. In Australia, Jones and Chen (2012) investigated teachers' preparedness to enact the new English curriculum in terms of their grammatical knowledge and related teaching practices. In the UK, Myhill et al (2013), investigated the impact of teachers' grammatical knowledge on the teaching of writing. They assert that current curricula in both the US and the UK "place considerable demands on teachers' grammatical content knowledge" (p. 78). The conclusion of both studies was that many teachers do not have the grammatical knowledge to cope with curricular demands, and that there is "a range of teacher needs in terms of linguistic knowledge" (Jones and Chen, p. 147). In the U.S. Bunch (2013, p. 304) states that "there is clearly a need to bolster mainstream teachers' knowledge about grammar". In New Zealand, Jeurissen (2012) surveyed 42 primary teachers' knowledge of grammatical terms, asking: "What do primary school teachers know and believe about grammar and grammar teaching?" (p. 301). As with the Australian, UK and U.S studies, "findings suggest that many teachers lack an in-depth knowledge of grammar" (p. 301).

What grammatical knowledge should teachers have?

The New Zealand Graduating Teacher Standards (New Zealand Teachers' Council, 2007) state clearly that, among other knowledge, graduating teachers should "have content and pedagogical content knowledge for supporting English as an Additional Language (EAL) learners to succeed in the curriculum." These two types of knowledge were included by Shulman (1987) in a framework consisting of seven different types of teacher knowledge, and have become the most well known. Content knowledge refers to knowledge of the subject matter, while pedagogical content knowledge refers to "That special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding" (Shulman, p. 8). However, it may not be clear what constitutes required content knowledge about language for mainstream teachers working with ELLs (Bunch, 2013, p. 299).

Myhill et al (2013) have proposed that grammatical knowledge is indeed part of mainstream teachers' content knowledge, regardless of which subject they teach, for the reasons seen above – that it enables teachers to plan for and respond to learners' language needs, and to interpret and use curriculum documents. They propose a framework for mainstream teachers' metalinguistic knowledge which builds on and expands Shulman's framework, and includes 'metalinguistic content knowledge' (knowledge about language) and 'grammatical content knowledge', defined as:

> "Teachers' explicit knowledge of grammar in terms of morphology and syntax. It is declarative knowledge, which is conscious and can be articulated, and uses the metalanguage of grammatical terminology" (p. 80).

The current study: Research questions and methodology

Using the terminology proposed by Myhill et al, the following question was asked:

- What grammatical content knowledge are mainstream primary teachers in New Zealand expected to possess, in order to effectively utilise selected Ministry of Education resources for supporting ELLs?

To answer the overall research question, several sub-questions were asked:

- How many grammatical terms are there in each document?
- How many grammatical terms are there on average per page of each document?
- How many different grammatical terms are there in each document?
- Which grammatical terms are used most frequently in each document?

The first step was to manually search the three documents referred to above (ELLP, SELLIPS and ELIP) for terms referring to word-level (morphology) and sentence-level (syntax) grammar. Every occurrence of a grammatical term was recorded and counted, including instances of repetition of the same term within a sentence, paragraph, section or page. At the same time, the terms were grouped. Although initially terms were grouped as either 'morphology' or 'syntax', this was revised to include the four categories below. This was to reflect the relatively frequent use in the documents of grammatical terms related to word structure, as well as word classes, at word level, and also to phrases, as well as clauses and sentences, at sentence level.

- Word classes e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives
- Word structure e.g. plurals, comparative adjectives, verb tenses
- Phrases e.g. noun phrases, adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases
- Sentence (and clause) structure e.g. compound sentences, question formation, relative clauses

Once grouped, the raw data was analysed to determine the number and type of grammatical terms, the density of grammatical terms, the number and type of different grammatical terms, and the most frequently used terms in each document, and overall.

Findings

Number and type of grammatical terms in each document

Figures 1, 2, and 3 below show that, for each document, the total number of grammatical terms increases with consecutive year groups (ELLP and SELLIPS) or language learning stages (ELIP). Another key finding is that grammatical terms referring to word classes or sentences are ranked first and second across the documents, while word structure and phrases are ranked either third or fourth. The other clear finding is that the documents contain differing amounts of grammatical terminology, with the ELIP document containing the most, SELLIPS the least, and the ELLP between these.

Figure 1: Number and type of Grammatical Terms, by Year Group: ELLP

Figure 2: Number and type of Grammatical Terms, by Year Group: SELLIPS
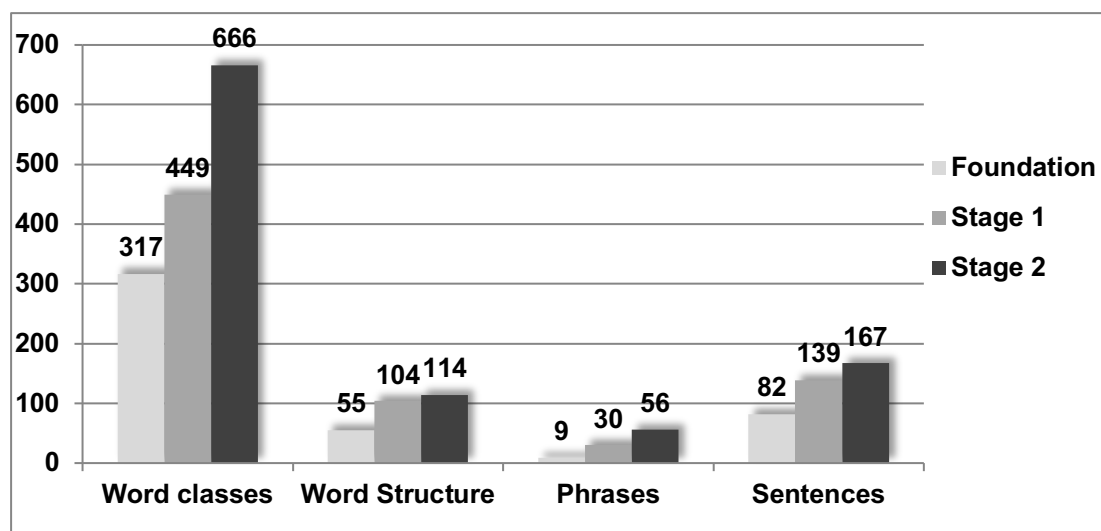
Figure 3: Number and type of Grammatical Terms, by Language Learning Stage: ELIP

Density of grammatical terms

As the three documents have an almost identical number of pages, (excluding title pages and section dividers), but very different total numbers of grammatical terms, their grammatical density varies greatly, as seen in Figure 4 below. The pattern follows that of the total number of grammatical terms, with the ELIP document having the highest density, the SELLIPS the lowest, and the ELLP between these.
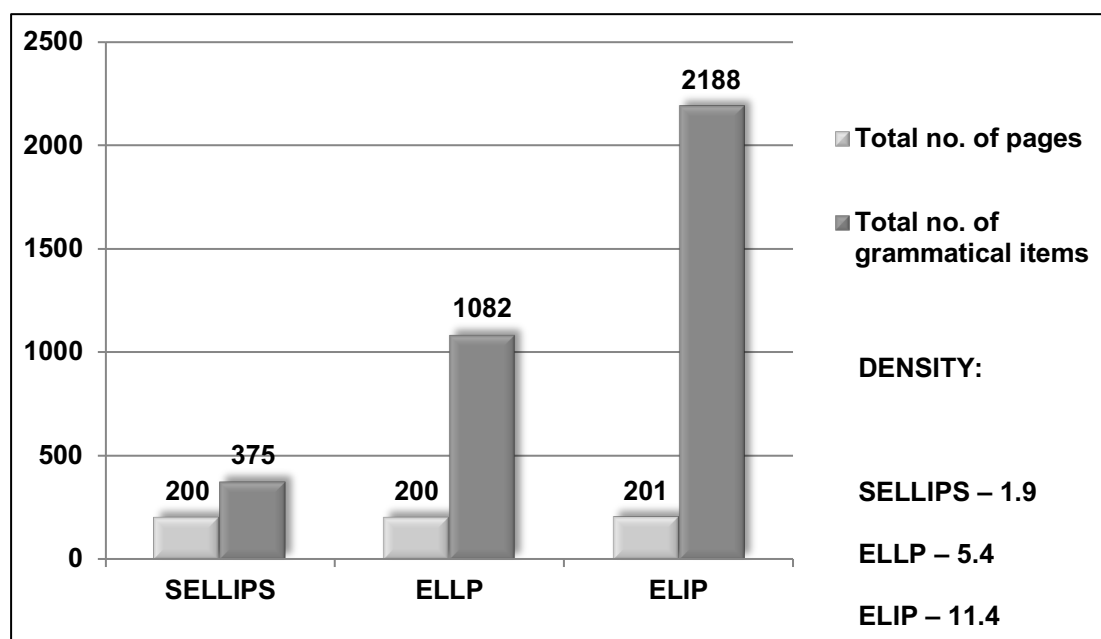
Figure 4: Total Number and Density of Grammatical Terms

Number and type of different grammatical terms

As seen in Figures 5-7 below, the pattern of results follows that of the total number of grammatical terms above i.e. word classes or sentences have either the first or second highest numbers of different terms, and word structure or phrases have the lowest number. However, the number of different grammatical terms does not generally increase markedly from one year group or learning stage to the

next, apart from, in the case of the SELLIPs, from Foundation stage to Stage 1. Overall, the number of different grammatical terms varies from two (at Foundation stage of SELLIPS) to 59 (Stages 1 and 2 of ELIP).
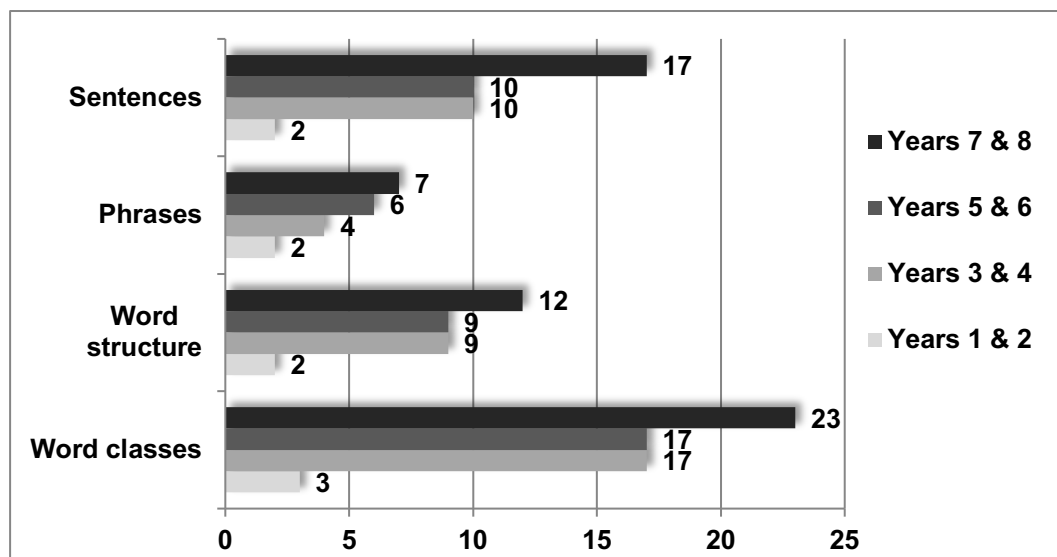
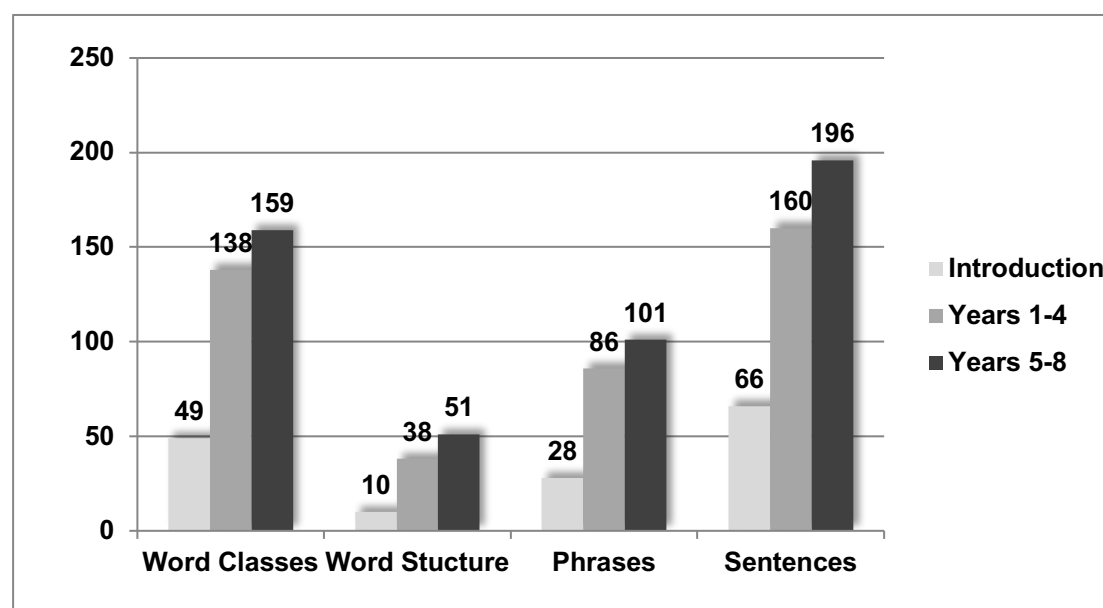*Figure 5*: Number and Type of Different Grammatical Terms, by Year Group: ELLP
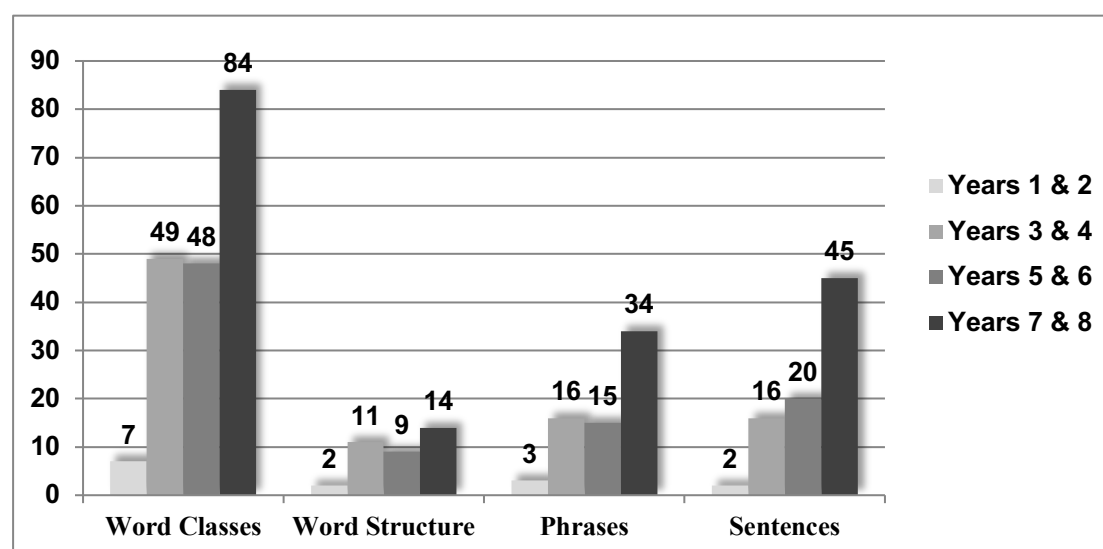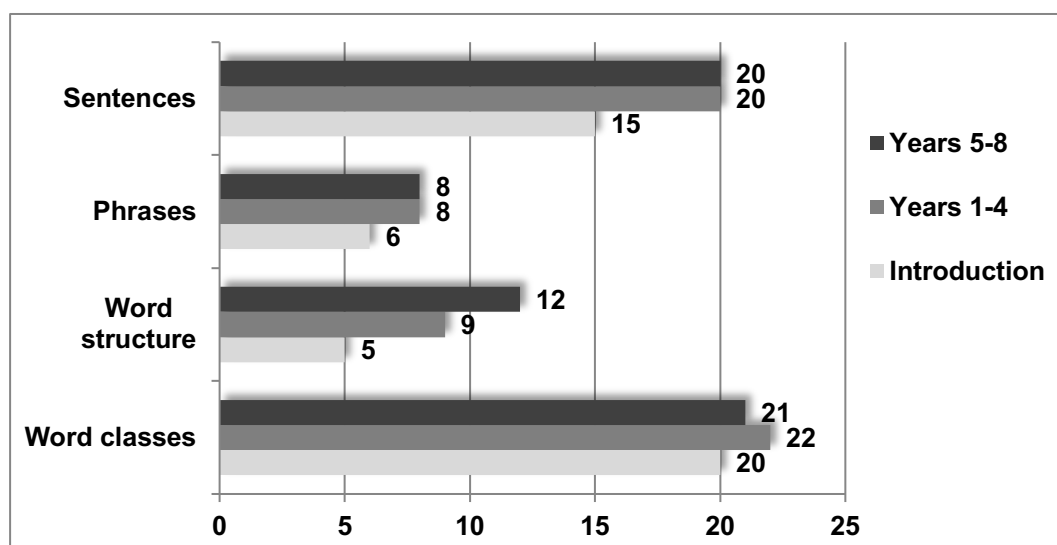

Figure 6: Number and Type of Different Grammatical Terms, by Year Group: SELLIPS
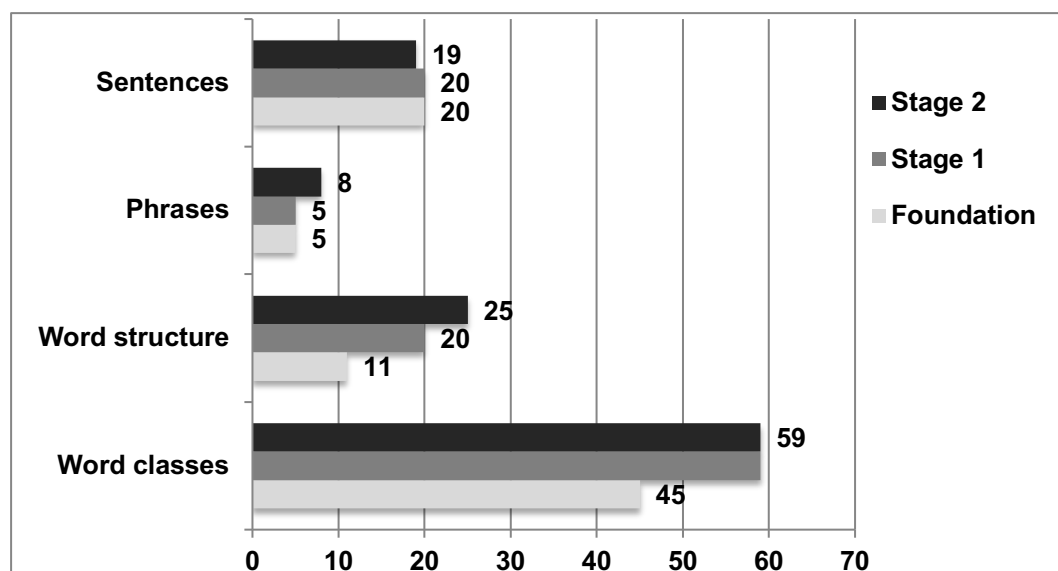
Figure 7: Number and Type of Different Grammatical Terms, by Language Learning Stage: ELIP

Most frequently occurring grammatical terms

Table 1 below shows the ten most frequently occurring grammatical terms in each document. Although there are commonalities across all three documents (nouns, pronouns, verbs), each document also appears to have its own set of grammatical terminology. For example, the three main types of sentences – simple, compound, and complex, are all among the ten most frequent items in the ELLP document, but sentences of any kind are not among the ten most frequent terms in the ELIP document, and only simple sentences are among the SELLIPS 'top ten'. Similarly, phrases in general and noun phrases are included in the ten most frequent terms in the ELLP, but adverbial phrases are not. However, both ELIP and SELLIPS include adverbial phrases in their 'top ten'.

Table 1: The ten most frequently occurring grammatical terms in three documents

Rank	ELLP	No.	SELLIPS	No.	ELIP	No.
1	nouns	69	nouns	32	noun phrases	109
2	simple sentences	61	adjectives	26	nouns	90
3	phrases	54	pronouns	24	adjectives	64
4	verbs	53	action verbs	21	verbs	64
5	compound sentences	49	adverbial phrases	19	adverbial phrases	61
6	noun phrases	38	'wh' questions	18	modals	56
7	verb phrases	38	articles	16	adverbs	55
8	complex sentences	36	present tense	13	conjunctions	52
9	articles	27	prepositions	13	simple sentences	51
10	pronouns	27	definite articles	10	pronouns	51

Additional findings

While the initial recording and grouping was being carried out, two additional findings surfaced. These were the lack of readily available information about grammatical terms in the documents, and the use of different terminology across the documents.

a) Lack of grammatical information in the documents

If teachers' grammatical content knowledge is minimal or lacking in some areas, they might hope to see at least a glossary of terms included in a document. However, only the ELLP has a glossary. The SELLIPS document advises teachers: "For definitions of the linguistic terms used … refer to the Ministry of Education handbook for teachers *Exploring Language* (1996)" (Ministry of Education, 2009b, p. 6), while the ELIP document states that "a select list of helpful grammar texts can be found on ESOL On-line" (Ministry of Education, 2008a, p.5).

In order to carry out a quick test of whether these recommended sources might prove helpful to teachers, the author searched in two of them for definitions and/or examples of the term "adverbial phrase". This term was chosen because, although the author's intuition was that it would be a fairly low-frequency term, it appeared as one of the ten most frequently occurring items in the SELLIPS and ELIP documents, and although not in the 'top ten', occurred 18 times in the ELLP. As seen in Table 2 below, the definitions, as well as the examples, are not consistent.

Table 2: Definitions and examples of "Adverbial phrase" in different sources

Sources	Definitions	Examples
ELLP Glossary (n=18)	A group of words functioning as an adverb in a sentence.	e.g. I'm going to the shop to buy a drink.
SELLIPS (n=19)	Definition not provided, but examples are highlighted.	e.g. The small snail crawls onto the leaf.
ELIP (n=61)	Definition not provided, but examples are highlighted.	e.g. on the beach
Ministry of Education, (1996, p. 70)	Just as an adjective can have accompanying modifiers, so an adverb can also.	e.g. She smiled at him very sweetly.
Derewianka, (1998, p. 74)	Adverbial phrases are expressed by a group of words generally beginning with a preposition.	e.g. near the house

b) Use of different terminology

A further finding was that different terminology is sometimes used to refer to what seems to be the same grammatical form. Table 3 below shows two examples of this, from the ELIP and SELLIPS documents. In the first row the terms 'possessive pronoun' and 'possessive adjective' are both used for the words 'my', 'your', 'his' etc., used before a noun. In the second row, the terms 'detailed noun phrase' and 'expanded noun phrase' are used for what are the same structure – determiners, adjectives or nouns preceding a noun. Other differences were also noted. This could potentially cause confusion and add unnecessary time for teachers seeking to clarify their understanding of grammatical terminology.

Table 3: Examples of the use of different grammatical terminology

ELIP	ELLP
Possessive pronouns e.g. *my* name, *your* name (Foundation, p. 2b)	**Possessive adjective:** a word that occurs before a noun and indicates the possession of this noun – "*his*", "*her*", "*their*", "*your*", "*our*" (Glossary, p. 68)
Use of **detailed noun groups** to build up the description e.g. *front right hand corner* (Stage 2 Writing, p. 19c)	The writer uses some e**xpanded noun phrases** – *big stong hen; the old cane; littel chics* [sic]. (Years 1-4, p. 61)

Discussion and Conclusions

The findings of the study firstly reveal that there are differing amounts of grammatical terminology in each of the documents studied, with one containing a relatively small amount (SELLIPS, with 375 terms), one quite a large amount (ELIP, with 2,188 terms), and one between these two (ELLP, with 1,082 terms). Similarly, the density of grammatical items varies, following the same pattern as the total number of items, ranging from 1.9 terms per page (SELLIPS), through 5.4 (ELLP) to 11.4 (ELIP).

These differences could well be explained by the fact that each document has a different purpose and different content. The SELLIPS document, with the lowest number and density of grammatical terms, is organized according to language functions as well as by year group, stages of the ELLP, and language skills. For each function, stage, and skill, explicit links are provided to subject areas of the mainstream curriculum, and suggestions are provided "for developing students' academic, cross-curricular English language in both mainstream and transitional classes" (Ministry of Education, 2009b, p. 2). The purpose of the ELLP, the 'middle' document in terms of number and density of grammatical items, is to describe the stages of Oral Language, Reading, and Writing which ELLs pass through as they become proficient in English. It provides examples of appropriate reading texts and their features, and an analysis of texts written by learners for each stage. The ELIP document, with the highest number and density of grammatical items, consists in large part of descriptions of different types of spoken and written texts which are deemed to be typical of, or suitable for, each stage of the English Language Learning Progressions (ELLP). A key feature of the resource is the 'Grammar Scope', in which numerous examples from the text are grammatically labeled.

The second finding is that word classes and sentences are the two most frequently occurring categories of grammatical terminology in all three documents. Terms related to word structure and to phrases were less frequently occurring. In providing this ranking, the resources suggest that teachers' grammatical content knowledge should prioritise word classes and sentences. There are also implications for teacher educators and those who support mainstream teachers working with ELLs – it would be wise to ensure that teachers have explicit, declarative knowledge of at least word classes and sentence types. However, the findings show that word structure and phrases also need to be part of a teacher's grammatical content knowledge.

A further finding is that certain grammatical terms appear more frequently in all three documents, as seen in Table 1 above. Further analysis shows that the most frequently occurring terms relate to 'word classes', with terms in this category appearing 17 times, which is consistent with the finding for the total number of grammatical terms. Again, this implies that teacher grammatical knowledge should include at least an understanding of word classes.

Finally, it is apparent that there is a lack of grammatical information for teachers in the documents, and other recommended sources of information may not provide consistent definitions or examples.

The reasons for the first are not known, but the difference in sources may be due to the approach to grammar taken by different authors. Derewianka and Jones (2012, p. 15) outline key differences between 'traditional' and 'functional' approaches to grammar, which may underlie the differing information seen.

In conclusion, the study has shown that mainstream teachers need a fairly substantial amount of grammatical content knowledge in order to effectively use the documents. A further conclusion is that the documents do not seem to provide teachers with adequate or, in some cases, accurate, information about grammatical terms used.

Limitations

One limitation of the study is the likelihood of some human error in recording the numbers of grammatical references in the documents. The decision to allocate grammatical terms to one or other category may also have been done differently. For example, references to 'passive constructions' were allocated to 'sentences' although this might also have been allocated to 'word structure', as passive voice involves a change in the verb form. A further limitation is that only the ten most frequent items were calculated; a more detailed ranking, perhaps of the 20 most frequently occurring items, would provide more comprehensive information about priorities for teachers. However, teachers who wish to check whether their grammatical content knowledge is adequate for using the three documents would probably do well to start with the terms included in Table 1.

Further research and recommendations

Although previous New Zealand research has shown that teachers' grammatical content knowledge may be lacking, it would be useful to confirm this in relation to the most frequently occurring terms in the documents studied, with larger numbers of teachers. A further area for research is investigating effective ways for teachers to develop their grammatical content knowledge, for example, through using or teaching grammatical terms and/or concepts in the classroom, or through professional development.

It would also be useful to provide teachers in New Zealand primary schools with a comprehensive glossary of terms, with examples, which would take into account the differing approaches to grammar noted above. Its aim would be to promote a common metalanguage and develop a common understanding among teachers of the grammatical terms used in the documents. Other materials or professional development opportunities could be provided for teachers to develop their grammatical content knowledge in the context of texts which they use in their teaching.

A final recommendation is to include 'Educational Linguistics', (Fillmore & Snow, 2000), in all teacher education programmes i.e. "how to design the classroom language environment so as to optimize language and literacy learning and to avoid linguistic obstacles to content area learning" (p. 7). This would help mainstream teachers to develop the grammatical content knowledge they will need to effectively support the ELLs in their classrooms.

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THE ROLE OF ARTEFACTS AND GESTURES IN CLIL LESSONS

Zehra Gabillon and Rodica Ailincai
University of French Polynesia

Abstract
This classroom-based study, which took place in a French Polynesian primary school context, highlights the role played by social artefacts in the quality of dialogic exchanges and mediation of learning in beginner level young foreign language learners in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) classes. The CLIL experience described in this study is based on a sociocultural framework and the principles of the Action-Oriented approach (AOA). The study employed classroom observations and video recordings to gather data, which were then analysed qualitatively using discourse analysis. The discourse was split into meaningful segments and studied by focusing on the role social artefacts and gestures played during dialogic exchanges. The analysed data indicated that socially-mediated activity designs which enable the use of artefacts and gestures facilitate the mediation of learning, extend dialogic exchanges and improve the communicative quality of classroom interactions.

Introduction
This study attempts to highlight how artefacts and gestures (hereafter A&G) could extend dialogic exchanges and improve the fluency and communicative quality of classroom interactions of beginner level young foreign language learners in Content and Language Integrated Learning (hereafter CLIL) classes. This classroom-based research study took place in Tahiti, French Polynesia. The participants of the study were primary school children from nine to ten years of age whose native language (L1) was French. French Polynesian primary schools implement the French National Curriculum with some adjustments to adapt for local needs and French is the medium of school instruction. In French Polynesian primary schools, English as a Foreign Language was first introduced in 2006 as a pilot project, and it was progressively extended to all French Polynesian elementary schools. The CLIL experience that we describe in this paper is one of a number of multilingual learning projects that are part of the French Polynesian primary school context.

Theoretical Stance and Literature Review
The CLIL experience described in this study is based on the principles of Action-Oriented Learning (AOL) and a sociocultural framework. Within this sociocultural perspective, activity theory (Leontiev, 1974, 1978), as an extension of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory (Vygotsky 1978), provides a coherent framework for understanding the role A&G play in CLIL activities.

CLIL is a dual-focused educational approach that uses a foreign, regional or local language or another official state language to teach a school subject. The objectives of CLIL are both to develop language skills and build disciplinary content knowledge. The term CLIL was first introduced to educational literature with the bilingual/multilingual education movement prompted by the European Commission in the late '90s. The 1990s were a period when multilingualism and language education became a key issue in improving communication among European Union (EU) states (European Commission 1995, 2003, 2008; Eurydice Network 2006).

Teaching school subject content through the medium of a foreign/second language is not a new approach. CLIL shares similarities with other bilingual education approaches such as

content-based instruction (CBI) and immersion programs (French immersion) which are widely used in North American contexts. The success of integrating language and content teaching has been empirically supported by research (Cummins & Swain, 1986; Stoller, 2008; Stryker & Leaver, 1997). The reports of these positive results on bilingual education have affected CLIL practices positively. Thus, for the last decade, CLIL research and practices have been on the rise not only in Europe but also in other continents (Admiraal at al., 2006; Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Lasagabaster, 2008; Lasagabaster & De Zarobe, 2010; Turner, 2013). Although the CLIL approach is gaining popularity, it does not yet offer a comprehensive educational model based on a robust theoretical frame. Most of the CLIL practices are based on educational policies, pragmatic pedagogies, and curricular guidelines (Dalton-Puffer, 2011).

CLIL also shares some of the principles of the Action-Based Learning (ABL) approach. ABL is an approach recommended by European Council publications, more specifically by the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for Languages, which is a reference text for foreign language teaching in a European context (Council of Europe, 2001). This approach views language learning as a situated activity and places the learner at the centre of the learning process. This means that the learner is viewed as an active agent in a socioculturally mediated activity. The action-based approach is also related to other approaches, such as content-based and task-based instruction (Adler & Milne, 1997; Lier, 2007).

Since the 1990s there has been an increasing interest in applying sociocultural theories to L2 learning. Theorists who employ a sociocultural stance regard language learning principally in social terms (Lantolf, 2002, 2006). The key idea of sociocultural theory (SCT) is "…the centrality of language as a 'tool for thought' or means of mediation, in mental activity..." (Mitchell & Myles, 2004, p.194). From this stance, learning is viewed as a socially mediated activity that is contingent on face-to-face interaction and joint attention (*ibid*.). According to Vygotsky, knowledge is first constructed on social planes through collaborative interaction, and then it is appropriated on personal planes. Vygotsky (1978) proposed that engaging in full social interaction with more experienced others (such as parents, teachers, and peers) enables the child to construct knowledge that s/he is not capable of doing alone. To explain this phenomenon Vygotsky introduced the concept of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). ZPD refers to the difference between what a learner is capable of doing without guidance and what s/he is capable of doing with guidance.

Within this sociocultural perspective, the process of supportive dialogue, which directs the others' (learners' or peers') attention to the key features of learning using successive steps, is known as scaffolding. Scaffolding in language learning helps learners to notice crucial language input. The term was first introduced to educational literature by Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976) and later developed by Bruner (1978) as an extension of Vygotsky's concepts of ZPD and social mediation.

Mitchell and Myles explained the ZPD as the domain of knowledge or skill in which the learner cannot function independently, and could only achieve the desired outcome if s/he receives scaffolded help. In the schematic representation of ZPD shown in Figure 1 we present a schematic representation of the notion of ZPD that we applied to a formal educational context.
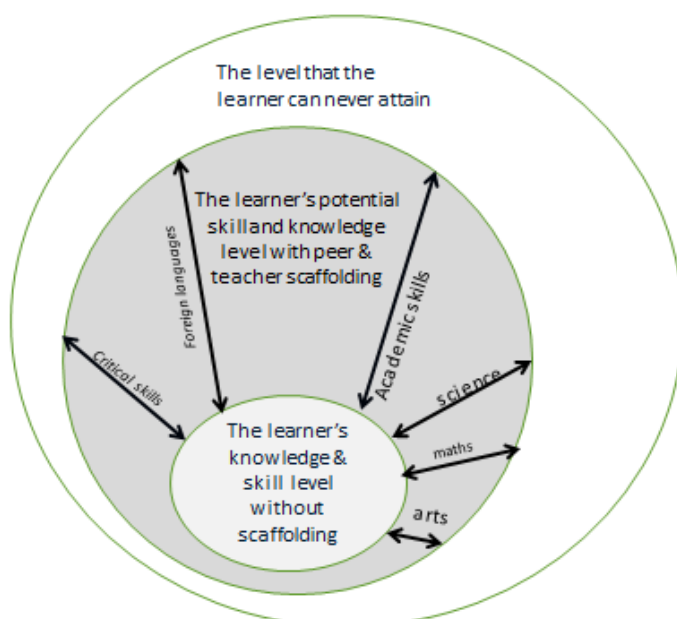
Figure 1: A schematic representation of the notion of zone of proximal development (ZPD) in an educational context

The amount of help each learner needs may vary depending on the domain. In some content or language areas, some learners may need more scaffolded help than others. That is to say, a learner may need little scaffolding in a foreign language class whereas the same learner may need a lot more scaffolding in a science class and it can be vice versa for another student (Gabillon & Ailincai, 2013). The difference between learners could be used in an efficient way by involving more competent learners in the scaffolding process. Classroom activities which enable collaborative exchange in classroom settings may allow learners to provide this help in a natural way. SCT views human made material and symbolic objects as artefacts. According to Swain, Kinnear and Steinman (2011) all artefacts, whether material (e.g. table, pencil, books) or symbolic (e.g. language, concepts, belief systems) have the potential to become mediating means. Activity Theory (AT) (Leontiev, 1974, 1978; Engeström, 1987), which is an extension of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, provides a robust theoretical framework for researchers who seek to understand how artefacts mediate learning. Swain et al (2011) maintain that individuals interact with the symbolic and material world around them, and that all forms of mental activity are mediated by these artefacts.

The Study

Our study consists of several stages of work. Prior to the present study, between 2012 and 2013 we did preliminary research on CLIL. The aim of this experimental study was to investigate if CLIL was possible with breakthrough (beginner) level young learners through irregular 30-minute CLIL lessons. The results we obtained from this preliminary work suggested that CLIL is possible with young beginner level foreign language learners but requires a rich extra-linguistic context and socially mediated activity designs (Gabillon & Ailincai, 2013). Following the results obtained from this preliminary work we designed a research activity to observe the role played by A&G in CLIL classes with beginner level learners, which we will describe in this paper.

The study described in this paper took place from 2012 to 2014 in two elementary state schools in Tahiti. The participants were nine to ten year-old elementary school children with breakthrough level English. The learners had a maximum of two years' English language learning experience and participated in science lab experiments which were carried out through the medium of English. A total of 30 children participated in our study. The study was carried out with the participation of two primary school teachers and two lecturers from the University of French Polynesia: an assistant professor who specialises in foreign language and second language acquisition and an associate professor in Education. For this study we observed three science lab lessons. These CLIL lessons used English as a medium for instruction. The lessons lasted between 25-30 minutes each and they were in the form of a group activity that involved nine to eleven children in each group.

In our study we viewed classroom actions as social activity where learning is mediated by collaborative dialogue (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: The activity design used in our CLIL lessons

Thus, we conceived CLIL lessons that employed socially-mediated activity designs to facilitate collaborative dialogue and to enable learning through joint attention. The aim of the collaborative dialogue was to provide learners with mediation (teacher and peer) to support both language development and disciplinary content learning. The science experiment activities aimed at creating a naturalistic learning setting and had recourse to a variety of sensory input (e.g. seeing, touching, smelling etc.). The activities also emphasised providing learners with experiential learning and hands-on experience to help them make meaning from direct experience. The CLIL teachers used simplified language forms and vocabulary and they had recourse to A&G to scaffold learning. In our study we considered A&G as one variable. Most of the time A&G were used together and separate analysis seemed difficult to carry out.

As mentioned earlier, our previous CLIL experiences indicated a mediating effect of A&G on learning. Thus in this study we decided to shift our focus of observation and analysis to the

use of A&G. Our foremost aim was to observe the role played by A&G during dialogic exchanges. The aims of this study can be summarised as follows:

a) How did A&G mediate learning?
b) How did the use of A&G influence dialogic exchanges?

In CLIL classes, especially with young learners who have little foreign language experience, the teachers need to make linguistic modification to keep learners interested and to help them understand content related notions. The primary objective of a CLIL lesson is to carry out meaningful interaction through which learners can learn new notions. The focus in a CLIL lesson may alternate between content learning and target language use at different moments of the lesson. This constant shift on emphasis may affect the amount of attention the teacher pays to the linguistic adjustments. Using artefacts and gestures can provide the teacher with a tool to make up for the learners' insufficient language competence to scaffold learning new concepts.

Methodology

In our study, we used discourse analysis to examine the data obtained from the CLIL classes we observed. Today face-to-face classroom interaction is viewed as a pivotal element of knowledge construction and classroom dynamics. Discourse analysis has been exponentially applied to the analysis of classroom exchanges to further the understanding of student learning and the role of dialogic exchanges in classroom settings. The corpus for this study was collected from three identical 25-to-30 minute CLIL lessons from three different groups of learners. Video recordings were used to obtain data and lessons were recorded in their entirety. The fact that the group sizes were small (nine to eleven pupils in each), allowed the researchers to have an uninterrupted view of each learner and record not only the linguistic data but also the nonverbal elements, (e.g. use of A&G, and facial expressions) of the phenomena observed. The videotaped data were then transcribed and the transcribed data were analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively using descriptive statistics.

The analysis procedure consisted of a series of stages involving different qualitative data processing techniques. First, the transcribed data were examined and re-examined to look for patterns and links within and across utterances in order to understand how, how often and why A&G were used and the consequences they produced. The steps that we used during our data analysis procedure can be summarised as follows:

1. During the conceptualisation stage after careful assessment of the transcribed data, we observed some patterns and links between the use of A&G, knowledge-building and knowledge/information-sharing processes.
2. After the identification of persisting patterns, we coded the data into categories. In these categories, we looked at the occurrences of A&G, how they were used and the effects they produced.
3. Then we split the data into smaller, manageable, meaningful segments in order to be able to explain the phenomenon in a more methodical way. We defined the boundaries of discourse segments through identification of an opening move, which marked the beginning of a topic or a new action, and through identification of a framing move, which indicated the end of an exchange.
4. We re-grouped and labelled the data segments utilising a conversation analysis model similar to the one offered by Kerbrat-Oreccioni (1998). Although the analysis model proposed by Kerbrat-Oreccioni views conversation analysis as probing only linguistic

components, the analysis model that we employed also integrated extra linguistic elements such as A&G. After splitting and re-grouping the data, we labelled the data segments using the following categories:

a) *Limited exchange (LE)*: This is a short exchange of a maximum of two moves that contains either two verbal interventions, or a verbal and a non-verbal intervention, which indicates that the message has been understood and the learner is responding to it.

b) *Truncated Exchange (TE)*: This type of exchange demonstrates that the learner has not understood the message and is unable to respond. A truncated exchange consists of an opening move and a failed move which results in closure of the exchange.

c) *Re-launched Exchange (RE):* This sort of exchange describes an exchange type that attempts to restart a truncated exchange.

d) *Truncated-Re-launched-Failed Exchange (T-R-FE):* Describes an exchange type which fails after an attempt to re-launch a truncated exchange.

e) *Extended Exchange (EE)*: An exchange type that contains more than two learner moves on the same topic which indicates that the interlocutors are able to communicate on the subject.

f) *Truncated-Re-launched-Extended Exchange* (**T-R-EE**): describes an extended exchange type which is successfully re-launched after it is truncated.

5. Paul Grice's (1975) conversational maxims were also applied to evaluate conversational quality of the exchanges:

a) *The Maxim of Quantity*: Giving only the necessary amount of information - not too much or too little.

b) *The Maxim of Quality*: Only speaking the truth- not knowingly giving false information.

c) *The Maxim of Relation*: Being relevant to the current topic of conversation.

d) *The Maxim of Manner*: Avoiding ambiguity or obscurity in your speech.

Analysis and discussion

The analysis of the corpus we gathered indicated that A&G helped classroom exchanges to continue without a break and added a communicative quality to the dialogic exchanges. Almost all of the exchanges we analysed corresponded to the maxims proposed by Grice et al (1975). Due to space limitations, in this paper we can provide only a few of the analysed discourse segments, as examples.

Extract 1 illustrates how using A&G (by both the learners and the teacher) mediated learning, contributed to carrying out of tasks and extended the exchange.
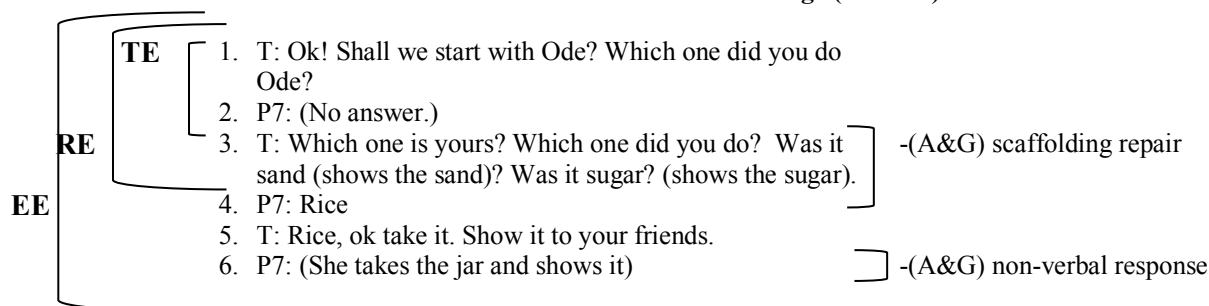
Extract 1

<div align="center">

Extended Exchange (EE)

</div>

EE

1.	T: Ok. Do the experiment again (passes the jar to P5). Take some soap. Put it in water.	-(A&G) scaffolding during instruction giving
2.	P5: (Takes a jar and puts some powdered soap in it)	-(A&G) non-verbal response
3.	T: Stir it… (shows it), stir it very well……	- (A&G) scaffolding during instruction giving
4.	T: Oh we can see bubbles (Children laugh).	
5.	T: What do you think? Is soap soluble or insoluble?(shows the jar)	-(A&G) comprehension check
6.	P5: (Stirs) soluble. (Holds the jar up).	-(A&G) responding
7.	T: Why?	-(A&G) scaffolding during explanation giving
8.	P5: We can't see it here (shows the bottom of the jar). We can't see it here (shows the middle of the jar).	
9.	T: (Laughs) we don't see it anywhere. Look at it. (shows the jar) Can you see any soap?	- (A&G) scaffolding during clarification request
10.	P4: Yes, soluble.	
11.	T: OK? (Hand gestures to invite children to talk).	-(A&G) scaffolding during elicitation
12.	Ps: Soap is soluble in water.	
13.	T: Thank you very much.	
14.	Ps: You're welcome.	

Note. T=Teacher, P5= Pupil 5, Ps=: Pupils, EE= Extended Exchange, A&G= artefacts and gestures.

In Extract 1 above we observe A&G mediated collaborative exchange through providing scaffolding during the moments of instruction giving (moves 1&3) and comprehension checks (move 5). This particular extract also illustrates how learners utilised A&G to provide scaffolding during their explanations to clarify and justify the meaning of their utterances (move 8). Explanations given by the learner in move 8 could probably not have been possible without the use of the artefacts available within the vicinity of the learner. All of the moves in this extract conform to the maxims proposed by Grice (1975).

Extract 2 below has a clear pattern where a teacher is encouraging a shy learner to take part in a classroom activity. This short exchange is a good example to illustrate how a Truncated Exchange (TE) could be extended using A&G. In this particular example the learner was unable to respond to the teacher's question because of a language structure which the pupil apparently had difficulty understanding. The teacher re-launched the exchange by modifying her language and supporting the linguistic modification with the use of A&G (move 3). The videotaped data clearly illustrated that the teacher's instant recourse to the objects and gestures contributed to the learner's comprehension and the natural flow of the dialogic exchange. The time interval between the teacher and the learner's moves was natural and the learner's reaction was free from any frustration. Although the exchange was short and the linguistic content (lexical and grammatical) modest, the exchange was linguistically appropriate and corresponds to the maxims of a social interaction. This simple exchange illustrates how the robust pragmatic dimension of an exchange could make up for linguistic simplicity. The situation was appropriate for the use of short language forms and pragmatic strategies both functional and interactional.

Extract 2

<div align="center">

Truncated-Re-launched-Extended Exchange (T-R-EE)

</div>

```
      ┌────────────────┐
      │          ┌ 1. T: Ok! Shall we start with Ode? Which one did you do
      │     TE   │       Ode?
      │          └ 2. P7: (No answer.)
      │  RE        3. T: Which one is yours? Which one did you do?  Was it  ┐ -(A&G) scaffolding repair
      │              sand (shows the sand)? Was it sugar? (shows the sugar). │
 EE   │            4. P7: Rice                                             ┘
      │            5. T: Rice, ok take it. Show it to your friends.
      │            6. P7: (She takes the jar and shows it)          ┐ -(A&G) non-verbal response
      └────────────────┘                                           ┘
```

Note. T=Teacher, P7=Pupil 7, TE=Truncated Exchange, RE=Re-Launched Exchange, EE=
Extended Exchange, A&G= artefacts and gestures.

Next, Extract 3 exemplifies how the teacher used supportive dialogue to direct the learners'
attention to the key concepts of learning using A&G in successive steps. In this particular
exchange, the teacher used A&G to mediate student learning and to encourage learner
participation while clarifying the 'solubility' concept. Although the exchange had non-verbal
elements and one-word utterances, evaluation of the discourse using Grice's maxims
illustrated that the exchange complies perfectly well with the cooperative principles of an
exchange.

Extract 3

<div align="center">

Extended Exchange (EE)

</div>

EE 1. T: we'll mix them (with water) and you'll tell me if they are soluble or insoluble. Now look at me. (takes a spoon), (takes some sugar)....(invites Ps with a hand gesture to talk)	-(A&G) scaffolding during elicitation
2. Ps: sugar	
3. T: and then I put it in a ...(touches the jar)	-(A&G) scaffolding during elicitation
4. Ps: jar	
5. T: Look! Can you see any sugar? (Points the bottom of the jar).	-(A&G) scaffolding during concept building
6. Ps: (some Ps) Yes-- (some Ps) Yes, I do. (some Ps) nod	
7. T: Now I... stir it (demonstrates it). Stir it.....stir it.....stir it...(Teacher's repetition of the word 'stir' makes children laugh) .	-(A&G) scaffolding during instruction giving
8. T: Where's the sugar? Can you see it? (shows the jar)	-(A&G) scaffolding during elicitation/concept building
9. Ps: No	
10. T: it is ... Sugar is ...	
11. Ps: Soluble	
12. T: in ...(points at the jar)	-(A&G) scaffolding during elicitation
13. Ps: water.	
14. T: Sugar is soluble in water. Good.	

Note. T=Teacher, Ps=Pupils, EE= Extended Exchange, A&G= artefacts and gestures.

Results

The overall results obtained from this CLIL research data indicated that the activity design that we used contributed to fostering meaningful use of A&G, which in return: a) provided scaffolding for learning, b) extended dialogical exchanges, and c) contributed to the amelioration of communicative quality and the fluency of the dialogic classroom exchanges.

A post task discussion with the learners in their mother tongue plainly indicated that the learners understood the scientific concepts conveyed through collaborative exchanges, regardless of their breakthrough level English. The classroom tasks were executed almost without any need for recourse to the learners' mother tongue (four moves in single word translations) and this gap was filled with the extensive use of A&G. Our overall data analysis has demonstrated that 58% of the collaborative dialogue (478 moves) in three CLIL lessons observed was in the form of EE (see Figure 3). Whenever there was a communication break the exchange was re-launched through use of the objects within the vicinity and through the wide use of extra-linguistic elements such as gestures. The analysis of the data clearly indicated that without the use of A&G, the majority of the exchanges would have been truncated exchanges with constant communication breaks. Although the learners' target language level was very low, the activities were carried out via natural dialogic exchanges and new concepts were constructed by using successive scaffolding with an extensive support bestowed by A&G.

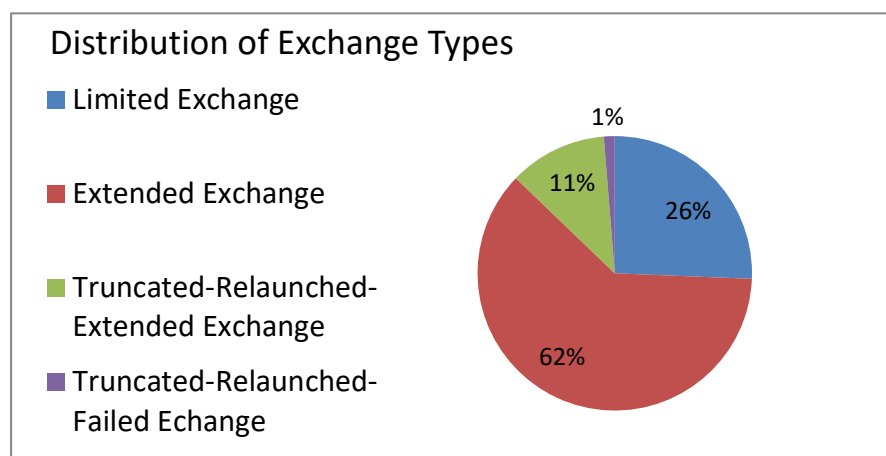*Figure 3:* Learners' use of A&G to scaffold dialogic exchanges in CLIL classrooms

Figure 4 below illustrates how the learners (n 30) used A&G during the dialogic exchanges in the four sessions which we observed. Close data analysis indicated that the fact the learners were surrounded by artefacts during the science experiment provided them with rich and easily accessible scaffolding opportunities.
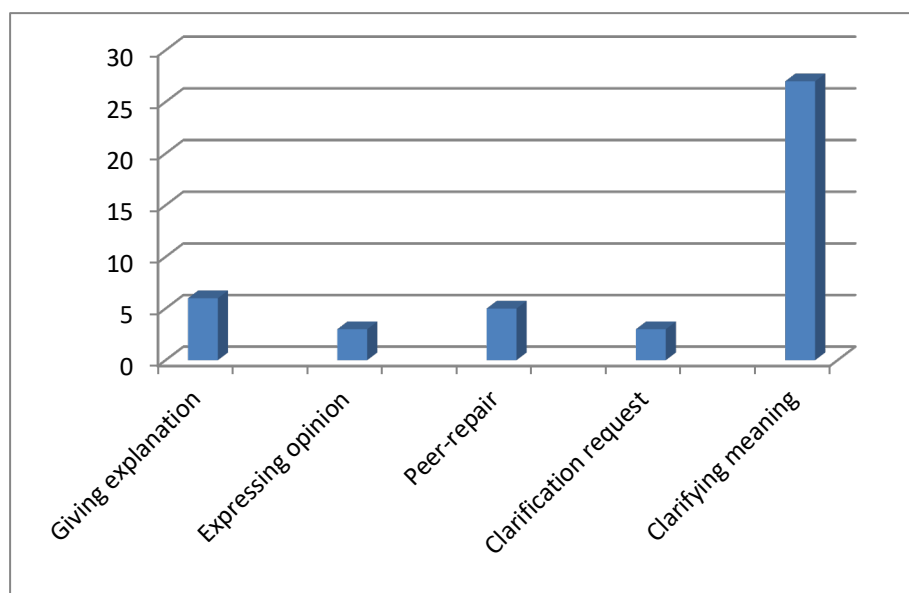
Figure 4: Learners' use of A&G to mediate dialogic exchanges

In some cases, although the learners did not have the necessary language skills, they were able to respond to the demands of the exchange by just giving a non-verbal response, such as demonstrating with the use of the artefacts (e.g. filling the jar when required following teachers' instructions and mixing ingredients), or just pointing, and nodding. They also answered the demands of the interactions by using A&G to support their language in situations where complex structures which the learner had not yet mastered were required (e.g. "bubbles here…" "…look not clear"). The discourse analysis that we carried out indicated that in the majority of cases, the learners had recourse to A&G to make their meanings clear. Figure 5 below provides an overall view of the teachers' use of A&G during dialogic exchanges, which took place during the CLIL lessons we observed. The data indicated that in most of the cases A&G were used as a scaffolding tool to help the teacher elicit learner responses, to give instructions and to build new concepts.
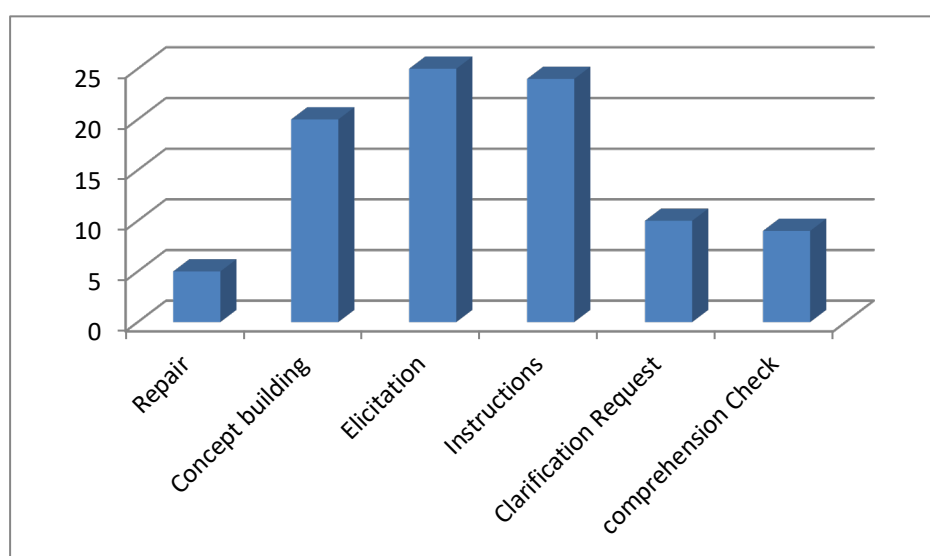

Figure 5: Teachers' use of A&G to mediate dialogic exchanges and learning in CLIL classrooms

Conclusion and Future Research Directions

The results we obtained via this research study clearly indicated that the use of A&G can extend dialogic exchanges and improve the communicative quality of classroom interactions.

In this particular research study, we were limited to two elementary schools. In our future research projects, we intend to investigate this phenomenon on a broader scale through gathering larger CLIL data from different Polynesian elementary schools. Starting from January 2015 the CLIL project will become a constituent of a larger project, which will investigate multilingual practices within the French Polynesian primary school context. The project will involve the ensemble of French Polynesian primary schools in five archipelagos that span an area as large as Europe. This project is financed by the *Ministere des Outre-Mers* (MOM), which is a French administrative department responsible for coordinating government actions in the overseas territories. Our part in this research project consists in building a corpus from CLIL practices and regular English classrooms from different elementary school classes. This corpus will later be analysed and used to inform our future projects. We intend to employ the data obtained via this research project to carry out comprehensive analysis methods to better understand the foreign language teaching practices in the French Polynesian context. We also intend to share the classroom implications of these experiences during pre-service and in-service education programmes.

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E-LEARNING ENGLISH: BRINGING THE BATON TO THE DOORSTEP

Helen Otto
Wintec

Abstract

A new learning space was created for 40 Malay residents from a disadvantaged community. For three months the residents attended English language lessons in a 40-foot air-conditioned container in their community's playground. Blended, place-based delivery enabled the learners with varying English competencies, from a range of ages and ethnicities, to attend the lessons.

The programme evolved from the cooperation of organisations and government agencies in Malaysia and New Zealand. The communicative face-to-face and task-based online lesson content was developed and administered in New Zealand and delivered by teachers under direction in Malaysia. The Special Innovation Unit (UNIK), an agency of the Malaysian government, identified the recipient community for the pilot programme. Then, through a consultative process of 'walking, working and winning' with the community and its leaders, while also combining resources and expertise with practicality, resourcefulness and creativity, a successful model for delivering an English language programme evolved.

Introduction

This paper focuses on how a new English language learning space was created for 40 Malay residents from a disadvantaged community. It consists of several parts: background information on how the programme was developed, an overview of its delivery in Malaysia, and, finally, some observations and reported outcomes. The intention is to demonstrate how, through consultation with the community and community leaders, along with the interconnectivity of a group of educationally-focussed organisations and government agencies, a cost-effective, optimal learning opportunity can be established.

Background information

The author of this paper is associated with LearningWorks, WINTEC, an educational institution based in New Zealand which develops teaching and learning solutions for online and classroom delivery. The team of content writers works with a range of global organisations to improve learners' English competency, through the integration of online and face-to-face delivery of vocational and staff training, classroom learning, and community literacy and language programmes. This paper outlines and reports on the processes and outcomes of delivering a 'blended face-to-face and web-based General English' course to a disadvantaged community in Malaysia. The delivery took place in the community's own environment, and incorporated elements of both blended and place-based instructional methods. The rationale of the Malaysian government agency for initiating the course was to improve the life and living spaces of low-income families in the community. Using a framework of reference for a dynamic research approach of 'walk, work and win' to work along with urban poor, the Malaysian government agency, UNIK, identified the need for the English programme and laid the foundations for realising its delivery.

Programme development and theoretical framework

Blended delivery
Blended delivery and the networking of computer systems, educators, trainers and learners provide greater opportunities for learners, teachers, institutions, corporates and communities alike. The use of technology has enriched English language learning opportunities for learners, and provided interesting variations on traditionally-accepted educational perspectives. Content can be delivered face-to-face, online or in blended form to individuals or to a group community. LearningWorks, WINTEC, by providing offshore training sessions to tutors, is delivering worldwide, place-based learning opportunities.

Place-based education
'Place-based education' and 'place-conscious education' is linked to the work of Gruenewald and Smith (2008) who argue that by drawing on local experiences as a source of student learning, education that is conscious of local places enables learners to be inducted into the 'knowledge and patterns of behaviour associated with responsible community engagement'(Gruenewald and Smith, 2008, p. xvi).

However, setting up a partnership between an educational advisor, an educational institution and a government agency can be time-consuming. Initiating a tripartite relationship such as that developed between New Zealand and Malaysia required investing time and effort.

A network creation process
The connectivist view (Siemens, 2005) that learning is a network creation process significantly impacts how we design and develop learning within educational institutions, corporations and communities. With the act of learning being seen as a function under the control of the learner, designers and teachers need to provide the ideal environment to allow learning to occur. Yet, when designing a course for distance delivery, there is not only the learner to consider. There are also cultural, political, commercial and community constraints.

Course design
In developing the course, the principles of sound language curriculum design were integrated into both the face-to-face and online content. Throughout the General English course, language is frequently recycled. The content development team followed the 10 principles for developing language courses recommended by Rod Ellis (2003):
1. Ensure learners develop a rich repertoire of formulaic expressions and rule-based competence.
2. Focus predominantly on meaning.
3. Also focus on form.
4. Develop implicit knowledge without neglecting explicit knowledge.
5. Take into account the learners' 'built-in-syllabus'.
6. Require extensive L2 input.
7. Also require opportunities for output.
8. Interact in L2 as a means of developing proficiency.
9. Take into account individual learning styles.
10. Assess free, as well as controlled production.

The course is also based on the six principles for intercultural communicative language teaching identified by the New Zealand Ministry of Education report (2012). Namely, the course:

1. Integrates language and culture from the beginning.
2. Engages learners in genuine interaction.
3. Encourages and develops an exploratory and reflective approach to culture and culture-in-language.
4. Fosters explicit comparisons and connections between languages and cultures.
5. Acknowledges and responds appropriately to diverse learners and learning contexts.
6. Emphasises intercultural communicative competence rather than native-speaker competence.

The course extends the learning experience in ways which challenge and motivate learners and contribute to the development of their communicative language proficiency skills. The face-to-face content draws on a range of teaching and learning methodologies, including topic-based, situational-based, function-based, and skills-based learning. This variation is in keeping with research, which suggests that alternating attention between form and meaning optimises the learner's opportunity for learning (Ellis, 2001).

The online course follows the work of Ellis (2003) with a task-based approach. It also takes a balanced approach to form and meaning. Following the generally established practice of learner knowledge being built up by the learner, previous learner knowledge is elicited, the vocabulary and topic are introduced, learners listen to the relevant language structure prior to reading it, and the written form of the structure is introduced and then produced (Harmer, 2007).

Language form and meaning are controlled, as is the use of the language. Language use is relevant to the specific situation or context in which it is being presented (Richards & Renandya, 2002). The learning is contextualised. The face-to-face component allows for contexts to be drawn directly from the learner's own environment.

Theoretically-driven blended delivery: face-to-face content
Learners require copious opportunities to manipulate structures and construct meaning to become confident language users. By providing a face-to-face element, learners are provided with an opportunity to collaborate and reflect collectively on individual learner responses (Chai and Tan, 2009). According to Murphy (1997), 'learning situations, environments, skills, content and tasks are relevant, realistic, authentic and represent the natural complexities of the "real world" '(as cited in McKenzie, Morgan, Cochrane, Watson & Roberts, 2002, p. 427).

Theoretically-driven blended delivery: online content
The online content of this course also significantly aligns with real life. The authentic contexts and types of tasks presented to the learners throughout the online task-based course reflect the way knowledge is used in real life situations. Throughout the course, the activities are not a one-way or two-way information gap, where learners have to provide a description of an image or spot-the-difference. Rather, the tasks require thinking and reasoning. 'Students learn from thinking. Thinking about what they are doing or what they have just done, thinking about what they believe and thinking about the thinking process. Thinking and reasoning' (Jonassen, Howland, Marra and Crismond, 2008, p. 3). The activities reflect the kind of language use and interactional communication an individual requires when actually engaged in a real-life task or situation.

Interactional online learning

Throughout the entire course, the activities have a relational thread from one exercise to the next. The activities are engaging and entertaining, but more importantly they are educational and emulate the real world.

Online feedback

The learner is provided with instant, system-based feedback for each response. Functionality enables the productive skills of written and spoken discourse to be captured. If required, written text can be saved for peer review or to be marked by a tutor. Alternatively, the learner can self-assess against a model answer. The system for speaking captures the learner's voice and enables the learner to compare their version to a model answer. The feedback raises learner awareness and enhances learner performance by encouraging critical thinking around answers. Learners can identify where they are experiencing difficulties through constructive feedback, and this can be done in the privacy of their own learning environment.

Constructive alignment

Construction of the blended General English course was a team effort. The content writers and teachers endeavoured to create a learning environment which was as encouraging and as supportive as possible for learners. By working closely with the government administrators, the Malaysian and New Zealand educational advisors were able to construct a course which incorporated the learners' daily life experiences into the programme. Constructivist theory believes that effective learning environments embed learning in social experience (Cunningham, Duffy and Knuth, 1993).

Methodology and programme delivery

Programme setup

This course evolved from a new learning space created for a group of adult Malaysian learners from a multi-ethnic, low-income community. The residents live in low-cost, high rise apartment blocks and have been categorised by government agencies as being 'amongst the poorest of the poor'. This disadvantaged community has a high crime rate. In the pre-programme discussions the community expressed a real desire to change this state of affairs. A research team conducted an independent study of the community's issues, challenges, needs and aspirations. According to J. Adaickalam (personal communication November 5, 2012) the process of community development, from its 'inception until the stage of measuring the outputs as well as gauging the outcomes, can only be noble and inherently successful' when it is ensured that the 'people win in a grand-way', and such an outcome requires that all the stakeholders including the private sector, government agencies, and any other related parties have 'walked the talk and worked in a symbiotic manner within the system.' If this is the case, then they too will also 'eventually win in a significant way'. From the surveys conducted with the community it was established that the number two and three desire on each individual's list was to learn English. However, aside from scientific data it was also important to engage in a series of dialogues and conversations with all the stakeholders, including with the relevant personnel in the partnering organisations in Malaysia and New Zealand. It was also important to manage the costs and resources. However, while satisfying the budget requirements, there was to be no compromising on the quality of the deliverables. Quality was to be maintained at the highest possible standards. The development of the programme required the collaboration of the staff from the Malaysian government agency (UNIK), the educational advisor, based in Malaysia, and myself, an academic advisor and content writer, based in LearningWorks, WINTEC, in New Zealand. Each member of the

team was required to provide leadership, input and support at various times throughout the planning and delivery stages. Throughout the development phase, emails flowed to and fro on a weekly, and sometimes daily, basis. There were face-to-face, consultative meetings with community leaders and Skype calls between the government agency personnel and ESOL specialists in both countries. The container classroom was transported in and located in the playground. Two air-conditioning units were installed along with the cabling to accommodate 20 computers. All 20 second-hand computers were donated by a New Zealand-based company.

The learner group

The finalised group consisted of 30 individuals, mostly middle-aged women; a small number were employed but most were homemakers. There were just a few men, all of whom were in low paid employment or still in school. Everyone who was attending class had a similar desire to improve their personal and/or working circumstances. The course was provided to the learners at a nominal fee of 10 Ringgitt per face-to-face lesson because it was believed there would be more commitment to attend class regularly if a fee was paid. Attendance and completion of the course was not, however, compulsory. There was a range of English competencies, from Beginner or False Beginner to Low Intermediate, and there was a range in age and ethnicity (Malay, Chinese and Indian). Contrary to our assumptions, many of the learners actually had a more than basic understanding of English. Many simply lacked the confidence and opportunity to use the language. To reiterate, this programme aimed at up-skilling the community to improve their lives, providing better opportunity for employment, and at the social and psychological benefits of educating a disadvantaged community.

Course components

The learners attended one 3-hour, face-to-face lesson every second Saturday. The same lesson was delivered in the morning and again in the afternoon, so learners chose which session to attend. The communicative face-to-face lesson was supported with an associated task-based online lesson which the learners completed at a time convenient to them between the face-to-face lessons. The online self-study component, which consisted of approximately 12 hours of study a fortnight, was able to be completed on a personal home computer. However, because none of the learners had a personal computer available to them, an arrangement with the community leaders enabled the container classroom to be unlocked at set times throughout the week when individuals could enter and complete their online lessons at their own pace. The learners could also access the classroom at any other time simply by collecting the key from the community leader. On these occasions the individual was accountable for the security of the classroom and the computers. Learners were supported throughout the course by teachers and administrators both in New Zealand and in Malaysia.

Training

In order to introduce the Malaysian-based clients to the General English programme, and as LearningWorks' representative, I provided a one-day training session in Malaysia for eight people: the Malaysian educational advisor, three English tutors from her company, and four managers from the government agency, UNIK. The training day focused on both the online and face-to-face elements of the course, with interactive teaching techniques for classroom activities also being demonstrated during the sessions.

All students came together for the first class. It had been planned that all learners would log on and complete an online assessment during their first class. However, it was immediately apparent that the online test would have to be abandoned as many of the participants had

never interacted with a computer before. So, completing the paper-based pre-testing, and logging into the course, proved too challenging for the first day. It was not until the second face-to-face class that all learners had the basic computer skills necessary to access the online content. Students were then able to log on and familiarise themselves with the navigation bar and the various interactions.

Contractual factors

Students signed a contract which outlined their commitment to the programme and set down the rules around such aspects as copyright of the course content. By signing the contract, students gave their consent and acknowledged that their actions, including test results and classroom participation, could be recorded for research purposes. The content of the contract was also explained verbally in the students' first language.

Results

Observed outcomes

The observed outcomes of this course were immediately obvious. When the tutors began the initial training, there were very few learners able or confident to communicate in English. They were also extremely reluctant to use the computer, and most lacked basic computer skills. In fact, one teacher wrote to me: 'For many it was the first time seeing and sitting in front of a computer!' (personal communication, August 22, 2013). However, after the first couple of lessons the learners appeared to be much more willing and comfortable with using the language and interacting with the computers. Mid-way through the programme, I visited Malaysia to observe a lesson. I noted a willingness by the learners to communicate with me in English, despite me being a native-English speaker. Staff from the government agency UNIK, who attended each face-to-face session, also stated they had observed individuals demonstrating a greater confidence to use English as the lessons progressed.

Formal assessment

The observed outcomes were strongly supported by the students' results in their formal assessment. The paper-based Oxford Placement Tests (OPT) 1 and 2 were used as the respective pre- and post-tests. Historically, through LearningWorks, I had gathered data from a range of Non-English Speaking Background (NESB) students who had sat the OPT. We had also gathered information from other groups of Malaysian learners, so that we would be able to make comparisons between groups. From our previous experiences in Malaysia, this group was by far the most nervous about being tested. The Malaysian teachers reported:

'The students never expected to be tested.'

'The students are women who never had more than primary education and they were intimidated.'

'One participant left after the first 20 minutes and we had to actually talk her into sitting for the post-test.'

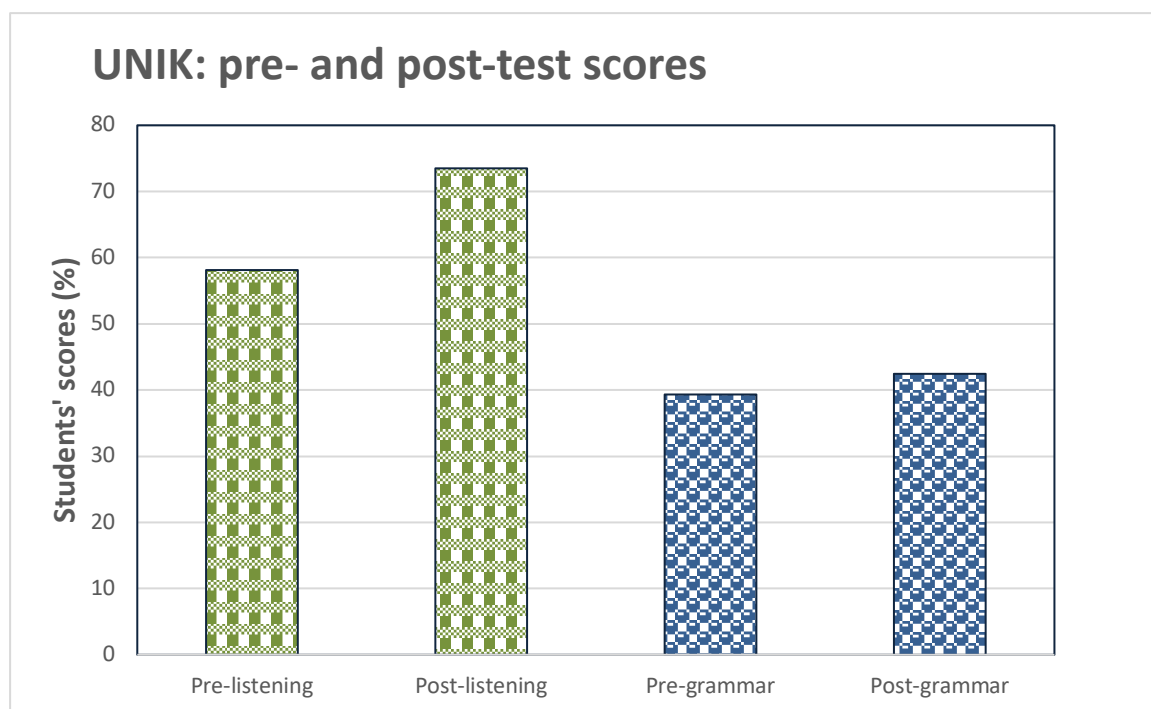The specific pre- and post-test results are as seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1: UNIK Students' Pre and Post-test Results

Programme success

The overall outcomes of the programme demonstrated a measurable rise in English language competency for every learner. There was, however, one student who failed to demonstrate a measurable rise on the post-test, although teachers reported that this appeared to them to be an anomaly and was not reflective of what was happening for the learner in the classroom. Of the 30 students who completed the pre-test, 20 completed the post-test. A further seven students completed the course but did not complete the post-test. As reported earlier, the majority of these learners were test-phobic, so it was not surprising that seven failed to show. The remaining three students, who had sat the pre-test, did not complete the course due to work commitments or for family reasons, and therefore did not sit the post-test. The increases in mean scores for the post-tests, as compared to the pre-tests, were as follows: the grammar increased from 39.33 to 42.45% and the listening increased from 58.13 to 73.5%. For the specific pre- and post-test results see Figure 1. It would not have been surprising if, in fact, the learners had not demonstrated a measurable rise in grammar competency, as the learners' production of the language forms required to complete the face-to-face lesson tasks is more incidental and not necessarily directed at raising the learner's consciousness about the grammatical properties of the language. The focus was not directed at 'acquiring' the target features, only at 'learning' them (Fotos & Ellis, 1991, p.611).

Programme outcomes

Improvements in language skills almost invariably result in greater self-confidence, but improvements in self-confidence may occur with little or no change in language skills. Learners reported gains in confidence, other than language competency, for example, their knowledge of, and ability to use a computer:

'I enjoy using computer on my own now.'

Delivery monitored

Throughout the delivery of the face-to-face and online course, the activity and progress of the learners was closely monitored. Individuals experiencing difficulty were given remedial assistance by the Malaysian teachers with assistance from LearningWorks' academic advisor.

Reasons for a successful programme

Interconnectivity of partners

The success of this programme owes much to the high standards of service delivery of everyone involved, and in particular to the interconnectivity between the partners. Each team collaborated independently and collectively to provide direction, input and support at various stages throughout the programme.

Professional teachers

In their post course feedback, the students recognised and valued the professionalism of the teachers delivering their programme:

'The teachers are very good, even though some of them are younger than us.'

'It's interesting how they interact and teach the older students.'

On-going feedback

Throughout the course the students provided feedback on their lessons through an informal discussion at the end of each face-to-face lesson. This enabled the tutors and support team to get feedback and provide assistance where it was needed. At the end of the course, the students acknowledged it was not their test results that mattered to them, but rather their confidence in using English.

Discussion

Effecting change

Education is about change, and the most obvious changes occur in a learner's knowledge, skills and attitudes. However, there are often wider, less obvious impacts that occur as a result of education. These ripple effects occur in a learner's home life and the various communities in which they participate. One such ripple effect was that by implementing change in the lives of two mothers in this group, we were in fact impacting upon the lives of their collective 20 children. At the completion of the course, programme administrators also observed students demonstrating a raised level of self-confidence while attending to their daily life tasks within the community.

Blended Delivery

Learners appreciated the delivery of the place-based course which allowed them to continue learning at their own pace and in their own place. With the container classroom being situated in the playground, mothers could attend class knowing their children were nearby. Children were also welcomed into the classroom when it was necessary. The students valued the opportunity to access computers in their own backyard, and the skilled, highly qualified English tutors. They also appreciated the compassion of the teachers' delivery.

'I can study in the classroom any time'.

'When I did not understand something I asked my teacher'.

Why was this programme successful?

Was it because the students had a deep desire to learn English? Was it because many of them had learnt English years before, so there was a foundation to build on? Was it because the students were motivated to better their lives and living situations? Or was it because the team surrounding the learners was totally dedicated to their specific roles? The author of this paper suggests that it was not any one of these factors that was any more important than any other. In fact, it was more in line with Aristotle's tenet, 'the whole is greater than the sum of its parts'. It was the connectedness of the 'parts' that turbo-boosted the 'whole'.

Importance of connectedness

The results of this study would seem to suggest that a raised level of connectedness of a learner's support systems determines more measurable gains.

Considerations

Meeting learner and client needs

Time deficiency is an issue for most teachers and learners. Learning hours for many students are being consumed by the demands of life, so teachers and learners have to optimise their teaching and learning time. In the business world, there are further demands. Planning and developing training opportunities across multiple organisations requires long lead-in times. Organisations, teachers and educators must provide learning opportunities, such as place-based learning, that are specifically designed to meet their clients' and learners' needs.

Establishing and finalising the learner group

One of the major difficulties for this project was identifying the learner group. Funding was allocated for 40 individuals, however, with each community meeting prior to the commencement date, the list of participants' names changed. On the first day of class more than 30 people attended. During the course of the orientation process some individuals left. For session two, there was yet another variation on the group of learners who registered for the class. Given that the project was government-funded, there had to be measurable outcomes and pre- and post-testing provided such a measure.

Recommendations

Informal meet and greet

For future projects, the recommendation would be to have an initial, less formal meet and greet session during which the prospective learners would mix and mingle with the teachers and project administrators. There would be no official paperwork completed and no pre-testing. If the learners were feeling more relaxed about the programme, there may have been fewer changes in those initial sessions. As mentioned earlier, many of the group were test-phobic and many had not experienced a secondary education. These learners needed more time to warm to the classroom environment. Also, more learners may have fronted for the post-test, if they had been made aware of the significance of obtaining measurable outcomes.

Factors influencing motivation

Online learning can employ high levels of teaching expertise but it must be combined with identifying the students' learning needs. The learner must recognise the value of the learning and it must be enjoyable. According to Keller (1987), the factors most influencing motivation are attention, relevance of information, a sense of competence and satisfaction (ARCS). In this programme, the course administrators identified individual learner needs through the

interpretation of learner errors in the pre-test. The tutors then met those needs in the face-to-face delivery and directed the learners to specific activities in the online course.

Individual learning plans

Learner motivation can be greatly enhanced through the use of individual learning plans which clearly identify the goal and provide learning guidance. The Learning Skills and Improvement Services (2009), has an example of one of these. This programme would benefit from the introduction of personalised learner plans which would enrich the learning experience even more.

Conclusions

Content, communication and construction in course design

Content, communication and construction are the most essential elements to consider when developing a blended programme (Kerres & De Witt, 2003). The delivery of this course evolved through meticulous planning. The New Zealand and Malaysian-based academic administrators followed best practice throughout the development stages, and the learner remained central to the design (Shivetts, 2011). By encompassing the learner with highly professional, experienced individuals in the roles of government-agency representative identifying the needs of the community, classroom tutor, content writer, online technical support, or online delivery tutor, each learner was valued and supported. Through the interconnectedness of the team and by following the axiom of 'walk, work, win', everyone in their respective roles was also supported.

A network creation process

As stated earlier, according to the connectivist view (Siemens, 2005), learning is a network creation process which impacts how we design and develop learning. With the act of learning being seen as a function under the control of the learner, designers and teachers need to provide the ideal environment to allow learning to occur. However, the challenges are magnified as we design and develop learning to meet the needs of place-based training, where the learners, teachers, academics, corporate administrators, and others are required to cross cultural, political and geographical boundaries. The success of this project owes much to the expertise of the key personnel involved and their commitment to best practice. Most importantly, passion, and a commitment to open and frequent dialogue between the participating teams, augmented the success.

Final thought

As there is a move from formal, rigid learning to more informal, place- and connection-based, network-creating learning, it is critically important for learners that the networks encompassing them maintain the highest possible levels of interconnectedness. As educators we must continue to share knowledge in order to enable every individual to be the best they can possibly be. As Nelson Mandela once said, 'Education is the most powerful weapon to change the world'.

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THE PROVISION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINING IN I.T. OUTSOURCING COMPANIES IN CHINA

Song Ying
University of South Australia

Abstract

Globalization and the advent of information and communication technology have led to the emergence of an IT outsourcing (ITO) industry worldwide, and the English proficiency of Chinese professional employees has been widely identified as a particular challenge for the development of this industry in China. This paper examines the use of English by Chinese software engineers in contacting offshore clients and also the English training practices inside an ITO company in China. Through evaluating the English training classes and interviewing software engineers about their views of those classes, this study finds that English training lessons fail to focus on work-related communicative practice, leading to software engineers' low motivation to attend English training. It also suggests possible solutions to improve English training, including immersing English trainers into the target work situation of software engineers, and involving managers who are experienced in communicating with clients with assisting software engineers' spoken English performance.

Background

The onward march of globalization and the proliferation of information and telecommunication technology have facilitated the emergence and the burgeoning development of the industry of service offshoring and outsourcing (SOO). China has been recognized as the second most attractive location, behind India, for outsourcing IT services (A.T. Kearney Inc., 2011). The Chinese government believes that developing the service trade provides a tremendous opportunity for the country to transition from a traditional manufacturing and export-driven economy to one relying on service and high-end production. As a result of the government's supportive policies (Ministry of Commerce, 2006), revenue from the IT outsourcing (ITO) industry surged from USD 1.38 billion in 2006 to USD 23.83 billion in 2011, achieving an approximately seventeen-fold increase. At the 2013 Beijing International Fair for Trade in Services, the Premier of China, Li Keqiang, emphasized that China would further enlarge the scale of trade in service and expand the ITO sector in particular (Chinasourcing, 2014).

While the SOO industry demands that employees have a high level of English language proficiency, service providers' low level of competence in English has been widely identified as one of the major factors limiting the outsourcing of service work (Merrifield, 2006). In the particular case of China's ITO industry, the low level of English proficiency among employees has been universally identified as a huge barrier preventing China from performing at its full potential in this burgeoning industry. Many clients worldwide are cautious about outsourcing work to China due to the perceived linguistic and cultural barriers. This places China at an apparent disadvantage in relation to its powerful rival, India. For example, A.T. Kearney Inc. explicitly suggests that 'China clearly needs to improve its workforce's English language skills if it wants to challenge India' (2004, p. 8).

Purpose of study

Expertise in English language proficiency in SOO companies, such as call centres, has drawn the recent attention of sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists (Friginal, 2009; Lockwood, 2008). However, English language issues inside China's ITO companies have not yet received much attention, despite the English proficiency of Chinese professional employees being widely identified as a particular challenge for this industry in China. This study is intended to offer an in-depth understanding of the English language practices inside an ITO company of China through exploring the perceptions of English proficiency needs and how the company responds to the perceived needs. In doing this, the study includes an exploration of several specific questions as follows:

1) *How do employees need to use English in the workplace and for which purposes?*
2) *What kind of English language training, or support, is available to employees?*
3) *To what extent does this support match the needs of employees?*

Theoretical underpinnings

In this section, I will briefly review relevant literature in the area of English language teaching (ELT) and highlight discussion of issues connected to the English training component of the present study. This section thus aims to provide a theoretical basis for evaluating the English language needs of the employee participants of the study. Particular attention is given to the discussion of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and the Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) approach, although they have substantial overlap in terms of their theoretical understandings of ELT. Although these theories are usually employed in general language learning situations, in the author's opinion they are also relevant to the learning and use of English in workplace contexts.

It is probably more appropriate to talk about the teaching and learning of English in the workplace rather than English training, with its overtones of stimulus-response theory. However, workplace classes are conceptualized in the literature as relating to training (e.g. Swanson & Hilton, 2009), not teaching and learning. Similarly the interviewees for this study refer to 'training' when speaking English or '培训' when speaking Chinese, not 'teaching' or '教学'. It must be kept in mind that language teaching and learning is not amenable or limited to a behaviourist stimulus-response paradigm of understanding. I cautiously use the term 'training' in this study, because this is how the 'formal' provision of English is understood and used in the IT outsourcing company in China.

Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)

The concept of communicative competence emphasizes the sociocultural significance of language knowledge in actual social performance rather than in regards to mere linguistic knowledge (Hymes, 1972; Savignon, 1987; Hall, 2011). Canale and Swain (1980) developed it into four sub-competences, namely: grammatical competence, sociocultural competence, discourse competence and strategic competence. Specifically, grammatical competence refers to the knowledge and mastery of all linguistic items; focusing on the language use in different social contexts, sociocultural competence emphasizes the appropriateness of utterances based on specific communicative situations; discourse competence demands the appropriateness of styles of language forms and meanings in given communication contexts; and strategic

competence is the ability to adopt effective techniques to solve communicative problems. All of the four kinds of competence are interrelated and essential to overall communicative competence (Savignon, 2002).

Richards and Rogers (1986) proposed that CLT guided language teaching practice through three principles, which were real communication, real tasks and real language. 'Real communication' emphasizes that classroom activities should be designed on the basis of learners' realistic communicative purposes. 'Real tasks' require that classroom activities should be authentic, which means they should be designed referring to relevant situations which learners have experienced or might experience at work. The 'real language' requirement requires that classroom practice should consist of authentic linguistic items which learners would find immediately useful in realistic communication.

CLT emphasizes that recognizing learners' actual communicative contexts and appropriately implementing teaching under these contexts are necessary for an effective interaction between teachers and learners in classrooms (Gibbons, 2001; Hall, 2011). The classroom offers a meeting place 'where knowledge is jointly offered and sought, reflected upon and acted upon' (Breen & Candlin, 2001, p. 17), a site of the interplay of knowledge and experience between teachers and learners and among learners themselves (Savignon, 2002).

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

Evolving from the CLT approach, CLIL integrates the study of both the language and the subject matter content (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010) while still focusing on the development of learners' communicative competence and cultural awareness. In contexts such as Europe and China, CLIL is now replacing CLT as a possible solution to motivate and produce multilingual and multicultural skilled workers (Lim & Low, 2009; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). Research shows that CLIL has a significant facilitating effect on improving learners' oral production such as spontaneous spoken production, greater fluency and speaking confidence (Lasagabaster, 2008). It also helps with developing learners' strategic competence. Learners with even limited linguistic resources can effectively convey content related information at an early stage of learning (Dalton-Puffer, 2011). Moreover, with a continued emphasis on real meaning and authenticity, which are also advocated by CLT, CLIL has been widely reported for its positive effects on the enhanced involvement and motivation of both teachers and learners (Lorenzo & Moore, 2010).

While much language teaching is still done in a CLT framework, CLIL shows increasing effectiveness in addressing multilingual concerns in general education and also workplace contexts. Thus, the review of CLT, and perhaps more particularly, CLIL, would appear to offer the most relevant lenses through which to analyse fieldwork data of ELT practices in the sites under investigation

Methodology

The study was designed using an ethnographic approach. The investigation was conducted through my on-site research visit at one of the leading ITO companies in China which is located in Beijing, the capital city of China and a major site for the offshore IT outsourcing

business. As a non-participant, I observed the English training lessons and the teleconference in which Chinese software engineers (SEs) interact with offshore clients about project-specific issues. Focus group interviews were conducted with three groups of SE participants from three different project teams of the company (see Table 1), with the purpose of engaging the SEs in dynamic discussion and thus producing insightful data or new perspectives related to the research topics. An individual in-depth interview was adopted for use with managers because of the possibility that they might be cautious about expressing ideas which might sound controversial in front of SEs or other managers.

A total of fourteen participants were interviewed, and they were all given pseudonyms. Focus group and individual interviews were conducted in Chinese and audio recorded. Relevant sections were transcribed and translated into English. Common themes relating to the research questions could then be explored across different data sets, in relation to the theoretical considerations discussed in the literature.

Table 1: Summary of the participants by project teams

Project Team	Name	Management (M) /SE	Individual interview (II)/ Focus group (FG)
E	Wang Gang	M	II
E	Li Hai	M	II
E	Liu Jie	SE	FG
E	Zhao Qiang	SE	FG
E	Zheng Wei	SE	FG
E	Zhang Mei	SE	FG
M	Guan Lifei	M	II
M	Yang Xia	SE	FG
M	Xie Hongmei	SE	FG
M	Dong Zhigang	SE	FG
T	Han Xue	M	II
T	Xiao Fang	SE	FG
T	Feng Yan	SE	FG
T	Fan Xiaogang	SE	FG
Total number of participants	14		

Findings

SEs' English learning needs

The results of individual interviews with project management indicate that spoken competence in English functions as a prerequisite for being employed in the ITO company, and also poses a significant challenge to employed SEs. The Delivery Manager of Project E, Wang Gang, describes the English requirements:

> Almost all SEs working here have to use English in daily work, because they actually work together with US clients' onsite project teams. There are English requirements, more or less, for all the four skills, namely speaking, listening, reading and writing... We require SEs to be able to speak and listen to some degree. Perhaps, they don't have to reach a high level of speaking proficiency. However, we did assess their spoken English ability in the job interview before they are employed.

Wang Gang emphasizes the significance of English competence to SEs because of the collaboration between project teams and offshore clients from the US. In particular, he points out that SEs should have some competence in speaking and listening in English even though they are not required to reach a particularly high level of proficiency. Therefore, there is informal assessment of their spoken competence during job interviews.

Project Leader of Project M, Guan Lifei, further stresses the significance of spoken English competence:

> (SEs') good level of speaking proficiency in English is very important and necessary for the ITO industry in China. They are required to pass an oral English test at the job interview. One SE with good English spoken competence can finish communicating about one matter in three minutes, while another one without effective spoken communicative competence might need ten minutes to do the same work. The seven minutes' difference may not seem so significant; however, the effect of the constant delays on the entire progress of the project due to SEs' ineffective communication in English cannot be estimated.

Guan Lifei suggests that SEs' communication with clients (in teleconferences) directly influences the progress of projects if SEs are not able to discuss work-related issues efficiently in English. The delay of a project due to constant inefficient communication would be quickly noticed.

However, SEs are confronted with limited ability and confidence to speak English at a teleconference. For example, SE of Project E, Zhao Qiang, shares his beliefs about the obstacles which stand in his way when talking to clients:

> I have a psychological obstacle to speaking English with clients. I mean I am too nervous, because I am talking to the foreign clients who are actually my boss... I am afraid that I won't be able to express my idea clearly, which will cause clients to misinterpret me, so I do not dare to speak English to them. If I am sure that I am expressing clear and correct ideas without causing them to misunderstand, then I have the courage to speak.

It seems that two problems hinder SEs, like Zhao Qiang, in engaging in oral communication with clients. One is that they are sensitive to the superior-subordinate relationship between their clients and themselves. Such a relationship keeps SEs at a distance from their bosses, and this renders them less confident to talk with them. Research (Breen & Candlin, 2001) shows that communicating in a second language does present challenges for learners socially and psychologically. Their performance can be significantly affected by factors such as the social distance or the dominance and subordination status between members of the target language community and themselves. The other problem which SEs have lies in anxiety

resulting from a perceived lack of communicative competence. They are obsessed with the worry that their limited spoken English will result in inaccurate expression and hence clients' incomprehension or misinterpretation.

Given the issues related to SEs' limited spoken competence in English, an apparent solution would be to conduct workplace training in English specifically to enhance spoken communicative expertise. The company has such a strategy in place, and I will now turn to discussing this.

English training lessons

There were English training lessons taking place in Project M and Project T during my visit. The lessons were held once a week and each lesson lasted approximately one hour. The two project teams shared the same English trainer, Matthew, whose lessons showed significant similarities in terms of delivery and content. Examples of his English classes presented here include a description of a full lesson for Project T (see Table 2) and some of his interactions with SE participants in a lesson for Project M.

Table 2: Summary of an English training lesson for Project T

	Activities	Trainer's input	Student's response
1	Brainstorming about communication		iPhone, Skype, email, MSN, eye-contact, body language, smile, etc.
2	Matching different types of person with corresponding pictures	Six types of people with different communication manners: conversation starters, braggarts, complimenters, people with wandering eyes while talking, boring people and interrupters.	
3	Listing things which make conversation interesting or boring		Things making conversation interesting: compliments, things you have in common, sense of humour, responsiveness, positive things, friendliness, talking about things other people may be interested in. Things making conversation boring: silence, talking about negative things, talking too much, not listening, boring topics, etc.
4	Giving examples of cultural differences in conversation		In Chinese culture, nodding one's head means yes. In Indian culture, no; In some cultures, direct eye contact is polite. In other cultures, impolite; In some cultures, salary or age are very sensitive topics;

			In some European countries, people kiss each other's cheeks when meeting. In Italy, a man kisses another man on the cheek. In other countries, e.g. China, people do not usually kiss each other.
5	Listening comprehension	Listening to a recording about intercultural differences in conversation; Instruction on phrases in the recording, e.g. 'give rise to'.	
6	Discussion and Role play: small talk	Introduction of 'small talk' in business communicative situations.	Safe 'small talk' topics: children and family, current affairs, hobbies, weather, Unsuitable 'small talk' topics: marital status, salary, rental.

Interactions with participants in one lesson for Project M

In class, the English trainer Matthew created an immersion environment where SE participants spent most of their time speaking in and listening to English through relevant activities. He also tried to interact with each individual participant and build up their confidence to speak in English to achieve spoken tasks. For example, Matthew (M) asked SE participants to express their agreement or disagreement with some opinions about technology, such as: too many websites with misinformation, people being always focused on cell-phones, and children spending too much time on watching TV. The following is an excerpt of his interactions with SE participants (SEP).

M:	(SEP A) What about you?
SEP A:	In my opinion, I think in fact technology is a good thing. But it depends on how we use it and how we control it. Children spend much time on TV, and I think it is parents' responsibility to control the time of children. It is not the fault of technology.
M:	OK, so it is not the fault of technology. It is the fault of the way people use it.
	…
M:	Now (SEP G) what about you?
SEP G:	I agree with the fourth one. I think it is better don't have television in our home. You can reduce the chance for children to watch the program. I think most of the programs are not good for the children.
M:	OK, in what way they are not good for the children? What do you mean by they are not good for the children?
SEP G:	Violence and some ideas. Many people are eager to have a success in their career and in their positions, so they are too focused on the material… They are not morality. Many children want to be famous. I think it is not good for every people.
	…

Evaluation of English training lessons

According to the literature (e.g. Gibbons, 2001; Hall, 2011), CLT requires practitioners to recognize learners' actual communicative contexts and appropriately implement teaching under these contexts in order to achieve effective interaction between teachers and learners in classrooms. I will look at the sub-competences (Canale & Swain, 1980) integrated in the overall idea of communicative competence in order to analyze whether they are addressed, connected to SE participants' communicative contexts, in Matthew's classes.

Firstly, Matthew does dedicate a small amount of time to lexical items. His purpose in studying phrases, such as 'give rise to' (in Activity 5 of Table 2), is to help SE participants to understand the listening material (i.e. 'intercultural differences in conversation') but he does this without considering SE participants' application of them to their actual communicative contexts. In terms of sociocultural competence, it would seem that Matthew's selection of particular activities does not take into consideration the SE participants' social contexts of speaking English, and therefore the classroom environment has little connection with the sociocultural context of SEs' realistic work situations. Similarly, considering discourse competence, the language practice of SE participants in class is not, in any clear way, consistent with the linguistic features of their IT professional community. SE participants' target discourses, the discourses of the IT profession, either spoken or written, are not present for them in Matthew's classes.

Except for the role-play activity of 'small talk', there is no activity focusing on developing SE participants' strategic competence to solve communicative problems at work. Moreover, although there is interaction between SE participants and Matthew (see examples above), Matthew's activities seem primarily designed to practice SE participants' one-way communication rather than the two-way communication which is frequently seen in real social interaction or group discussion. These are very much question and answer sessions, which are in Matthew's control. More importantly, the interactions are by no means built on joint knowledge or experience (Breen & Candlin, 2001; Savignon, 2002), due to Matthew's lack of IT background. Therefore, SE participants are not practising simulated interaction to develop their strategic competence.

I now turn to analyzing Matthew's classes following the three principles of Richards and Rogers (1986), namely real communication, real tasks and real language. In the work context, SEs' communication with clients involves presenting the progress of project implementation, discussing issues which have emerged and possible solutions or negotiating project completion deadlines. In contrast, in Matthew's classes the SE participants mainly practise narrating skills or expressing one-way opinions in response to a prompt. There is an obvious gap between the two types of communication. Looking at the SE participants' daily tasks, such as reading technical documents, writing work-related reports and emails, and attending teleconferences, it is hard to find any similarity between these tasks and the tasks which SE participants are required to do in class. Each of Matthew's classes is designed around a topic, such as communication, news and technology. The activities designed around these topics do not connect to SE participants' professional practice or workplace communication in general. Therefore, not only does the language practised in class fail to show any linguistic characteristics of the IT profession, but also it is not functionally useful in terms of workplace communication discourses.

To sum up, Matthew's classes are not consistent with the elaboration of the four sub-competences of communicative competence, and do not offer CLT teaching practice that corresponds with SE participants' needs. As a result, there would be little possibility that SE participants' communicative competence will be facilitated, unless this occurs coincidentally.

Views of SEs and managers about English training

After analyzing English training lessons in regards to the theoretical perspectives of CLT, it is worthwhile to reveal SE participants' opinions regarding the potential usefulness of English training. While some believe that the English training is somewhat necessary and helpful, they are not positive about the effectiveness of the English training when it comes to translating it to actual work. Others hold negative views, emphasizing that the English training has limited relevance to actual English use in work situations. For example, an SE of Project T, Xiao Fang, comments:

> I do not think the English training really improves the English I use in any actual work. However, they can maintain our interest in learning English… raise our awareness of practising English… an English environment to practise speaking and listening… trainers are native English speakers... The problem is that the English training does not focus on the English used in our work situations.

In a similar vein, Yang Xia, an SE of Project M, suggests that English training should integrate real communicative situations at work for SE participants to practise:

> The talk with native English-speaking trainers in training classes is too close to daily life and not helpful to improve the English used in work situations, for example the communication with clients at the teleconference… Last Friday, we learned how to refuse work your boss gave you in a

polite and indirect way, which may be a bit useful for our work… Most of what we learn cannot be applied to work directly… Unlike we studied English in the university, we should focus on achieving direct benefit from attending training classes.

SEs' perceptions of English training uncovered from the focus group interviews indicate that effective English training should involve simulated practice which SEs can find of immediate use in their work. Rather than teaching English for general purposes, training classes should be highly functional, focusing on the professional work environment of SEs in order for SEs to see a benefit. These views of English training align with the evaluation in the previous section that it fails to focus on SE participants' work-specific English practice and therefore offers little help to their English performance at work. It should also be noted that SEs lack the expectation that the English training programs can help them achieve their goal, improving their English communicative performance at work. The lack of motivation might turn into a significant factor determining their disengagement from English training lessons.

In line with SEs' views, Project Manager Han Xue of Project T proposes an alternative English training mode, which, according to her experience, could be adopted to address SEs' communicative challenges and needs accurately:

> Every company has its own budget for employing English trainers... From my point of view, project managers could allow English trainers to participate in our teleconferences without talking; however, they could make notes of conversation between both sides. Then, after the conference, the English trainer could provide instruction and strategies to SEs regarding the problems which appeared in the communication. I think such a type of English training might result in a much better effect.

This conceptualized training mode offers a possible solution to this issue. It encourages the company to bring the English trainer into the realistic work context of SEs where they speak English. Via immersion into the actual work context of SEs, the English trainer would be able to collect and analyze the actual communication breakdowns or communication barriers of SEs which emerge during their communication with clients. Thus, the trainer could provide SEs with highly-focused mentoring services in improving their work-related spoken communicative performance. Han Xue is thus recommending an approach that is consistent with course design based on needs analysis and authentic communicative context, as consistent with CLT (Gibbons, 2001; Hall, 2011) and CLIL approach (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). The potential benefits from this training mode are anticipated to enhance not only the efficiency of the English language training but also SE participants' motivation to participate in it.

Limitations

The particular socio-political context of China and obvious competitiveness among companies in its ITO industry together increase the difficulty of conducting this ethnographic research. These constraints have some bearing on the completeness of the data and hence the generalizability of the findings.

While having one company as research site has assisted the in-depth focus of the study, it has obviously meant there is a restriction on breadth of investigation. Questions then arise as to whether other ITO companies in China are similar to the company investigated. While it seems likely that other companies are similar to the research site for this project, and other SEs seem likely to have similar issues as those

observed and interviewed here, it would be important to see what local variations exist elsewhere in order to offer more generalized findings and conclusions.

In fact, a similar investigation has been undertaken in another site, where the trainer has a substantially different background. There are some differences between the two sites, but many of the issues of the SEs are similar in the two sites. Similarities between two sites do not allow for generalizability, of course, and further study with more trainers across more companies would be useful.

Concluding remarks and recommendations

The findings of this study would appear to suggest at least some possible reasons for the perceived lack of English proficiency among Chinese skilled IT professionals, which has been identified as hindering the expansion of the Chinese ITO company into new markets. While English training is provided as a facilitation activity for improving SEs' spoken English competence, at least in the company under focus in this study, this support does not match the needs of the employees nor of the company itself.

Drawing on Han Xue's training mode and the CLIL approach (e.g. Lasagabaster, 2008; Dalton-Puffer, 2011), an additional potential strategy seems to be that project managers who are directly in charge of communicating with clients could be involved with SEs in developing spoken English proficiency. This would turn the externally provided English training into the manager's responsibility to assist SEs with spoken communication at work. The most obvious advantage of this strategy is that SEs would gain instant transfer of the learned English skills to their performance at work. This is because those managers who share a similar technical background to the SEs and who work together with SEs on a daily basis, have first-hand successful experience and are most familiar with SEs' difficulties with spoken English. Therefore, they could provide SEs with coaching services or they could engage in capacity building by forming partnerships with SEs. This is also anticipated to lead to the increase of SEs' motivation to speak English.

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NAVIGATING CULTURAL CONFLICT AND DISSONANCE IN THE IMMIGRANT ESL CLASSROOM: TEACHER COGNITION AND CLASSROOM PRACTICES

Hanna Brookie

Massey University

Abstract

The multicultural migrant second language classroom has the potential to bring cultural issues to the forefront as the intersection of cultures can create instances of cultural dissonance or conflict. In this context, the role of the teacher as cultural mediator and facilitator of cultural exploration is crucial. Faced with instances of cultural conflict or dissonance, teachers may focus on acculturation, on understanding learners' cultures or on intercultural communicative competence; they may consider dissonance and conflict as opportunities to explore boundaries between meanings and encourage critical reflection on cultural constructs or they may focus on avoiding conflicting situations in order to preserve a safe learning atmosphere. This paper is based on a pilot study undertaken as part of my PGDip SLT through Massey University. Drawing on research in culture teaching, intercultural competence and teacher cognition, a multi-method approach was used to discover how teachers navigate cultural conflict and dissonance in the classroom.

Introduction

The role of culture has long held a prominent place in second-language research and debate, and it is particularly important for migrant language learners who are required not only to acquire a language but also to function successfully in the target language environment, while often seeking to preserve their own cultural identity. The multicultural learning environment of the migrant second language classroom can in itself become a valuable resource as the intersection of cultures creates instances of cultural dissonance or conflict (Dytynyshyn and Collins, 2012; Kramsch, 1993; Li and Girvan, 2004; Menard-Warwick, 2009) and these instances may provide opportunities for cultural exploration and learning. Conversely, the presence of culturally-based conflict, when escalating, can cause discomfort for teachers and learners and potentially interfere with the learning process. In the complex environment of the multicultural language classroom, the role of the teacher as cultural mediator and facilitator of cultural exploration becomes crucial. Within their specific contexts, teachers have several choices when faced with a cultural conflict or an instance of perceptible cultural dissonance. Responses vary according to individual practitioners' knowledge, assumptions and beliefs (Woods, 1996) regarding culture and its place in second language teaching, along with their perceptions of conflict. Their approaches may focus on acculturation, on understanding the learners' cultures, on intercultural communicative competence (Byram, 1997), or on conflict management.

Using a combination of narrative frames, semi-structured interviews, focus groups and a short questionnaire this study explores teacher cognition (knowledge, assumptions and beliefs) and practice in relation to cultural conflict and dissonance in the immigrant classroom in order to understand how cultural conflict and dissonance in the classroom are responded to by teachers as they occur, and how

these are reflected on by teachers and subsequently influence teacher identity and later planned approaches.

Literature Review

The role of culture

The role of culture in second language acquisition has been widely acknowledged; however, the question of *what* culture should be taught and *how* has been subject to extensive debate. In SLA theory, traditionally, successful language learning has been linked to acculturation or a desire to integrate (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Schumann, 1986), and it is still commonly accepted "that second-language teachers have an important role in the cultural integration of newcomers" (Fleming, 2003, p. 65). However, it has also been argued that cultural identities are not simply acquired as part of language acquisition, but are complex, multifaceted and actively constructed by the learners (Norton, 2011; Pavlenko, 2002) and that a focus on assimilation may disempower students (FitzGerald, 1999). Further, in multicultural societies, any representation of culture becomes problematic and potentially reductive (FitzGerald, 1999; Fleming, 2003). Studies in the Canadian ESL context have indicated that in practice culture teaching often equates to the uncritical transmission of a static, homogenous idea of the host culture (Ilieva, 2000; Thomson and Derwing, 2004) to immigrants who are viewed as passive recipients (Walsh-Marr, 2011) required to assimilate (Guo, 2009).

Challenging traditional acquisition models, Byram (1997) suggests that the aim of language learning should be intercultural communicative competence (ICC) rather than native-like competence. Byram's (1997, 2012) model is centred on the concept of critical cultural awareness (*savoir s'engager*), the ability to critically evaluate one's own and others' cultural values, including power dimensions. This educational dimension is complemented by the dimensions of knowledge, skills and attitudes. Byram's knowledge (*savoirs*) encompasses in-depth cultural knowledge of own and other cultural groups along with relational knowledge. Skills (*savoir comprendre* and *savoir apprendre*) include skills to interpret and relate texts and events as well as skills to discover and interact. Attitudes (*savoir être*) encompass the ability to relativize one's own experience and value that of others and to engage in relationships with the other. ICC has received significant attention in foreign language teaching contexts (Allan, 2003; Holmes and O'Neill, 2012) and Byram's model has been incorporated into the Common European Framework for language teaching and proposed as a model for foreign language teaching in the New Zealand curriculum (Newton et al, 2010). Its applicability to second language teaching has also been established by Byram and Feng (2004) and Newton (2009).

With its intersections of cultures, the language learning classroom has the potential to become the ideal site for the development of intercultural competence. In her discussion on culture in language teaching, Kramsch (1993) develops the notion of a third place, which exists in the intersection between the first and second culture and is a place of struggle and conflict between meanings where discursive fault lines appear and where the language learner has the space to create their own meanings. Rathje's (2007) view of culture as group cohesion based on familiarity of differences further supports the view of the ESL classroom as a place for the development of new cultural spaces, occupied by interculturally competent

speakers. Viewing the classroom as a productive cross-cultural space, some authors (Dytynyshyn and Collins, 2012; Li and Girvan, 2004; Menard-Warwick, 2009) suggest that intercultural competence can be acquired without explicit teaching, though this has been contested elsewhere (Holmes and O'Neill, 2012).

Regardless of whether intercultural competence is explicitly taught or acquired as part of interactions in the third space of the classroom, the role of the teacher is central. The teacher is, in this context, viewed as a "professional mediator" between learners and the new culture (Byram and Risager, 1999, p. 58; see also FitzGerald, 1999). Their decisions to capitalise on valuable instances of conflict and dissonance (Allan, 2003) or "discursive faultlines" or to ignore these because of predetermined linguistic lesson outcomes (Dytynyshyn and Collins, 2012; Menard-Warwick, 2009) are of crucial importance. Teachers' systems of beliefs, assumptions and knowledge thus become a crucial variable in any investigation into the teaching of culture (Sowden, 2007).

Teacher cognition

Woods (1996) suggests that teacher choices are based on a coherent, underlying system consisting of beliefs, assumptions and knowledge (BAK), and that this system can fruitfully be researched to better understand teachers and classroom practices. This BAK system, which contains beliefs about theoretical approaches, assumptions about language, learning and teaching and knowledge about content and pedagogy can be inferred through teachers' verbalisations and practices and is consistent and pervasive for each teacher. A teacher's BAK system, according to Woods, "evolves through experience and through the gradual resolution of conflicts arising from novel situations" (p. 213) as it interacts with the cyclical evaluation and planning process involved in teaching. Borg (2006) suggests that teacher cognition research helps bridge the gap between theory and practice. Teacher cognition, according to Borg's model, is dynamic and influences and is influenced by classroom practice and professional course work.

Teacher cognition and the teaching of culture

A number of studies have addressed teacher cognition in relation to cultural aspects of teaching, in particular the teaching of intercultural competence. Studies in the foreign language context have indicated that though teachers were willing to incorporate intercultural communicative competence (Byram, 1997), in reality the focus remained on the transmission of cultural knowledge (Sercu et al, 2005) and static cultural norms, possibly as a result of the lack of professional discussion and set guidelines regarding culture teaching (Byram and Risager, 1999) and teachers' lack of familiarity with ICC and with the target culture (Han and Song, 2011). Young and Sachdev's (2011) study of experienced English language teachers in UK, USA and France also found that though teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards ICC were positive they felt that there was very little room for practical application, as the approach was not supported by syllabi, textbooks or international exams and incompatible with learner aims. Further, teachers felt that engaging in critical cultural evaluation may involve controversial topics and may destroy the positive affective atmosphere of the classroom.

It is clear from the review of literature that the teacher's role in the facilitating or teaching of culture and intercultural competence is crucial, especially in light of the complexities inherent in culture teaching, and in light of the lack of specific guidelines and materials. For the classroom to be a third place of productive cultural encounters, conflicts and dissonance, the teacher needs to take on a very different role than simply as a transmitter of knowledge. Further, the existing gap between theory and practice indicates that there is a need to investigate teachers' cognition and classroom practices. While there have been studies on teacher cognition in relation to the teaching of culture and/or intercultural competence, these studies are primarily based on foreign language contexts, and are often quantitative. Though the qualitative study by Young and Sachdev (2011) included second-language contexts, it did not address the positive potential inherent in cultural conflict or dissonance in the classroom. The present study, undertaken in the New Zealand immigrant ESL context, focuses on classroom dynamics and cultural conflict, and how they affect teachers' cognition and planning.

Methodology

The current pilot study employed a multi-method qualitative approach, and addressed three main research questions:

1. How are cultural conflict and dissonance in the classroom interpreted and responded to by teachers as and when they occur?
2. How do teachers reflect on and evaluate cultural conflict and dissonance and how does this reflection impact on teacher identity?
3. How, and to what extent, do teachers structure teaching on cultural issues and to what extent do these approaches reflect earlier unplanned episodes?

Narrative frames were used to elicit data to reveal both reflective processes and deeply held beliefs (Woods, 1996, p. 27). Each frame was designed to be written as a paragraph, with the help of sentence starters and the frames focused on cultural identity, culture teaching and instances of dissonance and conflict in the classroom. As narrative frames can be overly restrictive (Barkhuizen and Wette, 2008) these were followed up with individual semi-structured interviews which were designed to give further scope for narration and reflection and to discover links between unplanned incidents, contingent approaches and later planned practice. The data collected from each participant's narrative frames and follow-up interviews were collated and analysed as individual case studies. After the completion of the case-studies, a focus group was held as a one-off session involving three participants and two facilitators, and was primarily designed to create an interactional setting for the discussion of culture in the classroom and to illustrate reflective processes. At the end of the study, all participants were requested to complete a short, written reflection on the research process in order to evaluate the effectiveness and relevance of the study.

The project, a qualitative pilot study, included three participants who were teachers of English as a Second/Additional Language, currently teaching migrant and/or refugee students in New Zealand. Only teachers with at least one year's teaching experience were invited as a degree of professional experience was necessary in order to make sense of and participate in the data-gathering tasks. Ethics approval for

the project was obtained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, and in accordance with the committee's recommendations responses were treated confidentially and anonymity automatically granted to all participants.

Findings and discussion

In the findings, clear distinctions emerged between low-level cultural dissonance and overt conflict, and how these were responded to; there were also clear differences in responses between teachers.

1. How are cultural conflict and dissonance in the classroom interpreted and responded to by teachers as and when they occur?

Preliminary findings indicate that while an element of cultural dissonance is an accepted part of teaching a multicultural classroom, actual conflict is avoided by teachers, as it is perceived to negatively impact teacher confidence and classroom cohesion; however, perceptions of what may be classed as possibly detrimental conflict versus productive dissonance vary between teachers. Low-level cultural dissonance was reported in all the case studies in the shape of cultural differences and tensions that did not appear to cause any consternation on the part of the teacher, but were dealt with constructively and as a matter of course. Differences in meanings were in these cases embraced and the discursive faultlines (Kramsch, 1993) were fruitfully explored through dialogue (Menard-Warwick, 2009). As an example, discrepancies such as different cultural attitudes towards time-keeping, though temporarily causing tension, were often resolved through discussions which ultimately enhanced cultural understanding.

However, more overt conflicts were clearly considered potentially destructive incidents, especially when these conflicts directly involved the teacher, as they often took on a sense of personal attack in which the teacher felt threatened, marginalised or belittled. As evidenced in the narrated incidents and from the expressed viewpoints during the focus group discussion, the favoured response to overt conflict in the classroom was to terminate it as soon as possible, and, if feasible, remove any triggers. This would generally be achieved by moving on to another, usually highly structured, activity. A clear example of this was the incident narrated by "Carol", a teacher in a beginner-level class of predominantly refugee students. At the time she had several Burmese students in her class; some of them ethnic Karen, and some Burmese Muslims. In order to introduce an interesting and relevant topic Carol asked the students what they knew about Aung San Suu Kyi, the Burmese opposition leader who after 21 years of house arrest was running in the national by-elections. Instead of the expected interesting discussion in English, the Burmese began speaking rapidly and angrily in their own language(s), with hostility apparent between the Muslim and Karen students. Carol felt shocked by the incident as her students were otherwise conscientious about speaking English in class and friendly to each other. She also felt worried that the conflict would escalate and possibly become physical, especially as she was aware of the violent backgrounds of some of the students. She felt powerless to intervene and "putting forward a diplomatic kind of resolution" was impossible because of her inability to understand the language and – to some extent – the issue, while the students lacked the English skills required to hold an in-depth political discussion with her. She did what she considered her only option: stopped the discussion and moved on

to a highly focused lesson with individual writing and "benign subject matter" to prevent escalation of the conflict.

However, circumventing or terminating conflict through changing the activity or topic was not always possible. In an upper-intermediate class, conflict occurred between the teacher, "Jane", and an Arab male student who was attending class for the first time. The topic of the lesson was aging, and when Jane explained that in New Zealand parents rarely move in with their children as they get older, the man became very critical and argumentative. He called the New Zealand practice "disgusting" and verbally attacked his teacher, as a representative of this practice. Initially Jane attempted to manage the conflict by allowing the student to "finish his tirade" and then moving on to the next part of the lesson. However, the student reverted to the topic several times "with increasing vehemence," forcing Jane to engage. Jane attempted to explain that the New Zealand cultural practice was "part of our value of independence" and a different, but valid perspective; opinions that were supported verbally by members of the class, but with no result. She was careful not to criticise, and therefore refrained from attacking his viewpoint, though she could have pointed out that the practice of caring for elderly within the family is "usually at a huge cost to women." The conflict concluded with the end of the lesson and as the man never came back the situation was to some extent resolved.

The tendency to attempt to instantly shut down conflict could be seen as a face-saving technique on the part of the teacher; however, in the focus group discussion several valid reasons for this type of conflict management emerged. Maintaining an atmosphere of peace and safety in the classroom appeared to be a priority for all participants and was considered especially crucial in relation to refugee students. The participants also appeared to consider it their professional responsibility to protect all students in the class – emotionally and, sometimes, physically – and to feel that engaging in open conflict would be incompatible with this responsibility. Further, engaging in conflict in an attempt to solve complex issues may be impossible when shared language is limited. In addition, student-teacher conflict and, to some extent, general classroom conflict, appeared to threaten the professional identity of the teacher; thus, by moving on from overt conflict to teacher-led, structured activities, the teachers were also able to re-establish professional role-relationships in the class.

2. How do teachers reflect on and evaluate cultural conflict and dissonance and how does this reflection impact on teacher identity?

Critical reflection on incidents of conflict was crucial for the participants. Regardless of whether teacher response had, on reflection, been appropriate or needed modification for future incidents, the reflective processes employed by the participants appear to have been productive, though not always sufficient. A difference in reflective processes was perceived between two types of incidents: conflicts that the teacher could attribute to a flaw in lesson planning, as in Carol's Burmese incident above, and conflicts that appeared unpredictable, as in Jane's lesson on aging. A large amount of analysis went into the former, and it appeared that the process of criticality and problem-identification eventually led to a return to stability (Feryok, 2010). Thus Carol, after the Burmese incident, though shocked, was able to conclude that she had managed the conflict appropriately but that she needed to be more cautious about

introducing "potentially volatile" topics in the future and discuss them with individual students before bringing them up in class. For unpredictable conflicts, there was less analysis and more attribution, and a greater reliance on contingent approaches, e.g. rapid conflict termination. After the lesson on aging, Jane reflected that it was a lesson structure which in all other instances had achieved positive cultural outcomes, and that the conflict was in all likelihood attributable to the student in question. As a result of reflection during the research process she also concluded that rapid conflict termination may have been possible had she been more assertive.

Participants reported several different avenues of processing – reflective writing, speaking to management, speaking to colleagues, and reflecting individually. Collegial support appeared to be helpful with articulation a crucial aspect of reflection (Freeman, 1993) as was evident during the focus group discussion and in the responses in the final questionnaire. With insufficient preparation for dealing with cultural conflicts or personal attack and a tendency for teachers with limited experience to be less inclined to access professional support when needed, it appears that professional development in this area would be extremely useful.

3. How, and to what extent, do teachers structure teaching on cultural issues and to what extent do these approaches reflect earlier unplanned episodes?

Based on learner needs and requests as well as expected course outcomes, the participants believed they had a mandate to contribute to their learners' awareness of and integration into New Zealand culture and society (Fleming, 2003, p. 65). Beliefs about the importance of integration for future opportunities as well as language development (Schumann, 1986) influenced teacher planning, as did beliefs about what is achievable, especially in the context of proficiency levels. Classroom representations of culture included bodies of knowledge, cultural practices, iconic culture, and freedom and rights. In Carol's beginner class, cultural teaching involved accessing basic services, functioning in New Zealand society and engaging with new experiences. "Sue", the teacher of the elementary class, often integrated culture-teaching into language-focused lessons through the selection of material and topics that related to New Zealand life, e.g. current events and famous people and discussions regarding government and democracy. In the upper-intermediate class, Jane purposely structured lessons around cultural issues and concepts, including New Zealand history, family structures, education, and Maori culture, as well as negative or problematic aspects of New Zealand life.

In contrast to the Canadian studies (Ilieva, 2000; Thomson and Derwing, 2004) and Byram and Risager's (1999) findings the participants in the present study consciously promoted an understanding of New Zealand culture as dynamic and diverse. To avoid static representations of New Zealand culture while still conveying a comprehensible picture, Jane, the teacher of the upper-intermediate class, often presented an image of New Zealand as it was during her growing-up years, comparing it with the present with its increased diversity and changing norms. The need for learners to construct new identities based on their experiences with their own and their new culture was also acknowledged (Pavlenko, 2002). Teachers affirmed "that culture is not a two or even three dimensional aspect of who we are. It is much more complex" (Carol) and that "immigrants are in the process of forging new identities that will be part

their own culture and part the new culture" (Jane). Culture teaching was not confined to texts, materials and lesson plans, but appeared to be an inclusive concept that used as resources the teacher's cultural identity, representations and cultural mediation in the classroom (Byram and Risager, 1999; Ryan, 1998; Walsh-Marr, 2011), as well as the cross-cultural dynamic existing in the "third place" of the classroom (Kramsch, 1993).

Cross-cultural skills were considered important and were expected outcomes of the interactions in the classroom (Dytynyshyn and Collins, 2012; Li and Girvan, 2004; Menard-Warwick, 2009). While ICC, as proposed by Byram (1997), was not explicitly discussed in the research project, all participants appeared eager to promote positive attitudes (*savoir être*) and knowledge (*savoirs*) – to the extent this was possible depending on level. Skills to discover and interact (*savoir apprendre*) were focused on to various extents in the classrooms, while skills of interpreting and relating texts (*savoir comprendre)* would involve conceptual language beyond at least two of the classes discussed in this study. In terms of critical cultural awareness (*savoir s'engager*), this was treated cautiously by participants, due to a reluctance to critique others' cultures (Young and Sachdev, 2011), language level and the awareness that critiquing the collective self is not appropriate in many cultures.

There were, as Woods (1996) found, clear correlations between reflection and planning. Planning resulting from overt cultural conflict tended to focus on better conflict prevention, while cultural dissonance and some low-level conflicts had the potential to lead to lessons designed to raise cultural awareness. A level of dissonance was often also introduced by teachers by bringing up topics and concepts they knew would raise awareness and reflection, such as topics to do with democracy, food taboos, and cultural practices around important life events. However, incidents of conflicts that were perceived as in some way threatening by the teacher participants led them to be more careful regarding topic choice, establishing a non-confrontational climate in the classroom and considering class management strategies. To prevent conflict, all participants prioritised creating a positive and safe classroom atmosphere. In one case this took the shape of actively encouraging relationship building through a highly interactive classroom where cohesion was achieved through familiarisation with differences (Rathje, 2007, p. 264), while in another case it was achieved through a teacher-centred approach, with interactions managed from the front. None of the participants appeared to have considered overt conflicts as fruitful grounds for exploring cultural issues or appropriate conflict resolution in a New Zealand context in later lessons.

Conclusion

This pilot study used a multi-method approach to discover how teachers navigate cultural conflict and dissonance in the classroom, drawing on research in culture teaching, intercultural competence and teacher cognition. Preliminary findings indicate that low-level cultural dissonance is acknowledged and to some extent capitalized on to facilitate cultural integration and intercultural awareness through both immediate responses and planned approaches. However, cultural conflict – interpreted by the participants as potentially threatening incidents – was generally perceived to have a negative impact on teacher identity and class cohesion, and was thus avoided. Reflection on incidents of conflict or

dissonance was important, as was collegial support. Awareness of the potential for cultural conflict also led teachers to adopt preventative strategies such as topic avoidance and classroom management, and to purposefully create an accepting and respectful classroom atmosphere. Culture, cultural integration and cross-cultural awareness were also integrated into the lessons, with teachers acting as cultural mediators and the classroom often developing into a productive "third place". The complexities of cultural dissonance and conflict were evident and a need for professional development in this area became obvious during the research.

Further research into the area of cultural conflict and dissonance would be beneficial, especially if data gathering was conducted in conjunction with professional development in the areas of intercultural competence and cultural conflict. This would address both the need for further insight into cultural conflict in the classroom and the teacher's role as cultural mediator, and the expressed need for training and structured forums for reflection on cultural issues and conflict. A more focused and longer-term approach may be more beneficial for participants, and could add a longitudinal dimension to the study.

Acknowledgements

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AN EXPANSIVE APPROACH TO READING: MEETING THE LEARNING NEEDS OF MULTI-LEVEL MIGRANT ADULT STUDENTS

Jenny Field

Waikato Institute of Technology

Abstract

A class presenting with diverse educational, literacy and ethnic backgrounds may also present with diverse aspirations and learning needs. This case study of a government funded Level 1 programme in 2013, reveals how those needs were at least partially met through a balanced Reading programme (Nation, 2009). Students undertook an active, varied and interesting curriculum based on work readiness and language and literacy development. The classroom-based enquiry focused on which of a varied and balanced range of approaches for the teaching of Reading might assist them to read more proficiently, or whether there were other factors which influenced their progress.

Students responded to a Likert survey, and then participated in two guided interviews where their responses were captured by a community interpreter and then interpreted into English. The data was analysed by identifying patterns and categories, with connections and themes emerging from the data. The survey data showed that students appreciated the range of methods. However, their interviews revealed more divergent responses. Although students could cite evidence of learning throughout the year, they did not deem any single approach to be more useful to them than another. This led the researcher to infer that students were drawing from the Reading programme what they needed, and that providing an expansive approach to reading was assisting them to learn naturally and autonomously.

Introduction

This study, based on three surveys and two interviews, investigated students' perspectives about what helped them improve their reading on a 37-week, level one programme.

The programme concerned was the Foundation Focused Training Opportunities programme (FFTO), which has been offered at the Waikato Institute of Technology (Wintec) for more than fifteen years. In 2013, 24 students enrolled on the full-time course. Each academic week consisted of 30 hours instruction time. Almost all of these students were former refugees, with countries of origin including Colombia, Myanmar, Somalia, Iraq and Cambodia. Most had lived in New Zealand for less than two years, and all were referred to the programme by New Zealand Work and Income. Students entered the class having come from very diverse backgrounds economically and educationally. Their years of schooling and readiness to learn in a tertiary institution differed markedly. All students, who were aged between 18 and 53, had completed at least three years of schooling as children. About half of the class had completed secondary school education.

The goal of the Tertiary Education Commission funded FFTO programme was to assist students to develop their English language skills so that they could gain work or move to further study. Contractual outcomes in employment and further training were set by the funding body, and an internal key outcome was the achievement of a Level One Certificate in Training Opportunities for Speakers of Other Languages. This Certificate consisted of 19 unit standards on the New Zealand Qualifications Authority framework and students needed to achieve competency in all units.

The instructional approach then needed to be flexible enough to meet the needs of this diverse group, but structured enough to provide a secure framework within which all students could learn. Throughout the year my colleague and I attempted to provide such a programme. Students were assessed with the TEC Starting Points literacy assessment (2010) at the beginning and end of the programme.

Although the results of this test indicated that learning took place throughout the year, I was keen to investigate which pedagogical methods and approaches were perceived as resulting in the most learning gain. I wanted to know students' views about the computer mediated learning they undertook in the Computer Lab four times a week and what they thought of the silent reading programme as well as their opinions about more formal aspects of class tuition such as unit standard workbooks. These booklets provided much of the content of the course and were often read either in pairs, individually or on the screen. An extensive reading programme was also introduced after three months. Acknowledging that much of the programme was based on students' reading capability, I wanted to find out what was helping them to read.

The Reading Programme

We planned a one-year course modelled on Nation's (2009, p.6) principles for teaching reading. Nation recommends a balanced approach based on four strands: meaning focused input where readers read at an appropriate level for different purposes; meaning focused output which involves speaking and writing activities relating to the reading; language focused learning; and fluency development. Table 1 below shows how the reading programme related to Nation's four strands approach.

Table 1: Four strand balanced reading programme Nation (2009) and FFTO Language programme outline

Four strands approach to reading Nation (2009)	Reading programme in FFTO programme Wintec, 2013
Meaning focused input	-reading English online (web pages, emails) -reading workbooks for unit standards -FLAX programme (CALL)
Meaning focused output	-work books for unit standards -FLAX programme, Studyladder (CALL) -class discussions re unit topics -writing: recounts, descriptive writing
Language focused learning	-Australia Network "Sisters and Brothers" -FLAX programme (CALL) -Picture dictionary (based on phonetics / sounds) - teacher prompted language lessons
Fluency development	-extensive reading programme: daily silent reading - reading and re-reading class material. Log kept of books read -easy reading material for beginners "In Words of One Syllable"

A structured yet varied reading programme was planned, based on curriculum principles advocated by Freeman, Freeman and Mercuri (2002, p.16). Based on their experience of working with limited literacy students in the United States, they presented four ideas that contribute to success in learning: first, to

engage students in a challenging, theme-based curriculum to develop their academic concepts; second, to draw on students' background experiences, cultures and languages for the programme; third, teachers need to organise collaborative activities and scaffold instruction so that students can engage with challenging curriculum and build their academic English proficiency. Finally, teachers are encouraged to create confident students who value school and value themselves as learners. The FFTO syllabus was contextualised around two main themes: personal profiles and employment, which included a two-week work experience placement. Each week students read workbooks developed around a unit standard for content knowledge. In addition, two key resources developed at Wintec were used: *In Words of One Syllable* (Oliver, 2006) – a book of short sentences about familiar contexts based on key sight words; and a picture dictionary based on phonics *Picture Dictionary* (Waikato Institute of Technology).

After three months, an extensive reading programme was introduced whereby students read silently for ten minutes each day and kept a log of the reading material. Following Day and Bamford's suggestion, (1998, p. 167), I engaged in extensive reading along with the students, reading my own text at the same time as students were reading. Other class work arising from reading involved co-constructing shared writing on the board, recycling material from workbooks or writing about a shared experience. This writing then became a piece of shared reading.

Four one-hour computer sessions using Moodle also helped to develop reading. Each week students worked at their own pace through scaffolded tasks which promoted reading for meaning and language focused learning. Three programmes were routinely used: *Studyladder*, *FLAX* and *Australia Network*. Studyladder is an interactive sequential online literacy programme, and although written for children, assisted students' literacy development with tasks being graded in small incremental steps. It contains a range of literacy and language tasks that developed meaning focused input. Graded readers with repeated simple phrases were followed by tasks where students selected a correct answer based on their understanding of the text.

FLAX is an online language learning programme containing a library of short original texts which are graded for meaning-focused input and which can then be developed into language focused learning tasks. The 100-word story which is set in a familiar context is read and listened to by students and then followed by a range of language tasks. Hints such as the initial consonants can also be provided by the teacher - constructed tasks if further assistance is needed.

Australia Network had an online serialised programme called 'Sisters and Brothers', and although mainly a listening serial it also contained reading tasks. After the audio visual presentation of the drama and a language focused segment by two presenters, students could read the script of the drama on-line, complete the tasks or practise their pronunciation.

Literature Review
A rich and varied reading programme which engages and interests students may correspond with Allwright's (2006) notion of a change from a precision approach to a scattergun approach to teaching which he considered was one of the recent promising directions in Applied Linguistics. He explains that if we accept the notion of the essential idiosyncrasy of humanity, then there are two possible responses. Either teaching aligns to match the individual differences evident or a scattergun approach is presented offering a multitude of learning opportunities in which students select activities according to their interests and needs - in other words, taking an autonomous approach to their learning (Holec, 1988; cited in Allwright, 2006).

Prior to this study I had not considered that learner autonomy and teaching English to Level One learners with limited literacy were closely linked. Learner autonomy, according to Phil Benson (2001) is "the capacity to take control of one's own learning" but he adds that measuring it is difficult in that autonomy is a multidimensional construct (p. 50). He says that "although we may be able to identify and list behaviours that demonstrate control over learning and hypothesise certain relationships among them, we have little evidence to suggest that autonomy consists of any particular combination of these behaviours" (p.51). However, Little (1991) argued that we can recognise autonomous learners by their behaviours, but this can take different forms depending on their age, how far they have progressed with their learning, what they perceive their immediate learning needs to be, and other variables (p.4). Autonomy then can manifest itself in many different ways.

Purcell-Gates (1995) argues that we can only understand the academic achievement of certain groups by understanding how they view the world and their place within the world. The Starting Points Assessment Guide (2010), which forms part of the initial TEC assessment, invites learners to share their educational backgrounds and their hopes for the future. In the first three weeks of the programme students answered questions about what they were reading in their first language, in English and online as part of this assessment.

Limited literacy adult learners present themselves as able and determined students yet most still require guidance from peers and teachers to reach their goals. Morrison & Navarro (2014) address this seeming contradiction in their framework "*The Autonomy Approach*". This focuses on enabling learners to become self-directed language learners by making informed decisions and principled choices about their own learning. Morrison and Navarro guide learners by encouraging them to consider their own strengths and weaknesses, prioritising their goals and identifying relevant language and resources. Finally students are encouraged to work with each other inside and outside the classroom, building a learning community as they share ideas and experiences (p.18). This approach combines a social context for learning and critical thinking with learners formulating their own personalised learning goals that they are working towards. The focus of the current study was to support students to become self-directed language learners with a well-rounded reading and language programme, taking into account their needs, and then to ask them about their perspectives, focused on what was helping them to read better.

The study
The researcher hoped that findings could be used to evaluate the course. The key questions were:
1. What helped students to read better while on the FFTO course?
2. Were any of the routine reading approaches used during the course more helpful to students than others?
3. Are there other factors that affect the students' progress apart from the balanced programme provided?

Methods

I designed a ten-point Likert Scale questionnaire entitled "What is helping you to read English?" This was completed by FFTO students during class time three times during the year in July, September and November, 2013 (see Appendix). The first collection was given after eighteen weeks of the thirty-seven week course by which time students were familiar with all aspects of the reading programme and had had some time to formulate opinions about which aspects were proving to be helpful.

Semi-structured interviews were held in July and November. As four students had left the course by July, a total of 20 students undertook two interviews each with the tutor / researcher and a bilingual community interpreter. Students had all consented to being involved in the study, and the research process had been approved through the institution's human ethics process. As some of the students were quite reticent about sharing their opinions in English, students sharing the same native language were interviewed in groups so that they could express their ideas more freely. I considered that this approach was likely to yield richer data than could be gained through sharing their views in a language other than their own. A bilingual community interpreter accompanied the researcher and posed the questions in the students' first language then immediately translated their answers into English, which were captured on a digital voice recorder. These interviews focused on aspects of the reading programme that had assisted their learning.

To analyse the survey data, the ratings were totalled and displayed on a bar graph for each month surveyed; July, September and November. These are presented in Figure 1 below.

To analyse the qualitative data, the audio-recordings were initially transcribed verbatim. The researcher then looked for common themes that were emerging from the data. Similarities and differences in responses were noted, as were reasons offered for their responses and any additional spontaneous comments. As noted in Burns (1999), analysis involves making sense of the data by identifying broad trends and then drawing out theories and explanations in order to interpret the meaning of these trends (p.15). The themes that emerged seemed to arise naturally from the positive responses given by students about the course. After the initial themes emerged, the data were examined again in relation to students' preferred approach. This re-examination revealed further insights into the students' reading progress.

Results

When reviewing the results from this study it is useful to remember that it gathered the students' views only of the reading programme, and as such it offers only partial answers to the questions posed. Survey data addressed the first research question "What helped students to read better while on the FFTO course?" Survey results in Figure 1 below show that the students thought that the various approaches used in the programme were helpful. In almost all categories of the survey, students' responses moved towards 'very helpful' over the three samples. Perhaps not surprisingly, according to their perceptions, the greatest reading gain over the five month period was received from the workbooks used for unit standards, and also the classroom-based language lessons where reading was a major component. This included reading silently, aloud, in pairs, reading from the screen / whiteboard and text reading.

 The approach that consistently had the highest response in terms of helpfulness was the Picture Dictionary which is based on a phonic approach and had a picture beside each basic vocabulary item.

Extensive reading, which was introduced in July, was given a medium or quite helpful rating in both the July and September collections, but increased considerably towards 'very helpful' in the November collection.
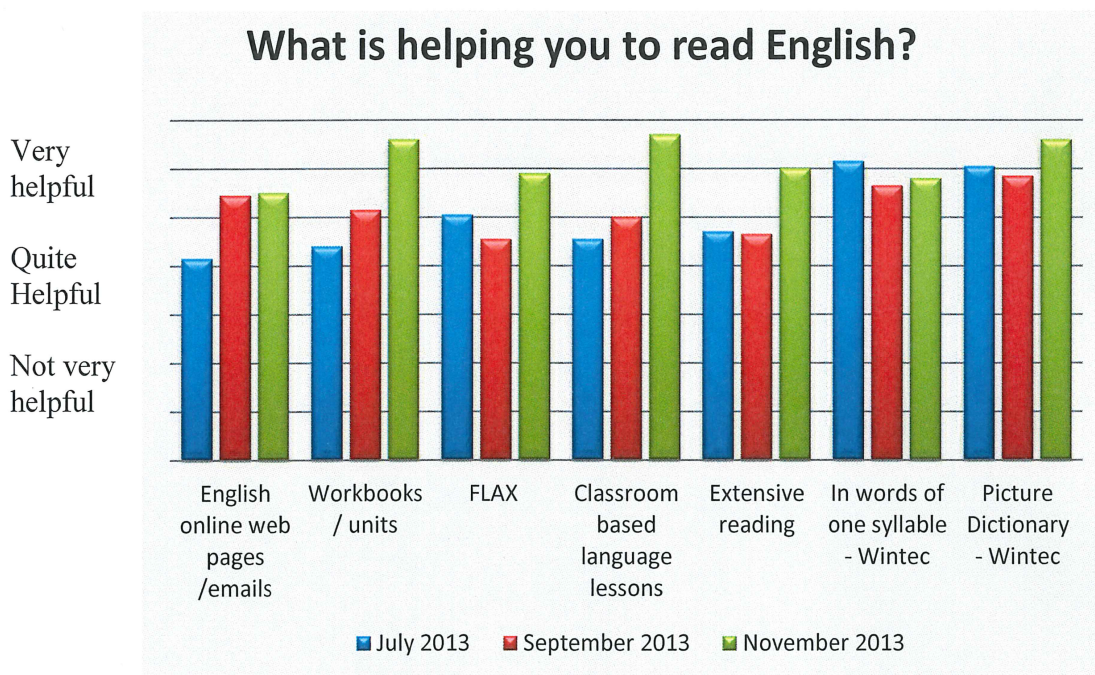
Figure 1. Responses from survey data (3 samples) 'What is helping you to read English?'

Emerging themes

Increased control

When asked in their interviews about reading gains made over the year all students were able to cite concrete examples of increased control over their learning. A number of students who had been in the country for less than eighteen months talked about how they felt when they arrived in the country and in the classroom space, and how they had moved in their learning. For example, "I had no spoken English when we arrived but now we can do more things. I love the study." "When I speak outside I can understand the people and also when the teachers ask questions in class I can answer the questions. This is progress for me."

Relevance to goals

Students were able to perceive the relevance and also the benefits of reading better to assist them with goals that related to their family and becoming part of the community. "I can read the letters that come. I help my son who is 5 years old to read."

There was a small group of six students whose goals related to academic achievement and further study. "I am going to university and will need to read a lot." "I am learning to read and this helps me to be prepared for the future where reading will be important." "Reading the easy books is really helpful. When I read them I think 'Oh, this is how they write.' "

Students also reflected on how their learning was assisting them outside the classroom - how they were extending their social networks. "At first I was alone because I was afraid, but now I am comfortable and can go out." Another young student said that he always got involved in social activities, like playing

soccer. Two of the older learners revealed that they received a lot of help from their children who were secondary school age.

Digital learning

Another reported result was that students were using digital environments increasingly inside and outside the class. From the first week most used on-line dictionaries on their cellphones although some used their bilingual print dictionaries too. "Google Translate is helpful to make sure that we can check understanding of words." All students engaged well with the compulsory blended learning component and appreciated the four hours a week they spent in the computer room. They also read on-line on their computers at home. Although most of this reading seemed to be in their native language, four or five learners reported reading online stories that their children brought home and watching the news in English from time to time. Comments in interviews towards the end of the course indicated that students had gained greater self-confidence in many aspects of their lives; they were confident users of technology and were confident participants in the class.

Strategy development

Strategies for learning new vocabulary drew the most remarks with one student indicating that he thought the task of acquiring so much vocabulary was too much for him. "I can't understand too much. So much vocabulary." This student was overwhelmed by the enormity of the task and may have benefitted from reading easier material to increase his fluency and understanding.

Students all used dictionaries and one new student described her approach. "When the teacher tells me a story I use my English-Burmese dictionary to find out the meanings of words."

When asked if they liked to read hard or easy books half of the students preferred difficult books as they said it extended their vocabulary and they read with a dictionary beside them. The other half enjoyed easier reading, particularly the graded readers available to them each day. However two students said both were useful. "When I read I can find the meaning of the words and so I'm learning new words. With easy reading it's easy to see the structure of the sentences and I can help my daughter at school." This comment showed an awareness, in at least one student, of the benefits of reading widely and that there were benefits to be gained through both intensive and extensive reading.

However, in relation to the question about which reading approach was proving useful for students, results from the interviews revealed a wide variety of responses. Students were able to clearly articulate what they believed had helped them with their reading, and every approach was mentioned at least once.

Discussion

After the themes had emerged from the interview data, I noticed that the question of one approach being preferred over another had not been answered in the data. All of the various approaches had been preferred by students at one stage or another, but there were no clear preferences for one or another method or approach by the students. I decided to query the data again to find what else it revealed. The re-examined data seemed to indicate that the broad reading programme had catered for the students' diverse needs and levels and had also met the students' learning needs at an individual level. This evidence caused a movement in my thinking away from approaches and methods and towards the view that students were learning autonomously and drawing from the programme what they needed for their

individual learning needs. As a consequence, new themes subsequently emerged which seemed to support the notion that the reading syllabus and the teaching programme had met the students' needs and promoted learning.

Relevant contextualised curriculum

As the students were quite new to New Zealand we integrated into the programme many shared new experiences for the class both in and outside the classroom. Students thus were able to see and talk about a number of experiences which we then discussed and wrote about. These oral texts then became reading texts through co-construction with students and teachers collaborating to construct a written text. The class went on trips to the museum, the library, and they also travelled on the local Orbiter bus route which circumnavigates the city. They did some cooking, played sport together and spent regular hours each week in the computer laboratory. The syllabus then was contextualised with meaningful themes about themselves and their moves towards further training and employment. The reading they were doing then became more relevant to them as they had experienced it together. This study confirmed my belief that at the stage when students are emergent readers, it is important that what they read is meaningful, interesting and relevant and within their capability, so that they can develop the many skills involved in reading without being excessively challenged by unfamiliar settings or becoming overwhelmed by the cognitive load.

Increased control of learning during the year – students developed more autonomy
In the absence of substantial evidence that one approach was meeting students' reading needs better than another, but with students acknowledging that they had learned well throughout the year, there seemed a strong possibility that students had taken from the programme what they needed, as all students were able to verbalise what had helped them to read better. This indicates that students increasingly took control of their own learning over the course of the year, and aligns with the ideas of Little (1991), that learners' developing autonomy can be observed through noting their behaviours but also by other forms such as how far they have progressed with their learning.

Each of the reading approaches or methods in the survey received positive mentions from the students, indicating that they thought they had learned to read. This was evident in their Starting Points assessments, which showed they had all moved up one point in the three-point scale. Moreover, the majority of students who remained on the course throughout the 37 weeks achieved their key learning goal, which was a Level 1 Wintec qualification based on NZQA unit standards, which assessed all four language skills as well as assessing their practical knowledge of employment. Many of these successful students then enrolled in the six-month course leading to a Wintec Certificate at elementary level ESOL.

A broad or scattergun approach may be helpful to meet diverse needs
Many ESOL classes in New Zealand have learners from diverse backgrounds in terms of literacy and educational backgrounds. Multi-level classes are quite widespread throughout the adult ESOL sector, especially in the emergent stages. A focus on achieving the individual learning goals of each learner in a large class setting can be daunting when looking at the spread of learner abilities, capacities and wide range of educational, literacy and language backgrounds. Therefore, offering a relevant, varied and interesting programme which both challenges and supports learners in making choices among a range of strategies may be a way for teachers to engage learners and to create a positive learning environment in which all students can learn independently.

Conclusion

This expansive reading approach engaged learners in a challenging, interesting, contextually relevant curriculum. The findings of this study indicate that students were applying the reading gains they had made outside the classroom. By the end of the course they were reading with their children, reading pamphlets and free newspapers, and participating more in their new communities. They were using digital technology very confidently and keeping in touch with friends and family in their countries of origin.

It appears that a combination of a balanced reading programme incorporating a skills based and experiential approach helped them to interact more confidently in a range of print-based environments, and assisted them to develop their reading proficiency naturally and autonomously.

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Appendix:

Reading activity	How it has helped you
Reading English online (web pages, emails).	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Very helpful Quite helpful Not very helpful
The reading workbooks for the unit standards	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Very helpful Quite helpful Not very helpful
Class work: vocabulary, comprehension, grammar exercises	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Very helpful Quite helpful Not very helpful
FLAX stories in the Computer Lab	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Very helpful Quite helpful Not very helpful
Daily silent reading with readers from the Wintec Library	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Very helpful Quite helpful Not very helpful
The Green book "In Words of One Syllable"	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Very helpful Quite helpful Not very helpful
The Yellow Book "Picture Dictionary"	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Very helpful Quite helpful Not very helpful

SUMMARIES

ACCEPTABILITY OF MIGRANT PRONUNCIATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

Marty Pilott
Victoria University of Wellington

This study aimed to identify the features of migrant pronunciation which most strongly predict New Zealand employers' decisions about migrants' acceptability for employment. There are a number of barriers to the employment of migrants in New Zealand, one of them being English language – including pronunciation. This is an aspect of ESOL teaching which has been neglected in recent years, which means there is a generation of teachers with little knowledge of pronunciation teaching.

Researchers in this area have described three key measures of non-native speech: intelligibility (how much is understood), comprehensibility (how difficult the speech is to understand) and accentedness (how different the speech is from the local norm). These are related, but a speaker can be highly accented yet easily understood (Derwing & Munro, 2005, 2009). The goal for present-day pronunciation teaching is intelligibility, but these measures do not answer the question of whether the learner's pronunciation – however intelligible – will be found acceptable by the local community.

There is considerable evidence that misplaced stress can cause communication problems: Murphy (2004), Field (2005), and Sicola (2014) all point to word stress as a key feature for understanding non-native speakers. Kang (2010) found that pitch range (which affects the feature "monotony") strongly affected comprehension; but very little research has been done anywhere on acceptability.

In this study, recordings were made of migrants (n=40) who were mostly attending English language schools at elementary to pre-intermediate level. Their speech was rated by six experienced assessors, including the researcher, to create an "objective reference" of their pronunciation features. The results were reduced by a factor analysis to three factors. Although the analysis was statistical, the three factors also fitted neatly into segmental (vowels and consonants), prosodic (intonation stress and monotony) and fluency (hesitancy, pausing, coarticulation, choppiness and also monotony) features of pronunciation.

Employers, or people involved in hiring staff (n=95), were asked to take an online survey. They were recruited from Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington, Dunedin and Christchurch through cold calling of businesses such as supermarkets which were likely to employ migrants for low-skilled or unskilled work.

The survey randomly presented five of the speech samples to each employer, and they were asked, assuming that the speaker was otherwise suited for a job they offered, "How acceptable is the migrant's pronunciation for a job with your company?" This and other questions were presented using a 9-point Likert scale, in this case of "not acceptable" to "very acceptable".

Multivariate analyses of the results, against the rater baseline, found that all three pronunciation factors were important in predicting acceptability by employers. The strongest predictor was fluency, then prosody, then segmentals.

Fluency can be seen as high level, global features of speech as opposed to specific features such as correct consonants or stress placement. Thus in rating pronunciation ability, these untrained native speakers were most strongly influenced by the extent to which the speakers could communicate easily and fluently.

This study has implications for teachers of ESOL. Many classes spend most time on the accuracy of segmentals. While this is important – particularly for speakers whose L1 gives them problems producing English sounds – pronunciation teaching needs to continue into the higher levels. If fluency features have the strongest impact on native speakers, ESOL classes should give far more time to listening to and producing fluent speech. Those learners whose goal is to find employment need to be able to speak confidently with good linking and little pausing. This can only be achieved with considerable practice.

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PILOTING THE CERTIFICATE FOR

PRACTICING ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHERS (CertPELT)

Elizaveta Tarasova and Dana Taylor

IPC Tertiary Institute

English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teachers benefit from increasing their knowledge and awareness of aspects of language pedagogy relevant to their cultural contexts and bilingual settings (Ansary & Babaii, 2002; Jarvis & Atsilarat, 2004). Nation (2012) recommends creating a classroom setting similar to an English as a Second Language (ESL) environment to promote fluent, accurate, and self-reliant use of the foreign language. Therefore, teacher education programmes should provide opportunities for native (NS) and non-native (NNS) English-speaking teachers to develop and examine their EFL teaching knowledge, skills, and confidence (Chinokul, 2011).

Teacher education and its effects on teaching practice, however, require further investigation of processes by which EFL teachers gain teaching expertise (Tsui 2003), together with an understanding of how teachers' self-perceptions are altered by experience (Moussu & Llurda, 2008). Based on the results of our exploratory study into Trinity College of London's pilot Certificate for Practicing English Language Teachers (CertPELT), this summary indicates the importance of introducing TESOL principles (i.e. authentic input and output, language practice outside the classroom, and focus on function) into EFL contexts. Indeed, EFL classes often concentrate on teaching grammar points and provide fewer opportunities for using the target language in classroom interactions and real-life situations (Nation, 2012). We present the effects that short-term TESOL courses have on the EFL classroom, by analysing two questionnaires trainees completed before and after their CertPELT course.

In 2013, IPC Tertiary Institute piloted a CertPELT course for in-service NNS teachers and NS teachers without formal TESOL qualifications at Rangsit University in Bangkok, Thailand. Course participants comprised six formally trained NNS teachers and four NS teachers with little or no formal training. TESOL input sessions included various English language teaching topics. Teachers also discussed their immediate application of teaching skills and techniques learnt in input sessions.

In order to collect data about the participants' levels of confidence in the areas of knowledge of the language and about teaching the language, we asked the participants to complete a pre-course questionnaire. The questionnaire's four-point scale was based on Likert's (1932) scale (1 = developing; 4 = very good) and asked about teachers' language proficiency and teaching experience; professional interests and expectations; reflection on their knowledge of teaching and learning; and teaching skills and knowledge. The results of the pre-course questionnaire revealed areas in which teachers felt most confident: for NS, knowing how English is used (3.5) and improvising during lessons (3.1); for NNS, knowing how English is structured (3.3) and altering / adapting resources (3.2). NS teachers believed their lack of knowledge about the structure of English and inability to use the students' L1 negatively impacted their confidence, whereas NNS teachers wanted techniques to motivate learners.

Post-course survey questions asked participants to reflect on useful components of the course. Results indicated that sessions encouraging teachers to reduce L1 in EFL classrooms (by improving language of instructions, adapting authentic materials, using elicitation and pre-teaching activities, working with errors, managing large, mixed-ability classes) positively impacted language lessons' overall efficiency.

Moreover, participants appreciated workshops focusing on using English as the language of instruction and bypassing L1. Both NS and NNS teachers mentioned that using English as the language of instruction not only improved students' motivation during class, but also boosted their confidence levels.

Our findings suggest that, in line with Nation (2012), the use of TESOL techniques in EFL contexts allows trainees to foster an English-speaking classroom environment, thereby enhancing students' learning. It is clear there is a need, and Chinokul (2011) concurs, for further investigation into the identity and self-efficacy of NS and NNS teachers who have not received formal EFL teacher training.

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NEGOTIATION OF MINORITY LANGUAGE USE BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Melanie Revis
Victoria University of Wellington

The emerging field of family language policy is concerned with the ways in which parents transmit minority languages to their children. It is therefore "private language planning" (Piller, 2001), which, although influenced by outside factors, highlights the negotiation of language use inside the home. My research uses a linguistic ethnography framework (Rampton, 2007) to explore the impact of parents' and children's language choices on family language policies in two refugee communities in Wellington. The Ethiopian participants arrived from 2001 onward through reunification with family members that were previously refugees in New Zealand; the Colombian participants first settled in New Zealand in 2008 after living as refugees in Ecuador for up to 17 years. Over a course of two years I conducted participant observation and interviews with 29 mothers and 17 of their children and collected recordings of naturally-occurring home interactions.

In my exploration, I followed Spolsky's (2004) theoretical division of language policy into beliefs, management and practices. Positive language beliefs in both communities typically reflected the participants' perceptions of their minority language as central to their identity. In addition, Amharic use was encouraged due to its elevated role in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, whereas Spanish was used by Colombians because they regarded it as a highly useful international language.

Families used different strategies to translate these positive language beliefs into management and practices. I differentiated between two types of management: explicit management whereby families aimed to use only the ethnic language, and "laissez-faire policies" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013), meaning that the parents set no rules for home language choice. These different management decisions may reflect whether the parents have an impact belief (De Houwer, 1999), that is, whether they are aware of the influence that their modelling of the ethnic language has on their children's language use. Nine out of 14 Ethiopian parents in my data set used explicit Amharic-only management and encouraged their children to use Amharic whenever they were inside the family home. They expressed concern about their children's acquisition of Amharic and conceptualised minority language transmission as deliberate teaching. By contrast, 11 out of 15 Colombian parents adopted laissez-faire policies, stating that they found it natural to speak Spanish with their children but also used English occasionally. The prevalence of this scenario among Colombian parents is arguably due to their relatively short length of residence and their focus on acquiring English.

Observations and recordings of the families' practices revealed that parents adopted varying responses to their children's use of English. I assessed these using Lanza's (2004) taxonomy of discourse styles. One family, who had declared that they used a laissez-faire policy, regularly moved on the conversation in Spanish after their son used English. By doing so, they essentially ignored his linguistic choice, opened up a bilingual context (Lanza 2004) and socialised him into an understanding that he could use both English and Spanish. The outcome was that the family had "dilingual" conversations (Saville-Troike, 1987) in which the parent and the child each used a different language. Gafaranga (2010) suggests that the underlying interactive process is a 'medium request' through which children actively negotiate language choice and wait for their parents to switch to the majority language, in this case English.

Children may therefore assume great agency in the language socialisation process. Evidence for this was provided by an Ethiopian family who typically used English because of their daughter's resistance to using Amharic. While the mother tried to introduce Amharic-only management, her daughter was the only Ethiopian at her school, used English with her friends and wanted to continue to speak English at home to conform to her peer group. Her mother eventually gave in to her medium requests and English became the default language of the home.

In sum, in my data, parents' language management strategies and immediate responses to their children's use of English impacted upon their children's language choices and formed important components of an effective family language policy. At the same time, recognising that children also contested parental strategies provides clear evidence that family language policy is a joint enterprise between all family members.

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A NATIONAL LANGUAGES POLICY FOR NEW ZEALAND: STILL RELEVANT TODAY?

Sharon Harvey

AUT University

The history of languages policy in New Zealand is a relatively long and fractured one. Until recently the idea of coordination and planning on a national scale had dropped out of view, with disparate and uncoordinated language policies being nested in a number of government departments. However, following the call of the Royal Society of New Zealand (RSNZ) paper Languages of Aotearoa (RSNZ, 2013) and the widespread support that paper received, it is time to consider planning again for a national languages policy. New Zealand's 'new times' (Chen & Morley, 2005) have been marked by the rise of unprecedented levels of ethnic and linguistic diversity (Statistics NZ, 2013), now coined super diversity (RSNZ, 2013; Vertovec, 2007). Institutionalised public monolingualism in English, substantially attributable to our colonial heritage (Phillipson, 2009) no longer seems a sufficient approach for engaging productively with the 160 plus languages spoken in New Zealand (Statistics NZ, 2013), nor as a way to prepare our young people for the multilingual and intercultural contexts they live in, will work in and will travel to.

Following on from Lo Bianco's groundbreaking work on the Australian national languages policy (Lo Bianco, 1987), the 1992 framework for a NZ national languages policy Aoteareo: Speaking for Ourselves, (Waite, 1992) was met with widespread enthusiasm and optimism across New Zealand's many and varied languages groups and sectors. As someone who advised on the development of the framework during the late 1980s Robert Kaplan wrote of the languages situation in New Zealand at that time:

> … the sustained interest in a National Languages Policy in New Zealand has depended on an awareness that language education is not adequately provided for, that the language situation is essentially not well understood, that an element of chaos exists in the various sectors that deal with language, and that language rights—indeed, the very existence of some languages—are threatened by the failure to deal systematically with language issues. These concerns have, in some respects, been offset by a degree of residual racism in society, by the belief that English is the only language necessary for New Zealand's development…. (Kaplan, 1994, p. 162)

This position has only changed in so far as New Zealand has become much more ethnically and linguistically diverse in the intervening twenty years since Robert Kaplan wrote his paper (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Languages that were endangered in the early 1990s, that is Cook Island Māori, Niuean and Tokelauan, have continued to inexorably lose first language speakers (UNESCO, n. d.). Moreover, New Zealand has not shifted from its 'English is enough' public policy position.

Because of resourcing implications that would arise from implementing a languages policy (East, Shackleford & Spence, 2007) the Aoteareo framework was quietly ignored by the National government of the time, as well as subsequent governments. Instead the preferred idea was to undertake some of the work identified in Aoteareo within a range of ministries. Several portfolios fell to the Ministry of Education, some to the Labour Department and others to the Maori Language Commission, as well as

other institutions. Disparate policies planning for language acquisition, status and corpus development were subsequently produced and cycled into practice in the ensuing years. However, the lack of a coherent across-government languages framework meant that these policies were developed in isolation without taking the overall language ecology (the effects of one language on others and vice versa) of New Zealand into account.

 I question whether the lack of traction on a languages policy and New Zealand's still overwhelmingly public monolingualism could be linked to the country's strongly neoliberal policy context. Features of neoliberalism that may have impacted on attitudes and policies towards languages include:

- a quest for efficiency, including in communication: the idea of one language, one country and perhaps, one language, one world.
- the creation of 'markets' as a way of organising aspects of social life previously considered outside the realm of business, such as education.
- the advent of 'self-governing' schools, where there is minimal strategic governmental leadership and/or steering to provide for changing societal needs, for example the need for a multilingual citizenry.
- the ideas of 'choice' and 'contestability', which create a kind of 'ersatz' democracy but which allow little room for long term strategic planning e.g. what languages do we need proficiency in over the next fifty years in New Zealand?
- the concept of 'small government' where government does not see a role for itself in strategic planning and leadership. National concerns such as language use and acquisition are left to 'the market' to decide.

I would refer readers to Languages in Aotearoa (RSNZ, 2013) as a contemporary case for a reimagined, contemporary policy for NZ. In order for this to be developed, however, the New Zealand government and public will need to look through a different policy lens, one which sees diversity as core to our identity and equity of opportunity (including linguistic opportunity) as vital for equitable social and economic outcomes, and one which values the immense gains public multilingualism will bring to New Zealand.

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