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**WHAT IS THE ROLE OF ENGLISH
TRANSITION IN MĀORI-MEDIUM
EDUCATION?**



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
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ABSTRACT

The place of English language instruction in Māori-medium programmes is a controversial issue. Many Māori-medium schools either exclude it from their curriculum, or pay lip service to it. However, English language instruction is an important element for all Māori-medium schools to consider, as its role will affect the extent to which the students achieve the aim of becoming biliterate. Unfortunately though, how to support the English language growth of Māori-medium students remains an as yet unresolved and under-researched issue. It is this theme that this research seeks to investigate.

This Doctoral thesis reports on a multiple case study research project that investigated the English transition programmes of three Māori-medium schools including: a wharekura, a kura kaupapa Māori and a bilingual school. The research implemented a Kaupapa Māori framework and used interviews, classroom observations, and language assessments to explore the subject. The central aim of this project was to examine how these schools arrange their English transition programmes, what issues they face, and how they negotiate them.

This research found that the teaching of English in Māori-medium education is an area in which Māori-medium schools have little support, and often struggle to negotiate. Despite this, some programmes offer good quality instruction that contributes to their students achieving high levels of literacy development. This study concluded that there is a relationship between the English transition programme design, and the students' literacy (English and Māori) development. The higher quality programmes included greater quantities of English instruction, the staff was informed about bilingual education principles and they nurtured closer relationships with their student. Overall, this research found that English language instruction can play a part in Māori-medium education in a way that does not need to detract from the school focus on the learning of te reo Māori.

The layout of this thesis is as follows. Chapter One explores the history of research into bilingualism before discussing some of the theoretical models that apply to this research project. Chapter Two explains some of the structural considerations concerning bilingual programmes, and the characteristics of Māori-medium education in the New Zealand

context. Chapter Three examines New Zealand research into Māori-medium education with a particular focus on three areas: general teaching practices, research about student assessment, and research about English transition. Chapter Four discusses the methodological decisions that I made when approaching this research and the research tools I chose for the data collection process.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven each presents a single case study of an English transition programme in a Māori-medium school. They provide descriptions of the programmes and explore the perspectives of the key participants, including staff and students. An analysis of Year 8 student literacy outcomes are provided followed by a discussion of the predominant findings that emerge.

Chapter Eight is the discussion chapter where the key results from all three case studies will be discussed. This is followed by the concluding chapter (Chapter Nine), which discusses the educational implications of this research.

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1 Chapter One: Research into Bilingualism and Bilingual Education

1.1 Introduction

Kura kaupapa Māori (Māori-medium primary school) are a key Māori-medium education model. This model offers a high level of Māori language instruction (between 81-100 percent) and is referred to as a Level 1 Māori-medium programme.¹ It is these Level 1 programmes that have garnered the most interest in the national and international literature. For the most part, however, the literature has tended to focus on the central role of Māori-medium education in revitalising te reo Māori (the Māori language). To date, very little research has been reported about the pedagogical issues that pertain to these bilingual programmes. This research study attempts to address this imbalance by focusing on the pedagogical issue of the teaching of English in Māori-medium programmes - a controversial issue that many Māori-medium schools struggle to negotiate.

Level 1 Māori-medium programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand have always been classed as a form of bilingual education because they instruct students through the medium of their heritage language (te reo Māori), not because they instruct through two languages (May, Hill, & Tiakiwai, 2004). While instructing through only one language would seem to conflict with some definitions of what constitutes a strong form of bilingual education (see Baker, 2006; García, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; 2000 for definitions of strong, weak and non bilingual programmes), there is good reason why this situation has existed historically in New Zealand (see Hinton & Hale, 2001; Walker, 1990 for more discussion on the history of the Māori language). Such was the decline of fluent Māori language

¹ Māori-medium primary school level programmes are divided into four levels according to the percentage of te reo Māori instruction. Level 1 programmes include between 81 and 100 percent te reo Māori instruction; Level 2 programmes include 51-80 percent; Level 3 programmes 31-50 percent and Level 4 programmes have 12-30 percent. Each level of this government-formulated system has a different funding formula with Level 1 programmes receiving the highest. Chapter Two discusses this further.

speakers towards the end of the 20th Century, as signalled by Benton's Māori language survey (Benton, 1979), that by the late 1970s there existed a real threat that the Māori language would die out if nothing significant was done to stem the loss. The Māori community was jolted into action and the education system was viewed as the best vehicle for revitalising te reo Māori. As Walker (1990, p. 240) states, "The pressing need was to rescue the language from oblivion by reproducing authentic native speakers, and kura kaupapa Māori was seen as the only solution."

Unfortunately, by the 1970s a considerable proportion of the Māori population were already unable to speak their own language (see Benton & Benton, 2000 for information on language shift till the late 1990s), including a generation of new parents who wanted their children to have the language learning opportunity they were not provided.² This New Zealand phenomenon highlights an increasingly common dilemma of how to revitalize indigenous languages (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Hinton & Hale, 2001) while ensuring that the children continue to develop the necessary English language skills for success in society.

The push to revitalise the Māori language has been a significant contributing factor to the exclusion of English language instruction from Māori-medium programmes. However, another factor has also contributed to this concerning a misinterpretation of the language characteristics of Māori-medium students. Most Māori-medium students speak English (not Māori) as their first language (Rau, 2005) because their parents were the first casualties of the breakdown of intergenerational language transmission. As such, there has been a widespread belief that as these students already speak English, learning its academic features would be relatively unproblematic, requiring solely the addition of reading skills at a later time, such as in secondary school (May & Hill, 2005).

This issue relates to the concept of language skills transfer (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2000, 2008; Genesee, Geva, Dressler, & Kamil, 2008; Oller & Eilers, 2002; Proctor, Carlo, August, & Snow, 2006). In Aotearoa/New Zealand, it has been a widely held belief that language skills automatically transfer from one language to the other, without the need

² The last significant national survey into the Māori language in 2001 found that the number of Māori speakers had stabilised at around 130,000, or 25percent of the Māori population (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001).

for direct instruction. This over-generalising of the concept of language transfer has been critiqued by Cummins (2000, pp. 23-24), who argues that, while language skills transfer does occur to an extent, this transfer cannot substitute for formal exposure to that language. He further states that this transfer is a “two way process,” requiring a repositioning of the two languages in schools, and not the total exclusion of one of them. If Cummins is correct, gaining an academic register in any language therefore requires significant formal exposure to that language at some point in schooling, and preferably early.

With this uncertainty around the place of English instruction, and an ongoing reluctance of Level 1 Māori-medium schools to adopt English transition instruction, this research was undertaken to explore the theme. The study adopts an ethnographic approach, using multiple case studies to research the English transition programmes of three New Zealand Level 1 Māori-medium schools, all of which implement some form of English transition programme. The research seeks to answer the questions: How do schools arrange their English transition programmes? What issues do they face? And, how are students progressing towards achieving the goal of becoming bilingual and biliterate?

The discussion to this point has signalled a significant issue around Māori-medium students learning English – particularly academic English. Unfortunately, this is an area that current research has not yet been able to clarify. Only two previous projects (both single site, action research studies) have been conducted in this area (see Berryman, 2001; Berryman & Glynn, 2003, 2004; Lowman, Fitzgerald, Rapira, & Clark, 2007), but because both were action researches, neither of them explored in any depth the issue of how Māori-medium programmes negotiate English transition. Meanwhile, studies from overseas contexts do not apply directly to the characteristics of Māori-medium programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Chapter Two discusses how New Zealand programmes differ from overseas). Therefore, this research project will contribute significantly to the still limited pool of research on this theme.

New Zealand research into English transition education in Māori-medium schools needs to clarify two key issues. First, given that the students of Māori-medium schools usually already speak English as their first language, when should English transition instruction ideally commence? Second, what English instructional content and arrangements best suits the New Zealand situation where a high standard of academic English is achieved

without threatening Māori language progress? By examining three Māori-medium programmes, this research will assist in answering these two questions, and begin to fill the gap in the literature.

This research aims to achieve the following objectives.

- It will provide information on an area of Māori-medium education that is not well understood, under-researched yet critical to the learning outcomes of Māori-medium students
- It provides information on the content and arrangements of three English transition programmes in Māori-medium schools and the English literacy achievement of the Year 8 students
- It researches the current issues that English transition teachers face and how they negotiate them
- It provides an insight into the perceptions of Māori-medium staff and Year 8 Māori-medium students about the English transition programmes in their schools
- It provides indicative information on how well the Year 8 students are progressing towards the aim of becoming biliterate

This project evolved from a considerable amount of research and consultation with the schools involved (Chapter Four provides a full description of this process). Prior to this project, my colleagues Stephen May and Sarah Tiakiwai and I conducted a review of the literature into bilingual education in Aotearoa/New Zealand (May et al., 2004). The information from this New Zealand Ministry of Education-commissioned report provided critical information on the then gaps in Māori-medium educational research and, importantly, identified what potential areas could be the subject of further research. Following this initial project, a period of time was spent formulating and negotiating several research proposals until a mutually beneficial design was settled upon.

1.2 Chapter outline

Chapter One explores the history of research into bilingualism before discussing some of the theoretical models that apply to this research. Chapter Two is divided into two sections. Section one unpacks some of the structural considerations concerning bilingual programmes. Given the many permutations among bilingual programmes, there is a need

to discuss these in relation to the wider evidence of the effectiveness of bilingual programmes and to differentiate the characteristics of New Zealand programmes from other international examples. Section two discusses the characteristics of Māori-medium education in the New Zealand context.

Chapter Three examines New Zealand research into Māori-medium education with a particular focus on four areas: general teaching practices; assessment; student outcomes and English transition. Chapter Four is divided into two sections. Section one discusses the methodological decisions that I made when approaching this research. Section two discusses the steps in the data collection process and includes a discussion of the development of the research tools implemented.

Chapters five, six and seven each present a single case study of an English transition programme in a Māori-medium school, providing a description of the programme and exploring the perspectives of key participants, including the schools' senior management, English transition teacher(s), Māori immersion teachers and Year 8 (12 years old) students. An analysis of student outcomes is also undertaken in each school, and each chapter concludes with a discussion of the predominant findings that emerge.

Chapter Eight is the discussion chapter where the key results from all three case studies will be discussed. This is followed by the concluding chapter (Chapter Nine), which discusses the educational implications of the findings of this research.

1.3 Bilingual education

Like other fields of education, bilingual education is a complex and contested area. Approaches to the education of bilingual students, in particular, have proved controversial over time. For example, prior to the 1960s, research studies appeared to indicate that bilingualism was a negative phenomenon, to be discouraged educationally. Since the 1960s, however, more sophisticated research has consistently highlighted the benefits of bilingualism, the result, in turn, of bilingualism being better understood in and by these studies (Baker, 2006). This chapter will explore the history of research into bilingualism before discussing some of the theoretical models that apply specifically to this current research study. In particular, two key theories of bilingualism and learning will be examined: the Threshold and Interdependence hypotheses.

Early research on bilingualism – conducted primarily between 1920-1960 – claimed that bilingualism was largely a negative phenomenon. These studies broadly concluded that bilingualism resulted in cognitive deficiencies, lower IQ scores, even mental retardation. Indeed, terms such as mental confusion and language handicap were often associated with bilingual children in these studies (Cummins, 1979, 1984b) and it was argued that these factors, in turn, negatively affected their academic performance. Darcy (1953), for example, concluded that “the general trend in the literature relating to the effect of bilingualism upon the measure of intelligence has been toward the conclusion that bilinguals suffer from a language handicap when measured by verbal tests of intelligence.”

Other studies reinforced this assumption by demonstrating a range of other supposed deficiencies exhibited by bilinguals. Specifically, the large majority of these studies reported that, in comparison with monolingual children, bilingual children exhibited a verbal deficit in both passive and active vocabulary, sentence length, and the use of complex and compound sentences. Bilingual children were also said to use more deviant forms in their speech, exhibit more grammatical errors, and have deficient non-verbal abilities in mathematics (Lee, 1996).

General indications from these early studies, then, were that monolingual children were up to three years ahead of bilingual children in various skills relating to verbal and non-verbal intelligence. In fact, even as late as 1966, one writer was still able to claim that bilingualism could impair the intelligence of a whole ethnic group (Weisgerber 1966, cited in Romaine, 1989).

This early research has been consistently contradicted by a much more positive view of bilingualism from the 1960s onwards. There are two salient reasons that explain the conflicting results in research between the two periods. First, prior to 1960, research often reflected negative societal perceptions towards bilinguals, that were often perpetuated by researchers themselves (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, 2000). Therefore, research during this earlier period generally confirmed what was already considered a priori – to be the truth – that monolinguals were more able than bilinguals. Furthermore, supporting this negative perception of bilingualism was a theoretical perspective which viewed the mind as having a limited capacity for learning languages (Baker & Jones, 1998). Second, early research in the main was based on flawed research methods that tended to disadvantage the

bilingual groups in comparison with their monolingual counterparts. These two limitations are further discussed below.

One notable early study that illustrates the issues of researcher bias and problematic research methods was carried out in Wales by Saer (Saer, 1924). Saer studied 1400 Welsh/English bilingual children between the ages of seven and 14 in five rural and two urban areas of Wales using the 1916 Stanford-Binet IQ Scale, in combination with other tests, to measure intelligence (IQ).

Language Group	Average IQ
Urban bilinguals	100
Urban monoglot English speakers	99
Rural bilinguals	86
Rural monoglot English speakers	96

Table 1: Saer's IQ averages by language group (Baker, 1988, p. 7)

Table 1 shows the relative performances of each group of students studied. The bilinguals scored both the highest (urban bilinguals) and the lowest (rural bilinguals) in this study, with the monolinguals situated between. Intriguingly, however, Saer concluded that bilingualism resulted in lower intelligence because of the lower scores obtained by bilingual children in rural areas. This is despite the urban bilinguals scoring the highest of all four groups (Baker, 1988).

There are several issues with Saer's study. First, the difference in scores between the bilingual and monolingual groups is minimal. Therefore, it is difficult to come to the conclusion of monolingual advantage over bilinguals, as Saer found. One could equally come to the conclusion that, in contrast to Saer's findings, bilingual students are more intelligent, because overall, this group outperformed both groups of monolinguals. The researcher's own negative conclusion could have simply been a result of negative societal stereotypes towards bilinguals.

A second criticism of this research concerns its methodology, in particular, confounding variables. Saer's research did not eliminate potential variables, which could have easily

interacted with this study to alter the results. In fact, when Morrison (1958) re-examined the urban/rural phenomenon, he found that when social class variables are accounted for between the two populations, no differences in intelligence (IQ) could be found. Furthermore, as Romaine (1995) observed, correlations of this type, assumed by Saer, simply do not allow the inference of cause and effect relationships.

1.4 Limitations of early research into bilingualism

As Saer's study highlights, early studies into bilingualism prior to the 1960s suffered from many limitations, including a number of design flaws that affected early results. These will now be discussed.

1.4.1 Intelligence (IQ)

A central measure of assessment that was implemented in earlier research comparing monolinguals with bilinguals was an IQ test. The problems with these types of tests are many (see Baker, 2006; Edwards, 2004). Just what constitutes intelligence is an important facet that was not considered (Bialystok, 2001a). In these tests, single, unitary measurements were taken rather than the now accepted multifaceted measurements. Secondly, intelligence test tasks and questions tend to reflect middle-class, white, western views of intelligence, to the disadvantage of those bilinguals who do not share these characteristics (Valdés & Figueroa, 1994), Third, the language in which IQ tests were conducted in early investigations into bilingualism was often not the bilinguals' first language (L1) (Baker, 1988). This would disadvantage the bilinguals because they were being compared with students tested through their L1. A final weakness of some investigations prior to the 1960s concerns the actual language skills that were tested in bilinguals. Often investigations into bilingualism consisted solely of verbal tests, rather than a mixture of verbal and non-verbal tests. This disadvantages bilingual students who are often stronger non-verbally (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

1.4.2 Generalisability

Whether or not the results of bilingual studies can be generalised to all bilingual learners is a second area of weakness of early research on bilingualism. Researchers have often

made inadmissible generalisations, arguing that the results obtained from one group apply to another, even though the research context studied may vary in many ways from other bilingual contexts (Saer's study, discussed above, being just one example). Furthermore, the use of non-random samples was a typical feature of early research into bilinguals. As such, small non-random samples can only speak for the contexts they represent, not to more general populations (Baker, 2006).

This does not imply that research from different contexts is unhelpful. As Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p. 65) states: "research into bilingualism may in many ways throw light on the problems that members of oppressed groups have to contend with in a linguistic community which has different norms from those obtaining in the oppressed group" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 65). However, like needs to be compared with like if such research is to be helpful towards improving bilingual provision, particularly with respect to the position the group and their language holds in that context.

1.4.3 Control of variables and the classification of bilinguals

Two other areas of weakness of early bilingual research concern the lack of control of confounding variables and the classification of the participant groups. If intelligence is being measured, it is important to control all other variables such as socio-economic status, gender, age, school type, and environments. It assumes that the researcher knows all the relevant variables that need to be controlled. This weakness is one that, according to Cummins (1984a), was noticeably absent in early research studies. The related issue of the classification of students is another area of weakness. Earlier bilingual research studies tended to use only crude measures to categorise the participants as either bilingual or not. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1981), in some studies bilinguals were classed solely on whether their parents were immigrants, or they had a foreign surname – regardless of their bilingual ability. Other studies classified students on crude, single-faceted measures of bilingualness. This classification did not accurately depict the reality that language skills in bilinguals exist in degrees rather than uniformity (Hornby, 1977).

1.4.4 Perceptions of how the brain manages languages

Perhaps the most problematic view underpinning early bilingual research, however, was the widely accepted view at the time of the nature of the brain. Early views posited that

the brain stores each language in separate compartments. In a bilingual's case, this would consist of two storage areas, each with a limited space, and with no bridge between. As a consequence, it was presumed that the growth of one language would compete directly with the storage space available to the second language, thereby reducing the size of the first language and thus, by implication, disadvantaging the bilingual. Cummins' (1980) Separate Underlying Proficiency model (SUP) depicts this early perception of the bilingual mind, which Cummins developed to highlight the fallacious beliefs that underlie it (Cummins 1980; Baker 2006). Later in this chapter, when theories of bilingualism are discussed, the SUP model and its underlying meanings will be explored further.

While the outcomes of early research tended to favour the monolingual groups over the bilinguals, several studies from prior to the 1960s did not conform to this negative pattern. Leopold (1949) is one example of research that went against the trend. He provided a detailed case study of his two daughters (in particular, Hildegard), as they were growing up in a bilingual family learning German and English. Leopold found that Hildegard was able to separate sound and meaning, name and object, earlier than monolingual children (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). He observed that from an early age his daughter could tell the same story in two languages and switch vocabulary meaningfully in traditional nursery rhymes. Hildegard "never clung to words, as monolingual children are often reported to do" (Leopold, 1949, p. 187), and there was "a noticeable looseness of the link between the phonetic word and its meaning" (Leopold, 1949, p. 358). This ability to separate word from referent at an early stage, and the awareness of the arbitrary nature of the relationship between word and meaning through the use of two languages, led Leopold to conclude a positive advantage in bilingualism. Leopold's findings provide detailed evidence suggesting that bilingualism is cognitively advantageous for the individual, in contrast to other research of the times. His findings have subsequently been confirmed by more recent studies (Baker and Prys Jones, 1998; see also below).

1.5 Research since the 1960s

Peal and Lambert's (1962) research on French-Canadian children in Canada changed the earlier perception that bilingualism leads to negative effects. This was one of the first

well-controlled studies in which bilinguals performed better than monolinguals. It thus broke away from the otherwise almost uniformly negative pattern of results established for bilinguals in previous studies.

Peal and Lambert's study compared the test performances of French-English bilingual and French monolingual children in Montreal.³ The children used in the study comprised 164 ten year olds from six middle-class French schools in Montreal. The two groups were carefully matched for social class, educational opportunities, age and degree of bilingualism. Peal and Lambert found that the bilingual children scored better than monolingual children on both verbal and non-verbal tests of intelligence. In particular, they noted that bilinguals were especially good on the subtests that required mental manipulation and the reorganization of visual patterns, and on concept formation tasks that required mental or symbolic flexibility (Baker, 1988).

Peal and Lambert concluded that the bilingual was at an advantage because the bilingual's two language systems seem to ensure a mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, and a more diversified set of mental abilities, in the sense that the patterns of abilities developed by bilinguals were more heterogeneous. These authors observed:

It is not possible to state from the present study whether the more intelligent child became bilingual or whether bilingualism aided his [sic] intellectual development, but there is no question about the fact that he is superior intellectually. In contrast, the monolingual appears to have a more unitary structure of intelligence, which he must use for all types of intellectual tasks. (Peal & Lambert, 1962, p. 20)

Peal and Lambert's research, however, had its own methodological flaws. It has since been criticized on the grounds that its sample of 110 children is not representative of any defined population, and for its use of highly proficient speakers of both French and English. It is therefore inevitable that this select group of students would perform well in tests, and it is also thus not clear whether their performance was a consequence of their being bilingual, or because they were an intelligent group (Baker, 1988; Bialystok 2001;

³ The following summary is drawn primarily from Baker (1988, 2001, 2006).

Edwards 2004) As a consequence of these issues, caution must be advised in generalising its results.

Despite these methodological concerns, Peal and Lambert's research remains a watershed study. Baker (2006) has posited three reasons for its significance to the history of bilingual research. First, the research was methodologically more advanced, accounting for previous inadequacies in the control of variables, and including a more sophisticated statistical analysis. Second, and partly because of this obvious improvement on previous studies, its positive findings have since been widely quoted in support of bilingual policies in a variety of institutional and geographical settings. Third, and perhaps most significantly, it laid the foundations for future research to explore the positive consequences of bilingualism, not in terms of the narrow concept of IQ, to which Peal and Lambert were still largely constrained, but in terms of a wider view of cognitive abilities (e.g., thinking styles and strategies). As Baker has observed elsewhere, “research after 1962 has tended to move away from the ‘monistic’ notion of IQ to the ‘pluralistic’ notion of a multi-component view of intelligence and cognition” (1988, p. 20), a trend consonant with wider developments in cognitive research.

1.6 Advantages of bilingualism

Since Peal and Lambert (1962), many studies have subsequently corroborated the findings of this study that bilinguals often share a number of advantages over monolinguals. This has led Cummins (2000, p.37) to state:

There are close to 150 empirical studies carried out during the past 30 or so years that have reported a positive association between additive bilingualism and students’ linguistic, cognitive, or academic growth. The most consistent findings among these research studies are that bilinguals show more developed awareness of language (metalinguistic abilities) and that they have advantages in learning additional languages.

Along with having well developed metalinguistic skills (including word awareness, syntactic and phonological awareness (see Baker, 2006; Bialystok 2001a, 2001b), research shows greater skills of cognitive flexibility (see Baker, 1988; and Ricciardelli, 1992 for good reviews), and communicative sensitivity (see for example, Baker, 1988,

2006; Genesee, Tucker and Lambert, 1975). As these cognitive advantages of bilingualism have already been widely canvassed in earlier research, all these areas will not be detailed here. However, I do wish to explore briefly the development of metalinguistic awareness because of its close relationship to becoming biliterate, the central concern of this current study. I will summarise one aspect of metalinguistic awareness, by way of illustration, the area of syntactical awareness.

1.7 Metalinguistic awareness

Metalinguistic awareness has been defined by Cazden (1974) as “the ability to make language forms opaque and attend to them in and for themselves.” It involves the ability to objectify language, to focus on the form rather than the meaning of sentences (Lee, 1996). As already mentioned, it can also be demonstrated at various different levels, including, phonological awareness, word awareness, and syntactic awareness.

During middle-childhood, children develop the capacity for becoming metalinguistically aware when confronted with certain tasks such as learning to read. With regard to bilingualism, it is argued that “the presence and use of two codes may prompt greater monitoring and inspection of each, such that metalinguistic awareness is enhanced” (Cummins, 1987, p. 64). Furthermore, the enhancement of metalinguistic skills may also be related to an enhancement of higher metacognitive functioning, since cognitive control is necessary to perform metalinguistic operations (Tunmer & Myhill, 1984).

Vygotsky (1962) also identified early on the significance of metalinguistic awareness in relation to bilingualism. His research technique (which has subsequently been adopted as the methodological basis of more recent research on bilingualism) involved asking children a series of questions about the relationship between words and their referents, such as: “could you call a cow ink and ink a cow?” As a result of children’s responses to these questions, Vygotsky was led to conclude that young children initially regard words as inhering in their referent objects. Most young children, for example, denied that one could call a cow ink and ink a cow, suggesting that they were unable to interchange the names of objects. The justifications used to support their denials gave further support to this view. Children argued that an animal was called a cow because it had horns (Tunmer & Myhill, 1984). Vygotsky concluded that the reason why young children were generally

unable to perform this task was because “an interchange of names would mean an exchange of characteristic features, so inseparable is the connection between them in the child’s mind” (cited in Tunmer & Myhill, 1984).

Vygotsky’s concern with the development of metalinguistic and metacognitive abilities, and Leopold’s (1949) claim that these abilities were enhanced by bilingualism, has formed the basis of subsequent research in exploring these connections. This research includes discussion around this theme because when bilinguals begin to develop their second language formally, they can be encouraged to engage in comparisons and contrasts of their two or more languages – thus further stimulating their metalinguistic awareness. This process of comparing languages is known as incipient contrastive linguistics, which was first discussed by Lambert and Tucker (1972). (It is also discussed in 2.9.1.)

1.7.1.1 Syntactic awareness

A pattern of (qualified) advantage for bilinguals can be demonstrated in relation to syntactic awareness. The need to make a judgement about the grammatical acceptability of a sentence is probably the prototypical metalinguistic task. As such, it is often used to measure syntactic awareness and as an index of overall language proficiency.

Using such a strategy, Galambos and Hakuta (1988) compared English-speaking monolinguals and Spanish-English bilinguals for their ability to solve two tasks; first, judging and correcting syntax, and second, determining the ambiguity in sentences and paraphrasing the interpretations. This longitudinal study found consistent advantage for the bilingual children over the monolingual children in the syntax task, and only the older bilingual children were better than the monolinguals in the ambiguity task.

A more extensive study, based on the same principles, was conducted by Galambos and Goldin-Meadow (1990). They presented Spanish and English monolinguals and Spanish-English bilinguals with a range of problems assessing syntactic awareness. The children were asked to note any errors in the sentences they were presented; they also had to correct them and explain the error. When noting and correcting their errors, the bilinguals progressed faster than the monolinguals and showed significant advantages at all ages tested. However, when explaining the errors, there were no significant advantages for the bilingual children. The authors interpreted the developmental progression as moving from

content-based to a structure-based understanding of language, and that bilingual children were more advanced in all areas than monolinguals in this respect. Their conclusion emphasizes that bilingualism alters the rate of development but not its course (Bialystok, 2001b). In other words, the order of development of the ability to correct errors and then explain them is the same for both monolingual and bilingual children. However, bilingual children tend to progress through them at a faster rate.

A different type of task is one that can alter the difficulty of attending to the grammatical form by introducing misleading information. This method was first used by de Villiers and de Villiers (1972) and was developed further by Bialystok (see Bialystok, 2001b). In this approach, the subjects were required to decide whether there are grammatical violations. The extent to which they can do this is an indication of their level of grammatical analysis. If the sentence also includes semantic errors, then the difficulty of this task increases further, especially for younger children.

Bialystok's principal finding was that semantically altered information is very difficult for monolingual children to judge for grammatical acceptability, but that bilingual children are more successful in this task. Again, however, the advantage for bilinguals here was narrowly task-specific rather than a global advantage.

Gathercole (1997) used a grammaticality task to determine whether Spanish-English children could use syntactic cues to distinguish mass nouns from count nouns. She found that older, more fluent bilinguals performed like monolinguals while the younger, weaker bilinguals paid little attention to syntactic cues. This latter group was not using the information as well as the monolinguals. In another study, Gathercole and Montes (1997) found that monolinguals were stronger than bilinguals in both judging and correcting sentences, but that the performance of the bilinguals was influenced by the English input they received at home. This research thus highlights areas where bilinguals do as well as monolinguals but not better.

1.8 Additive and subtractive bilingualism

Lambert (1974) first postulated the distinction between additive and subtractive bilingualism in order to unravel an apparent conundrum. On the one hand, elective bilinguals – those who chose voluntarily to learn a prestigious language - were viewed in

a positive light, and their bilingual language learning as an advantage. On the other hand, the pursuit of second languages by minorities (termed circumstantial bilinguals) - who had to learn additional languages (such as English) through necessity - was often perceived to be a negative phenomenon, as was any ongoing bilingualism.

Additive bilingualism is the belief that both languages and both cultures will bring complementary positive elements to the child's overall development. This situation is found when the community, school and/or the family attribute positive values to the two languages. As a consequence, the child's first language (L1) is not constructed as a threat but is instead valorised alongside the second language (L2). Subtractive bilingualism, by contrast, develops when the two languages in a given context are seen to compete, and where ongoing bilingualism is constructed as problematic as a result. This situation is most evident when L1 speakers of a less prestigious language are required to learn a highly prestigious language (such as English). What often results is that the less prestigious L1 is rejected, along often with associated cultural values, in favour of those of the prestigious group. The minority group consequently replaces their L1 with the more prestigious language of the majority (Hamers & Blanc, 2000) – a process that is discussed in the wider sociolinguistic literature as language shift or loss.

In education, this phenomenon of subtractive bilingualism tends to occur in situations where the bilingual child is schooled in a language other than his/her L1. This occurs most often in English-medium programmes, or short-term transitional programmes that teach bilingually for a short period of bilingual education (usually between one and three years) before moving students to English-medium programmes. The consequence of prematurely shifting the bilingual child away from his/her home language to the L2, English in this case, will be the eventual loss of their home language and a delimiting of their general academic achievement (Cummins, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

The question of what conditions are necessary for bilingualism to be successful will be discussed below in relation to the Threshold and Interdependence hypotheses. The question of which bilingual educational programmes are most likely to lead to becoming bilingual will be discussed in the next chapter (see 2.4 to 2.6).

1.9 Theories on bilingualism

In the discussion above (see 1.4.4), the SUP or ‘balanced scales’ view of the brain was suggested as a primary underlying reason for the negative outcomes of early studies of bilingualism. This view implied a limited capacity for storing language information, and that the growth of one language detrimentally affects the other. According to the assumptions based on the SUP model, the only way to teach a minority child is to expose the child to as much L2 as possible, and to insert as much information as possible through the L2 channel. In contrast, teaching through the child’s L1, according to this view, would diminish the chances for L2 growth, because so much time would be taken up teaching through the L1 (Cummins, 2000; Oller & Eilers, 2002; Riches & Genesee, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). This perception of “the more the exposure the greater the ability,” has been described more recently as the ‘time on task’ principle. It is discussed further with reference to the Threshold hypothesis below.

Commonsense dictates that what SUP postulates (see Figure 1) cannot be correct because, if there is a limited capacity for language growth in a bilingual mind, then most of the people in the world would be intellectually disabled. We know that this is not the reality, as most bilinguals carry out normal jobs in all types of vocations without any handicaps. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest the cause and effect view that the learning of a second language detrimentally affects the other language (May et al., 2004).

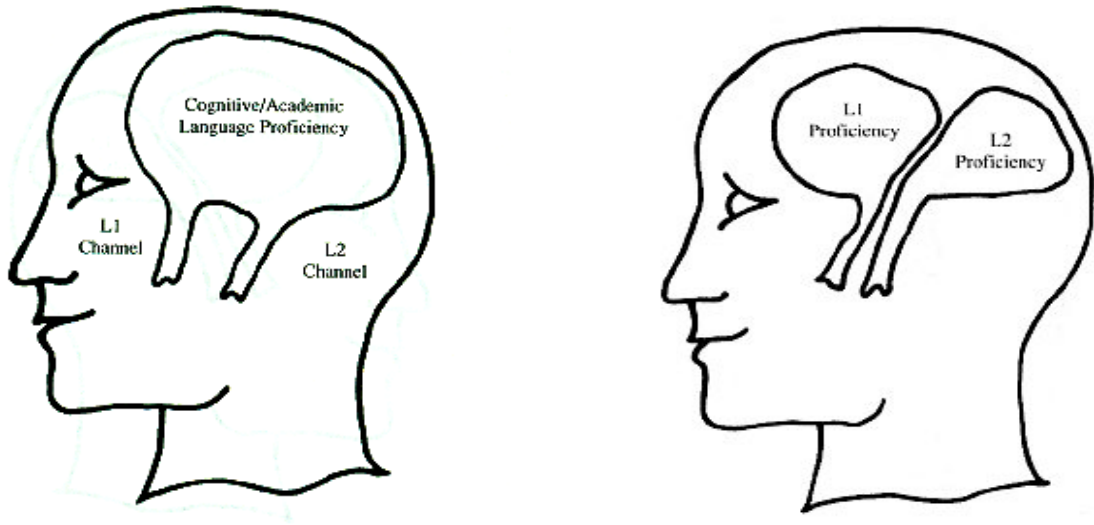


Figure 1. The Separate Underlying Proficiency model and the Central Underlying Proficiency model (Cummins, 2001, pp. 131-132).

In response to the SUP model, Cummins devised a second model called the Central Underlying Proficiency (CUP) model to better describe how the brain manages languages. In this model there is a single storage area for all languages, and as an implication, the ability for interaction to occur between the languages. Therefore, the languages do not compete for space, and the skills that are taught in one language can easily transfer to the bilingual's other language, thus eliminating the need to teach skills in each language (Baker, 2006).

The CUP model has been further developed into a more elaborate model, expressed as the Iceberg model (see Figure 2 below). This model incorporates the single storage space beneath the surface (in common with CUP) but above the surface, the languages separate into two compartments, or icebergs. The fusing together of the languages beneath the surface means that the two languages do not function separately. In fact, there is interaction between them. Here lie the associations between concepts and representations (e.g., words and images) that belong specifically and separately to the two languages. Above the surface, however, the two languages are visibly different in outward expression, often radically so (think, English and Chinese, for example) thus showing that

a bilingual can successfully separate their two or more languages when speaking,⁴ rather than becoming confused, as was earlier thought (Baker, 2006; Baker & Jones, 1998; Holmes, 1984).

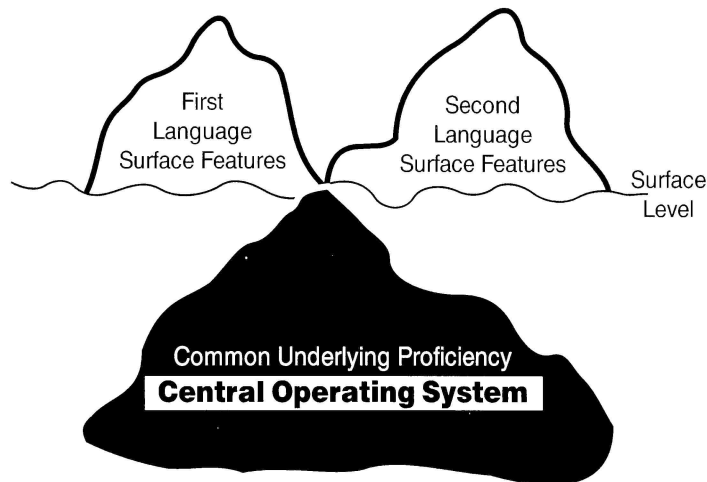


Figure 2: *The Iceberg Model* (Baker, 2006, p. 169).

Research regarding the way the human brain processes languages, has subsequently confirmed this view of the brain having a central processing unit that manages all languages of the bilingual, as evidenced by the following key theories (see for example, Riches & Genesee, 2006).

1.10 Threshold and Interdependence hypotheses

The Threshold hypothesis (Cummins, 1976a, 1976b; Toukoma & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977) and its derivative the Developmental Interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1978) are two key theories that adopt the CUP view of the brain and are also used to address the countervailing patterns of achievement for bilingual students in schools (why do some bilingual students succeed and others do not?). They were created to address the observation that academic proficiency transfers across languages, such that students who

⁴ This excludes the period of early bilingual development when children who are simultaneously learning two languages, may code-switch, or switch between one language and another, as they grow.

have developed literacy in their first language (L1) will tend to make stronger progression in acquiring literacy in their second language (L2). Therefore, at least in overseas contexts, the use of students' L1 as a medium of instruction will not detract from their learning an L2. In fact it is likely to enhance it (Gonzalez & Schallert, 1999).

1.10.1 Threshold hypothesis

The Threshold hypothesis (see Figure 3) depicts the path of development of the bilingual student's two languages and the consequences of this. The model resembles a three-storied house, each floor (or threshold) signifying the bilingual child's levels of language proficiency for both languages. The higher the progress of the bilingual child in both languages, the greater the likelihood of academic success.

At the first level, both languages are underdeveloped. If a child does not progress from this level, he/she will experience negative cognitive effects. Cummins described this phenomenon as semilingualism (Cummins, 1976b). At the second floor, the bilingual's L1 proficiency is said to be age-appropriate, and their level of second language proficiency will be approaching this level. The consequences of reaching this level are far more positive. Achievement will be little different from that of a monolingual child with little likelihood that he/she will not experience any significant negative effects. At the third level of Cummin's three-storied house, the bilingual child's two languages are both highly developed, and the now 'balanced bilingual' is said to enjoy the linguistic and academic benefits beyond that of his/her monolingual peers, as reflected in the studies on the advantages of bilingualism, discussed in 1.6. The figure below illustrates this model.

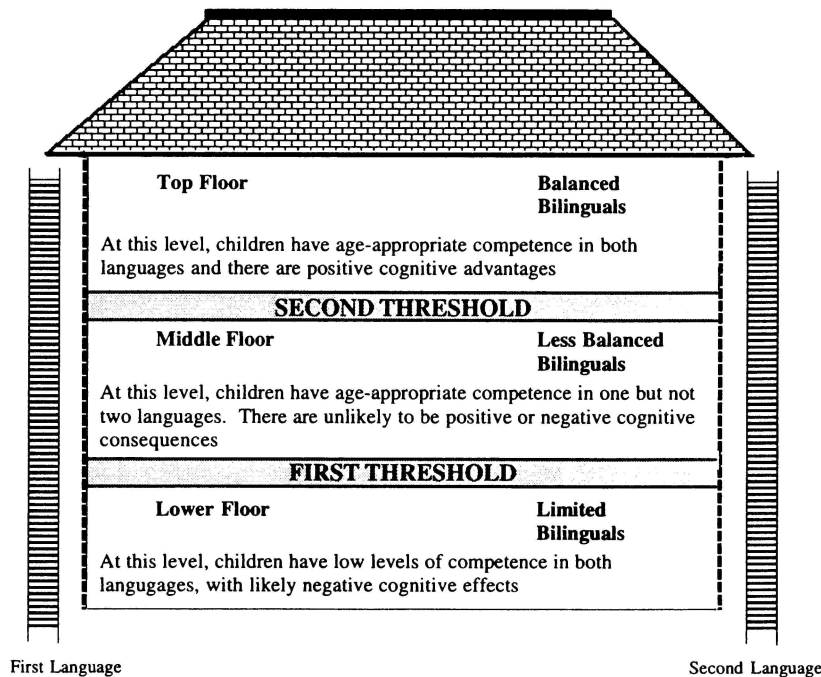


Figure 3: The Threshold hypothesis (Baker, 1993, p. 136).

1.10.2 Developmental Interdependence hypothesis

The Developmental Interdependence hypothesis was derived from the Threshold hypothesis. This theory states that the student's second language development is dependent on the strength of his/her first language or, according to Baker (2006, p. 173), "the more developed the first language, the easier it will be to develop the second language."

Cummins' theory was developed to rebut a claim by Oller (1979) that all facets of language proficiency – listening, speaking, reading and writing – were the result of one common or global dimension of language proficiency. For Cummins, though, language proficiency clearly had more than one dimension.

Crucially, Cummins found that it normally takes around two years for a child's conversational ability or surface fluency in an L2 to develop, yet between five to seven years before the more evolved academic skills required to cope with classroom language and curriculum content are developed fully. Hakuta, Butler and Witt (2000) found a similar pattern in their Californian study: oral proficiency takes between three and five years, academic proficiency takes between five and eight years. These results cast

significant doubt on Oller's claim of a single dimension to language proficiency. Rather, as Cummins and others have shown, children can have highly developed conversational skills in, for example, English, yet may still perform badly in school if their academic language skills remain underdeveloped. Oller's Global Language Proficiency would suggest that such children would be equally skilled academically if they had high conversational skills.

1.10.3 Conversational and academic language skills (BICS and CALP)

Cummins has added to the Interdependence hypothesis in several ways. One such addition is the now widely accepted distinction between a bilingual's conversational ability (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills - BICS) and his/her academic language proficiency (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency - CALP).⁵ This describes two language registers that students must master in an L2 (or in an L1, for that matter) in order to succeed academically at school.

Conversational competence is the simplest language register to accomplish. It relates to the phonological, syntactic and lexical skills necessary to function in everyday interpersonal contexts, and occurs in cognitively undemanding and contextually supported situations such as a conversation that occurs between individuals. Both participants will have knowledge of the subject area and will be able to provide additional support (for example, paralinguistic cues such as hand gestures). As such, this type of competence takes one to two years to achieve.

Academic language proficiency, in contrast, requires children to manipulate or reflect on the surface features of language outside immediate interpersonal contexts. These requirements are most apparent in contextually reduced, or disembedded, academic situations where higher order thinking skills are required, such as analysis, synthesis and evaluation. Moreover, Cummins (2000) argues that these skills are a necessary prerequisite for the successful acquisition of literacy skills at school because they involve

⁵ The terms Basic Interpersonal Conversational Skills (BICS), and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) have been dispensed with since the creation of these theories and replaced by conversational proficiency and academic proficiency. In spite of this, they are still widely referred to in the literature as BICS and CALP.

the ability to use language as an instrument of thought in problem solving (see also, Corson, 1995; Corson, 2000). This is why it takes longer (five to eight years) for children to acquire academic language proficiency in an L2.

The CALP/BICS distinction is important in bilingual education because it seeks to shed light on the common phenomenon of the failure of seemingly fluent bilingual students to reach their potential at school (Cummins, 2000).⁶ This issue arises when schools mistake students' conversational language proficiency in an L2 for academic language proficiency. The consequence is that the bilingual students often do not have sufficient academic language skills (CALP) to cope in the English-medium environment, and eventually fall behind in learning and achievement. The implications of, and alternatives to this pattern of educational failure will be explored in the next chapter, particularly in relation to the widely-attested greater effectiveness of bilingual programmes, which draw on the students' L1 in the teaching and learning process.

1.10.4 Research supporting Threshold hypothesis

Ricciardelli (1992, 1993) found support for the Thresholds hypothesis in two of her studies. Her first study investigated the influence of bilingualism on children's cognitive abilities and creativity language proficiency (including verbal and non-verbal abilities, creative thinking, and metalinguistic awareness). This study, involving 57 Italian-English bilingual and 55 English monolingual children, found that the children who were

⁶ Interestingly, Cummins' CALP/BICS distinctions are not the sole way of viewing academic language proficiency, nor is this issue confined to the bilingual education field. In other educational fields such as mainstream English, TESOL and ESL there are different perspectives on what constitutes academic English (Valdés, 2004). Mainstream English teachers, for example, focus on proficiencies in both oral and written text, including the presentation of reasoned, logical arguments and the use of evidence to support this. The ESL teaching sector focuses on English language structure as a preliminary to subject matter teaching through English (Valdés, 2004). It is therefore important to acknowledge the different perceptions regarding this theme, depending on which educational field is dealing with it.

proficient in both Italian and English performed significantly better than both the children from the English monolingual group, and those bilinguals who were proficient in English but less proficient in Italian.

Ricciardelli's second study was conducted in Rome with 35 Italian-English bilingual and 35 Italian monolingual five and six year old children. She found that those children who were proficiently bilingual in Italian and English performed significantly better than the other groups who were strong only on one each of the variables tested. Further, she found that monolinguals who were strong in one of the languages were not disadvantaged from monolingual Italians. Those who were high in at least one language performed significantly better than those who were low in both languages. Finally, bilinguals who were low in both languages did not differ significantly from the monolinguals low in Italian. Ricciardelli concludes that these data are consistent with the Threshold hypothesis in that "overall superiority on the examined cognitive measures was found only for those children who had attained a high degree of bilingualism" (Ricciardelli, 1993, p. 346).

Mohanty (1994) carried out seven studies between 1978 and 1987 in Orissa, India, the results of which also support the Threshold hypothesis. The studies are particularly significant to the cognitive benefits debate discussed earlier, and in relation to the Threshold hypothesis because, unlike most studies into this phenomenon, the students in this study were matched for all variables except whether they were monolingual or bilingual. Other than their differing knowledge of languages, both groups shared cultural and religious beliefs, marriage and child-rearing practices, birth and death rites, and all social customs. Therefore, any differences in performances on tests could be associated with the children's level of language in their two languages.

Mohanty's studies showed a positive relationship between bilingualism and cognitive performance (Mohanty, 1994). In respect to information processing, the bilinguals significantly outperformed the monolinguals, including measures of metalinguistic ability. Only in Mohanty's study comparing unschooled bilingual and monolingual children (Study 7) was there no significant difference found between the groups, leaving Mohanty to limit his findings to schooling contexts.

Bialystok (1987a, 1987b, 1988) has also carried out a series of studies that suggests a positive influence of bilingualism on children's metalinguistic awareness. However, the

advantages are more evident for bilinguals who are more fluent in their two languages. She suggests, “the level of bilingualism is decisive in determining the effect it will have on development” (1988, p. 567).

In the context of Spain, Lasagabaster (1998) investigated the Threshold hypothesis in a trilingual school situation (Basque, Spanish, English). His research set out to not only test the Threshold hypothesis but also whether, in this trilingual situation, a third threshold level is apparent, to reflect a higher level of attainment for students who are highly proficient in three languages rather than the standard two languages.

The study involved 252 students (Grades 5 and 8) in the Basque Country, where he tested for intelligence, Basque proficiency, Spanish proficiency, English proficiency, and metalinguistic awareness. The first significant finding of this study was that there was no difference between those students who were highly competent in two languages and those highly competent in one, which led Lasagabaster to dispel the existence of a third threshold (in this case, the second threshold level). However, importantly for this discussion, Lasagabaster found that the results concerning metalinguistic awareness (the dependent variable) did show significant differences in all cases, causing him to confirm principles behind the Threshold hypothesis (Lasagabaster, 1998).

Dawe (1983) tested both the Threshold hypothesis and the Interdependence hypothesis when he examined the mathematical reasoning ability of bilingual Punjabi, Mirpuri and Jamaican children living in Britain. The tests included: deductive reasoning in English, English reading comprehension, first language competence, a test of logical connectives in English, and a test of non-verbal intelligence.

Dawe’s findings supported the Threshold hypothesis. He found that there was strong support for the upper level among the Mirpuri children, and evidence of the lower threshold for the Italians. Furthermore, it was found that the bilinguals with one language dominant did not differ significantly from English monolinguals. For other measures (upper threshold for Italians and Punjabi, lower threshold for Mirpuri), there was weak support for the Threshold hypothesis.

Of particular interest to this study also, Dawe found that the Mirpuri children were far more able to deductively reason in English at a higher level than their English peers without a cost to their first language development. In conclusion, Dawe states that in

respect to the theories: “it has been clearly shown that the ability of a child to make effective use of the cognitive functions of his first language is a good predictor of his ability to reason deductively in English as a second language” (Dawe, 1983, p. 349).

1.10.5 Research supporting the Developmental Interdependence hypothesis

There are now several significant studies (particularly, from the United States context) that support the Interdependence hypothesis, most notably, research from Ramírez, Yuen and Ramey (1991), Thomas and Collier (1997), and Thomas and Collier (2002).

Ramírez et al. (1991) conducted a four-year study which involved 2,300 Spanish-speaking students involved in early-exit (between one and two years) and late-exit (between four and six years) bilingual programmes, comparing their attainment with Spanish speaking students enrolled in English-only programmes (see also, Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2006). This research found that the greatest growth in mathematics, English language skills and English reading was among students in late-exit bilingual programmes where students had been taught predominantly in Spanish. In contrast, the minority language students who received most of their education in English rather than their first language were found to be more likely to fall behind and drop out of school.

Thomas and Collier (1997, 2002) conducted two significant studies, which show that children in long term bilingual education programmes fared better than those whose parents opted for English-only education. Both of these studies involved high numbers of minority English language learning students involved in a range of programme options (both bilingual and non-bilingual). In both studies, the authors found that students of “feature rich” bilingual programmes consistently outperformed their peers who attended English-medium programmes which gave little or no attention to the students’ L1. The poorest performing students were those whose parents refused any sort of language assistance (L1 or L2). This lead Thomas and Collier to conclude that parents who decide to mainstream their non-English speaking children in schools should be counselled against refusing English language assistance for the children (Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2006 discuss the outcomes of this study).⁷

⁷ I discuss the features of various educational approaches to teaching bilingual students, and their related effectiveness, more fully in the next chapter (see 2.5 and 2.6) .

1.10.6 Criticisms of the theories

Despite now widespread acceptance of the Threshold and Interdependence hypotheses, there are still a number of weaknesses of the Threshold hypothesis that bear further examination. It has been criticised for Cummins' original use of the term semilingualism and the related notion of deficit that this term implies. Other criticisms concern the vagueness of the theory in describing the nature of each threshold. The CALPS / BICS distinction has also received criticism. This will now be discussed.

1.10.6.1 Threshold hypothesis

Edelsky Hudelson, Flores, Barkin, Altwerger and Jilbert (1983), Edelsky (1991), MacSwann (2000), and Martin-Jones and Romaine (1986) have been most vocal in their criticisms of Cummins' theory, arguing that it implies that minority students have a deficit, primarily for Cummins' use of the term semilingualism to describe students whose language proficiency is low. These authors feel that the notion of thresholds blames the bilingual learner for his/her failure at school. It is therefore the premise of attempting to group and label the minority students in a negative manner that is at question here. According to these authors, this ultimately results in the upholding of biased views that lack credibility, and ultimately disadvantages these particular students.

Another criticism levelled at this theory concerns its lack of detail in describing the particular levels and characteristics of each threshold, such that one knows on what level a particular bilingual student resides at a given moment in their development. This criticism has been made among others, by Martin-Jones and Romaine (1986).

1.10.6.2 Basic Interpersonal Communication (BICS), and Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) differentiation

The Basic Interpersonal Communication (BICS), and Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) differentiation have also been criticized. Baker (2006) and Cummins (2000) discuss these criticisms, which are summarised below:

- The theory's over-simplification of a complex phenomenon, that fails to include other equally important factors of bilingual education and school success, such as power relationships, politics and social practices

- The nature of BICS and CALP are promoted as being a sequential development, yet this is not always the case. In fact, many children develop their languages concurrently
- The ability to perform at CALP levels seems to be based on the ability to perform well in tests
- The nature of conversational language ability is portrayed as being less demanding than academic language, yet oral language can also be cognitively demanding, for instance when colloquialisms and metaphors are used
- The lack of empirical investigation that confirms their existence
- The labels used create an oversimplification and stereotyping for tracking classroom processes

1.10.7 Implications of the Threshold and Interdependence hypotheses for New Zealand

As discussed earlier in this section, the Threshold and Interdependence hypotheses were devised to account for two conflicting sets of data; one which showed that many bilinguals experience failure when they are submersed in an L2 educational environment, and the other contrasting data (such as Peal and Lambert's study) showing that bilingual students who develop high levels of proficiency in both languages appear to experience positive academic outcomes (Cummins, 2000).

These hypotheses were also devised as a reaction to the 'time on task' principle. 'Time on task,' where maximum exposure to the L2 is considered optimum for the bilingual student's growth, has been used as an argument to submerge minority group members in monolingual L2 programmes, thus causing the bilingual students to suffer as they attempt to catch up with their monolingual peers.

Thirty years after Cummins first devised these core theories, he still believes them to have relevance to bilingual education today. The Threshold hypothesis, according to Cummins, is still important, not in terms policymaking, but for showing that, "the continued development of bilingual children's two languages during schooling is associated with positive educational and linguistic consequences" (Cummins, 2000, p. 175).

The Interdependence hypothesis by contrast, is important for policy and planning. As Cummins states, it is important for “understanding the nature of bilingual students’ academic development, and in planning appropriate educational programmes for students from both minority and majority language backgrounds” (Cummins, 2000, p. 175). This means that when educationalists plan bilingual programmes, they must consider the place and development routes of both languages over the total number of years of the bilingual’s compulsory education.

In respect to this issue of the need to successfully plan bilingual programmes, Cummins (2000) specifically criticizes New Zealand Māori-medium programmes, the key focus of this research, for incorrectly interpreting the principles of his theories. In particular, Cummins argues that New Zealand programme planners have conflated the Threshold and Interdependence hypotheses and invoked the Threshold hypothesis as a justification for delaying the introduction of English language instruction until after a high level of Māori language proficiency is achieved. Cummins equates this to a mistaken belief that knowledge and academic skills will automatically transfer across from the Māori language to the English language without direct instruction. This contention, according to Cummins, is not supported by the research.

Cummins’ criticisms of the New Zealand context are, I believe, correct. When Māori-medium education was first established, these schools tended to (and often still do) reserve 100 percent of the instructional time to teaching through the medium of te reo Māori, leaving English language instruction for the secondary schools to deal with. These perceptions are still apparent today in many Level 1 Māori-medium schools, which are the focus of this study. This remains a contested issue upon which the current research project seeks to shed further light.⁸ I discuss the research and debate surrounding these issues in New Zealand in Chapter Three (see also below).

⁸ Crooks and Flockton’s (2007) research findings, for example, seem to suggest that many Māori-medium schools still do not see their roles as supporting the development of English language knowledge. This is discussed further in Chapter Three.

1.10.8 Implications of BICS/CALP for New Zealand

The BICS/CALP distinction is also very important to the New Zealand context, as it highlights that Māori and English language attainment is not unidimensional. Once the students have reached proficiency at conversational level there is still the important task of achieving academic language proficiency.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the path to reaching this level of bilingualism and biliteracy differs from the path that many bilingual students in other contexts tread. For bilingual students in many minority group bilingual programmes a relatively simple progression occurs, commencing with a gradual development of L1 prior to and into primary school. This is followed by a gradual growth of English and a balancing of the two language levels.

For indigenous Māori students by contrast, the growth of the two languages is somewhat different. English is much more likely to be the dominant language of the home for the Māori bilingual student. The students are then likely to enter *kōhanga reo* (preschool language nests) in order to learn *te reo Māori*. From this period until the child reaches at least Year 5, *te reo Māori* will be the language of the school, and English, the language of the home. In some ways, this developmental path resembles contexts where simultaneous bilingual development occurs. The child's Māori language development occurs at school and his/her English language development occurs in the home.

Therefore, if discussing the child's language development in terms of BICS and CALP, when the Māori bilingual child commences school at five years, he/she will have a relatively incomplete knowledge of both languages. Once at school, the Māori bilingual's English language proficiency remains at a conversational level while, his/her academic Māori language level will gradually increase. It is not until the child is around nine years of age, or later, when English may be introduced formally, and his/her academic English language ability then begins to lift to match the attainment level of the Māori language. Returning to Threshold for a moment, for many Māori-medium schools it is hoped that by the time their students reach Year 8 (12/13 years of age) their proficiency in both languages will be high, and they will have reached the top threshold according to the Threshold hypothesis. However, with most Māori-medium schools delaying English

instruction until later and for fewer hours, it is unlikely that students will progress much beyond Level 2 of Cummins' model.

Given this pattern, the objectives that remain for Māori-medium programmes are two-fold. First, that the children develop a high level of proficiency in the Māori language – the language that is not supported at home, and taught at school by a predominantly L2 teaching profession. Second, that the children grow quickly in their knowledge of academic English from the conversational level they have when they commence formal instruction at around Year 5, to a level where they are equivalent to their monolingual peers in English-medium education. This is the central issue and assumption that this research project seeks to examine.

1.11 Biliteracy

Biliteracy achievement is a theme which is increasingly viewed as an important component of bilingualism (Schwinge, 2008). It is important to this discussion, not only because growing literacy skills in both of a bilingual's languages is necessary in order for students to become highly proficient bilinguals, but also because of the concept of language skills transfer; the process in which the skills developed in one of the bilingual's languages transfers to their other language(s), thus simplifying the second language learning process. For this study, the existence of language skills transfer and the extent to which it occurs in Māori-medium students (by Year 8), will have implications for decisions regarding the timing and the amount of English transition education that occurs in Māori-medium programmes. This is why it is an important concept to discuss here.

Many researchers have attempted to define biliteracy including, Dworin (2003), Fishman (1980), Reyes (2001), and Perez and Guzman (2002). The most cited of these definitions (see also; Baker, 2006; Dworin, 2003; Hornberger, 2003; Schwinge, 2008) is from Hornberger (1990, p. 213), who states that biliteracy is “any and all instances in which communication occurs in two or more languages in or around writing.” This relatively broad definition encompasses all levels of biliteracy and while it is helpful to the field, for this research its shortcoming is that it does not imply any basic level of attainment. As such, definitions such as those offered by Fishman (1980): “mastery of reading and writing in two languages,” or Niyekawa (Niyekawa, 1983; in Hornberger, 2003, p. xiii):

“an advanced state of bilingualism where the person can not only speak two languages fluently, but also read and write these two languages,” are more applicable to this study because they imply a high level of biliterate development – a phenomenon that this research wishes to explore.

In addition to Fishman and Niyekawa’s definitions, however, I would add that the level of biliteracy skills should reflect age-related attainment levels in language (reading and writing) development. This element is important in this study because it focuses on the Year 8 students’ readiness to transition to English-medium secondary school where many students graduate.

Until recently, research conducted in the field of biliteracy development has been limited in number and scope. Early research often focused on oral language development rather than literacy (Valdés, 1992), and those that looked into literacy, tended to focus on reading or writing in students’ second languages, rather than literacy development in both languages (Dworin, 2003). In recent years, however, research literature on the development of biliteracy in bilingual programmes has rapidly increased (see for example, Thomas & Collier, 2002; Hornberger, 2003; Schwinge, 2008). This builds on earlier significant studies by researchers such as Moll and Diaz (1985) and Edelsky (1986) into reading and writing development in Spanish programmes, and Hornberger’s (1988) study into Quechua schools in Peru. The important contribution these three studies have made, according to Schwinge (2008), has been to dispel the belief that learning in two languages will cause difficulties in learning to read and write. Since these studies, the research base has expanded considerably, providing strong evidence of the advantages of bilingual education in achieving the aim of producing bilingual and biliterate graduates (see for example, Thomas & Collier, 2002).

1.11.1 Continua of Biliteracy

With the broadening of research focusing on biliteracy development, an important contribution has also been made in framing this broad area. Hornberger has constructed the Continua of Biliteracy (see Hornberger, 1989, 2003; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) which uses the notion of intersecting and nested continua (see Figures 4 and 5

below) to demonstrate the multiple and complex interrelationships that can occur between bilingualism and literacy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). There are four themes in this framework including contexts, development, media, and content. These four themes are further divided into subcategories, each on a line of continua. It is these areas through which biliteracy develops (see Figure 6 below).

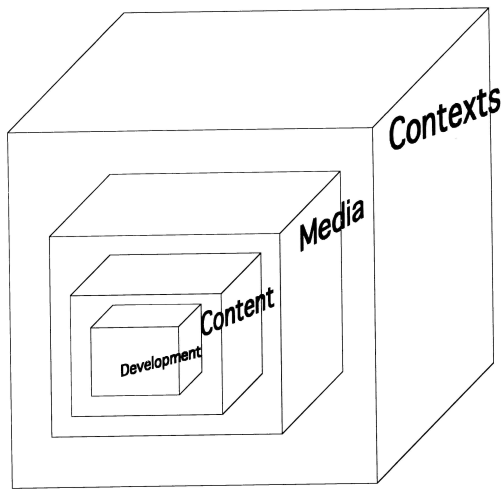


Figure 4: Nested relationships among the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 2004, p. 65).

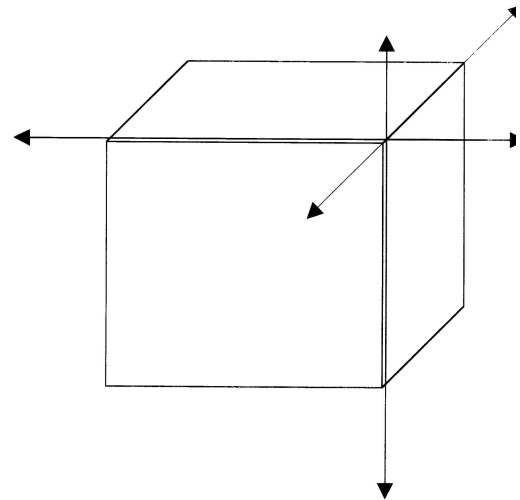


Figure 5: Intersecting relationships among the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 2004, p. 65)

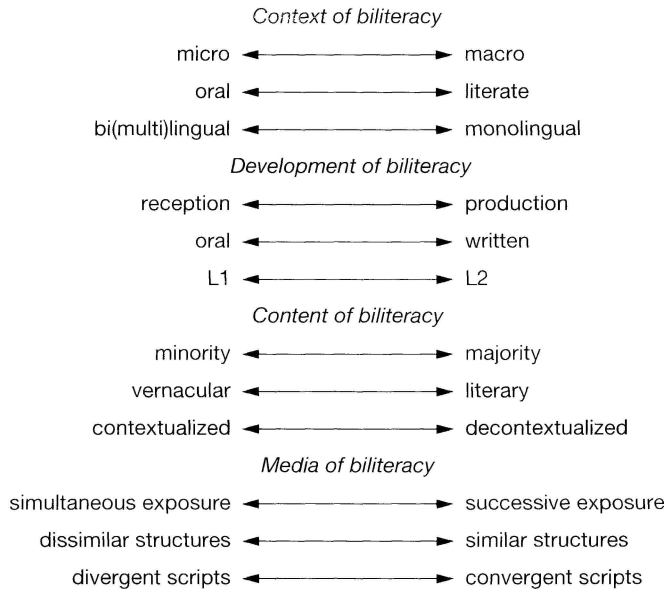


Figure 6: *The continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 2004, p. 66).*

The Continua of Biliteracy is useful because it provides a comprehensive conceptual framework and clarifying tool to analyse approaches to biliteracy and potential issues. As Baker (2003, p.88) states:

The Continua framework successfully outlines crucial parameters and processes, attempts to explain the biliteracy phenomena, helps integrate a diversity of findings, locates key parameters and interactions, helps predict outcomes and patterns of biliterate behaviour, and lucidly expresses the various conditions that allow the framework to be appropriate in a variety of contexts.

1.11.2 The arguments for biliteracy development.

Managing the bilingual’s two languages in the classroom is a key issue that has not yet been resolved in the literature or in practice. Historically, the prominent view has been to maintain a rigid separation between the bilingual’s two languages in school (termed the “monolingual principle” by Howatt (1984, cited in Cummins, 2008)) in the belief that by doing so, they would maintain a pure learning atmosphere where each language could grow independently, without interference. According to Cummins (2008), this phenomenon of maintaining language separation reflects the long-standing influence of the “direct method” language-teaching model, an influential model which grew out of a

fear that without it, teachers and students may cease to use the target language during instruction and jeopardise the target language learning. It is because of this perception, that there has been an uncritical acceptance of monolingual instructional assumptions by policy makers, practitioners and researchers (Cummins, 2008, p. 72). This perception extends to Aotearoa/New Zealand where Māori-medium schools keep te reo Māori and English completely separate.

Cummins questions the basis for the direct method model (as does Dworin, 2003), arguing for a change in thinking around the relationship between the languages and, in particular, for the further exploration of the skill of ‘cross linguistic transfer’ [hereafter referred to as language skills transfer].

1.11.3 Language skills transfer

Language skills transfer follows from the widely accepted notion of linguistic interdependence and the related view of how the brain accommodates a bilingual’s two or more languages (both discussed earlier in this chapter). Language skills transfer maintains that many of the skills that a bilingual accumulates when learning one language will transfer to their other language (Proctor et al., 2006). This means that when students begin to learn a second language, they do not need to relearn all of the features of this new language from the beginning, because some skills and strategies transfer automatically from their L1 to their L2.

There is ample evidence in the literature that substantiates the phenomenon of language skills transfer (see Baker, 2006; Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2000; Cummins, 2000; Hornberger, 1989; Krashen, 2002; Oller & Eilers, 2002; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). Cummins (2008) lists five types of skills that transfer across languages. These include: conceptual elements, metacognitive and metalinguistic strategies, pragmatic aspects of language use such as gestures, specific linguistic elements and phonological awareness. The extent of language skills transfer will also vary from individual to individual, and according to how similar the student’s two languages are. Similar languages will inevitably offer greater opportunities for transfer to occur (Schwinge, 2008).

Historically, there has been a strong level of support for delaying the development of the

learner's second language (or first, depending on which language is the target language of instruction) until the L1 has developed to a high level. This assumption has been questioned by Dworin (2003), Cummins (2008) and Proctor, Carlo, August and Snow (2006). Dworin (2003, p. 179), like Guitierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, and Alvarez (2001), and Reyes, (2001), argues that it is a fallacy that the L1 must be developed to a native-like level of proficiency prior to learning L2. He states that developing biliteracy is a "bi-directional" process rather than one that involves solely transfer from the first language to the second. He argues for a form of simultaneous bilingual language learning to reflect this phenomenon. If what these authors state is correct, it opens the possibilities to providing a greater and more simultaneous learning role of the students' two languages and allows student to use their pre-existing language knowledge to assist in the learning of their second language (Cummins, 2008).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Level 1 Māori-medium programmes maintain a rigid separation between te reo Māori and English. For much of the period since the 1980s when Māori-medium education first gained momentum, the English language has been perceived as an enemy of Māori-medium programmes as there has been a drive to revitalise te reo Māori. The three schools involved in this research project all include some form of English transition programme for between two and four years.⁹ However, when English instruction occurs, the two languages are separated by time, place and teacher (Jacobson, 1995), and prior to the introduction of English instruction all three schools maintain a 100 percent Māori immersion programme. As a consequence, none of the schools has encouraged their students' to use their language skills reservoirs of one language to assist in learning the other.

To this point in the discussion the evidence that has been presented has supported the possibility of a closer relationship between the student's two languages and an earlier introduction of the second language of instruction (English in this case). However, the possibility for drawing the languages closer together needs to be weighed with the evidence that emerges from Tagoilelagi-Leota, McNaughton, MacDonald and Farry's (2005) research into biliteracy development in Samoan and Tongan students in Auckland

⁹ School One commences English instruction in Year 4, School Two commences in Year 6 and School Three commences at Year 7.

(New Zealand). These authors found that while the L1 Tongan and Samoan-speaking children quickly developed English literacy skills when they entered English-medium primary schools, their L1 development suffered at home. The authors state:

Despite the huge gains made by children after one year of schooling in English, the alarming drop in L1 needs to be of great concern, not only to the Pasifika communities, but also for the schools and educational policy, in ensuring these language are sustained in an educatively productive manner. (Tagoilelagi-Leota et al., 2005, p. 477)

Tagoilelagi-Leota et al. warn that in attempting to achieve biliteracy aims, the bilingual children's first language became threatened. The message from this research is for Māori-medium administrators to be careful not to jeopardise heritage language development for the sake of attempting to support English literacy skills development. While the context of the Tagoilelagi-Leota et al. research was quite different from the Māori-medium examples explored in this research (i.e., Māori-medium students go to school to learn their indigenous heritage language as an L2), it still signals the need for a cautious approach to developing biliteracy.

1.11.4 Teaching for biliteracy

An important consideration regarding teaching for biteracy is that the approach schools take needs to occur within a context that promotes social justice (García, 2009). One way of achieving this will be to teach students critical literacy.¹⁰ When students learn through a critical literacy lens, they come to understand the social realities of their own lives and of their communities. It includes learning about the power of dominance and the forms of racism in society (Cummins, 2000; Freire, 1970).

There are many suggestions in the literature regarding classroom practices for biliteracy. Perez and Torez Guzman (2002), Cummins, Sayers, & Brown (2007), Cummins (2008), Gibbons (2002), Coelho (2000) and García (2009) are some of the researchers who offer useful ideas. One argument that emerges from the research, and which has relevance to the New Zealand context, is that methods of teaching reading and writing in monolingual

¹⁰ Cummins (2000, p. 248) calls this “transformative pedagogy.”

classrooms also appear to be relevant to bilingual classroom contexts aiming to teach biliteracy (García, Bartlett, & Kleifgen, 2007).

García (2009) discusses a number of approaches that will lead to biliteracy development, most of which have been implemented in New Zealand Māori-medium and English-medium schools for many years, and are implemented in the English transition classes of the three schools in this study (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven). These literacy approaches include:

- The use of both top-down and bottom-up approaches (Manzo & Manzo, 1993)
- Teaching about the cuing system, including the graphophonic, semantic, and syntactic knowledge (Ministry of Education, 1996, 2003, 2006)
- The use of reading approaches that emphasise meaning and the learning of reading strategies, including, reading to students, shared reading, and guided reading (Department of Education, 1985; Ministry of Education, 1996, 2003, 2006)
- Writing programmes that encourage frequent opportunities for students to express themselves through written language, and which explicitly teach writing skills. Biliteracy focused writing programmes will include the use of demonstrations, joint construction of texts, independent writing, minilessons, conferencing, and the sharing of the students' personal writing (Calkins, 1994; Cambourne, 1988; Graves, 1983; Ministry of Education, 1992)

1.11.4.1 Translanguaging

A pedagogical theme that has received attention, primarily by García (2009) and Baker (2003), is the concept of translanguaging (see also, García et al., 2007). According to Baker (2003), translanguaging is a concept first discussed by Williams (1994) when he conducted research in Welsh secondary schools. Williams defined translanguaging as a pedagogical practice which switches the language mode in bilingual classrooms (Baker, 2001). It is a process that is used naturally by bilinguals when negotiating the learning of a second language, but can also be employed as a teaching strategy where students are encouraged to switch from one language to the other to complete a task. Translanguaging

is more than just chopping and changing from one language to the other, according to Baker (2003, 2006). There is a deliberate, systematic, yet varied strategy of transferring the knowledge from one language to the other, without being merely an act of repeating the content in the other language (which would be a waste of time if language skills transfer exists). It is instead the deliberate planning of tasks that require the use of one language's resources to assist in the development of the other language and vice versa. Here, translanguaging would appear to build on Tucker and Lambert's earlier notion of subcontrastive incipient linguistics, which highlights this process in relation to metalinguistic awareness.

1.11.4.2 Identity texts

A final pedagogical theme to be discussed here from the literature, is the use of identity texts (Cummins, 2008; Cummins et al., 2007). These are positive statements (which can be written, spoken, visual, musical, dramatic or multimodal combinations) that students make about themselves. They can create them on any topic that is relevant to their lives, and can be integrated across curricula (Cummins, 2005).

According to Cummins (2008, p. 71), "Students invest their identities in the creation of these texts.... The identity text then holds up a mirror up to students in which their identities are reflected back in a positive light." When the students complete their texts, they are then encouraged to share their identities with multiple audiences, and usually receive positive feedback. Two key features of this technique include, first, that the students' cultures are central to the task and, second, the students are involved in purposeful translation from their L1 to their L2 and vice versa.

1.12 Summary

This chapter has presented the research and theoretical background to the themes of bilingualism and bilingual education. After defining bilingual education, this chapter discussed how research and attitudes to bilingualism have changed in the last 50 years, from a negative view to positive one that sees bilingualism providing individuals possessing advantages that monolinguals do not develop to the same extent. One area that was highlighted as exemplifying bilingual advantage is metalinguistic awareness. The most relevant research regarding this theme was discussed.

The theories of bilingualism, including, the Threshold and Interdependence hypotheses, the Iceberg model and the BICS/CALP distinction were discussed in the second part of this chapter because they provide the most pertinent theoretical links to Māori medium education and the issues that are faced in these programmes. Finally, the theme of biliteracy development (and language skills transfer) was discussed in order to highlight the academic English skills bilinguals need to acquire, along side their Māori language development.

2 Chapter Two: Bilingual programmes and their effectiveness

2.1 Introduction

There are two main sections to this chapter. Section one unpacks some of the structural considerations concerning bilingual programmes. Given the many permutations among bilingual programmes, there is a need to discuss these in relation to the wider evidence of the effectiveness of bilingual programmes. It is also important to differentiate the characteristics of New Zealand programmes in comparison with other international examples. This chapter will therefore discuss programme characteristics and in doing so will introduce the typology developed by May and Hill (see May 2008), which is used to frame this current research project.

Section two discusses the characteristics of Māori-medium education in the New Zealand context. This discussion highlights the issues that remain unresolved when comparing New Zealand practices with overseas models of bilingual education. In the final part of section two, the discussion focuses on the components of English transition programmes in overseas contexts, and how these relate to New Zealand programmes.

2.2 Section one

In any given context, there will be a wide range of perceptions of what constitutes bilingual education. At one end of the continuum are those who would classify as bilingual any educational approach adopted for, or directed at, bilingual students, irrespective of their educational aims (fostering bilingualism or monolingualism), or irrespective of the role (if any) of first language (L1) and second language (L2) as languages of instruction. For some educators, the mere presence of bilingual students in the classroom is deemed sufficient to classify a programme as bilingual (for example, Baker & de Kanter, 1981; Porter, 1990). At the other end of the continuum are those who distinguish clearly between non-bilingual, weak bilingual and strong forms of bilingual education (for example, Baker, 2006; May & Hill, 2005; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, 2000). This latter approach is adopted in this thesis.

Educational approaches to bilingual education vary widely in relation to how effectively they foster or promote bilingualism, biliteracy and academic success for bilingual students. The wide variety of these educational approaches further complicates attempts to identify the essential features of successful bilingual education programmes. Even so, there are certain generic principles of good practice that can be extrapolated from the wider research and policy literature (see Cloud et al., 2000; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia, 1995).

The importance of carefully defining bilingual education programmes according to their characteristics cannot be underestimated. When research is conducted in contexts where programmes are poorly defined, any negative results can threaten the legitimate place of bilingual education as a sound option. This includes research in bilingual contexts that uses flawed methodologies. In the United States context, for instance, by using flawed research, a large lobby group successfully fought against the continuation of additive bilingual education provisions, the result of which has seen anti-bilingual legislation passed into law, in three US states; California, Arizona and Massachusetts (Crawford, 2000). The success of these anti-bilingual laws has largely been based on a campaign that promoted a combination of popular misunderstandings about bilingualism and highly selective, and directly misleading, research evidence to support its claims (see also, May, 2008).

The first flawed investigation which was used to support the group's claims was an evaluation of bilingual education programmes by the American Institutes for Research (AIR) (Danoff, Coles, McLaughlin, & Reynolds, 1978). It provided an overview of US federally-funded bilingual programmes operating at the time and found that such programmes had no significant impact on educational achievement in English, although they did enhance native-like proficiency. It suggested further, that students were being kept in bilingual programmes longer than necessary, thus contributing to the segregation of such students from mainstream (English-medium) classes (Moran, 1990).

Despite concerns about its methodology, the conclusions of the AIR study were seemingly replicated by a second piece of US federally-commissioned research by K. Baker and de Kanter (Baker & de Kanter, 1981, 1983; see also Rossell & Baker, 1996). They reviewed the literature and likewise concluded that bilingual education was not advancing the English language skills and academic achievements of minority language

students, predominantly Spanish-speaking L1 students. In short, Baker and de Kanter argued that students in bilingual programmes demonstrated no clear educational advantages over those in English-only programmes.

Crawford (see also, Crawford, 1989; Rossell & Baker, 1996) observes that while the Baker and de Kanter (1983) report is widely cited, this is largely because of the criticisms levelled at its methodology. For example, as with the AIR study, Baker and de Kanter specifically rejected the use of data gathered through students' first languages. They also failed to account for the fact that two-thirds of the comparison group in English-only education programmes had previously been in bilingual programmes where, presumably, they had benefited from first language instruction (Crawford, 1992).

Moreover, neither of these reports distinguished between the wide variety of educational approaches to bilingual education, particularly in relation to the degree to which the first language (L1) was used as the medium of instruction, whether the programmes were based on an additive or subtractive bilingual approach (see 1.8), or whether the programmes were early or late-exit bilingual programmes.¹¹ Both of these characteristics (additive/subtractive, and early/late exit) are crucially important to the effectiveness of bilingual education outcomes, as we shall see shortly.

The inadequacy of Baker and de Kanter's findings has been confirmed by Willig's (1985, 1987) subsequent meta-analyses of their data. Willig controlled for 183 variables that they had failed to take into account. She found, as a result, small to moderate differences in favour of bilingual education, even when these were predominantly early-exit programmes. Willig's conclusions are also replicated in three subsequent major long-term bilingual education research studies in the US, those of Ramírez et al. (1991), and Thomas and Collier (1997, 2002). By specifically differentiating among the widely different approaches to bilingual education, and controlling for their variable effectiveness, the findings of each of these major studies clearly and consistently support the efficacy of bilingual education in additive bilingual contexts.

¹¹ The duration of *early-exit* bilingual programmes tend to be up to two years target language education, whereas, *late-exit* programmes use the target language for around 40 percent of the time up until Year 6, after which the students are moved to English-medium programmes (Baker 2006).

2.3 Key characteristics of bilingual education

With the above discussion in mind, settling on a suitable definition of bilingual education is important, so that programmes that are clearly not bilingual in nature can be disregarded when research into bilingual education is considered. The classic definition, posited by Andersson and Boyer (1970), provides a useful starting point:

Bilingual education is instruction in two languages and the use of those two languages as mediums of instruction for any part or, or all, of the school curriculum. (1970, p. 12)

Put simply, bilingual education involves instruction in two languages (Baker & Jones, 1998; Cummins, 2003; Freeman, 1998; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Holmes, 1984; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). This immediately excludes programmes that include bilingual students but do not involve bilingual instruction, most notably English-only programmes. It also excludes programmes where a second language (L2) is taught as a subject only. English as a second language (ESL) classes are examples of this, as are foreign language classes, both of which are common in New Zealand schools, as elsewhere. Along with English-only programmes, they can also clearly be described as non-bilingual programmes.

For a programme to be deemed to be bilingual, the key is that both languages must be used as media of instruction and thus to deliver curriculum content. As Baker and Prys-Jones (1998, p. 466) conclude: “If there is a useful demarcation, then bilingual education may be said to start when more than one language is used to teach content (e.g., Science, Mathematics, Social Sciences, or Humanities) rather than just being taught as a subject by itself.” On this basis, immersion models that teach predominantly through a minority language, such as Canadian French-immersion or Māori-medium programmes, are also clearly bilingual programmes, since some curricular instruction in the majority language (English, in both cases) usually occurs at some point prior to the end of the programme, even in those programmes with very high levels of immersion in the minority language. There are specific issues here with respect to ensuring that academic language proficiency in both languages occurs – that is, the successful achievement of biliteracy - but these issues will be discussed further later in this chapter.

An additional key point addressed by many commentators in defining bilingual education relates to the goals and outcomes of any given programme. In short, does a programme aim to achieve, foster and/or maintain longer-term student bilingualism and biliteracy (additive bilingualism), or does it aim eventually to shift students from bilingualism to monolingualism in the dominant language (subtractive bilingualism)? Only additive bilingual programmes can be regarded as strong forms of bilingual education, and only additive programmes are strongly associated with the wider academic achievement of bilingual students (section 1.8 discusses additive and subtractive bilingualism).

2.4 Bilingual education typologies

Many researchers have attempted to classify bilingual programmes into typologies. Typologies are important as they enable us to identify the characteristics of bilingual programmes, and to assist planners to highlight specific issues that need addressing in the planning and implementation of these programmes (Cummins, 2003).

This said there are also limitations to what typologies can do. Baker (2006) warns that the benefit of typologies is confined to providing conceptual clarity only. Typologies are not able to show all real life examples, according to Baker (and Hamers & Blanc, 2000), because of the range of contexts and characteristics that exist for any given programme. Baker considers that typologies suggest static images when, in reality, programmes are constantly developing and evolving. He also states that typologies are reductionist and essentialist, tending to be simplified versions of the reality. As a consequence, caution is necessary when using bilingual typologies.

Another limitation, which Baker (2006) discusses, is that typologies do not address classroom processes, nor do they explain the relative effectiveness of the range of bilingual programmes. I would argue that, like other strategies that attempt to synthesize information, typologies can provide a rough guide of potential effectiveness and can also highlight potential issues that may need to be investigated. The typology developed by May and Hill, discussed below, attempts to do this in respect of the characteristics of Māori-medium programmes. Clearly, bilingual typologies can clarify issues and obstacles that may interfere with the successful formation of a bilingual programme.

A wide range of bilingual typologies have been created to date. Mackey's (1970) model with 90 distinctions is probably the best known. Other authors have constructed typologies to reflect the myriad of bilingual programmes that exist in any given educational context. These include Fishman (Fishman & Lovas, 1970), Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, 2000), Hornberger (1991), Cummins (2003) and Baker (2006). Discussing these models is not a central consideration for this research, however. Instead, this research will introduce one typology (May and Hill's) that has been developed to account for a range of bilingual educational programmes from international contexts, but also to account for bilingual programmes specific to the indigenous Māori language immersion context in Aotearoa/New Zealand (see Figure 7 below).

2.5 May and Hill typology

May and Hill have developed Hornberger's (1991) two-level typology, itself a development of Trueba's (1979) model into a three-level diagram, to reflect the New Zealand situation in relation to wider international programme trends. The model has been published internationally in May (2008). However, the following is a variation of this model (see Figure 7) for the purposes of this thesis, highlighting the specific place of Māori-immersion education within it.

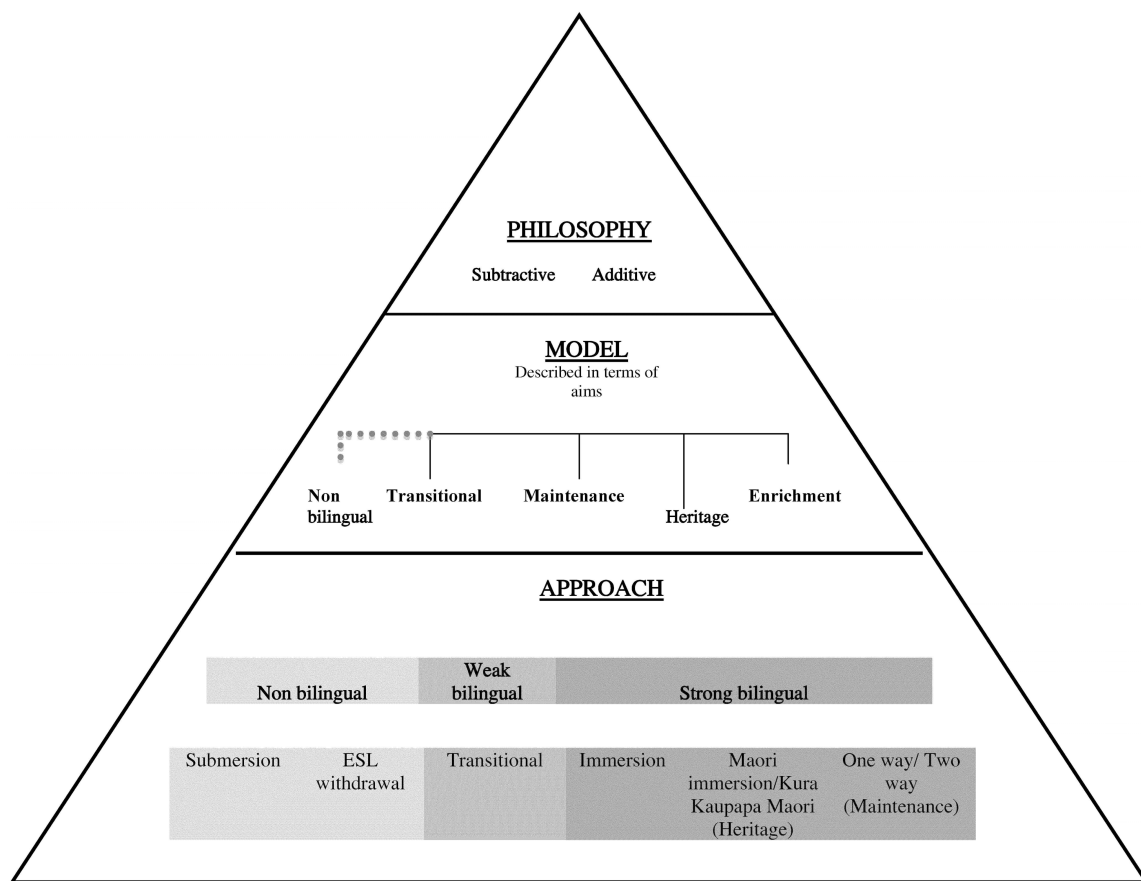


Figure 7: The May and Hill Typology. A derivation of a diagram from May (2008).

2.5.1 Level 1: Philosophy

At the upper philosophical level of educational models (and impacting on the levels below) is the additive/subtractive distinction created by Lambert (Lambert, 1980, 1984), and discussed in the previous chapter (see 1.8). Additive approaches foster bilingualism. They aim to add a second language to the student’s repertoire, and are designed in a way that will achieve this end. Subtractive approaches, on the other hand, aim to shift students away from their L1 towards eventual monolingualism in a dominant language. This results in the students relinquishing their native language in favour of the dominant language (García, 1996; Roberts, 1995).¹²

¹² In this May and Hill model, Māori-medium education is clearly an additive model. However, García (García, 2009, pp. 52-53) would describe it, and other programmes that aim to revitalise a language as “recursive”, because, they do not stem from a monoglossic

The place of the additive/subtractive dimension is important to this discussion as it helps to explain the effects of contextual influences (such as negative attitudes of society, pressure from dominant groups, teacher biases, etc) on bilingual education outcomes. In contexts where the bilingual's languages are valorised and have status, the bilingual objective is easier to achieve. Alternatively, in other contexts where there is widespread negativity towards bilingualism, the accomplishment of bilingualism via education is far more difficult. This latter pattern has been an historic problem in many English-dominant countries, including Aotearoa/New Zealand, and has been widely described in the literature (see Crawford, 1999; Cummins, 2000).

2.5.2 Level 2: Model

The second level of the May and Hill diagram above describes specific models. This level is explained by Freeman (1998, p. 3) as being focussed on schools' "language-planning goals and ideological orientations toward linguistic and cultural diversity." There are three simple programme models that many commentators recognise: transitional programmes, maintenance programmes, and enrichment programmes. To these, the model adds a fourth, heritage model to better reflect the situation of indigenous Māori-medium programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand. These various models will now be discussed.

2.5.2.1 *Transitional bilingual programmes*

A transitional model of bilingual education uses the L1 of minority language students in the early stages of schooling but aims to shift students away from the use of their L1 as quickly as possible towards the greater use of the dominant language (English language, in the context with which we are concerned) in order to cope academically in English-medium or general education (de Mejia, 2002; Otheguy & Otto, 1980). In other words, the L1 is used only to the extent that it facilitates the transition of the minority language speaker to the majority language (L2). Accordingly, most transitional programmes are also 'early-exit' programmes, where the L1 is used for only 1-2 years, before being replaced by the L2.

vision as additive programmes do, but originate in already heteroglossic languaging practices.

Transitional bilingual programmes (TBE) acknowledge the significance of the interdependence of languages (see 1.9.2), along with the benefits of using L1 as a bridge to the acquisition of L2. Despite this, however, TBE also clearly holds to a subtractive view of individual and societal bilingualism. In assuming that the (minority) L1 will eventually be replaced by an (majority) L2, bilingualism is not in itself regarded as necessarily beneficial, either to the individual or to society as a whole. This in turn suggests that the eventual atrophy of minority languages, or the aim of moving eventually from bilingualism to monolingualism in the majority language, remains a central objective of transitional bilingualism programmes.

Transitional bilingual programmes have not been implemented in Aotearoa/New Zealand, except at the localised school level. This is in marked contrast to the USA, for example, where transitional programmes were developed widely for Spanish (L1) speakers from the 1970s onwards. The principal reason for their lack of implementation in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been a long-standing (and ongoing) preference for English-only educational approaches for ethnolinguistic minority students in general education, supplemented with ESL support, and an intolerance of linguistic diversity in schools.

2.5.2.2 *Maintenance models*

A maintenance model to bilingual education, on the other hand, differs fundamentally from a transitional model because it aims to maintain the minority language of the students, strengthen their sense of cultural and linguistic identity, and affirm their individual and collective rights. There are many types of bilingual programme that can be said to fit into this model. However, the typical participant in a maintenance bilingual programme will be a minority group member (e.g., Welsh in Britain, Catalan in Spain, French Canadian in Canada, Spanish in the United States) whose L1 is already developed to an age-appropriate level. The language of instruction will be predominantly the L1. This is because the aim of such programmes, as their designation suggests, is to maintain the L1 for a sufficient amount of time so that a high level of language proficiency in the L1 is achieved. This in turn facilitates the acquisition of literacy in an L2, on the basis of the developmental interdependence principle (see 1.9.2). Consequently, the most common

programmes in a maintenance bilingual model are late-exit programmes, that is, the use of L1 as an instructional language continues for at least four years.¹³

2.5.2.3 *Enrichment programmes*

Closely related to maintenance bilingual programmes are enrichment programmes, a term first coined by Fishman (Fishman, 1976). If the former are geared towards maintaining the L1 of minority language students, the latter are generally, but not exclusively, associated with teaching majority language students a minority target language. French immersion in Canada, where many of the students come from middle-class L1 English-speaking homes, is perhaps the most often cited example of an enrichment bilingual programme here. Welsh-medium schools, which also include many middle-class L1 English speakers, are another example (see May, 2000). Elite bilingual programmes such as the European Schools movement are also widely regarded as enrichment programmes (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Valdés & Figueroa, 1994).

As with maintenance programmes, the emphasis in enrichment programmes is not just on achieving bilingualism and biliteracy for individual students, but also on the ongoing maintenance of the minority language(s) in the wider community. As Hornberger argues, the enrichment model “encompasses all those bilingual education programme types which aim toward not only maintenance but development and extension of the minority languages, cultural pluralism, and an integrated national society based on autonomy of cultural groups” (Hornberger, 1991, p. 222). Linking the individual and the social context directly in this way emphasises that maintaining a minority language is not only an individual right of its (minority) speakers but also a potential resource for all speakers. Accordingly, Hornberger (1991) argues that this type of programme has the greatest potential to educate students successfully in bilingual programmes, given its strong additive bilingual basis. It is also the programme most likely to reduce the educational and wider social and linguistic inequalities experienced by minority language speakers.

¹³ Not all late-exit programmes are maintenance bilingual programmes. There are some late-exit transitional programmes as well. However, the majority of transitional education programmes are early-exit, and the majority of maintenance bilingual programmes are either late-exit, or non-exit (i.e., the whole of schooling is conducted via the bilingual programme. This approach is particularly evident in the European context.)

2.5.2.4 *Heritage models*

A final model at this level, and an addition to Hornberger's (1991) framework, is the heritage model. Elsewhere, heritage models have been used to describe bilingual programmes for first nations groups, whose L1 is their indigenous language; and who are therefore taught through their L1 (e.g., Navajo; Hualapai in the USA; Inuit in Nunavut, Canada; Sámi in Finnmark, Norway). In many typologies, such indigenous heritage programmes have been equated, or more often simply elided, with maintenance bilingual programmes (see Baker, 2001).

The problem with this is that while some of these indigenous language programmes are clearly aimed at students who still speak the indigenous language as an L1 and may therefore be regarded as L1 maintenance bilingual programmes, others do not. Many also cater for students with a mix of L1/L2 speakers of the language (e.g., Hawaiian), and some have only L2 speakers of the language (e.g., the Master/Apprentice programme developed for the now largely moribund indigenous languages of California) and are therefore closer to the enrichment end of the continuum.

Certainly, many heritage programmes, with Māori-medium programmes being a key example, have an increasing preponderance of L2 speakers of the target language, the result in turn of ongoing language shift among indigenous peoples (see Holm & Holm, 1995; McCarty, 2002 for discussion regarding Navajo). As such, the pedagogical approach is closer to an immersion or enrichment bilingual model. Where heritage programmes differ from immersion programmes internationally, however, is that the wider social status of the language and the learners is not so high. In other words, they more closely represent a maintenance programme approach in terms of the low status usually ascribed the minority or target language in the wider society, in contrast to enrichment programmes where the languages being taught are often high status (see below for further discussion of immersion education).

A redefinition of heritage programmes in this research therefore creates a special position for indigenous students who have experienced generational language shift and who now need to learn their mother tongue as a second language. These changing language patterns for indigenous language speakers have much to do, in turn, with the rapidly increasing influence of English as a global language, along with the long history of subtractive

bilingualism discussed earlier (see May, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), and imposed by colonising powers. They certainly make the maintenance of indigenous languages considerably more difficult. Given this, it is crucial that both the international and national research literature begin to address more clearly the specific consequences of the increase in L2 speakers in many heritage language programmes.

In particular, we need to distinguish, and if necessary differentiate, between the specific language and learning needs of L1 and L2 speakers or learners of the target minority language within these programmes. This can be accomplished in ways that will further enhance the developmental and educational outcomes of all the students involved, but only if these issues are directly addressed. At this time, the increasing presence of L2 speakers continues to be either ignored, or their needs subsumed within those of the L1 group, even though the educational circumstances and learning needs of these groups may differ markedly. Baker's (2001) typology of heritage language education, for example, did not distinguish between these groups or their different characteristics, and this is typical of the literature more generally, although Baker (2006) has subsequently modified his analysis to address this issue. Much the same can be said for the research literature on Māori-medium education, at least until recently (see Chapter Three).

2.5.3 Level 3: Approach

The third level of the May and Hill diagram highlights approaches which Freeman (1998, p. 3) describes as the level depicting “the specific contextual and structural characteristics” of the programme. This level then, refers to the specific elements within the school and classroom programme concerning the students, their language, societal perceptions, and the aims/goals. May and Hill divide the approach level into three categories to describe their level of effectiveness. They are:

1. Non-bilingual programmes
2. Weak bilingual programmes and,
3. Strong bilingual programmes.

This division conforms to Skutnabb-Kangas' (2000) model and Baker's latest typology (Baker 2006), which make explicit the programmes that purport to be bilingual, but are not in reality. By using this trichotomy, the May and Hill typology achieves two

important ends. First, it excludes programmes that do not attempt to accommodate the child's native language, nor aspire to produce bilingual graduates, because their goal does not include bilingualism and biliteracy. Second, it allows the inclusion of transitional bilingual programmes (see above), which although subtractive in nature, can still effect the achievement of bilingualism and biliteracy in students if they are long-term programmes. I will now discuss the most significant bilingual programmes internationally in relation to these broad distinctions.

2.5.3.1 *Transitional*

In transitional bilingual education (TBE),¹⁴ the minority language students are initially taught through their L1 or home language until they are considered proficient enough in the majority language to cope in general or English-language education (García, 1996). They are then moved to an English-medium class. The transition to an English language class occurs either after one to three years in early-exit programmes, or after four to six years in late-exit programmes.

TBE programmes do encompass, recognition of the importance and usefulness of using an L1 as a bridge to the acquisition of an L2. However, there remain a number of identified problems with such programmes. They are still predicated on a subtractive view of bilingualism, even if they do allow an initial period of learning through their L1 to help with the transition to English (Lessow-Hurley, 2000). Furthermore, students of early-exit transitional programmes will have developed conversational ability in an L2, perhaps even fluent conversational ability, but will not have had enough time or opportunity to develop the academic language ability required of schooling, certainly not to a comparable degree to their L1 English-speaking peers.

¹⁴ Transitional programmes are situated at both the 'models' level and the 'approaches' level of this typology. As a model, transitional programmes are subtractive in nature, aiming to shift students away from their L1, and catering for minority group children whose heritage language is their L1. As an approach, transitional programmes are divided into early exit (up to two years) and late exit programmes (three to six years). Here children receive bilingual instruction, but for a shorter period than maintenance programmes.

Thomas and Collier (2002) support this contention. From their longitudinal study of the educational outcomes of minority students in the United States context, they advise that students without any English proficiency should not be placed in short-term programmes of one to three years. A minimum of six years, they argue, is required for successful development of academic language proficiency in an L2. This point is consistent with the wider research also (Baker, 2006, Cummins, 2000) and is also supported by evidence of academic outcomes. In the Thomas and Collier study (2002), students in 50-50 Transitional programmes – that is, 50 percent English and 50 percent target language per week – reached the 45th percentile by the end of Grade 11. The students of 90-10 Transitional programmes (where 90 percent of instruction is in the L1 initially, and gradually increasing English instruction until by Grade 5 all instruction is in L2) reached the 32nd percentile by the end of Grade 5.

Ramírez (1992) came to similar conclusions in his longitudinal study of 554 Latino students involved in three types of United States' programmes, including English-only, early-exit transition, and late-exit programmes. Ramírez found that the students in late-exit programmes that continued to emphasize primary language instruction throughout the elementary school (approximately 40 percent of instructional time) were catching up academically to students in early-exit and immersion programmes (García, 2009), and proportionally, a significant trend, given that more of their families came from the lowest income levels than was the case for students in the other two programmes. Differences were also observed among the late-exit sites with respect to mathematics, English language and English reading. Students in the two late-exit sites that continued L1 instruction through to Grade 6 made significantly better academic progress than those who were transferred early into all-English instruction. Ramírez concluded that:

Students who were provided with a substantial and consistent primary language development programme learned mathematics, English language, and English reading skills as fast or faster than the norming population in this study. As their growth in these academic skills is atypical of disadvantaged youth, it provides support for the efficacy of primary language development facilitating the acquisition of English language skills. (1992, p. 38)

2.5.3.2 *Developmental maintenance/one way*

Developmental maintenance programmes (or one-way as they are often described in the United States context) (Thomas & Collier, 2002) usually involve minority groups who are instructed through both their languages (Baker, 2006). A typical example would be of Latino families who move to the United States and enrol in a Spanish bilingual school.

Like Canadian immersion programmes, these programmes are usually either 90/10 models or 50/50 models. The 90/10 typically begins with a high level of target language instruction, followed by a gradual decrease until the percentage of target language instruction between the two languages is even, which usually occurs by Year 6.

Developmental maintenance programmes have been found to be a very effective means of educating this special group of students. Results from research into the benefits of these programmes show that in programmes described as “feature rich” (Thomas & Collier, 2002), the students reach grade norm levels of attainment by around Year 6 of school (Ramírez et al., 1991; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002). Thomas and Collier’s (2002) latest study found that 90-10 and 50-50 Developmental maintenance programmes are the only ones that assist students to fully reach the 50th percentile in both L1 and L2 in all subjects, and to maintain that level of high achievement. According to these authors, the fewest dropouts come from these programmes (Thomas & Collier, 2002, p. 7).

2.5.3.3 *Two-way/Dual language approaches*

Two-way programmes represent a highly effective version of bilingual education that has emerged in the United States in recent years. They are unique in the respect that each classroom includes two equally portioned groups of students, each with a different native language. The idea here is that both groups are learning the other’s native language along with their own L1. Two-way programmes are either 90/10 or 50/50 in the quantity of instruction of each language. A 90/10 programme will provide 90 percent of instruction time to the language least likely to be spoken in the wider society – for instance, Spanish in a Spanish/English programme in the US. Alternatively, a 50/50 programme divides instructional time in half, so that students are exposed to an equal amount of both languages (Baker & Prys Jones 1998).

The results from research evidence thus far (see Freeman, 1998; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2006) shows that this approach is more successful than others in achieving bilingualism and biliteracy for its students (see the Thomas and Collier (1997) graph later in this section).¹⁵

2.5.3.4 Immersion

Immersion education is an enrichment bilingual education model that is most commonly associated with language majority students who are learning through their L2 rather than their L1 (Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). The programmes are additive in their goals. They aim to enable the students to attain functional bilingualism and biliteracy in the particular languages concerned by the time they finish high school (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). Māori-medium programmes are often compared with Canadian French immersion programmes, despite there being significant differences in each context. As such, an extended discussion of the Canadian model will be included here to enable a comparison with the New Zealand model.

According to Swain and Johnson (1997) there are eight core features of a prototypical immersion programme:

- The L2 is a medium of instruction
- The immersion curriculum parallels the local L1 curriculum
- Overt support exists for the L1
- The programme aims for additive bilingualism
- Exposure to the L2 is largely confined to the classroom
- Students enter with similar (and limited) levels of L2 proficiency
- The teachers are bilingual
- The classroom culture is that of the local L1 community.

¹⁵ This approach is not employed in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and will thus not be discussed further in this research. For more discussion on this form of education, see Cloud, Genesee and Hamayan (2001), Freeman (2000), and Lindholm-Leary (2001).

Immersion programmes originated in Canada when two researchers, Wallace Lambert and Wilder Penfield, from McGill University, were pressed by the local Protestant school board to try a new approach to the teaching of French. In 1965 the board agreed to an experiment in French immersion.

The initial class of 26 L1 English-speaking kindergarteners entered a school programme conducted entirely in French. In this early total immersion model, students first learned to read in their L2. In Grade 2, one period of English language arts was then introduced, and gradually the proportion of English was further increased in other subjects until it reached about 60 percent by the end of elementary school.

Immersion students in Canada were not mixed with native French speakers, thus allowing for instruction to be conducted initially in simplified French, and in a context that prioritised incidental learning of the language (Crawford, 1999). The teachers were all fluent bilinguals who spoke to the students only in French from the outset. However, recognizing that speech production lags comprehension in second language learning, the programme's designers allowed students to use English to ask questions in class until the end of the Grade 1. This flexibility thereby allowed for the second language phenomenon called the "silent period" to occur, thus giving the children time in their initial learning of French to use English and bridge the gap between their native language and their new language.

Judged against the standard of traditional foreign-language classes, immersion was an unqualified success in teaching French. By the end of elementary school, students achieved native-like levels in the receptive aspects of the language, including their listening skills and their reading skills. Their speaking and writing skills were less developed, probably because they had limited interactions with francophone peers. Nevertheless, the immersion students became quite fluent and quite comfortable in speaking French, for the most part. Academically also, the students attained well in their curriculum subjects (Crawford, 1999).

2.5.3.5 *Evaluation of immersion programmes*

There have been numerous evaluations of Canadian French immersion programmes since the 1970s. Some of the most important are those by Genesee (1984) and Swain and Lapkin (1982). In these studies, the achievements of French-immersion students were

compared with those of monolingual English-speaking students in traditional English-only programmes and those of French-speaking students in French schools. The results of the assessments have also been shown to be stable across Canada:

- Students' L1 competence is initially not on a par with students with the same L1 in general or mainstream programmes, but as soon as instruction in L1 starts, they catch up, and are usually at the national norm level in their L1 – or higher - in Grade 5 at the latest. By this time, their school achievement is on a par with non-immersion students and is often actually higher (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).
- At the same time, the competence in their L2 often reaches to near native level in listening and reading comprehension. In productive L2 skills of speaking and especially writing, the immersion students usually make more mistakes, are not as fluent as native speakers, and generally lag behind. Despite this, their productive L2 is at a much higher level than anything reached by good foreign language teaching (Cummins & Swain, 1986; de Mejia, 2008; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).
- Academic achievement of total immersion students is as high as students taught in English-medium schools on tests of mathematics and science, despite the fact that they receive their instruction in French (Hamers & Blanc, 2000)
- Some studies (for example, Barik & Swain, 1978) show that immersion may lead to cognitive enhancement with IQ measures seeming to increase more over the years for immersion students than for students in traditional English programmes. This may well relate to the cognitive and educational advantages of additive bilingualism, discussed at length in Chapter One.

However, one of the recognised weaknesses of Canadian French-immersion programmes is that the students in these programmes may have little exposure to the French language beyond the school (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Many of the French immersion programmes are, in fact, situated within English-medium schools, with few, if any, other French-speaking teachers present. Also, aside from Québec, where French is widely spoken, the remainder of Canada remains English-dominant. The pervasive presence of a majority language beyond the school is a difficulty that all minority language programmes face, however. The same concerns have been raised about Welsh-medium education, for

example, and in Aotearoa/New Zealand in relation to Māori-medium education (May, 2001).

There are six reasons for the success of Canadian programmes, some of which suggest it is unwise to attempt to compare these programmes directly with New Zealand programmes.

- The Canadian model deals with two prestigious languages (additive) which are learned at no cost to their home language or culture
- This schooling is an optional method that often attracts parents who tend to be middle class and, as such, have an understanding of the structure and organisation of the school system
- Both languages (French and English) have status in the school. For example, students are not pressured to use solely French when at school
- Teachers are competent bilinguals with native or near native proficiency in both languages, who are important role models
- Students are a fairly homogeneous group – all beginning to learn French at a similar level, thus simplifying the task of the teacher
- Students receive the same core curriculum as mainstream ‘core’ students (Baker & Jones, 1998).

New Zealand programmes, by contrast with those in Canada, deal with one prestigious language (English) and one low status language (Māori), which compete with one another in the national context. Māori parents are much more likely to occupy a lower socio-economic status than parents in the Canadian context. The teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand are also more likely to have learned Māori later in life as adults, and will thus offer lower levels of Māori language proficiency to the students, than might occur in Canada where teachers are highly proficient speakers of French.

2.6 Relative effectiveness of educational programmes for bilingual students

In a study of bilingual programme effectiveness over time in the United States, Thomas and Collier (1997) examined the potential levels of attainment generated by education

programmes (bilingual and non bilingual) for minority students. Figure 8 below highlights their findings. From the graph, it can be seen that subtractive programmes, which either show little or no regard for the students' L1, such as mainstream English-medium programmes (depicted by line five on the graph below), and mainstream English-medium with ESL instruction (lines three and four), are not capable of lifting students' attainment to a level equivalent to their monolingual peers in English-medium programmes.

On the other hand, long term additive bilingual programmes, including heritage, maintenance, immersion (line two in the graph), and two-way or dual language programmes (line one), create the conditions necessary for students to achieve the ultimate goal of becoming bilingual and biliterate, and successfully lift the achievement of students to at least the same level as English-medium students.

- Program 1: Two-way developmental bilingual education (BE)
- Program 2: Late-exit bilingual education + ESL taught through academic content *
- Program 3: Early-exit bilingual education + ESL taught through academic content *
- Program 4: Early-exit bilingual education + ESL taught traditionally
- Program 5: ESL pullout - taught traditionally

* ESL through the curriculum/LAC language across the curriculum

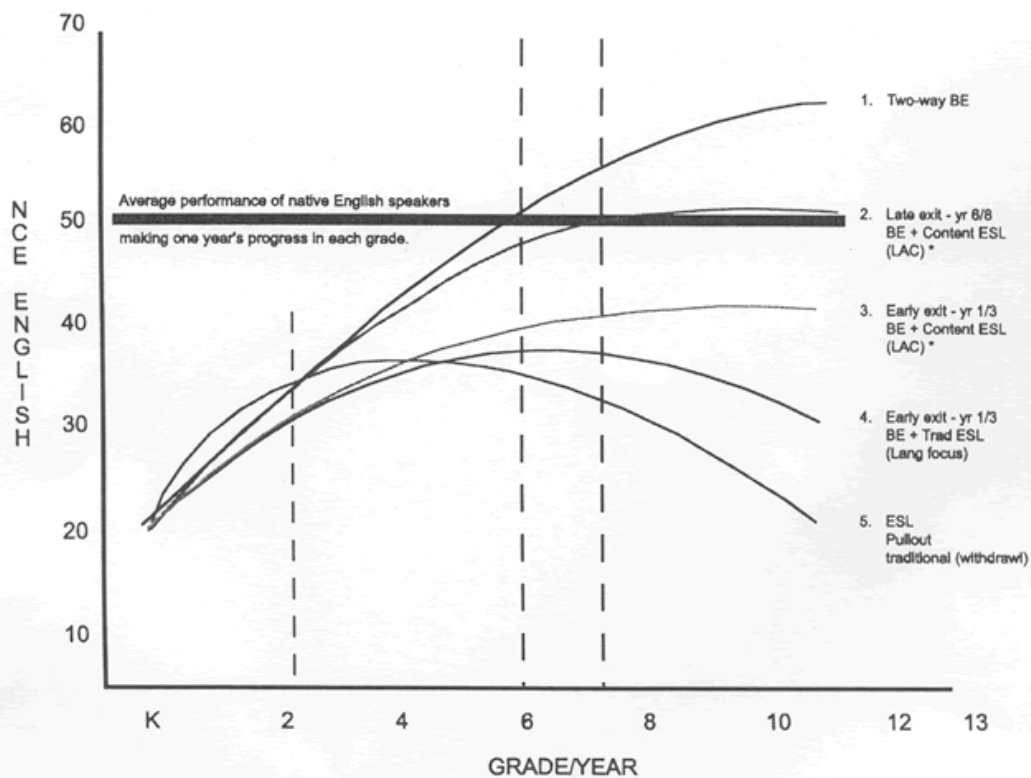


Chart II

General Pattern of K-12 Language Minority Student Achievement on Standardized Tests in English Compared across Five Program Models

(Data aggregated from a series of 3-6 year longitudinal studies from well-implemented, mature programs in five school districts and from the Ramirez 1991 dataset.)

Figure 8: Academic achievement of minority students in US programmes (Thomas & Collier, 1997).

2.7 Section two

In the discussion above regarding the characteristics or attributes of the range of bilingual programmes, Māori-medium programmes are labelled as heritage models of bilingual education. Heritage programmes teach indigenous students their heritage language, both where this is a first language (L1) for students or, more usually, where the majority of students are second language (L2) learners. The latter context applies to Māori-medium education.

Māori-medium programmes provide an additive form of education and have emerged from a wider language revitalisation movement over the last 30 years in Aotearoa/New Zealand centred on schooling (May, 2004; May & Hill, 2005). Despite ongoing negative attitudes towards Māori in the wider society, particularly among non-Māori New Zealanders, Māori-medium programmes have managed to maintain a largely additive environment within the schools, based on their ability to create an environment that embraces the children's culture and language, and which is largely staffed by Māori.

Māori-medium programmes at the primary school level are divided into three types, with overlapping characteristics. These are *kura kaupapa Māori*,¹⁶ total immersion, and partial immersion programmes.¹⁷ The three programme types are further defined by a four-level Ministry of Education funding criteria, based on the quantity of Māori language instruction that occurs in the programme (see below). This system of funding provides greater rewards for higher quantities of Māori language instruction. As such, Level 1 programmes with at least 81 percent Māori language instruction, receive the highest

¹⁶ Kura kaupapa Māori are predominantly primary/elementary schools, from either Year 1-6, or Year 1- 8. However, a few schools, termed *wharekura*, teach students from either Year 9 to Year 13 or Year 1 to Year 13. School Three in this study is a wharekura of this latter kind.

¹⁷ Partial immersion is also sometimes referred to as bilingual to contrast them with total immersion and *kura kaupapa* programmes which were traditionally 100 percent Māori medium programmes.

proportion of funding per child, and Level 4 programmes receive the least (May & Hill, 2005; May, Hill, & Tiakiwai, 2006; Rau, 2005).

- Level 1: 81-100 percent Māori language instruction
- Level 2: 51-80 percent Māori language instruction
- Level 3: 31-50 percent Māori language instruction
- Level 4: 12-30 percent Māori language instruction

2.8 Kura kaupapa Māori and total immersion

Kura kaupapa Māori are state schools, in which the Māori language, culture and Māori values predominate, and where the principal language of instruction is te reo Māori (Ministry of Education 2007). They were designed to accommodate the graduates of the kōhanga reo preschool language nests and, given their high level of immersion, attract the highest level (Level 1) Ministry of Education funding. Traditionally, these schools have offered 100 percent instruction through the Māori language, for the entire time the students are at primary school (six to eight years depending on whether or not the school also enrolls intermediate level children). However, many kura kaupapa Māori now include some kind of English language instruction for their students during the years the children are educated there.

Total immersion programmes are similar to kura kaupapa Māori, in terms of the quantity of Māori language instruction they provide. They are also Level 1 Māori-medium schools, and thus provide over 81 percent Māori language instruction. In contrast to kura kaupapa Māori, however, total immersion programmes are often situated within larger schools that include a range of educational options, both bilingual and English-medium, depending on the population it serves. A typical school of this nature may include an English-medium stream alongside a total immersion or partial immersion programme. Many kura kaupapa Māori began as total immersion programmes, prior to acquiring separate whole-school kura kaupapa Māori status. In this respect, total immersion is sometimes viewed as a stepping-stone towards kura kaupapa Māori.

Partial immersion programmes (also referred to as bilingual), as the name suggests, offer a lower level of target language instruction (Levels 2, 3 and 4) to their students. As with the total immersion programmes, partial immersion programmes are often situated within

larger schools but have unfortunately been viewed less favourably than other forms of bilingual education (see May, 2004; May et al., 2004 for more discussion on this). In many cases this negative reputation is warranted (particularly for Level 3 and 4 programmes), as most programmes of this nature do not offer a high enough exposure to the Māori language to ensure that bilingualism and biliteracy can be achieved, as reflected in the wider research literature.¹⁸ Furthermore, they are often staffed by less fluent teachers, and are poorly resourced, having to compete for funds with the other educational streams within the school. Worst of all, partial immersion programmes often have to cope in a subtractive school context where they often clash with English-medium teachers on approaches and content. They therefore find themselves compromising essential areas in order to accommodate the perceptions of the staff and Principal, who are often located on different perceptual paths.¹⁹

A final limitation with this form of bilingual education in the New Zealand context concerns classroom approach. Lower level partial immersion programmes, particularly Level 3 and 4 programmes often fail to consider the developmental pathway for their students and the appropriate pedagogical strategies for achieving their aims. Issues such as the timing of target language instruction, the subjects in which the Māori language will be used, and importantly, the final outcomes that will be achieved for graduates, are often planned in an ad hoc manner. Instead, for the most part, the students in partial immersion programmes enjoy a Māori culture-imbued environment with a smattering of Māori language incorporated. Therefore, these programmes are often subtractive in nature,

¹⁸ According to Lindholm Leary, a threshold of at least 50 percent is required in order to achieve a satisfactory level of bilingual proficiency (Lindholm-Leary, 2001).

¹⁹ As an example of how bilingual education principles can be compromised in contexts with misinformed Principals: several years ago a friend of mine who was the Principal of an English-medium school with a partial immersion unit, confided in me that he felt the bilingual new entrant students (who had a grounding in a Māori immersion kohanga reo) should switch to English immersion for their first year at primary school. He felt this because when he had their English reading levels assessed at aged six years, they were below their English medium peers. This illustrates one issue bilingual teachers can face when working in larger schools with an English medium focus (see earlier discussion).

because they fail to provide the conditions to create bilingual students, and are often regarded negatively within the school community (This theme is further discussed in May et al., 2004).

2.9 Characteristics of Māori-medium programmes

Bilingual education programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand differ from programmes discussed in the international research in a number of key respects. This section will discuss six areas, and the issues that pertain to these themes. These are:

1. Level of immersion
2. Timing
3. Students
4. Teachers
5. Instructional design

2.9.1 Level of immersion

Level 1 Māori-medium programmes, including kura kaupapa Māori, spend a far greater ratio of time on target language instruction than on English language instruction, compared with bilingual programmes in overseas contexts.

According to the international literature (see Baker, 2006), the most effective bilingual programmes tend to be one of two main types, either 90/10 or 50/50. The instruction in 90/10 programmes, as the label suggests, typically begins with at least 90 percent target language instruction in the early years of schooling, followed by a gradual reduction of the target language instruction and rise in instruction in the other language, until the level of instruction is balanced at 50 percent (usually by Year 4). By contrast, the 50/50 programme implements half the programme in the target language and half in the other language for the entire primary school education of the students.

This 90/10 and 50/50 pattern from overseas contexts contrasts with Aotearoa/New Zealand. Historically, kura kaupapa Māori and total immersion schools have provided 100 percent of the instruction in the target language (Māori) for the entire primary school years. This high level of immersion reflects an historical perception amongst the Māori

community that language revitalisation is a central aim of the Māori bilingual movement (May et al., 2004; Walker, 1990) and as such, all resources should be exhausted in pursuing this end. It also reflects an assumption in education circles and in the wider community that, as most students who attend Māori-medium programmes already speak English as their first language and are living in a predominantly English speaking country, they will naturally acquire the English language through the automatic process of language transfer (discussed 1.1). As such, direct English language instruction will not be necessary.

This New Zealand phenomenon of higher levels of target language instruction has drawn criticism from Jim Cummins (see Cummins, 2000, also discussed in 1.9.8 and 1.10.2), who warns that this situation will lead to Māori children failing to progress to a satisfactory level of development in their English language knowledge. According to Cummins, academic language proficiency in any language, even one's L1, never automatically occurs. And while some skills do transfer from one language to the other, students still need to learn the complexities of classroom-based academic discourse, including its more decontextualised nature, its more complex grammar, and its subject-specific vocabulary (Cummins, 2000; May, 2002b). Cummins addresses this issue directly in relation to the Māori-medium context:

The rationale is that the minority language (Māori) needs maximum reinforcement and transfer of academic skills to English will happen 'automatically' without formal instruction. Although there may be instances where this does happen, in my view, this assumption is seriously flawed. "Automatic" transfer of academic skills across languages will not happen unless students are given opportunities to read and write extensively in English in addition to the minority language. (Cummins, 2000, p. 194)

Cummins states that if one of the two languages is ignored instructionally with the expectation that it will take care of itself, students may experience significant gaps in their knowledge of, and access to, academic registers in that language, particularly in areas related to writing. Furthermore, if one language is completely excluded, students are given much less opportunity and encouragement to engage in the incipient contrastive linguistics (see James, 1996), that Lambert and Tucker (1972) reported was such a

successful feature of Canadian French immersion programmes.²⁰ This kind of enriching metalinguistic activity is much more likely to occur and exert positive effects if it is actively promoted by instruction.²¹

Today, kura kaupapa Māori and total immersion programmes may teach through the Māori language for approximately the first four to six years, at which time formal English instruction is introduced for perhaps four hours per week.²² The New Zealand situation therefore conflicts with overseas programmes in this respect. This issue is further explored in the next section – English instruction.

2.9.2 Timing

Early immersion programmes, that is, programmes that begin target language instruction from Year 1, are the only type that exist in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The planned middle and late immersion options that occur in other contexts, such as Canada (Baker 2006),

²⁰ This refers to making comparisons and contrasts between students' L1 and L2, an important tool for gaining knowledge when learning a second language. It seems similar to what Baker (2003) and García (2009) refer to as 'translanguaging' (discussed in Chapter One).

²¹ Metalinguistic awareness concerns the student's ability to analyse the features of his/her language use, as discussed in 1.7. It is said to occur when a child reaches six years of age, and is highly developed in proficient bilinguals. See Bialystok (Bialystok, 1991) and Baker (Baker, 2006)

²² There is no information available that clarifies the number of Level 1 Māori medium schools that teach English. The only indicative information comes from Crooks and Flockton's (2007) research where most Māori medium schools in this study (they did not state the number of schools involved) refused to allow their students to take the English assessments because it contravened their school policies. I conclude from this that English instruction is not permitted at these schools and thus still the majority of Level 1 programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

have not been experimented with to date in the New Zealand context.²³ One reason for this is the belief that prevails here (and supported in the literature - see Lindholm Leary, 2001) that the longer and the earlier the child's exposure to the Māori language, the more advanced their language development is likely to become. Furthermore, in view of the fact that the success of New Zealand bilingual education has relied on the generation of native-speaking Māori elders to assist in nurturing the language growth in the young preschool Māori children, it would seem counter-productive to wait until adolescence to introduce te reo Māori to them. In the Māori culture, elders often assist with child-rearing when their grandchildren are young. This then is an apt stage to begin teaching te reo Māori, as any delay could jeopardise the potential for students to become bilingual and biliterate, and to learn Māori within a culturally safe context.

2.9.3 Students

The students of Māori-medium programmes are usually L2 speakers of te reo Māori, a reflection of the language shift that has occurred in the Māori community (Benton & Benton, 2000). However, while L2 Māori language learners constitute a large proportion of the school-aged population, there is still a diverse range of home environments that feed into Māori-medium schools. Rau (2005) lists five distinct categories of students who attend Māori-medium programmes. These are:

1. Children for whom Māori is their first and only language
2. Children who have mixed competencies in more than two languages
3. Children who have dual proficiency in both English and Māori
4. Children for whom English is their first language but who also have some competency in the Māori language
5. Children for whom English is their first language and only language and who will begin Māori language learning at school.

²³ There are cases where an intermediate school may develop a partial immersion bilingual programme of some form to accommodate the needs of some students. However, these only last for the two years the students are at the school, and are not serious attempts at satisfying the aims of additive programmes.

When students enrol in schools at age five years, most of these Year 1 students tend to predominantly belong to groups four and five above (Rau 2005). In contrast, very few children belong to groups one and two on entry to school. Even so, the language background of students can still be quite diverse. In fact, according to Berryman (2001), Māori-medium programmes can be every bit as diverse as English-medium programmes, thus impacting on Māori language development within those classes, and the ability of the teachers to create meaningful programmes at an appropriate level.

This broad range of language skills levels has forced schools to restrict entry (an ostensibly illegal procedure in state-funded schools) to only students who have previously attended kōhanga reo (Māori-medium preschool), and/or who display a basic proficiency in the Māori language when they arrive at school. As such, most students who attend total immersion or kura kaupapa Māori programmes should have a basic understanding of te reo Māori when they arrive. That said, in reality, there will be a wide range of skills levels amongst the children, from those with very basic Māori language skills, to those who are highly competent speakers of te reo Māori, having attended kōhanga for four years and who may have highly fluent parents and grandparents.

2.9.4 Teachers

It is widely recognised that the staff who teach any education programme, bilingual or not, are pivotal to the success of the programme (see August & Hakuta, 1997; Cloud et al., 2000; Lindholm-Leary, 2001). However, in bilingual programmes there are extra skills that are required in order for teachers to be effective in those contexts. How effectively teachers understand and address the complex issues that attend teaching in L2 as an instructional language, and the teaching of academic literacy in both L1 and L2, is pivotal to the success or otherwise of bilingual/immersion programmes. Specifically, teaching in a bilingual programme requires specialist training in immersion pedagogy, curriculum, materials and resources, and L2 or target language assessment. This must include preservice and ongoing inservice in:

1. Bilingual theory and research
2. The bilingual programme model the school uses
3. Second language acquisition and development
4. Instructional strategies in second language development

5. Multicultural and educational equity training
6. Cooperative learning strategies.

From Cloud, Genesee and Hamayan (2000), Day and Shapson (1996), and Met and Lorenz (1997).

Furthermore, teachers must be fluent speakers, readers and writers of both languages. This is a sine qua non of bilingual programmes around the world (Valdés, 2004). If teachers are not fluent in both languages, they will not be able to teach students the academic language proficiencies required for long-term academic success. Unfortunately, teachers of New Zealand programmes are more often than not second language learners of te reo Māori, the result of already established patterns of language shift and loss (as discussed earlier). The implication of this situation is that the students are often not being exposed to native Māori speaking models, and the types of language that native speakers display, such as sayings, colloquial speech, etc.²⁴ This being the case, there is some doubt as to whether the teachers' language proficiency is at a sufficient level to enable them to teach specialist subject matter, particularly at higher grade levels.²⁵ A potential implication of this type of predicament is that teachers may reduce the cognitive challenge of classroom studies to match their language proficiency. This could consequently affect the overall engagement of students in their learning environment and their achievement.

The language and teaching skills that the English transition teacher in Māori-medium schools possesses is a central issue to this discussion. The English language ability of the teacher should not be an issue in the New Zealand context as most teachers should be strong English speakers. However, knowledge of how to teach English to students whose schooling has been conducted through the medium of te reo Māori may well be an issue, particularly if these teachers are not bilingual themselves and do not have a knowledge of

²⁴ Interestingly, Valdés (2004) discusses this same issue in relation to third generation Mexican-American teachers who have grown up in an English-medium environment and who teach in bilingual programmes.

²⁵ Of course, second language speakers of a language can also be fluent speakers and able to teach the higher cognitive/linguistic skills required of academic language proficiency.

second language learning and teaching. Additional challenges reside in the fact that there are no specialist training courses available for teachers in this area.

The task of the English transition teacher is quite different from that of other teachers in Māori-medium schools. At present, English transition teachers have limited time available to develop the necessary skills students will need for secondary school and beyond. On arriving at the English transition teacher's class, the students should already be literate in one language (te reo Māori) and should be fluent Māori and English language speakers. Nevertheless, they will still have significant gaps in their knowledge of academic English, and also of English literature, because they will have had very little exposure to it previously, given the high levels of Māori immersion characteristic of these schools. Therefore, for the English transition teacher, the task of teaching English to this group will be a challenging one that requires strong pedagogical content knowledge, good planning and sound assessment.

2.9.5 Instructional design

Māori-medium programmes offer a distinctly Māori approach to instructional design. They are described as both holistic in nature, and imbued with elements of the Māori culture. This is reflected in the guiding philosophy that most kura kaupapa Māori use, called Te Aho Matua (Mataira, 1989), a philosophy that describes the teaching of the Māori child in terms of his or her spiritual, physical, mental, intellectual, social and cultural needs (Reedy, 1992).

A person entering a Māori-medium classroom would expect to witness Māori themes that pertain to local tribal history and beliefs, as well as contemporary content related to the children. They would also see other important Māori cultural features such as kapa haka (Māori dance/haka), mahi toi (Māori art), puoro (music), whaikōrero (speech-making) and whakairo (carving). However, because these schools are funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Education, they are also obliged to deliver the same curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1993a, 2007) as other English-medium New Zealand schools teach.²⁶ This

²⁶ At the time the data for this project was collected “Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa” (Ministry of Education, 1993a), itself a translation of the English curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1993b), was the curriculum for Māori medium schools. A new Māori medium

means that the curriculum subjects are also taught, including pū kōrero (oral language development), pānui pukapuka (reading), tuhituhi (writing), tātai (mathematics), and pūtaiao (science) (Reedy, 1992, p. 11).

The teaching of the Māori language in Māori-medium programmes is similar to other bilingual programmes in international contexts, particularly the Canadian French immersion programmes. The underlying philosophy behind the language teaching of these programmes is that the learning of the language should be as natural as possible, thus emulating the natural process of language learning that occurs when children learn their first language. In this way, in the New Zealand context, Māori is taught incidentally, as the students are immersed in curriculum learning, cultural learning and associated activities (see below for more information on this).

2.9.6 Teaching English in Māori-medium programmes

There is a paucity of research and discussion on the subject of teaching English in Māori-medium education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.²⁷ One reason for this may be the long-standing focus on Māori-medium education as a key intervention in language shift, with less emphasis, until recently, on examining pedagogical practices within these schools.

Historically, the teaching of the English language has been somewhat tokenistic in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Schools usually wait until between Year 4 and 7 to begin English, and instruct for between 1.5 and four hours per week. However there is significant diversity in approach throughout the Māori-medium sector, with some schools refusing to allow any English language instruction in school, to others, such as School One in this study, which commences English instruction at Year 4 for between three and four hours each week.

curriculum draft is currently being developed to accompany the English-medium curriculum.

²⁷ Berryman and Glynn (2003), and Lowman, Fitzgerald, Rapira and Clark (2007) are the only pieces of research published to date about this topic.

The content of most programmes will include a strong reading focus (using guided reading and independent reading (Ministry of Education, 1996, 2003)), with the possible addition of some written language elements. It also appears that genre studies is becoming a popular means of framing the English programmes in Māori medium schools (as will be seen when discussing the three schools involved in this study).

By the time students of Māori-medium programmes begin to learn English formally at school, they are likely to have already been immersed in a Māori language environment for between four and six years (including preschool), and should therefore, theoretically, have stable Māori language conversational proficiency and developing academic language skills. In addition, by virtue of their living in predominantly English-speaking homes and in an English-speaking country, they will speak English and have a basic understanding of English literacy. Thus, a certain level of language-skills transfer will have already inevitably occurred by the time they commence formal English instruction.

In light of this, the most significant English language learning need for these students will be threefold. First, to learn the differences between te reo Māori and English. Second, and relatedly, to acquire English academic literacy skills which prepare them for secondary school. And third, to further develop and extend the students' oral language skills.

2.9.7 Language allocation

The allocation of languages to a bilingual educational programme is a significant issue that affects its overall effectiveness. Jacobson (1995) discusses four options schools use for allocating the languages to the programme, with each school using one or a number of them. These include allocating by topic, person, time, or by place:

1. A school implementing a topic-based allocation, will divide the curriculum subjects between the students' two languages, and use solely one language as the medium of instruction for that subject. For example, mathematics may be taught in Spanish while social studies may be taught in English
2. Programmes that allocate instruction by person, will often implement a pair-teaching situation where one teacher will use solely one language, while the other teacher speaks through the second language. Each teacher will therefore share the

teaching responsibility, and the students will learn both languages simultaneously within a single classroom

3. Programmes that allocate by time, designate particular periods of the day, week, or term to one language medium, where this is the only language spoken during this time. At the end of the period, the other language is then used. For instance, the morning and afternoon times may be the demarcation. In these situations, the teacher will often use a particular sign (for example, wearing a hat or putting a sign on the door) that shows the students which language is the focus for that period
4. Finally, programmes that allocate by place, or physical location, provide specific rooms for the different languages. If the students have a homeroom, this may be a Spanish-only space, where the students are expected to speak only Spanish. Other rooms will be allocated to the other language. Students are therefore expected to conform to the rules of each classroom. (Jacobson, 1995)

New Zealand programmes usually allocate the languages by person, space, and time. First (by person), a separate English teacher will be employed to teach the English component, while the Māori-immersion classroom teacher teaches other curriculum areas through te reo Māori. Second (by space), the English lessons usually occur in a separate room specifically designated an English language zone, in order to safeguard the overall Māori language-imbued environment of the school from ‘contamination’ by the English language. Finally, by implication, the English lessons in Māori-medium programmes are provided a separate time in the timetable.

2.9.8 Timing

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, many New Zealand programmes teach English literacy for a quantity of up to four hours per week, commencing between Year 4 and Year 6. This contrasts with overseas programmes, which are already teaching English for around 12 hours (50 percent) per week from Year 4, having usually introduced it at year two or three (see Baker 2006; Thomas and Collier 2002). Therefore, when a comparison is made of the total percentage of time that English is instructed, there is a significant difference. English instruction in the New Zealand context accounts for around eight percent of the total teaching time, over the whole eight years of primary schooling (if instruction commences in Year 5). In contrast, models overseas tend to allocate between

35 and 50 percent of instructional time to English language instruction. In actual numbers of hours, the difference is more apparent. New Zealand programmes may teach English for around 640 hours over the eight year period compared with between 2600 and 5000 hours in overseas programmes.²⁸

The New Zealand phenomenon therefore constitutes a significant departure from overseas patterns in this instance. However, this impression needs to be balanced with a significant difference between Aotearoa/New Zealand and many other programmes regarding the students' language strengths - that being, Māori-medium students in Aotearoa/New Zealand are usually already L1 speakers of English when they arrive at school. They therefore already speak English at a conversational level, and will not require the same quantity of English language instruction as occurs in overseas programmes, where minority students do not speak English. As such, it could be posited that the acquisition of academic language proficiency for Māori students will take less time than it does for bilinguals who are learning English from scratch, as occurs in many overseas contexts. On the other hand, the closest programmes that can be compared, Canadian French immersion programmes, still incorporate a higher ratio of English instruction to target language instruction. This issue therefore is inconclusive, and requires further research – something this current project sets out to explore.

2.9.9 Which approach is the most effective?

There have been many approaches to language teaching through history, including earlier grammar-based approaches (Richards & Rodgers, 1986), approaches focusing on communicative competence in the 1970s and 1980s (Hymes, 1971), and more recently,

²⁸ Using Baker's (2006) discussion as a guide, over an eight year period (including 8000 hours of potential instructional time), a Canadian French immersion 90/10 programme might include 2600 hours of English instruction, a 50/50 dual language programme may use 4000 hours instructing English, and a Navajo heritage programme may use 5000 hours instructing through the medium of English.

Task-based learning approaches (Nunan, 2004; Skehan, 2003).²⁹ Approaches used to teach second languages today, according to Ovando et al. (2003), tend to consist of a blend of these historical and contemporary approaches that have adapted as a consequence of changing language learning needs, and current research. Ovando et al. (2003) discuss three types that have relevance to the New Zealand context. These are:

- Integrated content-based
- Content and withdrawal ESL
- Whole language

2.9.9.1 Integrated content-based

This approach uses the school curriculum as the vehicle for teaching language and curriculum objectives (Ovando et al., 2003).³⁰ In this way, language and curricula content are taught concurrently. This goal is achieved by the teachers carefully modifying the language content and associated activities (see below), while maintaining grade-level curriculum (García, 2009).

Integrated content-based teaching is particularly appropriate in bilingual schools because school-aged students are expected to study the same curriculum and acquire the same knowledge as their English-medium cohorts. Utilising an integrated content-based approach facilitates schools to do so (Christian, Spanos, Crandall, Simich-Dudgeon, & Willetts, 1995) by providing a means to simultaneously learn both conversational and academic language skills (termed BICS and CALP by Cummins, and discussed in 1.9.3).

²⁹ García (2009) divides bilingual approaches into three categories, including, grammatical (grammar-translation), communicative (immersion and integrated content-based) and cognitive approaches (which teach thinking and reasoning strategies).

³⁰ García (2009) differentiates immersion from integrated content-based instruction, stating that integrated content-based is more focused on the development of language and literacy in a second language (and taught by language teachers), whereas immersion has a stronger focus on content alongside second language development (using bilingual teachers). I group them together as both approaches teach language and curriculum concurrently.

The key to successfully implementing this approach is to employ a range of methods to scaffold new language to the learners in a manner that continues to maintain the intellectual stimulation required for academic study. Activities might include the use of simplified texts, diagrams, tables, charts, hands-on activities and activities designed to encourage interaction amongst students (Coelho, 2000; Gibbons, 2002; Richard-Amato & Snow, 1992; Snow & Brinton, 1997). This approach to teaching English is one that receives a great deal of support in the wider academic literature, particularly in classrooms where the students are a relatively heterogeneous group (Ovando et al. 2003).

2.9.9.2 *ESL (content, and withdrawal)*

ESL (English as a Second Language) is English language instruction undertaken by an ESL-trained teacher, who provides students with access to the standard academic curriculum, and age-appropriate English arts from a second language perspective. These programmes are divided into ESL withdrawal programmes and Content ESL programmes - or sheltered English, and are used in classrooms where there are a range of English competencies, from non-speakers of English to native speakers.

In ESL withdrawal classes, the students are ‘pulled out’ of their normal classes in order to receive specialist lessons at various times throughout the school week. Even though this specific support is given to ease the transition of L1 minority students, the research literature indicates that, over time, ESL pullout programmes remain relatively ineffective (cf. Thomas & Collier’s studies, discussed earlier).

The contexts where these programmes operate overseas tend often to be subtractive and assimilationist. Furthermore, they operate in isolated rather than communicatively rich language environments, with little emphasis on active and experiential language learning, and of language learning in authentic and meaningful contexts (Corson, 1999). Finally, most teachers who teach these programmes do not know the students’ L1, and are thus not able to access that language as a resource for learning.

In Content ESL or Sheltered English programmes, ESL approaches and content area classes are combined, and taught either by an ESL-trained subject area teacher or by a team. These classes are designed to deliver content area instruction in a form more accessible than the mainstream English-only classes, but in a separate room from the students’ home room. They may use additional material, bilingual aides and adapted texts

to help students of diverse language backgrounds acquire the content as well as the language (Roberts, 1995).

As Genesee (1999, p. 5) observes, from his own research into these programmes, their principal advantage over withdrawal programmes is that language acquisition can be enhanced by meaningful use of, and interaction in the L2. Here he refers to such programmes as structured immersion (SI).

The English level used in sheltered classes is continually modulated or negotiated by the teacher and students, and content is made comprehensible through the use of modelling, demonstrations, graphic organizers, adapted texts and visual aides, among other techniques. SI [structured immersion] recognises that language processes (i.e., listening, speaking, reading and writing) develop interdependently; thus SI lessons are organized around activities that integrate those skills. (1999, p. 5)

While these programmes are educationally more effective than ESL pullout programmes, Content ESL programmes, still have assimilation as their principal aim, however. The withdrawal of students from English-medium classes also remains a significant problem. Consequently, students can quickly fall behind in other curriculum subjects. There is also the added problem of these sheltered language classes being viewed potentially as remedial, by both teachers and by peers (Baker, 2006).

Despite this, Content ESL approaches can provide an effective programme when taught by a qualified ESL teacher who can teach both language and content together. It can provide a natural and motivating means of acquiring language, through experimenting with science, social studies, or other curriculum subjects, and is particularly advantageous for heterogeneous groups of students who have intermediate or advanced levels of English language proficiency. It is more beneficial than ESL withdrawal programmes, because it continues to provide the students with direct access to the curriculum.

2.9.9.3 *Whole language*

Whole language is more a philosophy than an approach (see Goodman, 1986; Manzo & Manzo, 1993). The emphasis is on deriving meaning from interacting with the language in natural contexts that relate to the learner (Perez & Guzman, 2002). This approach has

students reading and writing from the earliest possible point, and experimenting with the language (through interaction) as they progress (Ovando et al., 2003; Willis, 1995). Some of the literacy approaches that would be witnessed in a whole language oriented classroom include; shared, guided, and independent reading (García, 2009; Ministry of Education, 1996, 2003, 2006), and process writing (Graves, 1983).

This method of teaching, while achieving a considerable amount of success in bilingual and English-medium programmes (Cummins et al., 2007), has many detractors (Nicholson, 2000), who portray whole language as the reason for low reading ability in students, despite evidence to suggest the opposite. Detractors state that merely exposing students to literacy rich learning environments is not sufficient to promote their acquisition of the specific skills required for reading and writing. Therefore, the argument for a combination of this approach with other more direct approaches may provide a more satisfactory solution (Genesee & Riches, 2006).

2.9.9.4 Relevance of these approaches to the New Zealand context

All of these three methods (integrated content, withdrawal and whole language) discussed above have relevance to Māori-medium programmes. The predominant approach to teaching English in Aotearoa/New Zealand favours a modified version of ESL withdrawal, where an English teacher is employed to teach English literacy objectives in a separate classroom. Oral language skills are seldom taught in English transition classrooms because of the presumption that, as the students already speak English, the priority should be on gaining English literacy skills as preparation for secondary school. Furthermore, with the extremely limited number of hours allocated to English instruction, schools do not have the time to teach it.

Whole language teaching (see Goodman, 1986) is also a key feature of Māori-medium English transition programmes because this is the predominant approach that most New Zealand trained teachers learned when they trained in New Zealand universities. Therefore, approaches to language teaching that are found in English-medium schools such as, guided and shared reading (Ministry of Education, 2003), and the writing approach, “process writing” (Cambourne, 1988; Graves, 1983; Heenan, 1986) are often implemented in Māori-medium programmes. These are also the approaches that were implemented by all four English transition teachers involved in this study.

2.10 Summary

The discussion in this chapter has attempted to define Māori-medium education, amongst international models of bilingual education. Māori-medium programmes are distinctive because they are heritage programmes, designed for an indigenous Māori population learning predominantly through their second language (Benton & Benton, 2000). This is why caution is required when comparing research from different bilingual education contexts.

This chapter described the characteristics of Māori-medium programmes and the English transition programmes that operate within them. English transition has been a quite recent phenomenon in the context of Level 1 Māori-medium programmes. Schools offer a quantity of instruction, far lower than occurs in many overseas contexts, and they restrict instruction to solely literacy approaches. This issue of the quantity and the timing of English instruction remains one important area that requires further research attention, which is why this research has been conducted.

3 Chapter Three: New Zealand research on Māori-medium education

3.1 Introduction

Over its relatively brief history, research into Māori-medium education has been limited in both quantity and scope, leading to a low level of impact on teaching practice. This situation is understandable, as the speed of Māori-medium expansion has been rapid, and driven by the need to stem the language shift that has occurred (May and Hill, 2005). Fortunately, however, in the last few years, research-based guidance and support has improved the situation (Rau, 2003, 2005). The content of this chapter examines the research that has been conducted in Māori-medium programmes over the past decade, with a particular focus on four areas; teaching practice, assessment, student learning and English transition.

3.2 Research into teaching practice

Research into teaching practice in Māori-medium education has produced mixed and contradictory results. Earlier research showed (for example, Hollings, 1992; Education Review Office, 2002) that, in its infancy, there were many gaps in assessment practices and teacher pedagogical knowledge in Māori-medium education. Some of these issues continue to persist into the present. However, more recent research (for example, Bishop, Berryman and Richardson (2001) provides evidence of high quality teaching practice. These research findings will now be discussed.

3.2.1 Hollings, Jeffries and McArdell (1992)

One of the earliest studies of Māori-medium teaching practice was Hollings, Jeffries, and McArdell (1992) who researched the assessment practices of 47 Māori-medium programmes (using questionnaires and cluster interviews with 73 teachers from these programmes).

These authors found that the teachers in Māori-medium education were using a wide variety of English-medium derived methods to assess Māori language development, including, Running Records to assess reading (Clay, 1988), and the Six Year Net to assess general literacy levels.³¹ However, incidental observation was the method most often used by teachers, because of a lack of appropriate assessment tools for Māori-medium schools in the early 1990s. Hollings et al. found that, of the various forms of language assessment regularly implemented by these teachers, few of them demonstrated a sufficient understanding of their relevance for L2 learners, or their appropriateness to L2 contexts – a crucial omission, given that Māori is an L2 for most students in these programmes. The authors also found that there was little coordination in the recording of assessment. In fact, many teachers indicated that they based their decisions on a “feeling” about the students’ progress.

On the basis of these findings, Hollings et al. concluded that, while most classroom assessment was at that stage still largely anecdotal and intuitive, this was primarily because of a lack of appropriate language assessment resources and related training in the use of them. The study’s principal recommendation was to improve the resource materials base in Māori language for schools, including Māori versions of the major language and literacy assessment tools available to mainstream English-medium schools. Better coordination and sharing of information about language assessment among teachers in Māori-medium contexts was also recommended. This study shows that, in the earlier years of Māori-medium educational development, schools were attempting to catch up to mainstream English-medium schools, and doing so with few Māori designed resources at their disposal.

3.2.2 Educational Review Office (2002)

The 1990s was a period of capacity building for Māori-medium schools. It saw the development of some key Māori language assessment tools for junior primary levels –

³¹ The *Six-year-net* is a New Zealand designed literacy assessment that is conducted when New Zealand children turn six. It tests letter identification, concepts about print, vocabulary and reading ability, and was devised by Marie Clay (Clay 1988).

particularly *Ngā Kete Kōrero* and *Aromatawai Urunga-ā-Kura*.³² However, there was little research conducted during this period. Despite this, several national reports were written by the Education Review Office (ERO),³³ which, like the research of Hollings et al., found some positive features, a number of constraints and some weaknesses in the Māori-medium programmes.

The 2002 ERO report provided a summary of reports from 52 kura kaupapa Māori with immersion levels in te reo Māori above 80 percent. The report continued to highlight the significant constraints experienced by kura kaupapa in terms of teaching, evaluating, planning and management. Surprisingly, however, the report did not focus specifically on the quality of Māori language instruction or on the extent to which students were achieving fluency in te reo Māori. Only 16 of the 52 kura kaupapa Māori that were reviewed received specific comment regarding their te reo Māori programmes. Of these ERO found that 12 had demonstrated good quality language programmes.

The Report commented on the instructional methods teachers used to teach te reo Māori and found that at 23 kura the methods were appropriate and likely to lead to competency in both te reo Māori and English, while at seven kura the teaching methods were less appropriate. However, the basis for this assessment is not stated, nor does the report indicate the types of language competencies the reviewers focused on.

There were a high number of other areas of instruction, assessment and governance that ERO deemed to be of concern in around 50 percent of the kura kaupapa Māori studied. These areas included curriculum planning, curriculum delivery, student assessment,

³² *Ngā Kete Kōrero* is both a series of junior level Māori language readers arranged according to text difficulty, and a framework for ranking junior texts. It was developed from the mid-1990s. *Aromatawai-Urunga-ā-Kura* (AKA) is a standardized assessment tool to assess literacy and numeracy at school entry in te reo Māori, and has been available since 1997 (see Rau, 2005). However, as Bishop, Berryman and Richardson (2001) have since found, it is still not widely used by Māori-medium teachers.

³³ The Education Review Office is part of the Ministry of Education. Their job is to assess all state-funded schools.

meeting individual needs, learning environments, administration and governance, the supply of staff and personnel and teaching resources.

The greatest strengths of the programmes included the use of cooperative learning techniques in instruction, the creation of safe and effective learning environments, and the nurturing of effective relationships with the community. However, as Hollings et al. found earlier, the evidence from this ERO Report indicated that there were still issues regarding teacher practice and assessment in Māori-medium contexts. This contrasts with the research that appeared on effective practice in Māori-medium schools by Bishop, Berryman and Richardson (2001), which will now be discussed.

3.2.3 Bishop, Berryman and Richardson (2001)

In 2001, Bishop, Berryman and Richardson (2001) conducted research entitled *Te Toi Huarewa*, which focused on the teaching of language and reading in Māori-medium programmes. It sought to identify effective teaching strategies, learning materials and assessment characteristics among 13 Māori-medium teachers who had been identified by school advisors as effective practitioners. The study used primarily observations and interviews to gather its data. This research found that these 13 teachers displayed exemplary teaching characteristics in regards to five areas.

1. Creating caring relationships
2. Creating positive and structured learning environments
3. Building on students' prior knowledge
4. Using effective feedback to encourage and reinforce students' progress
5. Using power-sharing strategies.

The central finding from this research was that the Māori-medium sector employs some extremely effective teachers of reading and writing who have high levels of expertise and who use a wide range of materials to support their literacy programmes. However, while this research addresses teacher practice in the Māori-medium context, the findings do not focus on bilingual themes. In fact, many of the findings from this study could probably have been derived from studies of effective teachers in mainstream, English-medium schools. Nevertheless, this study shows that effective teaching is not just associated with English-medium education in New Zealand.

3.3 Research into student assessment

The mixed research findings described in the last section have also been reflected in research on student assessment in Māori-medium programmes. There are two significant studies that have been published, both by the National Education Monitoring Project (NEMP), by Crooks (2001), and Crooks and Crofton (2007).

3.3.1 Crooks (2001)

The National Education Monitoring Project (NEMP), a New Zealand government-funded agency, reports on the achievement of New Zealand primary school students across each of the school curricula. It assesses students at two points, Year 4 and Year 8.

Crooks (2001) compared Māori and English literacy skills of Year 8 Māori-medium students and Year 8 Māori students in English-medium schools. The tasks included reading comprehension, retelling of story sequences, completing stories, and presenting an advertisement. This research found that Māori-medium students performed at significantly higher levels than their English-medium peers in three of the total 12 tasks, including two tasks that required them to read Māori words or texts. In five tasks, the students performed equally well. These included, presenting a news report, retelling a story from a picture book and completing a story. In four tasks, Māori students in general English-medium settings performed significantly higher than their Māori-medium counterparts. These included, reading comprehension and retelling a video story.

The results of this research are disappointing because the tests where the Māori-medium students outperformed their English-medium peers were less cognitively demanding, such as, Māori pronunciation. By contrast, in tasks requiring higher-level skills, such as reading comprehension, the English-medium students performed better. These results contrast with the wider research literature that suggests that bilingual education is more beneficial than monolingual education (discussed in 1.5-1.7). If the international research is credible, it should be expected that the Māori-medium students will perform at similar levels, if not better, in both languages as their peers in English-medium programmes.

To explain this conflict in research evidence, and perhaps mitigate the above concerns, the authors of the NEMP report highlight a number of key limitations in this research,

which might account for the differences in the results. These issues include the following points:

- The development and selection of some tasks may have advantaged the English-medium students, as English-medium teachers and researchers developed the majority of tasks
- The assessments were translations of English texts and may have also included unfamiliar vocabulary from another Māori dialect.
- The sentence structures in the Māori texts were often more complex than the English versions because of the differing structure of the Māori language.
- The Māori-medium group was unexpectedly lowered by 16 when two classes withdrew
- The students did not necessarily have stable Māori proficiency, as their te reo Māori abilities were not screened prior to the research.³⁴

Another criticism not noted above concerns the matching of the research groups. It is not known whether the researchers controlled the variables between the two populations, in areas such as socio-economic status, for instance. Failing to control the variables could have distorted the results – a criticism of early research into bilingualism (Baker 2006; see also, 1.4).

Finally, an issue that also needs to be considered, concerns the time it takes for a bilingual learner to reach a skills level where they perform equally well as their English-medium peers. It may be premature to expect that by Year 8, the Māori-medium students will have reached high achievement levels in English literacy, particularly if schools delay English instruction until the students have reached Year 7 or 8. The literacy assessment results from the three case studies in this research will be seen to reinforce this general point.

³⁴ The only stipulation for each student's inclusion was that they would have had at least four years in a bilingual setting – regardless of the type.

3.3.2 Crooks and Flockton (2007)

Following the 2001 NEMP research, Crooks and Flockton conducted another research project into reading and speaking skills of Year 8 students in Māori-medium settings. In this research, the authors eliminated the shortcoming of the 2001 research by not attempting to compare Māori-medium and English-medium students. They also used authentic Māori texts where possible, rather than translations of the English texts. Unfortunately, two classes withdrew from the project during the data-gathering period, forcing Crooks and Flockton to find replacement classes to substitute these students. As a consequence, the reliability of the results is again affected.

The Year 8 students of 10 schools were included in this study – six Māori-medium schools (including kura kaupapa Māori) and four English-medium schools which had a Level 1 Māori-medium programme within it. There were 20 reading tasks and 20 writing tasks administered in this research.³⁵ The results of the reading tasks showed that the students performed best in tasks that focused on oral language accuracy. In these tasks the majority of students performed well. However, in most other tasks, either half or less than half of the students satisfactorily completed them. This occurred in tasks requiring the comprehension and analysis of ideas within texts.

The results of the oral language tasks were mixed. The Māori-medium students performed best in tasks requiring them to give a personal introduction and to give instructions. However, for tasks requiring creative speaking and the reporting details of events, their scores were quite low.

This research also included two tasks requiring the students to use English (reading accuracy). Unfortunately, the results were less informing for these tasks because most schools would not allow the students to take part in them, as it contravened school

³⁵ The reading tasks included those designed to test oral reading accuracy, personal interest in reading, comprehension, word knowledge, writing analysis, locating central ideas, retelling events, and two reading accuracy tasks in English. The oral language tasks included tasks asking students to describe a process, prepare an advertisement, express and explain an opinion, give instructions, introduce themselves, tell an imaginary story and deliver a speech.

(language) policies. As such, only 16 and 21 students took part in these two tasks. Most of these students performed very highly in both instances.

This research marks a vast improvement on the earlier NEMP research from 2001 for the reasons discussed above. It does raise several issues however. First, like the 2001 research that preceded it, the overall results are disappointing for a group of students who have been involved in bilingual education for at least four years. The students showed strengths in reading accuracy, but often performed less well in more demanding cognitive tasks such as reading comprehension and the analysis of ideas.

A second concern pertains to a change the researchers were forced to make when administering the assessments. The authors state that for 30 percent of the students, they were forced to administer the tasks using the English language. This was because many of the students of the bilingual units within English-medium schools did not understand the directions when given in Māori. This predicament raises questions about the quality of programmes being offered by these particular schools. It suggests that there are broad issues of teacher and programme effectiveness that may be affecting the performance of students within these programmes.

A final concern raised by this research concerns schools preventing their students from taking part in English language tasks. This decision may reflect the historical attitude of some schools that their responsibility lies solely with the teaching of te reo Māori, and not with the teaching of English. It may therefore reflect an entrenched attitude of many school administrators that teaching with the aim of achieving biliteracy is not an important consideration in primary school level Māori-medium programmes.

3.4 Research on student assessment

Research into the assessment of student progress in Māori-medium schools has lagged behind English-medium schools, primarily because Māori-medium education is relatively new, and its growth has been hasty. As a consequence, teachers in Māori-medium schools have, until recent years, relied on English-medium assessment tools to assist them. Recently, however, research has begun to assist in the design of tools that cater to the needs of the Māori-medium context. Language assessment tools (AKA) and literacy resources such as Ngā Kete Kōrero (discussed in 3.2.2) were published. Furthermore,

researchers such as Berryman, Walker, Reweti, O’Brien and McDonald (2002), and Rau (2003) have become involved in other research projects. These two projects will now be discussed.

3.4.1 Berryman, Walker, Reweti, O’Brien and McDonald (2002)

Berryman, Walker, Reweti, O’Brien and McDonald’s (2002) research trialled a language assessment resource called *Kia puta ai te reo*. This research consists of four programmes and assessment tools that are designed to assist students with different levels of Māori language ability to improve their language skills in Māori-medium education settings.³⁶ The programmes themselves were designed to address the various Māori language levels of the children who attend. *Hopungia* is designed for students who have an elementary knowledge of Māori: *Tukua kia rere* is designed for students who already have strong Māori language ability, but require extension. The *Mihi* and *Tata* programmes are for students with hearing difficulties (*Mihi*) or communication difficulties (*Tata*). See Table 2 below.

Level	Language ability of student	Corresponding programmes
Level 4	Preschoolers who communicated in mainly poor English or Māori structures and vocabulary	Tata Mihi
Level 3	Preschoolers who communicated only in English	Hopungia
Level 2	Preschoolers who communicated mainly in English but with some Māori	Tukuna kia rere
Level 1	Preschoolers who communicated mainly in Māori	Standard Māori-medium school assessments

Table 2: Kia puta ai te reo resources and corresponding language ability (Berryman et al., 2002).

³⁶ Berryman created the different levels from her personal understandings of student language levels when she constructed this research.

The Tata programme (testing the naming of objects and the initial sounds of selected vocabulary) has been successfully trialled in three New Zealand sites. At each site the authors found that there were increases in student performance over the period for both tests. The Hopungia programme has been trialled successfully at two sites, one is a kura kaupapa Māori and the other is a bilingual unit in an English-medium school (wishing to increase its Māori delivery proportion to 50 percent immersion). Berryman et al. (2002) state the following regarding Hopungia:

The Hopungia programme was enjoyed by students and was able to be implemented by tutors working within the classroom setting. Further, the Hopungia programme was able to increase individual oral language opportunities and improved student performance at each of these quite diverse sites. (Berryman et al., 2002, p. 14)

The authors conclude that the overall implementation of Kia puta ai te reo appears highly promising, and is one means of overcoming the past and present practices of Māori having to employ assessment tools which have been developed by non-Māori who do not understand the context. Therefore, this set of programmes marks a change, as it was developed with te reo Māori me ngā tikanga (Māori language and culture) as the central resource, “from within the context of equitable power-sharing ...and from the child’s own culture” (Berryman et al., 2002).

This research is important to the Māori-medium sector because it offers resource support for the teaching and assessment of literacy in Māori-medium education, an area that has been bereft of such support in the past. It also correctly acknowledges that children who enter Māori-medium education are derived from a wide range of language backgrounds - from those who have very little Māori language in the home, those who have been brought up in a Māori language immersion home setting, and those children who have communication disabilities. However, while helpful in the ways outlined, as Kia puta ai te reo concerns Māori language development, and not English language development, it is less relevant to the current project.

3.4.2 Rau (2003)

Rau's (2003) research, named, He Mātai Mātātupu, examined and compared the Māori literacy skills of year two students involved in Māori-medium programmes over two periods: 1995 and 2002-2003. Her aim was to observe the literacy achievement of students after at least one year of instruction in a high immersion context, to identify those experiencing difficulty, and to provide information about the classroom programmes.

Rau (2005) used a set of Māori-developed literacy assessments that was a reconstruction of the original English assessments developed by Marie Clay (1988). They included assessments that test letter identification (Te tāutu), concepts about print (Ngā tikanga o te tuhi kōrero), word recognition (Te whakamātautau kupu), writing vocabulary (Te tuhi kupu), hearing and recording the sounds in words (Whakarongo, Tuhia, Ngā tangi o roto i ngā kupu) and text reading (Te pānui pukapuka). The participants were 97 students aged six to seven years (the 1995 group), and 100 students aged six to seven years (the 2002-2003 group) who came from four districts in the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The key questions that Rau addressed were:

1. Are there differences between the two age groups (6.0-6.5 and 6.6-7.0) across the six tasks?
2. Are there differences between the two groups (1995 and 2002/3) in regard to their performance on six-year literacy tests?
3. Are there differences between the two gender groups over the six tasks?

There were three major findings from Rau's research.

1. Students in the 2002/3 sample consistently scored higher than students in 1995 sample in the tasks. The only variation occurred on one out of 24 tests.
2. Students in the older age bands consistently scored higher than the younger age band on all tasks for both the 1995 and the 2002/3 samples.
3. There was little difference between the genders in each of the periods.

According to Rau, the data demonstrates that the older age band of students who had been in the programme longer, scored significantly higher than the younger age group. The

2002-2003 group of students also scored significantly higher than the 1995 group, and the boys and girls performed equally well on most tasks (this final point is one that contrasts with historical patterns of differentiated attainment between the genders, according to Rau).

Rau attributes the higher performance of the 2002/3 groups over the 1995 group to the availability of increased support for teachers, and to better resourcing of Māori-medium programmes in more recent years. These include:

1. Development of a new framework for grading reading materials, such as the Ngā Kete Kōrero Framework (Ministry of Education, 1999)
2. An improved quantity and quality of Māori language reading materials
3. Increased recognition and development of Māori epistemology and pedagogy
4. Improved professional development opportunities for teachers
5. Increased preservice training for teachers in the area of second language acquisition theory and practice
6. An ongoing commitment by Māori teachers towards improving teaching. (Rau, 2005)

This research of Rau (2005) and Berryman et al. (2002) is positive, as it demonstrates that the development of assessment tools and research to support Māori language development is slowly developing. However, as both of these projects were designed to assist in the Māori language growth of students, rather than the English language growth, it is not directly pertinent to this research. This is why more research into English acquisition is needed.

3.5 Research on English language transition

Since the renaissance of Māori-medium education in the late 1970s and early 1980s, English language instruction has had very little research attention. The focus of most research has instead been on Māori language development. More recently, this issue of English language instruction has begun to be canvassed in schools, as I have witnessed

when working with Māori-medium teachers.³⁷ However, it remains an unresolved issue that schools struggle to negotiate. There have been two pieces of research that have been published on English transition; Berryman and Glynn (2003), and Lowman, Fitzgerald, Rapira and Clark (2007). These will now be discussed.

3.5.1 Berryman and Glynn (2003)

Berryman and Glynn (2003) (also published in Berryman & Glynn, 2004; Glynn, Berryman, Loader, & Cavanagh, 2005) implemented the Pause, Prompt, Praise reading tutoring programme (see Glynn, McNaughton, Robinson, & Quinn, 1979), in a single kura kaupapa Māori, after the school found that the senior students were experiencing problems transitioning to the local English-medium secondary school. This 10 week tutoring programme included 21 Year 6, 7 and 8 students, and incorporated a high level of community participation, with the families providing the reading tutors.³⁸

The authors implemented both process and outcome based measures. Process measures included:

1. Audio taping and analysis of tutor implementation of the Pause Prompt Praise tutoring strategies
2. Analysis of timed samples of responsive writing
3. Analysis of the implementation of strategies by the teachers.

Outcome measures included:

³⁷ My colleagues, Professor Stephen May, Professor Ted Glynn and I have been involved in a Ministry of Education funded literacy education programme for Resource Teachers of Māori and Māori-medium teachers. The group which was called *Ngā Taumatua*, was created by Cath Rau and Iria Whiu of *Kia Ata Mai Trust*, and ran from 2003 until 2009. See http://www.tki.org.nz/r/Māori/nga_tauatua/ for more information.

³⁸ The issue of community participation in student education that Berryman and Glynn's research incorporates is an important finding that my research also highlights as affecting the students' potential to reach a high level of both Māori and English language proficiency. See Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight where this is discussed.

1. Reading (Noun frequency count (Elley, 1975))
2. Writing: Writing samples based on students' writing in response to viewing one of a series of culturally relevant photographs. Those samples were then analysed to assess writing rate, accuracy and quality.

The results from this research show that the programme was very successful at building the students' English reading and writing skills across all three-year levels studied. In reading, all students met the criterion for reading stories in English at their appropriate chronological age or higher, thus comparing favourably with students of similar ages and class levels in English-medium classes. In the writing assessments, Berryman and Glynn found gains also occurred. In particular, students were becoming more adventurous in their use of English vocabulary and in the increasing number of words they correctly wrote.³⁹

A final positive impact of this intervention concerned the momentum that was created by this programme. As the programme progressed, the students began to take more responsibility for their own independent learning. It was a pattern of continued self-development that also occurred across all three age groups, despite each new group being progressively younger than the Year 8 students when they entered the programme (Berryman & Glynn, 2003).

This research represents a significant contribution to the subject of English transition in Māori-medium education for a number of reasons. First, it was the first research that has been conducted, exploring an important issue that has previously been overlooked. Second, and relatedly, this research provides evidence supporting Cummins (2000) view that students who move from primary school Māori-medium contexts to English-medium secondary schools without any formal English language instruction, will inevitably experience difficulties as they attempt to learn academic English. The implication is that Māori-medium schools need to consider Māori and English attainment across the total

³⁹ Interestingly, Berryman and Glynn also found improvement in the areas of Māori reading and written language skills. Their skill levels either remained stable, or improved across the assessment points (Glynn et al., 2005). This shows that, as Cummins (2000) states in regard to language skills transfer, the learning of one language can also help assist the development of the other.

number of years of the students' schooling and, from the outset, plan towards biliteracy and bilingual objectives.

Third, this research illustrates that one effective means of solving the issue of attaining high levels of English academic literacy in Māori-medium education is by using a community-centred approach. In this research, the community focus of the project was very important, as it ensured its initial success and its continued momentum after the research intervention was concluded. When learning an academic language, it is essential that the literacy development that occurs inside the school also continues within the home. In this case the school reading routines continued to be nurtured at home, thus extending the potential growth in students.

A fourth strength of this research is that it shows that bridging the gap between the students' conversational ability and their academic language ability can be achieved at a relatively late point in their primary schooling, and over a relatively short period. The language programme of this programme stimulated a high level of academic English language growth over a ten-week period. This outcome provides further evidence in favour of the concept of language skills transfer, and by implication, to Cummins' Interdependence hypothesis (discussed in 1.9.2). Being in a long-term bilingual programme for eight years meant that skills transfer was a relatively simple process.

The discussion thus far has commended this research for contributing to the total research pool in this English transition area. Notwithstanding this, this work represents only a beginning and requires further exploration for the following reasons. First, Berryman and Glynn's research was conducted in a single country school where the community were all blood related and could be mobilised. Not all Māori-medium schools share these characteristics. Therefore, an extension of this research to include other types of language learning contexts is needed, to reflect and examine current practices and their benefits in Māori-medium programmes.

The second reason concerns the methods that schools use to teach English transition. There is a range of English instruction programmes that are currently being used around Aotearoa/New Zealand, that differ from the community-based Pause Prompt Praise method implemented in Berryman and Glynn's research. This being the case, further research will offer an opportunity to explore how other schools currently approach

English instruction in Māori-medium schools, and their relative effectiveness as a consequence. This new information will further contribute to current practices in Māori-medium schools.

Finally, while the results of this study are very positive, the question that remains is whether 10 weeks (the length of time the Year 8 students were in the programme) is all that is required to lift students' English literacy levels to a high enough level to cope at secondary school. Without a doubt, this period was enough to launch them into their secondary school careers. However, gaining academic skills is a complex process that undoubtedly requires considerable time. Therefore, long-term success at secondary school may require more English input. Fortunately, Berryman and Glynn's study also included the Year 6 and 7 students in this programme, and so for this group, the potential gains over a longer period of time will be much higher. Nevertheless, it would be unwise to suggest that schools can wait until the final 10 weeks of Year 8 to implement English literacy instruction with their students. This is why more research is required around English instruction to further inform teaching practice in this area.

3.5.2 Lowman, Fitzgerald, Rapira and Clark (2007)

Another more recent study addressing directly issues of biliteracy, albeit from English to Māori rather than Māori to English, involved an action research project at an Auckland intermediate (within its partial immersion bilingual unit) that looked into the effects of teaching biliteracy strategies to its bilingual students. The authors of this study felt that by allowing students access to both languages simultaneously would enable students to utilise their stronger English language skills, to assist in furthering their Māori language ability.

In this project, students were encouraged to use English (their L1) as a problem-solving tool, as a processing tool, and in order to elicit deeper thinking about Māori texts. For example, when the students found Māori texts difficult to understand, the teachers encouraged them to switch to English to process them. When presented with tasks that required deeper thinking, students were also encouraged to use English to discuss the issue, before switching back to Māori to give responses.

The results of this study were highly positive. The authors found that the teaching of these biliteracy strategies lead to significant strengthening of the students' literacy levels, particularly amongst the less able students. The students reported that they felt more confident speaking Māori, and were becoming more efficient learners of Māori as a consequence of this project. The authors conclude that the teaching of transfer strategies used in this project can assist in the successful development of biliteracy for Māori-medium students in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

This research is interesting as it is the first that has been conducted which seeks to test the benefits of allowing students to simultaneously use English and te reo Māori, or translanguaging (see 1.10.4 for discussion regarding this concept) in the classroom situation, and therefore, utilize the language transfer skills from their stronger language (English) to assist in developing their weaker language (Māori). While this theme is pertinent to this doctoral study, Lowman, Fitzgerald, Rapira and Clark's research is however, more concerned with Māori language skills development by using English, rather than vice versa, even though both of the students' languages were found to benefit from the intervention.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has discussed New Zealand research into Māori-medium education, an educational context that has been under-researched, particularly in the early years, in the 1980s and 1990s. While the last decade has seen a momentum growing, there is still a dearth of research to support Māori-medium education. What the research does show is that, while Māori-medium education has made significant strides since its quite recent birth, there are still a number of issues that remain regarding teacher knowledge, assessment practices, bilingual pedagogies and, importantly for this project, in terms of teaching of English transition. With respect to this latter area, research is still needed to inform the development and implementation of English transition programmes in Māori-medium education. This is the reason this research project has been conducted.

4 Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

There are two sections to this chapter. Section one begins by discussing both my personal and vocational background, before discussing the processes I followed in conducting this project. Following this, I discuss the methodological decisions that I made when approaching this research. I chose to use a Kaupapa Māori Research framework to guide this project, using multiple case studies as the methodological framework. Section two of this chapter discusses the method, including the data collection methods and process that occurred during the data gathering.

4.2 Section one

4.2.1 Personal narrative

Maungatautari te Maunga

Waikato te awa

Ngāti Pākehā te iwi

Maungatautari is the mountain

Waikato is the awa

Pākehā is the iwi

I was born and grew up in Cambridge (NZ), an English-styled town with a significant Māori history, but a history that I was not aware of during my childhood. My father was of English descent, having emigrated after the World War Two. My mother (also with English ancestors) was born in Hamilton, and taught geography at our local secondary school. I am the youngest of four children.

I grew up in a predominantly Pākehā world, with relatively little exposure to Māori people and Māori customs, as the New Zealand culture in the 1960s and 1970s was

European-dominated, and did not emphasise the ethnic diversity of its many communities. However, in my family I grew up reasonably aware of the history and effects of colonisation on Māori. My parents were strong Labour party supporters (a left-wing political party at that time), and had a strong sense of social justice. This was bred into me, and may in fact have attracted me to the Māori world later when I went on to university.

My introduction to the Māori culture and language first occurred when I was a university student studying towards a Bachelor of Social Sciences in the 1980s. I was pursuing a geography major that also included New Zealand history and Māori (language and culture). I found these subjects very stimulating. However, after two years studying towards this degree, I decided to change to a teaching degree. I applied and was accepted into the two-year Bachelor of Education programme, designed for graduates and near graduates.

It was in my final year of teacher training that a ‘career guiding’ event occurred which influenced my career direction and ultimately led to where I am today, teaching and researching in Māori-medium contexts. I attended a lecture on multicultural education where the visiting lecturer, Mike Hollings (whose research was discussed in 3.2.1) stated that if we were going to teach Māori children, we must also teach them te reo Māori. He went on to argue that if we teachers didn’t, who would? The implication was that, as the education system had been an influential tool in the loss of the Māori language, it should now be used to assist in building it again.

This challenge Mike Hollings issued made me feel uncomfortable and inadequate. Following the lecture I stayed behind to ask Mike how I could achieve this objective when I was not a fluent Māori speaker. His response was that I should learn and teach te reo Māori simultaneously. Hollings’ words kindled an ambition in me, and when the time came to apply for teaching positions, I began to research New Zealand regions that would offer higher exposure to te reo Māori. I finally chose to apply to a bilingual school on the East Coast in the North Island.

This was where my introduction to teaching in a Māori-medium school commenced. I spent three years teaching in the partial immersion whānau of this school, learning and teaching te reo Māori, as Mike Hollings had urged. The more success I experienced, the

more motivated I became. I took extramural courses and block courses. I spent time working in the total immersion classrooms of the school, and took the children's Māori language reading books home to read. I also joined a local kapa haka (Māori dance) group and made a pact with myself to speak only te reo Māori to those friends and colleagues whom I knew could speak te reo Māori. This personal commitment influenced my colleagues who acknowledged my commitment by speaking only te reo Māori to me.

After three years teaching in this school, and in a new relationship with another recently qualified teacher I moved north to Ruatōria (an important place for the Māori people of the Ngāti Porou tribe), where she had won a teaching position. I stayed there and continued to develop my knowledge of Māori tikanga and te reo, but at the end of one year I decided to return home to Waikato to continue my education. I enrolled in a Master of Applied Linguistics programme, with the ambition to learn about how applied linguistics could offer support in Māori-medium education.

Whilst on this course I met a Māori-medium teacher from a small community near Hamilton.⁴⁰ On completion of this degree, he advised me to visit the Assistant Principal of his local kura kaupapa Māori to discuss working there. There I met Cath Rau who became a close friend and eventually assisted in liaising with two of the schools of this study. She offered me a position teaching beside her in the junior school. I was now working in a kura kaupapa Māori where one hundred percent of the curriculum would be taught through te reo Māori. Initially I struggled with my low level of Māori language proficiency, but this increased dramatically as I worked with these five to seven year old students. I worked at this kura kaupapa Māori for two years, relieving as the Assistant Principal for one of those years while Cath took maternity leave. It was a position I enjoyed, but one I also found very challenging, being a Pākehā in a position of being responsible for the junior school in a kura kaupapa Māori. At the end of this period I was about to become a father for the first time, and planned to become my daughter's caregiver. I resigned from this kura kaupapa and became the 'at home dad' for my daughter Lucy for two years while my wife Wendy continued to work full time. I also worked as a relief teacher in several Waikato Māori-medium schools (including School One). After two years at home with Lucy, we were expecting our second baby, Alice.

⁴⁰ He later became the Principal of one of the schools in this study

With this came the need for me to return to full-time employment. However, instead of returning to the classroom, I decided that I'd like a different challenge, and applied for a lecturer's position at the University of Waikato in the Māori department. I was offered a position lecturing in the Social Studies department, and subsequently moved into the Arts and Language department, where I still reside.

The next significant development in my academic life occurred in 2002 when a new professor (Stephen May) was appointed in the School of Education. Prior to Stephen's arrival there were few colleagues with specialist knowledge and a research background in the area of bilingual education. Stephen had a considerable research background in this area and including minority rights themes. He introduced me to conducting research, publishing and presenting at conferences. From that point, my research skills began to increase with Stephen's influence. Together we wrote several government reports and journal articles, and Stephen has continued to support me through this doctoral thesis as my chief supervisor.

It is these experiences and perhaps even more importantly, these relationships that have allowed me to continue to work in Māori-medium contexts as a researcher and, in particular, to undertake this current study.

4.2.2 The components of this project

This project is a multiple case study regarding English transition education in three, Level 1 (80-100 percent target language instruction) Māori-medium schools. The data for this project were gathered from the people who were closely involved in English transition, including, the English transition teacher(s), the Principal, the Deputy Principal, a selection of Māori-medium teachers, and the Year 8 students. The primary means of gathering the data for this project were through interviews (individual and focus group). However, classroom observations were conducted,⁴¹ and literacy assessments of the Year 8 students were also taken. The data collection process across all three schools took place over a period of six months in 2006 (Section two of this chapter provides more details of the components).

⁴¹ The data from the observations are not a large component of this project, and have been incorporated into the case studies.

4.2.3 The process toward undertaking this research

The process of deciding on a theme to research began prior to 2004 when my colleagues Professor Stephen May, Doctor Sarah Tiakiwai and I carried out a Ministry of Education funded literature review on current research findings regarding bilingual education, which was subsequently published by the Ministry of Education (May et al., 2004). This research provided me with current research information on what New Zealand and international research and literature had to say about bilingual education. However, it was also clear from this project that New Zealand research in the bilingual/immersion education area was under-developed, and that there remained many unresolved issues regarding teacher knowledge about bilingual education theory and practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand (see Chapters Two and Three for details of these issues. See also, May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2004), and May and Hill (2005)).

With this knowledge, I wrote a proposal for a comprehensive case study of a kura kaupapa Māori, with a focus on their progress towards achieving bilingual and biliterate objectives for their students. The basis for choosing this area was the paucity of published information regarding biliteracy practices within these New Zealand bilingual contexts, and my belief that this research would offer important information on how Māori-medium schools operate. I proposed to conduct the study in a Māori-medium school where I had once taught, and had a good relationship with staff. I then set about liaising with the Principal, the governing board and their representative, Cath Rau (mentioned in the last section). At the end of this process Cath informed me that from her perspective, and from the school's, this project would not offer enough tangible benefits and could potentially expose the school to negative publicity. I was hugely disappointed by this decision but understood their position.

Fortunately, Cath did provide an idea to research the area of English transition. This, she felt, would provide tangible benefits for her school. She also promised to help me liaise with other schools that might be interested in researching this theme. This was the point that genuine negotiation between myself, a non-indigenous researcher, and the schools began to occur and the principles of Kaupapa Māori research were genuinely implemented (see 4.3.1 for discussion on these principles). I subsequently modified the proposal, changed the focus to English transition and broadened it to include three schools.

Once the second proposal was written, I once again consulted Cath Rau. She responded positively to the new project, and went on to advise the Principals of two of the three schools to take part. Once this had occurred, each of the three Principals were contacted, and the proposal was sent to them to read. I then met them and the English transition teachers face-to-face to explain the components of the project, and to gauge their feelings. In one school, I also met with the staff and the Board of Trustees to discuss the research with them. The Principals of the remaining two schools, on the other hand, took it upon themselves to discuss the project with their staff and Boards of Trustees.

During each of the meetings with the Principals and English transition teachers, we discussed the following points.

- The main components and research activities
- People involved
- The consent process
- The scope of the interview questions for each of the groups
- The means of safeguarding the rights and anonymity of the schools and teachers involved in the project
- The amount of time and commitment each participant would be required to donate to the project⁴²
- How the information would be used after it is collected.

All three schools accepted the second proposal, as they felt it would provide benefits for their programmes. School Three, which implemented the least amount of English language instruction for their students, was also aware that any comparison between the three schools would probably reflect less well on them (see 2.9.9). However, despite this, they still felt the study would be able to inform their future planning.

After gaining the consent of the staff and Board of Trustees of each school, the Year 8 students were consulted, and consent forms disseminated for their parents/caregivers to consider. All other consent forms for the remaining participants were then discussed and signed.

⁴² This was an important consideration the Principals wanted information about, as they were very protective of their teachers.

4.2.4 The choice of these sites for the research project

There were a number of reasons for the choice of these sites for this research. First, as stated in the section above, I am well known to each of the schools, and they feel safe with me gathering research data from them. This aligns with Kaupapa Māori Research principles (discussed below). Second, all the schools have a high level of target language immersion (between 81 and 100 percent), and as such, not only is the school environment imbued with Māori language and culture, but this model of Māori bilingual education achieves the highest levels of Māori proficiency in Māori-medium education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is therefore more likely to achieve bilingualism and biliteracy objectives for its students than Level 2, 3, and 4 programmes. As such, this type of bilingual education programme is the best site in which to conduct this research project.

Third, these school contexts offered a range of English transition options that provide a rich source of data on teacher practice and school arrangements. Two schools (Schools One and Two) employed an English transition teacher whose sole task it is to teach English, and one school (School Three) employed the classroom teacher to implement the English transition programme.

Fourth, the English transition teachers of all three schools have also had a range of experiences from those who were new to teaching English, to those who had done so successfully for a number of years. This would provide wide-ranging data comparable to many other Māori-medium schools in the country.

4.2.5 The research sites

There were three schools involved in this project, all from the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand. I had taught in each of the schools during my earlier teaching career.

4.2.5.1 *School One*

School One is a wharekura (Māori-medium combined primary and secondary school), catering for the needs of students from years 1-13. This Decile One school (Ministry of Education, 2008) had 352 students enrolled, and employed 30 teachers, including general teachers and specialist subject teachers.

School One began teaching English to Year 4 students. This continued until the students reached Year 9. They then took English curriculum classes and several other subjects through the medium of the English language. The rest of the programme was implemented using te reo Māori.

There were two English transition teachers employed at the primary school level of School One. One teacher had been teaching for 14 years, with three years as an English transition teacher. The second teacher was in her first year of teaching English transition.

4.2.5.2 *School Two*

School Two is a Decile One kura kaupapa Māori. It employed seven teachers and had approximately 100 students ranging from Year 1 to Year 8. Graduates from this school were likely to attend one of two bilingual secondary schools (termed wharekura) in neighbouring towns. However, a small percentage of graduates alternatively chose to attend a local English-medium high school.

The curriculum at the School Two was delivered through the medium of te reo Māori for the first five years. At Year 6, English language instruction commenced for five hours per week, and remained this way until the students graduated at Year 8.⁴³ School Two employed one English transition teacher whose sole role was to teach English to Year 6 to Year 8 students. She was in her first year teaching in this context, but had previously taught for six years in English-medium schools.

4.2.5.3 *School Three*

The third school is a Decile One bilingual school (see 5.1 for a definition of this) catering for students from Year 1 to Year 8. This school had two distinct whānau groupings within it, including a partial immersion unit that offered instruction predominantly in English, and a Level 1 total immersion programme which offered instruction predominantly through the Māori language. It is this high immersion programme that was the focus of this study

⁴³ It is important to note that one year prior to this study School Two commenced English lessons at year 7. Therefore, the Year 8 students in this study had been exposed to less than two years of formal English lessons when the data were gathered for this study.

School Three had approximately 200 students enrolled and employed 15 staff when this study was conducted. It did not employ a separate English transition teacher, as occurred in Schools One and Two. Instead, the classroom teacher himself taught the English language content within the same classroom. This was implemented when the students were in Year 7 and 8, for 1.5 hours per week. The English transition teacher was in his first year teaching in a total immersion situation, having taught for seven years in the partial immersion whānau of School Three.

The graduates of School Three had a number of options when choosing a secondary school. Many of them attended a secondary school in the same town that has several bilingual options. However, a small percentage of students alternatively attended one of the other English-medium secondary schools that are located in the same town.

4.3 Kaupapa Māori Research

With the subject of this research revolving around a Māori kaupapa (theme), involving Māori participants, and a researcher with a teaching background in Māori-medium education, Kaupapa Māori Research (hereafter, KMR) was used as the methodological framework to guide this project. KMR provides a framework which allows researchers (both indigenous and non-indigenous) to work safely and ethically within a Māori context.

KMR approaches are specifically designed to be sensitive to Māori cultural expectations, to incorporate Māori cultural values, and to satisfy the overarching need to achieve collective benefits for the participants involved, a phenomenon that has been a concern to the Māori community in the past (Bishop, 1996; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1999). In this way, KMR can be described as a critical approach to research which attempts to eliminate the discriminatory practices inherent in many previous projects involving Māori participants (Bevan-Brown, 1998; Mutu, 1998). It is a framework that requires a close collaboration and mutual respect between the researcher and the researched if it is to be successful.

4.3.1 The principles of initiation, accountability, legitimization, benefits and representation.

Bishop and Glynn (1999; see also Bishop, 2005) outline five kaupapa Māori principles that are important to the operational aspects of KMR, and therefore to this project. These are the principles of initiation, accountability, legitimization, benefits and representation. These will now be discussed.

4.3.1.1 *Initiation.*

The concept of initiation concerns “how the research process begins and whose concerns, interests and methods of approach determine/define the outcomes” (Bishop, 2005, p. 112). KMR seeks to incorporate Māori participation throughout the research process, before, during and after the data is gathered. This research project was initiated by some of the people directly involved in the schools, as discussed above (see the section, “Process toward undertaking this research”). The liaison person for one of the schools, Cath Rau, herself a researcher in Māori-medium education, advised me that English transition would be a good area in which to conduct this project because she was aware that Māori-medium schools struggle to negotiate the teaching of English. She then liaised with two of the three schools prior to me discussing the project directly with the Principals. Therefore, in this case, initiation came from the schools, not from the researcher.

4.3.1.2 *Benefits.*

This concept seeks to ensure that all participants, researcher and researched will work to achieve genuine benefits from their participation, and will preclude anyone being disadvantaged by the research. As a consequence, this principle rejects projects that solely serve the interests of the researcher, a criticism of many past research practices in Māori education (Bevan-Brown, 1998). The benefits of this research will be derived at both the national and local (school) levels. The outcomes will add to the research pool that supports Māori-medium education (national level). In addition, I will provide specific feedback on the components of each school programme that will enlighten each of the three schools involved on their English transition programmes. It is also expected that additional projects will be subsequently developed after this research to further guide schools in this area of English transition education.

4.3.1.3 Representation.

This concept aims to ensure that the information that is gathered through the research process is an accurate representation of the views of those participants, and their cultural values, beliefs and practices (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). In this respect, research should not be simplified, conglomerated or commodified. Traditional research has often had a negative impact on Māori people. One such impact historically in New Zealand has been the misrepresentation of Māori lived experiences resulting in the Māori people themselves internalising negative myths and stereotypes of themselves (Bishop, 2008; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1992, 1997). This project safeguarded this principle by using predominantly interviews in which to gather its data. It also returned interview transcripts to the participants for their confirmation of their ideas expressed, and was followed with further negotiation (*kanohi ki kanohi* – face to face). Together, these procedures ensured that the participants' views were accurately gathered.

4.3.1.4 Legitimacy.

This issue concerns the authority we claim for our texts, whether our texts are written, oral or visual. Where traditional research has often belittled Māori knowledge in order to enhance the biased perceptions of the adherents of neocolonial paradigms, KMR instead embraces and provides status and credibility to those Māori views, because the research contexts are culturally Māori (Bishop, 2005). Hence, this concept attempts to challenge the ideology of cultural superiority that has pervaded much previous research involving Māori, to ensure power-sharing processes are employed, and that Māori epistemologies are legitimized. This area provided a significant challenge for me, as a non-Māori researcher, researching within a Māori context. However, seeking collaborative understandings of the findings as they appear, and negotiating and discussing these findings in an ongoing way, has provided an accurate depiction of the research data.

4.3.1.5 Accountability.

This concept concerns control over the entire research process, the procedures, the means of evaluation, the text constructions, and ways of distribution of the new knowledge. From a KMR perspective, the researcher is accountable not only to the professional research community, but also to the participants. There is essentially a sharing of power between the researcher and the participants. This research study attempted to safeguard

accountability by maintaining communication between the researcher and the key people in the school contexts at all times, and particularly at critical junctures, such as data collection and subsequent transcription of interview data (Bishop, 2005; Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

4.3.2 Four key questions that KMR projects must answer

In conjunction with upholding the five principles outlined above, a legitimate KMR project (including this one) must also answer four key questions posed by Smith (1990).

1. What difference is this research going to make for Māori?
2. What meaningful interventions are going to result?
3. How does the research support our cultural and language aspirations?
4. Is the researcher merely telling us what we already know?

These four questions were all answered positively for this project. Researching the field of English transition would provide beneficial information on the issues and outcomes of each school's English transition education, thus enabling them to make informed decisions on how to construct their programmes (Questions one and two). This research also aimed to support the overarching aim in Māori-medium education of producing bilingual and biliterate students (Question three). Therefore, rather than detracting from the key aim of revitalisation of the Māori language, it wished to promote it. Finally, by researching an area where there is little published research about the New Zealand context, the outcomes from this project would help to guide not only the three schools involved, but also other schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand which struggle with this issue of teaching English without jeopardising the learning of te reo Māori (Question four).

4.3.3 Additional KMR elements implemented in this research

There were a number of additional design elements incorporated into this project that embody KMR principles, which have not been stated above. These include the following elements:

- All research activities employed culturally appropriate practices. Interviews and exchanges were conducted in either te reo Māori or English, depending on the preferences of the participants. The research gathering process attempted to

consider other important Māori tikanga (principles), as seen in the choice of interview site, the inclusion of principles of whānaungatanga (relationships), mihimihi greetings/acknowledgements), waiata (song), karakia (prayer), and provision of opportunities for discussion and feedback (Bishop, 2005)

- Regular feedback/collaborative meetings occurred with the Principals and teachers during the process of the data gathering⁴⁴
- Focus group interviews were employed for student interviews in order to allay the power differential between students and the researcher and to encourage open discussion
- Care was taken to ensure that participant perceptions were accurately recorded.
- Transcripts were returned to participants for editing
- The use of the process of ‘restorying’ (see Bishop, 1996) was used. This involves multiple interviews which provide opportunities to gain deeper understandings and greater accuracy of information
- There was a flexibility in the research methods employed and the timing of the data gathering, to account for the busy timetables that schools implement
- The use of predominantly semi-structured interviews was a more appropriate means of securing authentic and trustworthy information (Bishop and Glynn, 1999). “Interviews as conversations” promoted free interaction and opportunities for clarification and discussion, through open-ended questions.

4.3.4 Being a non-indigenous researcher in a Māori context

Being a non-indigenous researcher and working in KMR is a controversial theme that is discussed by Smith (Smith, 1999, 2005), Bevan-Brown (1998) and Bishop (2005). Some authors, such as Irwin (1994), have argued that research into Māori contexts should be ‘by Māori, for Māori’, because Māori researchers are more likely to have the cultural knowledge and the commitment to the Māori communities involved, a contrast to some non-indigenous researchers who have studied Māori communities for their own personal

⁴⁴ In this respect, I found that because the Principals were extremely busy people, they preferred to reduce the number of regular meetings until more significant findings emerge. I therefore reduced the meetings to times when I could offer significant information on my progress.

benefit. This type of view (against non-indigenous researchers) is understandable but limited, as it presumes that all Māori, regardless of character, are suitable yet all non-Māori are not. Clearly, Māori researchers will often have the advantage of possessing appropriate cultural knowledge. However, each individual, regardless of ethnic identity, will differ in his/her ability to conduct research ethically in Māori-medium contexts because every individual brings different experiences and motivations (both culturally, personally and in terms of research experience) to the project. Some Māori researchers may not be able to uphold the principles of KMR; equally, some non-Māori researchers may be able to research the Māori world ethically. Ted Glynn is one example of a non-indigenous researcher who has successfully conducted research in Māori educational circles (Gibbs, 2006). There are also likely to be examples where indigenous researchers have struggled with collaborative research of their own people and found themselves outsiders in their own communities (Jones & Jenkins, 2008 discuss how they negotiated this theme).

The concept of whānau is an extremely important Māori concept that provides an avenue for my participation as a non-indigenous researcher in this project. Whānau literally means family (Bishop, 1996) and subsumes other related concepts, such as whanaunga (relatives), whanaungatanga (relationships), whakawhanaungatanga (the processes of establishing relationships) and whakapapa (the means of establishing relationships) (Bishop, 2008). It applies to many categories, including ancestral links to the same ancestor, marae, mountain, land, and river. However, whānau can also have a metaphorical use to refer to collectives of people without ancestral links who work towards a common end. According to Metge (1990), in this non-blood related instance, the term is used to identify the rights and responsibilities, commitments, obligations and supports that are fundamental to the collective (Bishop, 1996).

This metaphorical use of the term whānau assisted me to enter into this research. As a non-indigenous researcher, I do not have official ancestral links to any of the schools, but I do have whānau links, according to Metge (1990) and Bishop's (1996) definition, as highlighted in the personal narrative that began this chapter. I belong to the kura kaupapa Māori school whānau; a whānau that bonds through the common ambition to support the objective of revitalising the Māori language and improving success and participation of Māori in society. In this type of whānau relationship, nurturing a relationship over time is

an important element, as it builds trust and it also provides the ability for a reciprocal relationship of benefits to develop. My past service working in these schools has built trust and shown my commitment to the kaupapa of Māori-medium education. My future commitment to researching English transition will also continue, following this project.

4.4 Case study research

This study employed a case study design. Case study research is a popular form of empirical inquiry but it is a method that has also gained criticism for not being a genuine form of inquiry, primarily because of not being able to replicate the findings of case studies (Burns, 2000; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000; Yin, 2009). This discussion will not review the literature defining case studies (refer to Burns, 2000; Cohen et al., 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Stake, 1995; 2005 for general information on single case studies) other than to state that case study research investigates a phenomenon (the case) in depth and in its real-life context (Yin 2009). Rather than focusing on individual elements as some other conventional research methods do, case study concentrates on “experiential knowledge of the case and close attention to the influence of its social, political and other contexts” (Stake, 2005, p. 444). Case studies therefore attempt to capture the multiple interactions that occur within the case in relation to its overall situation in time and space. The case is often referred to as being “bounded” by time and activity (Creswell, 2009), and can include a wide range of contexts, including, organisations, programmes, individuals, institutions, or issues. Case study research employs a range of both qualitative and quantitative methods of gathering data. But importantly, like other forms of research, it still includes key features such as scholarly research questions, triangulation and gathering of accurate data (Stake, 2005).

This research is not a typical single case study design; it is a multiple case study design, which compares the English transition programme of three schools. As the name implies, multiple case studies broaden the range of cases from one to two or more cases. The cases are carefully chosen because they either share identical characteristics (called a literal replication) or contrast in their characteristics (theoretical replication) as is the case with this research. Each individual case forms its own ‘whole’ study. However, collectively they offer an opportunity to compare across all cases. In this way multiple case studies

offer a more robust form of case study research and a greater capacity for generalisation (Yin, 2009).

Another important demarcation discussed by Stake (2005, pp. 445-446) that is pertinent to this study concerns whether the nature of the case study is intrinsic (used to gain a greater understanding of a single case) or instrumental (used if a particular issue requires insight). This study is predominantly instrumental in nature, because it deals with an area that is quite controversial in Māori-medium education (see 1.1 on this). However, as little research has previously been conducted in this area in Aotearoa/New Zealand, this study also has an intrinsic element. Therefore, it will provide a deeper understanding of the components of the English transition programmes from three New Zealand school contexts (Herriott & Firestone, 1983; Stake, 2005).

There are a number of strengths all case study research shares. First, according to Cohen et al. (2000), case study is able to examine a context as a whole, instead of just in terms of its parts. It can therefore unpack important elements of the whole system that would otherwise not be salient if a quantitative study were pursued. As such, case studies are useful for their ability to investigate and report the complex dynamic and unfolding interactions of events, human relationships and other factors in a unique instance. This point is particularly important in this area of English transition education in Aotearoa/New Zealand where a wide range of teacher perceptions, programme designs and achievement outcomes exist. This is why the study of three unique school contexts is important. Each has divergent contextual features, including the perceptions of the people who form the staff, the students and the community, and every participant interacts with the subject of English in a different way. A case study design will assist in examining the many variables of each unique context.

A final advantage of using multiple case studies concerns accessibility to the research information once it is published. Case study research by its nature is far more accessible to a wider range of audiences because it tries to build a picture of the case and all the elements within it. Adding multiple cases to the project provides the participants and community further information to compare with their own contexts. This is particularly important for whānau of the students of the three schools involved in this study who are likely to have little knowledge about the research subject. As such, these case studies, should speak for themselves about the realities of the context (Nisbet & Watts, 1984).

This feature is important to this project because there is a broad range of groups who are interested in the results, from academics to school community members. Making the information accessible to a wide range of audiences is also an important element of Kaupapa Māori research (Bishop, 1996) and the key principle of accountability.

4.5 Section two

Having explored my personal background, the process I followed in implementing this research project and the methodology (KMR and case study), Section two will examine the specific components of this research.

As discussed above, this project is a multiple case study regarding English transition education in three Māori-medium schools. It involved the English transition teacher, the Principal and Deputy Principal, a selection of Māori-medium teachers, and the Year 8 students. It aimed to gather information on how they operate their English transition programmes and what issues they were facing.

The specific research areas (written as questions) that were addressed in this project were as follows:

- What are the experiences of English transition teachers?
- How do teachers, Principals and Year 8 students view the role of English transition in Māori-medium education?
- How do Māori-medium schools support the process of English transition?
- What are the experiences of Year 8 Māori-medium students towards learning English and te reo Māori?
- How effective are the English transition programmes for Year 8 students?
- What evidence is there of the impact of English transition on Māori language development?

	English transition teachers (ETT)	Year 8 students	Principal and Deputy Principal	Māori immersion teachers (MIT)
School One	2	29	2	4
School Two	1	9	2	4
School Three	1	9	2	3

Table 3: Research participants across the three schools.

Table 3 below shows the participants of this study from the three Māori-medium schools. It shows that four English transition teachers, 47 Year 8 students, six Principals and Deputy Principals and 11 Māori immersion teachers were the participants of this research. As School One is a wharekura (which includes Year 1 to Year 13 students). The numbers of English transition teachers and students were significantly higher than for Schools Two and Three.

Table 4 below outlines the themes, questions and methods of data collection and the participants in this project. It illustrates the following features that were employed in this project.

There were seven key research questions.

- The central participants were the English transition teachers and their Year 8 students, the Principals and Deputy Principals, and a wider group of Māori immersion teachers from each school

There were three primary methods of data gathering involved in this project: interviews (individual and focus group), observations, and literacy assessments. These reflect both quantitative and qualitative collection methods, which are implemented simultaneously throughout the project.

	Theme	Question	Research Question	Participants	Type of Information
1	Actual lived experiences	Q1	Experiences of teachers of English to Māori-medium students	English transition teachers	Individual interviews
		Q4	Experiences of Year 8 students towards learning English	Year 8 students	Focus group interviews
2	Teachers' understandings of theory and provision	Q2	How do teachers, Principals and Deputy Principals view the role of English transition?	Māori immersion teachers	Focus group interviews
		Q3	How do schools support English transition?	Principals and Deputy Principals	Individual interviews
3	Impact on learning	Q6	What evidence is there of the impact of English on Māori language?	English transition teachers	Individual interviews
		Q5	How do students view their learning of Māori?	Year 8 students	Focus group interviews
4	Effectiveness	Q7	How effective are the English transition programmes of Year 8 students?	Year 8 students	Literacy Assessment English reading English writing Māori writing Teachers' records of Māori reading levels

Table 4: Themes, questions, participants and information gathered.

4.6 Methods of data collection

There were three methods of data collection: interviews (individual and focus group), classroom observations, and literacy assessments of the Year 8 students. These will now be discussed.

4.6.1 Interviews

Interviews were the primary means of data gathering for this study. Two types of interview were used, including semi-structured interviews with the English transition teachers and the Principals, and semi-structured focus-group interviews with the Year 8 students, and the Māori immersion teachers. This method of data gathering was appropriate because interviews provide the ability to build and nurture a close relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, and because the flexible nature of semi-structured interviews can be more conducive to building a full picture of the subject being investigated (Cohen et al., 2000).

Interviews can be like conversations, bringing people together to develop ideas on a topic of mutual interest (Kvale, 1996). In this way, the interviewer is not viewed as being separate from the information being gathered, nor is he/she viewed as an ‘objective’ information gatherer. He/she is a subjective member of the gathering of information, along with the interviewee (Cohen et al., 2000). This concept is an appropriate one in a Māori context where concepts such as interconnectness, mahi tahi (working together), and whānau (family) relationships are important. My position is further discussed in reference to classroom observations below.

4.6.1.1 Use of te reo Māori in this project

Because I was researching in a Māori context it was appropriate that the participants were able to use te reo Māori to express their views. This option was taken by most of the Principals and Deputy Principals, and the Māori immersion teachers from each school. As such, when writing the case studies I have used their own words (te reo) without providing English translations. However, in order that this information is accessible to English speakers, I have endeavoured to paraphrase the participants’ responses, so that their meaning is clear to non-English speakers.

4.6.1.2 Method of recording interviews

A digital recorder was the method I used to record each of the interviews. This device was less intrusive to the participants when compared with using video cameras or manually writing notes from their responses. It also meant that I could focus on the participants’ responses and maintain eye contact with them.

From a Māori cultural perspective, I needed to take care to choose a method of recording that was acceptable to the Māori participants, because in the Māori world there is a tradition that recording their words or gathering personal images has the potential to threaten the integrity of their knowledge, causing them to lose it. Therefore, particularly with the more mature teachers who were interviewed, I was careful to seek permission to record their interviews, and was prepared to offer alternatives, such as writing notes, if the use of a digital recorder was not acceptable.

4.6.1.3 Interviews with the Principals

The Principal and Deputy Principal of each school were interviewed in order to gain an understanding of the history of the English transition programme within their school, the wider philosophy, and the approach the school takes towards English transition. These interviews were designed to provide baseline understandings about the English/Māori instructional arrangements and their personal beliefs regarding the place of English transition in the schools. The themes that were explored in these interviews were as follows (see Appendix two).

1. History of the school and of English transition education
2. School philosophy, aims and goals
3. Programme features (Māori immersion and English transition)
4. Graduate student profile
5. Teaching responsibilities of staff
6. Challenges and concerns
7. Pedagogical features of English programme.

4.6.1.4 Individual interviews (English transition teacher).

Each English transition teacher was interviewed on two occasions. On the first occasion, the aim was to begin to form an accurate picture of his/her role, the school's approach, the classroom approach, and issues she/he faces when teaching this subject. The second interview occurred soon after the classroom observations were conducted. This interview had two purposes: first, to unpack what was observed, and second; to gain greater depth of understanding from the first interview. This technique of gaining clarification through multiple interviews is promoted by Bishop (1996), and is called the "spiral discourse." It

serves to gain greater depth of understanding of the participants' perceptions. The following themes were discussed with the English transition teachers (see Appendix one)

- Teachers' skills, qualifications, experience, training for the role
- Components of the teachers' programmes
- The timing and quantity of English transition instruction
- Teaching approach adopted
- Characteristics of the student group regarding language skills, background, socio-economic backgrounds, etc.
- Challenges the teachers have experienced and current concerns
- Skills focuses in teaching English
- Resources employed
- Knowledge of second language acquisition issues (i.e., L1/L2 relationships).

4.6.1.5 Focus-group interviews (Year 8 students and Māori immersion teachers).

Focus group interviews, as the name suggests, are a group interview. They are described as being "phenomenological" in nature, because they are designed to establish the widest range of meanings and interpretation of a topic (Fontana & Frey, 2000). In focus group interviews the researcher plays less of a role in controlling the discussion and more of a participant role (Morgan, 1988). The group being interviewed is encouraged to develop a discussion around the focus themes in a less structured manner.

The advantage of focus group interviews centres around the rich data that can be collected in a short interview, by comparison with individual interviews (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Focus group interviews are also used as a means of providing more support for the participants who may feel more comfortable conveying their views in supportive group situations. This was the reason I used them with the Year 8 students in each school. By interviewing them with their peers I hoped that the more supportive atmosphere would assist them to contribute to the discussion. I was essentially attempting to minimize the unequal power and status differentials that often occur between adults and children in interview situations (Eder & Fingerson, 2002), and provide a more comfortable situation for the participants for whom I was a virtual stranger.

In this study I used focus group interviews with groups of Year 8 students (on two occasions) and Māori immersion teachers (on one occasion) from each of the three schools.

4.6.1.6 *Student interviews*

There were various reasons for interviewing the Year 8 students. This was the first time these students in Māori-medium programmes had been asked to discuss their experiences at this point in their education. Time was set aside to explore their perceptions about their education path, their beliefs, achievements and aspirations. However, because this research had a literacy focus, most of the discussion themes revolved around the learning of English at school, and the learning of te reo Māori. The themes discussed were as follows (see Appendix three).

- Their backgrounds, including their tribal affiliations, and the educational institutions they have attended
- Their amount of exposure to reo Māori and English, and the typical contexts where they are exposed to te reo Māori, for example, through the media (television and radio), on their marae, amongst their whānau, with sport/hobby groups, and with their peers
- Their perceptions and levels of enjoyment in attending their current school
- Their perceptions of their personal English language proficiency
- Their vocational aspirations when they leave school
- The students' perceptions regarding making a transition to the secondary school level in the following year
- The extent to which students use te reo Māori and English in order to converse on a daily basis
- Their current English literacy strengths
- Their enjoyment of learning English at this school.

All of the interviews were conducted successfully with the groups. However, I found that stimulating a flowing conversation where I played a less central role was difficult. The interviews inevitably centred on my questions rather than on developing the students' own ideas. On reflection, this may have been a consequence of not building a close enough relationship with the students prior to the interview. The students were unfamiliar

with me, and I may have been perceived by them as a teacher figure rather than a person who is interested in their views.

4.6.1.7 Māori immersion teachers

A small group of Māori immersion teachers from each school was interviewed on a single occasion. The purpose of this was to gain an understanding of how Māori immersion teachers in Māori-medium settings perceive the teaching and learning of English (and te reo Māori) in their school. Gathering their ideas about the place of English transition in the school would further show the extent to which the immersion teachers are involved in the overall planning and decision-making regarding the education of the children of their school. It would further show how developed their understandings are in terms of the need to accommodate both languages (Māori and English) in Māori-medium schools. Finally, interviewing teachers would help me understand the wider issues that concern teachers in these contexts, and how they negotiate these. The themes discussed by the Māori immersion teachers were as follows (see Appendix four).

- Perceptions on the teaching of English in Māori-medium programmes – including when English education should occur, how and how much
- Issues that they experience
- Roles in the planning and implementation of the English transition programme
- Perceptions on the skills required of English transition teachers
- Issues concerning the place of English in Māori-medium schools, and alternatively, of the need for the revitalization of te reo Māori
- Balance between students learning te reo Māori and English instruction
- Prospects for students from Māori-medium schools.

All three focus group interviews were successfully conducted with the Māori immersion teachers, and a wide range of information was gathered. The only issue that arose pertained to timetabling. These teachers' professional lives were very busy, and to expect a high amount of energy and thought after they had taught for a full day was almost unreasonable. I was very appreciative that they provided me with whatever time they could. However, inevitably, in some cases (particularly with the teachers at School Two), I was not able to ask all the questions I had planned.

4.6.2 Observations

Classroom observations of the English transition teachers were used to support the interview data (Abbuhl & Mackey, 2008). Observations enable a researcher to gain information about actual teaching practice and to understand behaviour as it occurs (Creswell 2003). As such, I was able to focus on phenomena not normally detectable with other forms of data gathering, such as, the physical setting, the human setting, the interactional setting and the programme setting (Morrison, 1993, cited in Creswell 2003).

The use of observations as a form of data gathering does expose this research to potential issues concerning the researcher's interpretation of the data that is collected, elsewhere referred to as researcher objectivity versus researcher subjectivity (as discussed earlier in this chapter).

Quantitative research methods emphasize the need for the researcher to be an objective observer who resists contaminating the research context by his/her presence. She/He is viewed as being separate from the context and participants. However, in qualitative research in a Māori context, such as this project, the nurturing of relationships is important, and the researcher and participants are viewed as being connected (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Remaining an objective observer is viewed as not appropriate in this context. In fact, maintaining researcher objectivity was unachievable for two reasons. First, I was well known to the staff. They would sometimes interrupt my observations to talk. Second, as a past Māori-medium teacher, I was very familiar with the teaching in these contexts, and the research around the area.

This project planned to use structured observational schedule and instantaneous sampling (Cohen et al., 2000) to assist in gathering the data for the classroom observations.⁴⁵ However, when trialling this strategy, I became aware that this method was not suitable, as it did not provide sufficient flexibility, or allow me to gather a wide enough range of information. As I wished to capture as much information as possible regarding the

⁴⁵Semi-structured observations are used when the researcher has “an agenda of issues but will gather data to illuminate these issues in a far less predetermined or systematic manner” (Cohen, et al., p. 305)

English transition lessons, and as there were often multiple activities occurring in the classes at any one time, I chose instead to write continuous notes throughout the lesson.

The following themes were the focuses of the observations.

- Cultural features
- Language content (skills focuses)
- Student engagement
- Resource use
- Pedagogical approaches/reading approaches
- Student engagement
- Questioning techniques
- The classroom physical environment.

4.6.3 Literacy assessment

The literacy assessments of this project form the quantitative data collection component. Bringing in a combination of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods were useful here because, together, they provided a form of triangulation to the project.

This project assessed the Māori and English reading and writing skills of the Year 8 students of each school (see Table 5). Year eight was chosen because it is the students' final year of primary schooling for this group of students, a significant educational threshold in their lives. By this period the children will have reached a stage where research suggests (Baker, 2006, pp. 178-179 provides a summary of research findings) high levels of bilingual proficiency will result.⁴⁶ Te reo Māori will have been the medium of instruction for a large proportion of their education, and they will have been exposed to English language instruction for between two and five years.⁴⁷ Therefore, assessing their abilities at Year 8 should reveal some clear results about their progress towards the biliteracy objective.

⁴⁶ The length of time it takes to achieve high levels of bilingual proficiency varies from five to seven years (Cummins, 1984), to ten years (Collier, 1989; 1992).

⁴⁷ These students will have also been located in an English language national context throughout their lives.

I assessed both English and Māori literacy levels because these two modes need to be viewed together, in accordance with the Threshold and Interdependence hypotheses (see Cummins 2000, Baker 2006, and Chapter One for extensive discussion about these). To assess English on its own would not provide the full picture of the students' language development, ignoring the related gains from their Māori language instruction.⁴⁸ Viewing both languages together will therefore reflect the importance of the Interdependence hypothesis – which states that there is a reciprocal relationship between the bilingual student's two languages. I conducted three literacy assessments on the Year 8 students (see Table 5 below). The classroom teacher supplied information on a fourth area - the children's Māori reading levels (using the Ngā Kete Kōrero framework (Ministry of Education, 1999)).⁴⁹

Skill	Language	Assessment type
Reading	English	Probe (Parkin & Pool, 2002)
Reading	Māori	Data supplied by class teacher
Writing	English	Assessment Tools for Teaching and Learning (AsTTle) (Hattie et al., 2004; Ministry of Education, 2004)
Writing	Māori	Writing sample created by researcher. Assessed using the AsTTle framework (Hattie et al., 2004; Ministry of Education, 2004).

Table 5: Literacy tools used for this study.

⁴⁸ This was particularly the case with the School Three students whose lower English literacy scores were balanced by their higher Māori literacy scores. See Chapter Seven for details.

⁴⁹ Ngā Kete Kōrero is a set of graded readers that have been designed for use by Māori-medium students. It was developed in the mid 1990s (Ministry of Education, 1999).

4.6.3.1 English reading (Probe)

Probe (Parkin & Pool, 2002) is a New Zealand designed reading assessment tool, which is commonly used in New Zealand schools to assess reading ability. It provides a range of texts, both non-fiction and one fiction, of increasing difficulty. Importantly for this assessment, there are also a set of comprehension questions that accompany each passage, which can be analysed for each student's comprehension. These questions focus on skills such as literal meanings, evaluation, reorganisation, inference, and vocabulary use. This feature is important because children of 12-13 years of age can often read with a high level of fluency; yet low levels of comprehension. I relied on the student's responses to these questions during these assessments to gauge their level of comprehension.

In administering the Probe test, non-fiction texts were chosen, as these had not been previously utilized by any of the teachers in their classroom programmes (two teachers had previously implemented the fictional texts). When sitting with the children, a suitable text was chosen using the teacher's latest English reading assessments. I provided a brief introductory explanation of the text's setting, before asking the student to read a few sentences aloud to me. I then asked each student to give me feedback on the level of difficulty. If they felt it was an appropriate level, I asked them to read the text to themselves independently, before reading the total text to me. I then asked the comprehension questions that accompanied the text. At this point, I conferred again with the student about the level of difficulty. If the student displayed a high level of comprehension, we continued the same process with a slightly more difficult text. If alternatively, the text was too difficult, I lowered the level of the text and followed the same process. This process of trialling passages, negotiating and recording was followed until we (the student and I) were satisfied that we had an accurate level of reading. Each assessment was recorded using the recording sheet that comes with the Probe resource. I also recorded the whole process using a digital recorder.

I aimed for the children to read the texts at between 90 and 95 percent accuracy level, according to current New Zealand classroom literacy practices (see Clay, 1988 for details). However, on commencing this assessment I found that most were highly fluent readers, regardless of the level of text difficulty. Instead, a more accurate gauge of reading ability was derived from asking the comprehension questions that accompanied the Probe resource.

All the children were assessed using a non-fiction text sample in the first instance. I later returned and tested most of the children on a fictional text, as a comparison. This addition was implemented when it became apparent that the teachers' records often rated the students' reading abilities higher than my assessments were revealing. This led me to question whether the non-fiction tests I was using were actually more demanding to read than the corresponding fictional texts. I therefore implemented fictional texts to crosscheck the reading levels. I also contacted the author of the Probe resource (date of phone call; 25/10/2006), who corroborated my hunch that the non-fiction texts were slightly more demanding for the students than the fictional texts. These discrepancies are accounted for in the results section.

4.6.3.2 English writing

The choice to use AsTTle (Hattie et al., 2004; Ministry of Education, 2004) to test the students' English writing ability was made because it was a readily available assessment tool, and had already recently been implemented by the teachers of School One.⁵⁰ Using their writing samples saved time and effort on my part, and meant that the overall data gathering experience for the students was not over-taxing. I then replicated this same test, using the same procedures with the Year 8 students of the other two schools. While this may affect the reliability of the data I gathered, I ensured that I followed the teachers' procedures exactly, according to their direction.

A second advantage of using AsTTle concerns the analysis of writing ability. AsTTle provides an assessment matrix (with seven levels of assessment) for rating the students' literacy skills in areas such as spelling, grammar and vocabulary use. This means that I could readily compare the three groups across the three school contexts. Furthermore, using the AsTTle programme provides the option of comparing the writing skills of these students with other comparable schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The programme enables a teacher to gather and compare results from similar students from around the country. In stating this, I was not attempting a national comparison, as there are many variables (including the range of assessors of other literacy tests) that affect the results,

⁵⁰ AsTTle is a New Zealand designed literacy assessment procedure which devises assessments, provides a framework for analysing them, and then compares results with other groups of students from New Zealand schools.

and possibly disadvantage these students (as occurred in the NEMP research projects discussed in 3.3).

The implementation of this task with all of the schools was successfully achieved, though I found that the children at one school (School Three) were a little unsettled during the task. They required constant encouragement to stay on task. The reason for this may have related to the choice of room that was used to conduct this assessment (the school library). This room was not arranged well for writing, and may have contributed to the lack of concentration in this group.

4.6.3.3 Māori language writing assessment

My approach to assessing writing skills (Māori) was to read a section of a storybook (Jennings, 1994) to the children, before stopping at the climax. The students were then given 40 minutes in which to rewrite the story, and complete it. They were also told that they should spend roughly half of the 40 minutes writing the story to the point where I had stopped reading, and then to construct the second part of the story with some substance. The aim here was to provoke them to use their imaginations to complete the story rather than just to find an abrupt ending. The students were provided with paper booklets in which to write, and were given five minutes to plan their story. At the halfway point (20 minutes) they were reminded that they should now be completing the second part of their stories (from the climax).

Conducting this procedure was generally successful. However, several issues arose as it was implemented. The students of two of the schools (Schools Two and Three) were a little unsettled. I found myself having to encourage some of them to focus more on their work. The students of School One on the other hand, were on task throughout this procedure.

A second issue revolved around the task itself. The story was a great motivational piece, being very exciting. However, as it was quite detailed, it meant that most students spent a high percentage of their 40 minutes reproducing the part that had been read. This meant that the assessment tested their ability to recount the text, and less emphasis could be given to their use of imagination in completing the story. Retrospectively, it may have been wiser to have used a less complex text. Despite these issues, the students completed

this task well, producing some detailed and imaginative recounts. They seemed to enjoy this assessment task.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has provided the background information (personal, methodological and procedural) about my approach to and execution of this research. My personal teaching background led me to research this area and to choose KMR to guide it. The research method used here was multiple case studies, and included data gathering methods of interviews, observation and literacy assessments. I have provided an explanation of why I used these methods, and I also provide a guide to how this data gathering progressed.

5 Chapter Five: Case study one

5.1 Introduction

School One is a wharekura, a Level 1 Māori-medium school (80-100 percent target language instruction) that educates students from Year 1 to Year 13. It functions in the same way as a kura kaupapa Māori (see 2.8 and 2.9 for a definition of this), incorporating a Māori philosophy and a high level of Māori language instruction. However, the education of secondary school students is an additional responsibility.

There were 30 teachers at School One at the time of this study, including primary school level teachers, secondary school specialist subject teachers and other support teachers (such as the English transition staff). A total of 352 students attended this school: 230 at the primary school level, and 157 at the secondary school level. School One is situated in a small, predominantly Māori township where a large single industry employs many of its adult residents. As the community is predominantly lower socio-economic, School One has a Decile One status according to the Ministry of Education guidelines (see Ministry of Education, 2008 for information on decile rankings).⁵¹ This means it gains a higher level of government funding than higher decile schools.

The English transition programme at School One commenced in the students' fourth year. For the primary school classes (Years 1-8), two English transition teachers were employed to teach English. The students were exposed to 3.5 hours of weekly instruction in the earlier years (Years 4-6), and four hours in the later primary school years (Years 7-8). This English programme focused on literacy skills, commencing with a reading emphasis with the younger students (and some writing), and as the students progressed

⁵¹ New Zealand schools are designated a Decile level according to the socio-economic status of the school community (the parents of the students). These levels range from Decile One, the lowest socio-economic level, to level 10, the highest socio-economic status level. Government funding of New Zealand schools is weighted towards lower decile schools.

towards Year 8, the emphasis moved towards writing skills – in particular, genre studies (see Derewianka, 1990; Education Department of Western Australia, 1998).

5.2 School One participants in the research

The key School One participants in this study included the Principal (P1), one Deputy Principal (DP1), two English transition teachers (ETT1 and ETT2), four Māori immersion teachers (MIT 1/2/3/4), and 11 Year 8 students (not individually identified).

5.2.1.1 Principal 1 (P1) and Deputy Principal 1 (DP1)

P1 is not from the School One tribal region, but has lived there for over 30 years, and was a key person involved in creating the bilingual programme in the 1980s. P1 is a native speaker of te reo Māori. DP1 is also from a tribe outside the School One region, and had taught at School One for 18 years. She has teacher qualifications, specialist second language teaching qualifications, and is a highly proficient speaker of te reo Māori.

5.2.1.2 English Transition Teacher One (ETT1)

ETT1 is a Pākehā teacher with 14 years teaching experience. She had worked in English-medium-schools teaching general classes and specialist literacy groups, and had been at this school for three years as the senior teacher with responsibility for directing English transition at the primary school level. Her own children also attend this school, having been enrolled in bilingual education throughout their school years. ETT1 taught English to the Year 4, 5 and 6 students.

5.2.1.3 English Transition Teacher Two (ETT2)

ETT2 is a Māori teacher who moved into this district from another iwi (tribe). She had taught for seven years, having trained as a mature student, and has a Bachelor of Teaching and a specialist literacy certificate. She taught for five years before coming to School One, and was in her second year working at this school. ETT2 was responsible for teaching English to the Year 7 and Year 8 students of School One.

5.2.1.4 Four Māori immersion teachers (MIT)

Four Māori immersion teachers, all of them Māori and from a range of iwi, were interviewed in this project. Their teaching experience ranged from five years to 22 years, and all had a Teaching diploma or Bachelor of Education degree. Two of these teachers gained their qualifications in the bilingual education stream of the university they attended (which offered classes through the Māori language). This school had employed all four teachers for the entire time they have been teachers. One of them was one of the first bilingual graduates of School One. They all taught Māori at the primary school level.

5.2.1.5 Year 8 students (11)

As there were two classes of Year 8 students, a group of five and a group of six were chosen from the classes for focus group interviews. Of the 11 students, eight were from the local iwi and three from other iwi. Eight of this student group were 13 years of age and three of them 12 years of age. All of these students had spent a total of eight years of their primary schooling in a Level 1 bilingual programme. Most had attended this school since they were new entrants (five years of age). Ten of the 11 students also attended kōhanga reo preschools for at least two years prior to coming to School One. One had not attended any kōhanga reo before entering School One.

This chapter includes seven main sections.

- A history of the school, its organisation, and the background to the English transition programme, as discussed by P1 and DP1
- ETT1's background and approach to teaching English
- ETT2's background and approach to teaching English
- The attitudes of the immersion teachers regarding the teaching of English at School One
- The attitudes of the Year 8 students towards learning English and te reo Māori (Māori language) at School One
- The results of the English and Māori literacy assessments that were conducted on the Year 8 students of School One
- A discussion of the main findings from the case study of School One.

5.3 History

School One opened in the late 1800s as a Native school. In these early days, because of the close relationship between the school and the local marae community, the school programme was bilingual. However, this did not last, as the Government policy for Native schools (see Simon & Smith, 2001 for discussion on Native schools) began to withhold funds from schools which did not implement a solely English-medium curriculum (Lee & Lee, 1995). As a consequence, for much of the history of the school, from the early 1900s to the 1970s, the medium of instruction at School One was the English language. P1 discussed the level of language loss of the school and community in the 1970s. When he arrived, apart from on the marae, he heard little reo Māori spoken elsewhere.

I tae mai au ki waenganui i tēnei rohe i te tau, whitu tekau mā whā. Korekore ana e rongohia te reo Māori i waho mai o te marae, i waho mai o ngā whaikōrero - korekore ana.

The parents of the students who attended the school at the time also perceived the school to be Pākehā (non-Māori) in nature and content, where success required students to assimilate non-Māori values, and to ignore their own history. P1 described this environment at the time.

...kaha rātou ki te kōrero pēnei, “ko te kura nā te Pākehā, ko ngā kaupapa o roto i te kura, nā te Pākehā,” ...Ko te nuinga o ngā mātua o ērā wā i tipu ake i roto i te ao, me waiata rawa God Save the Queen, i te ata, ā, whakanui tonuhia ana te Commonwealth, ērā mōmō mea. Kāre e tino kitea ana ā rātou ake mahi papai, ātaahua, kāore e rangohia ana a rātou hītori i roto.

Consequently, the school context did not reflect the world of the students who attended it, and so the first task towards helping the school become bilingual again was to change the perception of the community. The community needed to be able to believe the school was designed for them, and that education was a means of achieving their aspirations. The role of te reo Māori would be central to changing their perception.

Ko te mahi tuatahi ko te whakahau ki roto i ngā whatumanawa o ngā tamariki ko te mātauranga. Nāu hoki tērā ao, kāore nā tētahi atu. Kaua e whakatū taiapa hei

kaupare atu i te mātauranga i runga i te whakapae kāre māku tēnā, he mea Pākehā kē tēnā. Nō reira, ko te reo tētahi o ngā tino huarahi, ngā rauemi i āta whakamahia, hei whakahoki mai i te whakaaro ki roto i te tamaiti, ko te mātauranga i homaingia nei ki a au, nō taku ao.

It was at this time in the 1970s that the ambition to establish Māori-centred education grew in strength when individuals from the district began to call for the establishment of bilingual education in order to restore the health of the Māori language. This process was not simple however. This school, like many other schools, had to contend with criticisms from many sectors, including Māori groups within its own community. School One's Principal describes this.

Well I can say, not all of them there were [supportive]. Some people in Taitokerau [Northland] that were holding very influential positions, not only in Māoridom, but also in society, were not convinced that this was the right thing for Māori to do. And they did as much damage to the kaupapa there as tauwiwi [non-Māori]. Words like, “what the hell do they know.” Those ones you can combat but it's very difficult to combat your own...

The Education Department that inspected New Zealand schools were also critical of establishing Māori bilingual schools, according to P1. Despite this, after more than six years of pressure on the Education Department, the school was officially designated bilingual in 1984.

5.4 Philosophy

School One draws its principles from a tribal whakatauki (proverb). The whakatauki has two central features. The first section outlines the need for the tribe (or students in the case of the school) to seek solutions where problems have earlier existed. P1 described this.

... e kore tēnei raru, tēnei rapu rānei i te rongoā mō tēnei raru e huri ki tua o aku mokopuna, tae atu ki te wā o aku mokopuna, kua kitea e rātou te rongoā hei whakatika...

When applied to the students of the school, it is expressed in terms of overcoming the children's weaknesses and building their strengths – including their knowledge of the English language.

Section two of the whakataukī, on the other hand, discusses the importance of embracing the students' own culture as an essential factor in their achievement and success. Additionally, it emphasizes the need to seek out all available support to enable the students to achieve their potential.

E kīa ana ki a mātou, kua e waihongia tana ao Māori ki te taha. Ko ērā ngā taonga o te ao Māori. Nā, kei ngā tōpito o te ao ōku hoa. Ka whakaaro, kua mātou e matakū ki te toro, ahakoa ki a wai, mēnā he āwhina kei reira, e taea e mātou te whakatutuki i ngā wawata.

5.5 School organisation

The Rūnanga (meaning 'assembly') governs the school. This group consists of 22 elected community members, who act as do the Board of Trustees in other New Zealand schools. The Rūnanga oversees the work of P1. He has two Deputy Principals beside him who coordinate the secondary school (Kura Tuakana) and primary school (Kura Teina) levels of the school respectively. Below this management level, the senior teachers coordinate smaller clusters of classes, which are staffed by the general teachers and specialist subject teachers.

Each teacher at School One takes the responsibility for leading one or more curriculum subjects, or areas of the school. DP1 described how this works.

I āta hoatu tēnā mahi, responsibility ki tērā tangata, ki tērā tangata, māna e tiaki...Ko ngā pouako o ia marau, ko tā rātou mahi [he] tiaki te pūtea o tērā marau, tiaki hoki me pēhea te tautoko i ngā kaiako i roto i tērā marau mō te pūtaiao, te pāngarau - kimi whakangungu, aha rānei, āta hoko rauemi hei tautoko i ērā o ngā mahi. Koirā hoki ngā mahi kua hoatungia e [te tumuaki] ki ngā kaiako.

In a sense, School One is two schools within one (primary and secondary), though there is still a close whānau relationship between both levels of the school. However, in terms of

the curriculum delivery, School One operates similarly to other primary and secondary schools across the country. Throughout the week, the homeroom teacher teaches the primary school students. Secondary school students, by contrast, follow a timetable, studying with specialist subject teachers in hourly timetabled classes. NCEA (National Certificate in Educational Achievement) is the central assessment at these upper levels.

As School One is a wharekura, for all subjects (apart from English classes) te reo Māori is the language of instruction. Students commence English language classes when they reach Year 4. This continues until they leave school at Year 13. Apart from these timetabled classes where English occurs, there are other times English may be used in classrooms. In the Kura Tuakana (secondary school level) classes, where the resources and texts of some subjects are not written in Māori, students will use English texts. In these cases, the students will read the English text while the discussions that revolve around them will still be conducted in Māori.

School One has an enrolment policy stipulating that prior to entry, students will normally have attended kōhanga reo (Māori bilingual preschool) for two years. This measure was implemented to ensure that students have a minimum level of te reo Māori proficiency when they arrive at school. There is also an expectation that the parents will commit themselves to support their children in learning the language. As a consequence, some time is spent informing parents about the school and its principles. DP1 explained.

Me aro hoki ngā mātua ki te kaupapa o tēnei kura. Me mārama rātou ki te [whakataukī o te kura]. Nā reira, koirā tā rātou mahi homework tuatahi. “Ānei, akohia Māmā. Akohia tēnei Pāpā, me tō tamaiti. Koinei te tino kōrero o te kura nei.” Nā reira, ia wāhanga, ka hui mātou me ngā mātua, anā, ka āta kōrero ērā kaupapa mō te philosophy o te kura, kia mārama pai rātou.

5.6 Staff

Although P1 and DP1 are from iwi (tribes) outside the district, both have worked in School One for at least 18 years. Among the 30 teaching staff of School One, according to P1, there is a broad mix of teachers in terms of gender, age and experience. He stated

that most of the teachers are young, and at the time of this study many of them were from this tribal district – a different scenario from the past when all the teachers came from other iwi (tribes).

According to P1, there are three teaching qualities that are held in high esteem at School One. First, and above all, they need to have a love for the children and a commitment for teaching in a Māori-medium school. Second, they need to be able to speak te reo Māori, and third they must also be qualified teachers. While the latter two skills can be developed, P1 explained that caring for children cannot be taught and must therefore be a prerequisite for working at School One.

Engari, kāre e taea ki te ako me aroha koe ki ēnei tamariki. Anā, i runga i tō aroha ka māharahara koe i ia pō me pēhea taku āwhina i tērā tamaiti haututu. Ko tērā pea te taonga nui rawa atu kei te rapu haere.

Administrative and support staff are held in high regard in School One. P1 always ensures that the general staff are from the local community, and are (blood) related to the children. This is an important aspect of staff composition at this school, as P1 explained.

Ko ngā kaimahi i roto i te kura, ka whakapaipai i te kura, me ērā mōmō mea katoa, he whanaunga katoa nō ēnei tamariki. Me āta tiki ērā. He mokopuna nā rātou kei te kura, ko Nana, ko Koro, ko Matua, aha noa. Tūturu nei ērā ki ngā tamariki o tēnei kura. Nā reira, ko te tino whakahono me te manako nui ki te tautoko ki te āwhina i ngā kaupapa katoa a [names the tribal area].

Consequently, finding suitable teachers to fit the needs of the school is an issue P1 always needs to contend with. Finding staff that have high Māori language proficiency and who strive to strengthen that language proficiency, are areas of concern for P1. DP1 discussed this latter issue.

There is still a lot of reo development that our teachers need in te reo. And you know they're happy to just be one step ahead of their children, which is hard because, you know, we need them to be way ahead of their tamariki [children], because our kids are clever, and in some cases, especially our matatau [expert] children who have come from Māori-as-their-first-language homes come to kura [school], their reo is better than the teacher.

Despite this one area of concern, P1 was happy with the level of teacher language skills, and felt that by working together, the staff could continue to develop the levels of te reo Māori in the school.

E koa ana ahau mō ngā pūkenga o ngā kaiako o kōnei, āe. Ko ētahi, ko te whakapae he wāhanga tonu kei reira hei whakapakari ake mā rātou. Ko te mea nui, kia noho au ki te taha i a rātou i te fīmatanga o ia tau. Ka whakatakoto he whāinga hei tiro mā rātou ki te whakatikatika. Nā, whakauruhia mai tērā. Koinā pea tētahi atu o ngā āhuatanga i roto i ngā kaiako o kōnei. Kua noho i roto i te ao o ia wā me ngana tātou ki te whakapakari kē ake i a tātou. Anā, e rata ana ngā ngākau o ngā kaiako ki tērā.

5.7 The English transition programme

After running a bilingual programme for approximately 10 years, by the mid 1980s the School One community began to debate what was the best instructional mix that would allow the students to be skilled speakers of both English and te reo Māori. The school sought the advice from an internationally recognised academic, Bernard Spolsky. His response was to recommend the establishment of a seven-year Māori immersion language immersion principle.

One of the statements that he [Spolsky] made that stuck with us was, “give me the child for seven years and I'll give you the man for life.” And what he did was, he built on from that. If a student is immersed in the target language for their first seven years of learning, then you can introduce another language without it having an undue impact on it - on its status, its mana, and all the students learn...

This view is now espoused by a wide range of international researchers (for example, August & Hakuta, 1997; Cummins, 2000; Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2006). As a consequence of this advice, School One maintains a seven-year period of total immersion Māori education (including the two or three years the children attend at kōhanga reo). As discussed earlier in this chapter, at Year 4 English language instruction is introduced (3.5 hours weekly) which subsequently increases to four hours until the students reach the

secondary school grades (Year 9). The secondary school continues to conduct separate English language classes to prepare students to meet the criteria for NCEA English.

English language instruction is separated from the Māori language instruction by time and place, subject and teacher, with specialist teachers employed to conduct the classes in their own English rooms. This approach is now followed by many bilingual education programmes internationally (see García, 2009). DP1 explained the reasons for their approach. Central to this decision of separating English from Māori was the notion of safeguarding the Māori language environment. She explained this aspect.

[It] was a deliberate move kia neke te akomanga kōrero Pākehā nei mai i ngā akomanga kōrero Māori nei, so physically, ka noho te akomanga kōrero Pākehā ki kōrā, kia noho tapu tonu ngā akomanga ki te reo Māori. Kei te tere huri kē ngā tamariki ki te kōrero i te reo Pākehā. Nā reira, i āta whiriwhiria he rūma ki kōrā, hei rūma kōrero Pākehā anake. Anā, ko ēnei ka noho tapu tonu ki te reo Māori. Me whiriwhiri hoki he kaiako kē atu, kāore he kaiako ka whakaako i te reo Māori ki roto i ngā akomanga, engari, he kaiako tūturu mō te reo Pākehā.

Since only the English curriculum is taught in English, this organisation marks a significant difference from many international bilingual programmes. Other curriculum subjects are taught through the medium of the Māori language. In this way, School One's programme has similarities to an ESL withdrawal programme. The students are withdrawn from Māori immersion (as a group) to be taught the English language.

The teaching of English language at this school is divided amongst four staff, each teaching different age groups. Two teachers control the English language education of the Year 4-8 students, and two control the secondary school section. In the primary school grades, one of them teaches the Year 4-6 students, and the second teaches the Year 7 and 8 students.

5.8 Case study English Transition Teacher One (ETT1)

5.8.1 Growing up

ETT1, a Pākehā woman, grew up on a farm in a Māori community. She remembered that her family was the only Pākehā family in the district. All her friends were Māori, and ETT1's world was bicultural.

... our family was more or less the only Pākehā family that stayed in the district... So I grew up looking like a Pākehā and coming from a Pākehā family but feeling like a Māori most of the time.

When ETT1 was at intermediate school this unique upbringing proved to have some unpleasant side effects, as she experienced some identity issues.

... [I] sort of didn't know who I was ... because I'd grown up with ... but never quite felt totally Māori. I used to always ask my parents, "Are you sure we haven't got any Māori blood in us?" ... Just to be able to say that I was even a smidgen Māori. Because I felt ... just a little bit of an outsider sometimes...

5.8.2 Lead up to a teaching career

ETT1 left school at 18 years of age and went straight to teachers training college before gaining a position at a primary school in South Auckland. While ETT1 was working in this school, her own children grew to school age and she chose to enrol them in the total immersion Māori-medium classroom of her school.

Because ETT1 began her family soon after she trained to be a teacher, she job shared at her school. This teaching ranged from general classes and specialist work, such as reading recovery.⁵²

⁵² Reading Recovery is a New Zealand designed one on one reading programme that operates in New Zealand schools for children of six years of age who experience difficulties learning to read in their first year at school (Clay, 2002)

After 11 years working in this school, ETT1 and her husband decided to move out of the city to the more relaxed lifestyle of the country. On hearing that the local bilingual school, School One, could educate her children from the primary school level through to secondary school, they decided to move to their current address. When ETT1 enrolled her children into school, she also took her own curriculum vitae with her in the hope she might secure some part time work there. DP1 offered ETT1 a full time position at the school – which she accepted. This job seemed like a dream position to ETT1, and she has never regretted her decision.

So it was so ideal, because it's where I've always wanted to be with my children... to be involved with their education and just to be available.... You know when they have a cross-country day or whatever I'm there. But if I was teaching at another school, if you want to be involved in your child's sports activities you have to take the time off, but I can almost always be there.... I have a passion and love for it and my husband is sort of going down that path as well.

ETT1 had been at School One for three years at the time of this research. She felt certain that the reason she was employed at her current school was because of her background, having grown up in a Māori community, and because of her commitment to this type of education.

Once [P1] heard I was from [home town]... that was a point. But once he met me he knew that I wasn't just going to be here just to be a teacher ... I mean my heart was going to be in it. My own children were going to be coming to this school, and coming to me in this classroom. I have a passion for what I am doing. And so I guess after he met [me] ... he was confident that I was the right person to ... take the place of the previous person.

5.8.3 In-service training/ English transition

ETT1 had not undertaken any specialist training for her position. She had participated in many school professional development strategies over the years, including mathematics

and literacy. However, she also hoped to complete her Bachelor of Education degree at some stage in the future.⁵³

5.8.4 Personal beliefs about teaching English

ETT1 was asked about her beliefs on the place of English language teaching in bilingual education. She responded in strong support for its inclusion. However, she stated that this marks a change from her past attitudes.

...when my children first started and we decided that that was the path that they were going to go on... I didn't really think about the English side of it. You kind of think, "English is all around them. They talk, they're going to be fine," but it's not till you really start...that you start thinking about how the everyday spoken English is so different to the academic English that I really strongly believe that they need formal instruction in English to be able to achieve equally in Māori and English ...

ETT1's earlier perception illustrates a common attitude that continues to prevail in Aotearoa/New Zealand, that English language instruction does not require formal teaching because it is the language of the community, and as such, it will be learned automatically (see 1.10.3 for discussion on language transfer). Obviously ETT1's change of attitude reflects her greater understanding of the issues regarding learning academic English since she has worked in this school. ETT1's knowledge of the needs of bilingual children is illustrated in her next comment.

... I mean the written language is different to the spoken language and okay, I guess they could read at home, but you need to be really thinking and dissecting what you're reading, too, to take in a lot of the things that are subtly there in the written language ...

⁵³ When ETT1 trained to be a teacher, teachers were only required to possess a teaching diploma. Today, teacher-training courses teach university degree programmes, which has encouraged many diploma-trained teachers (like ETT1) to return to university to upgrade their degrees.

5.8.5 Parent and student perceptions

ETT1 was asked how the parents view the English language education at her school. To this question ETT1 responded that she felt that most parents were very positive and very supportive of the school English programme. She did, however, ensure that she was careful when discussing achievement with them, to reassure them of the unique growth curve bilingual students follow.

I think in general, most parents place quite a high importance on it [learning English], and are reassured when I say, ‘Yes ... in a normal mainstream school they would be at a similar achievement level. So, just to reassure them that they’re not disadvantaging their child in English by sending them to a school like this. ... because ... some parents are concerned that their child might miss out and not do very well at English because they only come for a limited amount of time...

This feeling of uncertainty among parents is a common issue that continues to arise in New Zealand bilingual contexts and often results in parents removing their children from the schools to enter English-medium schools (see May & Hill, 2005 on this theme). This reflects a lack of parental knowledge of the principles of bilingual education. Here, ETT1 shows that she is very aware of the unique nature of the growth of bilingual students

ETT1 felt that her Year 4-6 students love learning English. Learning English is still a novelty for her students when they commence formal English instruction with her.

And even the class, I’ve had one class who are now in Year 6... This is their third year coming to me. And I thought, okay, they’re going to start getting sick of me, sick of this and start having negative attitudes. But no, they’re still positive, wanting to learn and they come and work hard. It’s really amazing.

5.8.6 School philosophy and approach

ETT1 was asked about the school philosophy regarding learning of English. She was not sure about a philosophy regarding English in particular. However, she stated that size of

the English transition classes were halved to allow a more focussed teaching of smaller groups. As a result, the students had four lessons a week, lasting a total of 3.3 hours.

5.8.7 An overview of ETT1's English transition programme

- Year 4 to 6 students were involved in 3.3 hours English transition instruction per week
- The programme offered a literacy based approach using genre as a basis for her themes
- Strong emphasis was placed on reading. The teachers used the Guided and Shared Reading approaches (see Ministry of Education, 2003, 2006) in the early stages
- There was less emphasis on writing in early stages. However, this later increased as the students' reading skills increased
- Oral language instruction was not included
- ETT1 used resources such as SRA laboratory, a self-monitoring reading programme (Parker, 2008); enlarged books, and children's readers (for example, the Ready to Read series).

5.8.8 Classroom approach to teaching English transition

When ETT1 began teaching as the English transition teacher, she experienced a great deal of frustration attempting to serve the needs of her students. She described this first year as a great deal of trial and error. Originally ETT1 attempted to base the programme on the contents of the English Curriculum, dividing the English strands into each term, but approaching it in this way she found "too wishy-washy" and without a clear focus. Since this time, however, ETT1 began to organise her programme into a more coherent form, based on an Australian resource called Writing First Steps (Education Department of Western Australia, 1998), a genre-based programme. This is the basis for the English transition programme.

ETT1 arranged her programme according to the developmental level of the children. For the children who were new to learning academic English or were having difficulties, ETT1 planned a programme that was weighted towards knowledge of the English alphabet and gaining reading mileage through using the Guided Reading approach (see

Ministry of Education, 1996, 2003). ETT1 discussed the programme for students who experience difficulties.

They can't write one word and they're reluctant to even write, and so it's a totally different programme with that group to the other groups. And we don't do a genre [study].... I touch on it but nowhere near into the depth.... But they've got another two years with me after that but ... my main focus with this group is reading and trying to lift their reading.

ETT1 felt that the students needed to learn to read before they learn to write. As the children became more proficient readers she increased the amount of writing in the programme. This emphasis on reading before writing is a common principle in second language learning contexts (See Baker and Prys Jones 1998 on Canadian immersion programmes). Particularly in the early stages, ETT1 encouraged the children to take reading books home. She saw this as an essential method of quickly raising the reading levels of the children – an objective that cannot be achieved at school alone.

In general, ETT1 ran a programme based on the genre approach. There were four central features that she included in her programme, including SRA (Science Research Associates), a self monitoring reading programme (Ince, 2010 provides a brief history), guided reading, shared reading, and language activities.

5.8.8.1 SRA Laboratory (see Ince, 2010; Parker, 2008)

The SRA reading programme is a resource that ETT1 began implementing during the year of this research on the advice from the English teachers at the secondary level of her school. ETT1 described the reasoning for this.

They [secondary teachers] believe that it prepares them [students] for the exams where they have to read a short text and answer questions. So if they've had a lot of practice, then they're more prepared when they get to NCEA level for reading a short text and answering the questions. And the kids absolutely love it.

ETT1 used the SRA resource twice a week for 10 minutes at the beginning of the lesson, and supplemented it with other language activities, such as listening to stories at the listening post, or language games.

5.8.8.2 *Guided reading and shared reading*

The Guided Reading approach and the Shared Reading approach (Ministry of Education, 2003) were two important features of ETT1's language programme. Most of her lessons typically included one or both of these.

I usually start with a guided reading or shared reading of whatever the genre is. I usually start with the reading first, and so [it] ... might be a shared reading, or guided reading, and we look at the framework and what's involved in ... for example, procedures ...

Once the ETT1 had read with a group, the children then took the books home to read.

5.8.8.3 *Oral language instruction*

ETT1 explained that oral language development was an area in which she was undertaking professional development with her colleague. However, prior to this research, oral language development had been an incidental inclusion in her programme. She hoped to change this in the coming year, encouraging better talk within the classroom and reducing her own input.

ETT1 discussed five regular features of her teaching approach:

- Discovery by students of the genre focus
- Discussion and reading of an example of the genre focus through shared reading
- Follow-up activities related to the genre focus
- Guided reading lessons which focus on genre themes
- The possibility of further division of groups if the need arises.

5.8.9 *Assessment*

ETT1's assessment practices were the most comprehensive of the English transition teachers in this study. She assessed reading, writing, vocabulary levels and spelling. This commenced prior to the students' introduction to English transition classes, with the

BURT word test (Gilmore, Croft, & Reid, 1981). From this ETT1 creates her classroom groupings.⁵⁴

The majority of ETT1's assessment occurred at two periods of the year, in Terms 1 and 3 of the school year. This timing coincided with the periods she must report to parents, the Rūnanga (governing board) of the school and the other teachers. Table 6 shows the assessments ETT1 used at the time of this study.

Skill	Test	Timing
Reading	PM benchmarks	All students are tested in Term 1. ETT1 retested students who initially score below their chronological age in Term 3.
Reading	AsTTle	Once in the past year but not in the year of this study
Writing	AsTTle	Terms one and three
Spelling	Peter's spelling test	Once per year
Vocabulary knowledge	Burt word test	Term 4 for Year 3 students only
Language features (i.e., grammar)	Assessment Resource Bank (ARB)	Terms one and three

Table 6: English Transition Teacher One's methods of assessing English literacy

5.8.9.1 PM Benchmarks (Nelley & Smith, 2000)

PM Benchmarks is a Ministry of Education supplementary assessment resource that accompanies the PM graded reading books that primary schools possess. It consists of a Running Record (Clay, 1988) recording sheet with several comprehension questions. It is this latter procedure that ETT1 found invaluable in assessing her students' reading.

⁵⁴ The BURT word test is an individually administered, untimed measure consisting of 110 selected words in isolation, printed in different sizes of type and graded in order of difficulty. The students read these orally.

5.8.9.2 *Peters Spelling Test (Peters, 1970)*

Peter's spelling test is an Australian spelling test that grades the children's spelling levels. These lists were then used as weekly spelling exercises and homework to assist the children's progression.

5.8.9.3 *Assessment Resource Bank (ARB) (New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER), 2009)*

The ARB is derived from a New Zealand educational website developed by an agency of the New Zealand government (New Zealand Centre for Educational Research). On this site (see <http://arb.nzcer.org.nz/>) a range of language activities can be accessed that are suitable for the classroom including grammar and features of language.

5.8.9.4 *AsTTle (Hattie et al., 2004; Ministry of Education, 2004)*

AsTTle is a reading/writing assessment resource that has been designed for New Zealand schools. The software allows teachers to create tests, analyse the results and compare their results with other schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand. ETT1 used AsTTle to assess writing surface features. The primary purpose of using this assessment is to report language growth to the interested parties. The timing of the tests aligned with key school reporting times. ETT1 discussed this.

Well that's [AsTTle] to try and show improvements ... because we've seen awesome results in our reading ... huge improvements that the students have made in their reading, and so this year we wanted to see big improvements in writing, so we decided to do the AsTTle to give concrete information to be able to say, yes, they've improved or ... not.

5.8.10 Resources

ETT1 used the following resources to assist in her teaching

- School Journal stories⁵⁵ (Ministry of Education, 1907-present)
- Story books

⁵⁵ Reading material for fluent readers.

- Big books (enlarged books that are used in Shared reading)
- Listening post (read along tapes/books)
- Ready to Read graded readers
- Language activity books
- SRA
- TKI website (English on line) unit plans⁵⁶
- Writing first steps (genre approach).

5.8.11 Type of school

ETT1 was also asked to discuss her perceptions of the advantage of working in a school that teaches their students for the full 13 years of their primary education. ETT1 was in complete agreement about the advantages of being able to plan for the children's total education. She discussed the reasons for this.

I think it's a huge advantage because in a normal primary school you don't even think about five years down the track or whatever when they're in secondary. You're so focussed on what you're doing there.... And it's good because what they're [teachers in the secondary part of school] finding problems with, hopefully we can work on so that by the time they get there then that might not be so much of a problem. I think it's a huge advantage.

A second advantage according to ETT1's situation concerns her ability to pair-plan the English transition programme with ETT2 – an arrangement the other case study schools did not enjoy. ETT1 also felt that in her school, pair planning with ETT2 was a huge advantage. She discussed this.

Sharing ideas, planning together, sharing difficulties, it's just really good to have another person, and to be on the same [wave length] ... I mean we're different but in a lot of ways we're similar so we kind of work together really well.... Because I might be having [a problem]... 'Oh, how can I overcome this

⁵⁶ TKI (Te Kete Ipurangi) is an educational internet site funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Education that provides support and information for teachers in each of the curriculum areas (see <http://www.tki.org.nz/>).

difficulty?’ And she’ll have some good idea to help or vice versa. It definitely helps.

5.8.12 Description of students

ETT1 described the students who attend her school as being of a large range, from those who come from families dedicated to their children’s education to those children who do not enjoy a great deal of parental support at home. In discussing the characteristics of her students, ETT1 highlighted a significant issue concerning their limited range of experiences. She explained one example here.

I was reading with a child that ... didn’t know what a farm was ... well the English word ... oh no, she couldn’t even tell me the Māori [word].... It was when I was doing a Running Record with her - At The Farm, and we looked through and cows and all that. Where do they live? Where do they come from? She couldn’t tell me. So ... I have to take that into consideration.

Apart from limited general experiences, ETT1 felt that oral language ability and English spelling ability were two other areas of weakness that prevailed in these students. She also felt that many students experienced language interference (see Baker 2006, p.110, for details of this), causing them to transfer Māori grammar to English. ETT1 described several examples below (see Table 7).

	Example of interference	Translation in te reo Māori
1	How much people?	E hia ngā tāngata
2	Mere and Hone was walking down the road’	I te hīkoi a Mere rāua ko Hone i runga i te rōri
3	The use of the word ‘drawing’ to depict the word writing.	Kei te tuhi pikitia a Hone (Hone is drawing a picture) Kei te tuhi kōrero a Hone (Hone is writing a story)

Table 7: Examples of Māori/English language interference

5.8.13 Future prospects

Nonetheless, ETT1 was very positive regarding the future potential of her students. She believed that her school offers a unique environment of support and nurturing that English-medium schools could not offer their Māori students. And, because of this, ETT1 felt that her students have a far better chance of success at School One than they would in mainstream English-medium contexts. One reason for this, according to ETT1, concerns the commitment that the teachers have for their students' success. She described this below.

The support... and the passion of the teachers and the teachers being able to relate to the students, and they care about what happens to them. I mean past students are always coming back.... It's because they're so nurtured and cared for and supported.

5.8.14 Bilingual Issues

5.8.14.1 Teaching English using Māori

ETT1 signalled that she did use te reo Māori from time to time in an incidental manner when working with the students. She also allowed her students to speak te reo Māori if they wished to.

5.8.14.2 Achievement of biliteracy

To this question, ETT1 stated that she felt her students were becoming biliterate because her assessments (and those of the Māori immersion teachers) were showing that they were achieving at their age level in English and te reo Māori.

5.8.14.3 The relationship between the students' L1 and L2

ETT1 showed a depth of understanding of the complex pathway her students tread in becoming bilingual, when compared with other models of bilingual education.

...but you see it's a ... unique world-wide situation how it's done in New Zealand, because for most of them [students], their first spoken language is English, and then they go to kōhanga and they're introduced to another spoken language, and then they come to school and they're introduced to writing and

reading in Māori, and then so many years down the track they're introduced to formal reading and writing in English, whereas they've spoken English all the way along. So ... worldwide it's quite unique...

ETT1 showed that she understood the impact of the L1 on the L2 – particularly the relative growth curves of the children's languages.

... with reading, once they've kind of clicked on to the code a bit with English, if they didn't already have it, then it all starts sort of flowing. And that's why a lot of the children that don't come with anything within that year, or year and a half, have caught up with reading. Because all of a sudden, all that stuff that they've learnt in Māori, it becomes relevant ... all the skills of reading I guess. And even with writing to a certain extent as well.

5.9 Case study English transition teacher two (ETT2)

5.9.1 Growing up

ETT2, a Māori woman, grew up in Taranaki (her birth place), and Waikato where her father worked as a sawmill worker. When ETT2 left school, she met her husband and moved to the School One community to raise her children. As a child ETT2 did not learn te reo Māori. Her memories of home were of her brother being reprimanded by her parents for speaking their dialect incorrectly. As a consequence, ETT2 did not feel motivated to learn te reo Māori and for that reason she grew up only speaking English. ETT2 stated, “I thought, gosh, if I was to learn that [Māori] and get that [reprimanded], well that was something that was a turn-off totally.”

5.9.2 Lead up to a teaching career

ETT2 was first introduced to teaching when she was working as a teacher aide in her local primary school. It was in this school that the staff urged her to train to become a teacher. They then applied to Teachers College for her, and she was accepted. At that time her own children were beginning school. Her motivation to pursue this career was to better understand the system which her children were entering. She stated:

...well we needed to know where the children were at within school, so in doing so [I] went into the school arena, found out about the different curriculum areas, worked on my own children with that, and it just grew from there - a passion ... and working around Māori children at the same time.

The thought of entering tertiary education for the first time was threatening to ETT2 who was uncertain whether she would be able to cope with the challenge. However, when she commenced her training, she found it to be a great deal simpler than she had first anticipated.

I think just at the time I only had like three subjects [School Certificate] going through high school so I thought you know ... you still had the perception of the days of [school] ... that you needed this high qualification in order to go into university. So for me personally, and being out of school for such a long time it's

like, “No, I don’t think I can do it.” But my experience through having my own children was the key that basically got me through to university and working alongside children.

When ETT2 completed her training she began work as a beginning teacher in a local English-medium primary school teaching Year 4-6 children. After five years teaching in her school, an opportunity arose for her to apply for a teaching position at the local secondary school. She held this position until her current job in School One was advertised. ETT2 has now been employed in School One for two years.

ETT2 thoroughly enjoyed working in School One, but never envisaged that she would ever be employed in a bilingual school. She admitted that she had initially accepted the position with some anxiety, as she had heard negative rumours about School One. However, on entering the school, she found that the rumours were incorrect, and in fact, School One was a wonderfully positive place in which to work.

So coming in and it’s like you never judge a book by its cover. It’s like Whoa! It’s not what they’ve said out there [in the community], it’s totally different. Because now I’m in that environment and so, it’s just like a big family, totally like a big family.

5.9.3 In-service training

When asked about her past in-service training ETT2 discussed a Ministry of Education-funded literacy course called PEN that she took part in. PEN is a teaching programme designed to assist children who are struggling in literacy in poor communities. ETT2 found this course extremely helpful in strengthening her teaching ability, and it assisted her in winning her current position. She discussed some of the components of this course.

[We] found a lot of strategies basically, to help the children with their reading and writing. Basically with [using] guided reading and it was [also about] working with the group, having to stop them during the reading process, ask them questions, prompt them in finding answers through the text...

ETT2 attributed this training and her earlier training at university with providing her with the skills that she found useful in her role as English transition teacher. ETT2 felt that her

training had equipped her satisfactorily to fulfil her role as English transition teacher at School One.

It's given me an insight of where the children are at and their needs, especially their needs. And just helping and applying ... the skills to the students, so that they are not uncomfortable ... [or] having challenges

It is these skills and her passion to assist Māori youth that ETT2 feels helped her to win her current position in this bilingual school.

5.9.4 Personal beliefs about teaching English

ETT2 felt that it is important for children at her school to learn English. She stated:

It is important to learn both languages, especially when the children are carrying on through to high school, and they need to be prepared or at least have a foundation to carry it through without having to flounder or feel that there's a real big brick wall in front of them.

5.9.5 Parents' perceptions

ETT2 identified two groups of parents whose children attend School One: those who believe that te reo Māori should be the only language used for instruction, and those parents who expect both languages to be taught.

There's a low percentage of parents that don't believe it [in their children learning English]. They believe that Māori should continue throughout and that's their belief, ... a perception that there are other jobs up there that will cater for their children's needs if they were to pursue the reo [Māori language] ... whether it be tutoring or just other avenues out there. Some, yes they support both ways, Māori and English.

ETT2 also described an interesting group of parents who effectively 'hedge their bets' by enrolling their children in different schools, both English-medium and Māori-medium. This group, according to ETT2, could be challenging to satisfy, as she described below.

Because I do have the odd parents [sic] that have children both in this school and in a mainstream, so they have that comparison... [They state], 'But so-and-so is older than this child, why is it that their reading is down there?' ... so they have that general [perception] ... that we aren't doing our job very [well] because they should be up here, because he's younger than the sibling and he's way down here. ... And that's what we have to reinforce to the parents, that it's not your child's fault that they're in this position...

5.9.6 School philosophy

According to ETT2, School One's philosophy mirrored the words of a famous tribal ancestor. She gave a description of how a proverb applies to their school.

[Tribal ancestor's name] said, there is only one person that's wholly in the fort, I suppose, but there are many out there that will bring their knowledge and that will help one another. And it's like we're giving. Within our school all our children are different.... There are many [students] that come from different backgrounds, but they ... also have the knowledge to share. And some of that knowledge is for me.

As an example, if they don't know kupu [vocabulary] in English, you say it back in Māori and it's just sharing that, giving back, sharing and taking ... taking what I've learnt, taking back hopefully what they've learnt and just making it as one. So the philosophy ... it's just around their wairua, you know spiritually and mentally, their physical [side] and just making them the ideal student. And this is what we want our children to be - to know that they're somebody important within themselves.

ETT2's explanation here mirrors the more substantive explanation her Principal provided earlier, and illustrates how the school's principles are fully understood by all staff that work at School One.

5.9.7 An overview of ETT2's English transition programme

- ETT2 taught English to the Year 7 and 8 students for four hours per week

- She implemented a genre approach (Derewianka, 1990) where each term she focuses on one or two different genre
- Written language formed the majority of the work, including breaking down genre examples and recreating the genre, and spelling and word study
- Reading (using the Guided reading approach and the SRA laboratory) was also used to strengthen students' English literacy
- The focus on genre mirrored the literacy focus within the Māori immersion classrooms.

5.9.8 Classroom approach to teaching English transition

According to ETT2, when the Year 7 and 8 students commenced English classes with her, they had previously experienced two years of English instruction. At Year 7 and 8 the students received four (45-50 minute) lessons per week, in small groups to ensure ETT2 could provide closer assistance to her students. Once students graduated from the primary school level of the school at Year 8, they continued to learn English as a subject in the secondary school section of the school. ETT2 planned and coordinated her programme in conjunction with ETT1 (English transition). However, she planned her own classroom content independently.

We plan together... but we teach different [sic]. We plan exactly the same format and so forth with our planning but it's just our teaching strategies are a little bit different that we will apply in class. But everything's done in pairs, so it's just the consistency that we're doing - the same thing, following that through.

According to ETT2, there were three considerations she planned for.

1. The wide range of student abilities in ETT2's classes
2. The greater need at the Year 7 and 8 level to extend the more advanced students in her class
3. Carefully choosing topics and resources that are both intellectually challenging to the students yet suitable for their age levels.

ETT2 also stated that she collaborated with other staff members, including the Māori immersion teachers who teach parallel genre themes in their Māori literacy classes, and

the English teachers of the Kura Tuakana, who provided feedback about student growth in the secondary school area of School One. This high level of collaboration was a key to the success of the literacy programmes at School One.

ETT2 based her literacy programme on a genre studies approach (Education Department of Western Australia, 1998). This provided the direction for her reading and writing programmes. She described this and her spelling programme below.

In a given week, for example, we're doing procedural [texts], so we're looking into the procedural writing part of it. Reading - which is also linking into the procedural parts [genre], so they get the idea of what the framework is like. Spelling - because spelling's ongoing ... it's like their homework, so we tend to look at spelling once a week as a different activity. And ... well basically that's it ... so it's the reading the writing and the spelling, that's about the three components that are just on-going.

From this response it is clear that ETT2's programme had a very narrow focus on language and literacy, and a small range of components. In order to fully develop a high quality literacy programme, a broader approach, that exposes students to a wider range of language styles and vocabulary would be required, not one that compartmentalises the English language into six genre boxes and teaches them in a formulaic manner. As such, this programme is unlikely to fully explore the potential gains an English transition programme could achieve for its students.

5.9.8.1 Reading

ETT2's reading programme had two main components. The first involved guided reading. She aligned the reading material to the genre focus for that period, so if the class theme was the procedural genre, her students would be involved in reading a selection of this type of genre – usually through the use of the New Zealand School Journal publications (supplied by the Ministry of Education to all schools). ETT2 described the process.

So it's just, read, ask a question, locate [information] and then talk and carry on. So that's the process for reading. And then they'll follow through and have an activity that can accompany that book.

The second component of the reading programme was the use of the reading series called the SRA Reading Laboratory (see Parker, 2008, for a history of SRA), a published series of graded reading texts with accompanying comprehension questions. ETT2 used this resource as an introductory reading activity when the children first entered the class in the mornings.

SRA Reading Laboratory was introduced into the programme earlier in the year after advice from the teachers in the secondary school level of the school. ETT2 found it useful in exposing the students to new language, without the need for teacher guidance. Whilst the students were involved in working through these tasks, ETT2 explained that she was able to conduct her reading assessments.

5.9.8.2 Writing

As stated earlier, ETT2's writing programme was also genre based. Each school term the programme focused on one, possibly two genre themes. At the time this research was conducted, procedural texts were the focus. ETT2 described her approach to teaching genre as breaking the type of genre into small, digestible chunks to highlight the key components, and then building them again - somewhat like building a house. She also supplemented the genre writing focus with other class-wide activities designed to strengthen the children's knowledge of how the English language works. She explained this latter feature.

There are times there where I would have a punctuation lesson which would be with the whole class on the board on ... whether it's commas or verbs, if we're looking at making our stories more interesting, so ...there's other writing activities too that we will do ... especially when you're doing the same thing every day, every week, there's always a time for change.

5.9.8.3 Spelling

ETT2's spelling programme was based on an Australian resource Peter's Spelling Test (Peters, 1970) that grades the students' spelling levels. However, ETT2 extended the spelling component to encompass vocabulary expansion during the week. It included the following components.

1. Researching the meanings of new vocabulary (two days per week)
2. Constructing sentences using spelling words (one day per week)
3. Letter manipulation games such as ‘Steps’, ‘jumbled letters’, and ‘Chunk-Check-Cheer’. These games give the children practice in manipulating their spelling words to create new vocabulary (two days per week)

5.9.8.4 Oral language

Oral language development was an area that ETT2 did not teach. However, when this research was conducted, she was undertaking some Ministry of Education-funded professional development (along with ETT1) in order to develop this in her programme. They were learning about the components of oral language, and how to create successful oral language programmes during this research project.

5.9.9 Assessment

Assessment practices in ETT2’s classroom had undergone some recent change when this research was conducted, as she continued to refine approaches. Reading, writing and spelling were assessed regularly throughout the year. However, ETT2 tended to spend more time assessing the students who were experiencing difficulties, as she explained.

So, what we’ve now made it, any children that are at and above their reading level...well they’re not at the urgency that we need [to assess]... The aim is to push up our students that are below where they should be. So, in saying that, when it comes to this term, if we have a number of students that from the Running Records are up where they should be, we don’t touch [them] ...

This more strategic approach to assessing student learning saved ETT2 precious time to continue teaching, rather than assessing.

5.9.9.1 Reading assessment

The students’ reading levels were assessed using Running Records (Clay, 1988) in the first term of the year. Following this, the Probe (Parkin & Pool, 2002) reading comprehension test was used, and students whose initial assessment is low are assessed more frequently thereafter.

5.9.9.2 Writing assessment

An AsTTle (Hattie et al., 2004) writing assessment was created by the staff in order to locate strengths and weaknesses. This assessment was administered in Term 1 and at the end of Term 3 of the school year. Staff considered that the results of this assessment would enable them to compare students' performance with schools nationally.

5.9.9.3 Spelling –

New students were assessed on their spelling level (using Peter's Spelling Test) soon after they arrived at the English transition class. Subsequently all students are assessed at the end of each year.

5.9.10 Resources

The resources ETT2 used for teaching literacy included the following list.

- Television programmes
- SRA Reading Laboratory (Parker, 2008)
- School Journal stories (Ministry of Education publications)
- Listening post (listening to text recordings and following with the book)
- Peter's spelling test, AsTTle, Running Records
- Dictionaries.

5.9.11 Description of students

ETT2 described the students who attend her school as being from a range of backgrounds in terms of home location, size of families and socio-economic status. She felt that for most students, they had close family links with the school community.

Definitely ... everybody's everyone's cousin or niece or nephew, so... it's a really big whānau [family].

When asked about the children's needs, ETT2 discussed four areas that she felt require strengthening in her students' knowledge of English.

1. Their ability to punctuate their writing

2. Spelling
3. Oral language grammar, in particular, the tense markers
4. Reading comprehension.

5.9.12 Future prospects

ETT2 was very positive about the future prospects of her students. She felt they would achieve whatever they wished. When asked about the children's academic ability, ETT2 felt that the potential was great. She highlighted their special abilities with hands-on work, such as kapa haka (Māori dance).

With the kapa haka and so forth their way of having to, in a short time, just present themselves.... So I think in saying that, because they have that kind of opportunity in performing, it's allowing them to come out and ... just do something different other than what we're probably used to seeing them perform as.

ETT2 discussed trade training as an area the graduates could aim to aspire towards. She contrasted this with university qualifications that many of the past students already pursued.

I think there's other trade trainings out [there] ... like other avenues that they can go into other than just thinking that they need to go to university to pursue a career. We have a 'Gateways' which when they get into [through] the school, it's giving them that option to take on board a working skill... You still get a certificate out of it and it still has the same criteria I suppose as the university, but it's not in the sense of the university... Yeah, so I think for a lot of our students, the options are there. It's more open now.

While ETT2 was positive about the prospects of the students who were schooled in bilingual education, she also felt the students' self-belief was an issue at the Year 7 and 8 level of School One.

I always have concerns with the children...It's like, oh gosh, what am I doing? ... feeling like am I failing these poor children...Because you can see the potential is there - definitely you can see [it]. But they just don't appreciate

themselves as having that quality that's there. They may see it, but they don't appreciate it, or they don't want to know that they're capable of doing things.

ETT2 felt that the children don't have enough drive in Year 8, both in terms of academic aspirations and other areas such as sports. She stated:

They just don't want to be out there and show what they are capable of... and the downfall for me is when I see them again in Year 9. Oh, they're just like the new entrants in a primary school...

5.9.13 Bilingual issues

5.9.13.1 Teaching English using Māori

ETT2 was asked whether she ever used te reo Māori to assist in her teaching of English. To this she stated that as she only has a basic understanding of te reo Māori, she did not.

5.9.13.2 Achieving biliteracy

When asked whether she thought that her students were reaching the level where they are bilingual and biliterate, ETT2 was not certain. As with her response to the question on using te reo Māori when teaching, her uncertainty likely reflects the fact that ETT2 was not able to judge the students' reo Māori levels with any knowledge or precision. However, when asked whether she thought her students' English language skills were close to the senior children of the last school she was employed in, she answered that some children may become biliterate, despite their having little exposure to formal English language lessons.

5.10 Interview of Māori immersion teachers

5.10.1 Introduction

Four Immersion teachers (MIT1/2/3/4) were interviewed from School One. All of them are Māori and work at the primary school level, teaching students between Year 1 and Year 8. Their length of tenure as teachers ranged from five years teaching experience and 22 years. Interestingly, all of the teachers had taught in the same school for their entire teaching careers.

The main focus of the interview with the teachers was to explore their perceptions and understandings about the place of English language instruction in the school, and also to uncover the extent to which they are informed about their wider school programme. The questions therefore revolved around these issues.

5.10.2 Background and path towards teaching

MIT1 grew up in a house where English was the main language of communication. Her grandparents would sometimes speak te reo Māori. However, her family generally used English. She attended an English-medium primary school where she encountered a small amount of Māori language instruction in special classes for a small selection of students. However, formal learning of te reo Māori did not occur until she graduated to secondary school, where the learning of Māori was compulsory. When MIT1 completed secondary school, she decided to train to become a teacher. She entered the bilingual stream of a Teachers College, before winning a job at School One. MIT1 had 14 years of teaching experience.

MIT2 grew up in a home where Māori was the main language spoken. There was an expectation from her parents that the children would speak Māori as children. While the language of the home was te reo Māori, MIT2 attended an English-medium school. She then attended secondary school, taking te reo Māori as one of her subjects. On graduation from school, MIT2 decided to teach preschool children in the kōhanga reo where her mother taught. After several years, MIT2 then decided to formally train as a teacher in order to follow her son who was now in primary school. She entered Teachers College in

1993, attending the bilingual stream of the programme. MIT2 had been teaching for nine years.

MIT3 grew up in a home where te reo Māori was spoken. However, she did not learn te reo Māori to a high level because of the reactions she had experienced from family members when she attempted to speak Māori in their presence. She remembered being laughed at when she spoke Māori at home. MIT3 left secondary school without gaining qualifications, and waited until she was a young mother before returning to secondary school to complete her School Certificate, and University Entrance (specialising in te reo Māori). She then entered Teachers College, majoring in te reo Māori. She had been teaching at School One for 22 years.

MIT4 attended bilingual and kura kaupapa Māori throughout his schooling years in the 1980s. He was therefore a fluent Māori language speaker when he left school, and subsequently entered university (in the Māori bilingual stream). He had been teaching for five years when this research was conducted.

5.10.3 Should students learn English at school?

To this question all the teachers were in agreement that English language should be taught at school. There was a range of responses provided by the teachers, which illustrate that the teachers are realistic about the world they are preparing their students to enter. They also showed they have a sound knowledge about the advantages of teaching the students' two languages in parallel, and thus allowing for the skills learned in one language to transfer to the other - the process of contrastive linguistics (discussed in 2.9.1).

MIT4 discussed the importance of teaching the languages in parallel.

Me whakaako i te reo Pākehā i runga i te mea, ko ngā mahi ka mahia i roto i te karaehe reo Pākehā, ka tautoko i te mahi ka mahia i roto i te karaehe reo Māori. Anā, he ōrite, ko ngā mahi ka mahi i roto i te karaehe reo Māori, ka tautoko i te mahi i roto i te karaehe reo Pākehā. Anā, ki ōku whakaaro, he pai kia pakari haere ngā taha e rua, kia kore tētahi taha e hinga ki raro, kia kore tētahi e pakari ake i tētahi atu.

MIT3 discussed the necessity for English, the language of status in New Zealand society, to be an integral part of the learning at school.

Mēnā ka titiro koe, ko wai ngā rangatira o te ao, ehara ko tō tātou iwi Māori... ko te nuinga o ngā rangatira, he Pākehā. Ki ahau nei... mēnā ko te reo Māori anake kei te whai rātou, kāore rātou ka taea te whai atu tērā mahi mēnā kāore kei a rātou te reo Pākehā.

However, MIT3 went on to say that while she felt that learning English is important, a knowledge of te reo Māori would complement this, and thus enable the students to stand tall in the world. She stated:

Ki ahau nei, ko te tikanga o te ako i te reo Māori ki o mātou tamariki, kia tino mōhio ai rātou ko wai rātou. Ko tēnā te mea tino nui ki ahau ki te ako i ngā tikanga ā koro mā ā kui mā. And, mēnā e mōhio ana rātou ko wai rātou, ka taea e rātou ki te tū pakari.

MIT2 discussed a widely-held view among many teachers of the automatic transfer of skills across languages, thus negating the need to teach English formally.

Kāore e kore, kua mōhio kē ngā tamariki ki te reo Pākehā. Kua kite rātou kei ngā kāinga, te toa, ki whea rānei. Nō reira, kāore e kore ka ako rātou, ahakoa kāore koe e āta noho ki te whakaako i a rātou i te reo Pākehā, ahakoa, kāore koe i ako ki a rātou te reo Pākehā ka ako rātou i roto i tō rātou hāereere haere.

Despite this outlook, MIT2 felt that there is a need for schools to wānanga (discuss) the timing of the introduction of English instruction. Therefore, despite MIT2's earlier argument about language transfer being automatic, she still acknowledged the need for formal English language instruction.

MIT1 used the example of her six-year-old son to explain her perceptions regarding the need for English instruction. Her son loved learning Māori. However, having been shielded from English in the earlier years of primary school, he was more eager than ever to learn English.

He rawe ki a ia te ako i te reo Māori. Tino pai tāna reo Māori, engari, i naianei ahakoa e ono noa iho tōna pakeke, ... kei te kite ia i ētahi atu kupu i roto i tōna

ao i nāianeī – ngā kupu Pākehā. Kei te puta mai hoki te hiahia ki a ia i nāianeī ki te ako i te reo Pākehā hoki.

According to MIT1, this eagerness in her son to learn English was also evident with other students. She felt that students tended to turn away from te reo Māori when English instruction commenced in Year 4, thus jeopardising their progress in learning te reo Māori. Prior to Year 4, she witnessed students predominantly using te reo Māori in school. However, at Year 4, the students appeared to begin to favour communicating in English. This seems to be a common phenomenon in Māori-medium settings where students turn to English once they have left the junior school (Principal 2 also discussed this phenomenon in Case study 2. Baker, 2006 also discusses this in relation to bilingual education in Wales).

5.10.4 Who decides the themes of English language study?

When asked this question, the teachers explained that the committee of senior teachers, called the Kāhui marau, including the senior English language teacher, meet to plan the topics of study. They stated that ETT1 is responsible for the primary level English language programmes. She acted as the representative of the Kura Teina (primary school) teachers, and as an intermediary between both the Kura Teina and the Kura Tuakana. Together with representatives of all subjects of the school, they decide what themes should be studied by the students. The classroom teachers (English and Māori immersion) then construct their programmes according to the themes chosen by the Kāhui marau. In this way, regardless of the medium of instruction, the teachers teach the same genre themes of study during that period. When the students learn about the narrative genre in the Māori immersion classes, they also learn it through the English transition classes.

5.10.5 What considerations should the English Transition Teacher account for?

The Māori immersion teachers' responses to this question focussed on accommodating the needs of the students. The first and most commonly held belief was the need for the teacher to think about the world of their students and incorporate this into their programmes. They discussed important tribal festivals and events that they felt were important for their students to be involved in. A second point made by MIT1 was that teachers accommodate Māori cultural values such as discouraging self-promotion.

Instead, being humble is an important virtue she felt teachers should promote. MIT1's response below illustrates her points. She discussed the considerations teachers should keep in mind.

.. the kaiako [teacher] should be aware of where the kids are coming from – where our community is coming from, so it makes it relevant to them. And just being sensitive to their tikanga [customs] as well. Like the kōrero about the kūmara.⁵⁷ In the Pākehā world there is a lot of kōrero about te whakanui i a koe anō [self praise]. And it is an awesome thing in some areas, but when it comes to being a Māori you don't do that.

5.10.6 What English skills do the students need?

The teachers believed that there are many areas of knowledge of English that students should gain. These include, phonemic awareness, writing skills (how to begin stories and complete them), and oral language skills (including listening and speaking). The teachers also mentioned the three elements within the Māori language curriculum of oral, written, and visual language.

5.10.7 What skills should an English Transition Teacher have?

In answering this question, the Māori immersion teachers (MITs) discussed the English language teachers who had been employed at the school in the past. They noted four teachers in particular who they felt were highly effective. All possessed the ability to develop relationships with their students and to collaborate with other teachers. Clearly, developing relationships is important to the teachers in this interview.

Other teacher skills the MITs discussed included the need for them to be experts in their field of work, to be pedantic about standards, and to be helpful. They also felt that English transition teachers needed to be able to manage students effectively, along with the classroom space. Finally, a skill already mentioned above, and discussed by the MITs, was their ability to support the themes and priorities of the school.

⁵⁷ The full proverb states, *Kāore te kūmara e kōrero mō tōna māngaro* (The kūmara does not say how sweet it is – self praise is no recommendation. (See Karetu, 1987)

5.10.8 What does the community think about English teaching?

According to MIT2, from her knowledge, the community are very supportive of the teaching of English at School One. When parents sent their children to School One, they did so in the knowledge that English language instruction is a compulsory component of the school, and is therefore a non-negotiable feature. MIT2 stated:

Te āhua nei e tautoko ana [ngā mātua]. nā te mea, e mōhio ana rātou mēnā kei te haere mai ā rātou tamariki ki kōnei, koinā tētahi āhuatanga o te kura. Mōhio rātou i te wā ka noho mai mō te uiui, ki te whakauru mai te tamaiti, kua mōhio rātou, inā tae ki te tau tuawhā, anā, ka pēnei nei.

While MIT2's view sounds dictatorial in nature and not negotiated, in fact, the community was extremely interested in the children's English language growth, and often liked to compare their children's language development in English and Māori. According to the teachers, this interest may stem from a feeling of anxiousness among families about the prospects of their children, who are predominantly taught through the Māori language when they go to school. It was an anxiety that is unfounded, according to MIT4.

They know when they became KKM [kura kaupapa Māori], some parents were concerned about how the Māori would support them in the outside world. Now they see the hua [fruit] of the school teaching both [languages]. Our kids are doing just as well at School C [Certificate] reo Pākehā⁵⁸ if not better...

5.10.9 If your children were here, would you wish them to learn English

All the MITs stated they would send their children to this type of school without question.

5.10.10 When is English taught to the students?

The teachers were all knowledgeable regarding the timing and quantity of English instruction. They stated that instruction commenced when the students are in Year 4 (for 3.5 hours per week), and continued until they reached secondary school where they take

⁵⁸ School Certificate English examination – a past examination for Year 11 students, that is now replaced by the National Certificate of Educational Achievement.

NCEA English. However, they were not aware of how the programmes were designed in the secondary school area.

5.10.11 Do the students of this school become bilingual and biliterate?

When asked this question there was a great deal of deliberation amongst the teachers.

MIT4 felt that the students' knowledge of te reo Māori might be stronger. He used his personal experience as an example. When he graduated, he moved away from a strongly Māori environment, into an environment where Māori language exposure was limited, and found himself searching for te reo Māori. The other MITs also recounted examples of a number of students who had pursued careers in Māori language contexts such as Māori television, teaching and Māori-medium radio stations.

When asked whether the graduate students' knowledge of Māori is the same as their knowledge of English, the teachers were not certain. However, they discussed the irony of the situation where the students prefer English when at school (when there is pressure to speak Māori), and prefer Māori when they leave, even though societal pressure moves them towards English. This is interesting from the perspective that the language the students are deprived of at particular times of their development is the one that they then seem most attracted towards. At school, where English is forbidden in Years one, two and three, they prefer to use it (once they reach Year 4). However, once they graduate from secondary school into the predominantly English-speaking context outside school, they then yearn for te reo Māori.

5.11 Interviews of Year 8 students

Two groups of Year 8 students (12 students in total) were interviewed as focus groups on two occasions each. During the interviews I found that it was difficult at times to elicit long responses from my questions. I needed to provide a lot of input to encourage responses. As a consequence, I often paraphrase the responses from these interviews (indicated by having quotation marks removed). The interviews were conducted in English at the request of the students who found it easier to explain themselves in this language.

5.11.1 Background

Most of these students of this school lived either within the local community or within commuting distance of the school. All 12 students indicated that they had siblings, the numbers of children in each family ranging from two to 11, with an average of five in each family. All of these students were living with their parents (not grandparents, as can occur in Māori families), and all except one attended a kōhanga preschool for around two years prior to entering School One. Finally, they had all been to a bilingual school since Year 1, and most of them had attended School One for the entire time they had been at school.

When asked why they attended a bilingual school instead of an English-medium school, many of these students were not sure. However, some ideas that were offered included the following:

- Their parents decided they should go to bilingual school
- In order to learn (te reo) Māori.

One student explained simply, “I just grew up with it.” From these replies it seems that attending a Māori-medium school was a way of life for these students that they did not question, but accepted for whatever reasons their parents had provided.

5.11.2 General questions

When asked whether or not they enjoyed going to a Māori-medium school, all of the students commented positively. Two reasons were liking being bilingual and because of family tradition.

- “Because it is a different language than English.”
- “Because you want to follow your grandparents.”

Overall, the feeling about the school was positive. In particular, both groups highlighted their relationships with their teachers as being a major positive aspect of the school. All supported the statement of the following student regarding this.

- “They [teachers] get smart to us and we’re allowed to get smart back.”

Other reasons for enjoyment included:

- “Heaps of famous people come to this school.”⁵⁹
- “...And that there are a lot of types of sports that they are able to play.”

The students were asked about their reading habits at home. Only two responded that they read for pleasure. This reading was confined to reading the Bible or the newspaper. The other students stated that they seldom read at home. Instead, they were most likely to watch television, play sports, eat or sleep.

5.11.3 Use of te reo Māori

The students were asked about their patterns of speaking te reo Māori and English. In general, the students replied that English was the language they used most frequently. They usually used English with friends, both in and out of school, and with their family when at home. At school, they generally tended to use te reo Māori when speaking with their teachers, and when talking to their friends in their teacher’s presence.

- “Only when whaea [aunty/teacher] comes past.”

⁵⁹ A number of past students of School One have reached high levels in sport, culture and working in television.

At other times they stated, they spoke te reo Māori with family members at home. In fact, most of this group of 12 students said that a close family member at home also spoke te reo Māori. In these instances they often code-switched to be able to communicate to relatives.

- “Sometimes I cross – like Māori and Pākehā.”
- “A little bit of Māori and Pākehā and Māori and Pākehā.”
- “If we don’t know the Māori word we say it in Pākehā.”
- “Sometimes they speak Māori at home, but more often in English.”

Overall these students enjoyed being able to speak te reo Māori. One reason for this that several students discussed was in order to speak secretly. The exclusivity of being able to speak Māori was also mentioned.

- “It’s cool because some people can’t understand it.”

However, they also saw a benefit in their greater ability to participate in tribal occasions when they are able to speak te reo Māori.

- “So you can understand them when you go to [names two tribal celebrations].”

All of these students felt confident about speaking, reading and writing te reo Māori. However, two of them thought that sometimes they had difficulty finding the correct word. However, on the whole, they all felt this was not a big issue, and could be easily remedied.

5.11.4 Perceptions of their English language ability

The students of one group voiced an overall confidence in their English language knowledge. The second group also did so. However, several students discussed experiencing difficulties with English spelling, grammar rules and silent letters. When asked about the following list of literacy tasks, they answered as follows (see Table 8).

Writing task	Year 8 student perception of difficulty
Reading road signs	Simple for all students
Reading labels on packets	Simple for all students
Reading comic books and magazines	They either didn't read comics or when they did, they only looked at pictures
Reading newspapers	One group stated they did not read newspapers, while the other group all said they experienced no problems reading them
Writing a story in English	One group was confident; the other thought this may be difficult*
Writing a message to mum	All students would write in English

Table 8: Year 8 students' perceptions of their English writing abilities.

*Note. The second group stated that writing a letter was difficult. When asked why, they stated the following reasons.

- The issue of making the letter make sense
- It is hard to make it fit in paragraphs

I offered a potential cause for these difficulties to the students suggesting that a limited vocabulary may be the reason for this. There was a general agreement from this one group in response.

5.11.5 Thoughts on the English transition programme at School One

5.11.5.1 Content of the programme

The two groups were asked to describe the content of their English language programme. Their responses tended to confirm their teacher's feedback. They discussed spelling activities such as placing words in alphabetical order, finding meanings to words, the Steps activity, reading activities, worksheets, and the SRA Laboratory.

Both groups of students felt that the main thrust of the English programme was on writing activities, and that there were few “hands-on” activities in their lessons. Of the writing activities, the students felt that the central feature was spelling related activities.

The students of both groups voiced a general satisfaction with the content of their English language programme. They stated that they enjoyed attending these classes. Interestingly, one student however, felt there was too much emphasis on spelling, and not enough on reading.

The groups were asked to discuss their spelling programme in more depth, as it seemed that this particular work was time-consuming and unstimulating. Interestingly, all of the students seemed to enjoy this part of the programme. However, when asked how often they used the new vocabulary they had practised, and the extent to which they remembered the meanings of the words, they responded that they did not use the words and forgot the meanings soon after they had been working with them. They felt spelling the words correctly might be the only benefit they would derive from the vocabulary activities.

In general the students stated that they felt happy with the amount of English they were taught at school. Some gave suggestions for how to increase the enjoyment. The following points were expressed:

- More “hands-on” activities,
- More difficult work
- Nothing more
- More games
- More time to go out and play.

5.11.5.2 Future ambitions beyond school

When asked what they would like to do when they leave school there were mixed responses. Most of the students in one group were not sure. One offered driving boats as his ambition. In the second group the responses included playing professional rugby, being a doctor, a career as a flight attendant, teaching, and driving trucks.

5.12 Description of the literacy status of students in School One.

5.12.1 Introduction

There were five literacy assessments collected from the Year 8 students in this study.

- English reading (non-fiction texts)
- English reading (fiction texts)
- Māori reading
- English writing
- Māori writing.

5.12.1.1 English Reading (non-fiction and fiction)

The New Zealand reading assessment tool, Probe (Parkin & Pool, 2002) was implemented to assess the Year 8 students' English reading levels. It is also used by many New Zealand schools to gauge the achievement of their students. There are four main advantages to using Probe. First, this resource enables a relatively accurate measure of students' reading levels in English. Second, it includes a series of accompanying comprehension questions with each text, which is useful because students of this age (12-14 years) will often read with fluency but without good comprehension. Third, this resource includes a choice of both fiction and non-fiction texts at each chronological age level. Finally, this resource is simple to implement and quick to process, with all the relevant information readily available to the teacher.

There was however an issue that arose whilst using the Probe assessment programme which caused me to add an extra research measure. When I commenced assessing the students' English reading levels using the Probe non-fiction texts, my assessments were often between six months and one year lower than the English transition teachers' most recent reading assessments. I concluded that the non-fiction texts might be more difficult to read than the equivalent fiction texts. The themes of the non-fiction texts may have been a contributing factor to this discrepancy since the topics were often unknown to the students, such as the Aztecs in Mexico, the first human fossil, and the invention of the motorcar. As a consequence, I contacted one of the authors of Probe who confirmed that feedback from teachers has shown that the reading levels of non-fiction texts are

sometimes slightly more difficult (around six months) than the corresponding fictional samples. However, the author of Probe also stated that student reading levels should be viewed as a broad band covering one year rather than a fixed point (correspondence date, 3/10/06).

However, I decided to add a fiction measure to the data gathering, and assess a small sample of students (12) using this measure. This allowed me to check whether the non-fiction and fiction texts differed in terms of difficulty.

5.12.1.1.1 The procedure for assessing reading (non-fiction and fiction texts)

Using the English transition teacher's most recent reading assessment results as a starting point, I introduced the text sample and briefly explained the background to the theme (while being careful not to reveal significant details of the text). I then asked each student to read the beginning of the text silently, after which they gave me feedback on its level of difficulty. If they thought the text was an accurate reflection of their reading achievement, they continued to read the text. If not, I lowered (or raised) the text and repeated the process.

Each student read the text twice, once silently and once to me. I taped each reading, and recorded any mistakes on the accompanying Running Record sheets (supplied with the resource). Following the second reading, I asked the students the comprehension questions that accompany each text sample. If the student showed he/she had an adequate level of comprehension and had high fluency and accuracy (at least 90 percent accuracy), I recorded this level of text as an accurate reflection of his/her reading level. If the student answered all or nearly all the questions correctly, I repeated the process using a more challenging text. Alternatively, I lowered the level of the text if it proved too demanding.

5.12.1.2 *Māori reading levels*

I gathered the Māori Immersion teachers' latest Māori reading assessments for these data. Unlike English reading assessments, Māori reading levels are not linked to chronological age, so that the English and Māori data are not directly comparable. The Māori immersion teachers use the Māori language framework *Ngā Kete Kōrero* (Ministry of Education, 1999; see also Rau, 2003) from which to grade reading material. Each broad level is described as a *kete* or traditional Māori woven flax bag. Each *kete* is named after

a Māori plant, namely harakeke, kiekie, pingao and miro. Within each kete are a number of sub levels arranged according to difficulty.

5.12.1.3 Writing assessments (English and Māori)

AsTTle (Assessment Tools for Teaching and Learning) (Hattie et al., 2004) AsTTle is an on-line educational resource for assessing literacy and numeracy (in both English and Māori) developed for the Ministry of Education by the University of Auckland. It provides information about student achievement relative to the curriculum achievement objectives for Levels 2 to 6. This range is typically achieved by students between Year 3 and Year 9.

The advantage of this resource is that teachers are able to create their own tests to cater for the needs of their students using the AsTTle software. They can then analyse the data against the curriculum levels, and compare the results with population norms (Ministry of Education, c.2004).

In using AsTTle for the purposes of this research, several issues were uncovered relating to analysing the students' writing samples. First, the content of the matrices that are used to analyse the students' work and skill level are vague and often include little variation. The difference between levels may revolve around the degree to which the skill is achieved, depicted by adjectives such as 'few', 'some', 'many' or 'most'. To make the analysis even more challenging, once teachers have established the curriculum level, they must then decide between three further levels within the curriculum level. These include either basic, proficient or advanced. This means that levelling a student's work is highly subjective, as the student's text can fall within multiple levels of the matrices, depending on how the teacher views each level.

A final criticism of this resource concerns the use of the writing matrices for analysing Māori language writing samples. These matrices are largely translations of the equivalent English matrices, and do not always relate to student progression in Māori-medium settings. Nor do they reflect the different grammatical structure of te reo Māori.

5.12.1.4 Procedure for assessing English writing samples.

A standard test was constructed using the AsTTle software. Using the narrative genre, the students were given a table with examples of types of context, characters and complications (see Appendix five). Students were required to choose one idea from each of the three categories, and then write a narrative in 40 minutes. They were also given the opportunity to complete a plan prior to writing their narratives. A further five minutes was given to complete this. The students' writing samples were then analysed using the AsTTle writing matrices and exemplars. These matrices include seven skills categories divided into deeper features (including audience, content, structure and language resources) and surface features (including grammar, punctuation and spelling).

5.12.1.5 Procedure for assessing Māori writing samples

The students were read the beginning of a picture book called Grandad's Gift (Jennings, 1994), that I had previously translated into Māori. This is a highly engaging book that includes several intriguing complications and a twist at its conclusion. I read the first part of the book (approximately 5 minutes) and stopped reading prior to a significant complication. The task for the students was to rewrite the story and then complete it. The students were given 45 minutes (including 5 minutes planning time to complete their stories). I then analysed their work, using a combination of the English and Māori matrices (and exemplars) from the AsTTle programme under the same seven categories used for the English writing samples. No assistance was provided when the students were writing this story. However, several key words that would have been unknown to the students were written on the whiteboard. These included vocabulary such as garden mulcher – mihini penupenu).

5.12.2 English reading assessments

Description of students in School One			
	Chronological Age (N=29)	Probe Reading Achievement Non-fiction (N=29)	Probe Reading Achievement Fiction (N=12)*
Mean (yrs)	13.2	12.19	12.75
Range (yrs)	12.4-14.0	9.0-15.0	12.0-14

Table 9: Age and Probe reading levels (English) for 29 students in the two classes

* A random sample of 12 of the 29 students in the classes

Table 9 shows that of the 29 Year 8 students in School One who were involved in this study, the mean reading age was 13.2 years and the range 12.4-14.0 years. The mean non-fiction reading level was 12.19 years and the range was 9.0-15.0 years. A random sample of 12 of the total 29 students was used to test the students' reading of fictional texts. The results show that the mean reading age of students reading fictional texts was 12.75 years, or 0.56 years above the results for non-fiction texts suggesting, as expected, that students found the fiction texts easier to read.

These results show the English reading levels (both non-fiction and fiction) are only slightly lower than the students' chronological ages. This is a very positive result, considering this group of students had had only four hours literacy education per week for five years (compared with students who have had at least four hours of literacy education for eight years). The higher mean scores of the non-fiction reading assessments, when compared with the fiction assessments, provide support for the argument that the students' reading levels vary according to the familiarity of what is being read.

5.12.3 Reading levels (Māori)

Ngā Kete Kōrero levels		Number (N=29)
Miro	M	4
Kete Pingao	Kpo	11*
	Kpi	9**
	Kpe	5
	Kpa	0
Kete Kiekie	KKa/KKe/KKi	0
Kete Harakeke	KHa/KHe/KHi	0

Table 10: Ngā Kete Kōrero Māori reading levels for 29 students in the two classes

*The teacher indicated that six of these 11 students were at the upper level of Kpo, and were almost moving to Miro.

** The teacher indicated that one student from Kpi, is almost ready to progress to Kpo.

With respect to reading levels in te reo Māori, Table 10 shows that all 29 students had reached a Māori reading level of at least Kpe within the range of the third kete (Pingao), with half this number of students at or above level Kpo. Miro is the highest reading level of all, and extends beyond the range of the three kete. The Miro level is reached by four of the 29 students. However, one classroom teacher indicated that six additional students of the 11, who are currently at the reading level Kpo, were also close to moving up to Miro. She indicated further that one student of the nine who was at level Kpi, was almost ready to progress to Kpo.

5.12.4 English writing

Deep features					Surface features		
	Audience awareness	Content	Structure	Language resources	Grammar	Punctuation	Spelling
Mean	3.89*	3.73	3.87	3.67	3.84	3.68	3.77
Range**	2.25-5.25	2.25-5.25	2.25-5.5	2.25-5.25	2.5-5.75	2.25-5.5	2.25-6.25

Table 11A: English writing status: AsTTle indicators for 29 students in the two classes

*These measurement units equate to between Levels 2 to 6 of the New Zealand Curriculum framework (Ministry of Education, 1993b).

**Possible maximum range 2.25-6.75

Table 11A shows the mean scores for all English writing skills categories (including deep and surface features), ranged from 3.67 to 3.87. Audience awareness (3.89) and structure (3.87) were the two categories in which the students scored highest, and which may be a reflection of the strong genre teaching focus that occurs in the English transition programme. The category in which the students scored lowest was language resources (3.69). This pattern may reflect the relatively limited amount of exposure the students had to academic English - four hours per week for only five years.

The range of scores across the language skills categories was fairly consistent. For most categories, it varied from 2.25 to around 5.25/5.5. Spelling was the only category where students exceeded this upper level (6.25), largely due to one student's very high result. The lowest scores came from a tail of five students, all of whom scored between 2.25 and 2.75. One of these students scored 2.25 for each of the seven categories. If these five students' extreme scores are eliminated, the range of scores narrows considerably, and the mean score rises from 3.78 to 4.0 across all seven categories.

Overall the levels achieved in the AsTTle English by the 29 students in the two classes were around Level 4 (of the eight levels in the curriculum guide). Level 4 is a level at which most teachers of Year 8 students would expect them to have reached.

5.12.5 Māori writing

Deep features					Surface features		
	Audience awareness	Content	Structure	Language resources	Grammar	Punctuation	Spelling
Mean	3.99*	3.88	3.85	3.87	3.92	3.62	3.76
Range**	2.75-5.25	2.75-5.25	2.75-4.75	2.5-5.25	2.75-5.25	2.75-5.25	2.75-5.25

Table 11B: Māori writing status: AsTTle indicators for 29 students in the two classes

*These measurement units equate to between Levels 2 to 6 of the New Zealand Curriculum framework (Ministry of Education, 1993b).

**Possible range: 2.25 to 6.75

Table 11B shows the Māori AsTTle writing scores. The mean score for each skill varied from 3.62 to 3.99. The highest score was for the audience awareness category (3.99), followed closely by grammar (3.92), content (3.88), language resources (3.87) and structure (3.85). Punctuation (3.62) and spelling (3.57) achieved the lowest mean scores. Overall the difference in the mean scores over the full range of categories was very slight (0.37).

If all the mean scores of the Māori AsTTle are calculated into an overall mean score, this comes to 3.84, just below 4.00 – a good result overall for the Māori results of this group of students. The range of scores across the seven Māori writing skills categories varied from 2.5 to 5.25. However, the lower level of the range was usually 2.75. This occurred in six of the language skills categories.

It was the deeper features categories that usually scored higher in this assessment (apart from the grammar category), with audience awareness, content, language resources and structure occupying four of the top five positions. The surface features categories of spelling and punctuation occupied the two lowest positions. The poorer performance of students in the surface feature categories was predictable, and was discussed by ETT1 and ETT2 in their interviews as salient areas that require considerable instructional attention. The higher scores in the deeper features categories, however, is a positive feature of this result. Gaining knowledge of the deeper features of language would be

more difficult and time-consuming to master than learning surface features, which is often a memorisation skill.

5.12.6 Comparing the AsTTle English writing results with the AsTTle Māori writing results

These English and Māori AsTTle results are very positive. However, as the design of the two writing tasks was quite different, and the assessment tool difficult to implement, some caution is required in interpretation of the outcome.

The following points contain the main findings when comparing the English AsTTle results with the Māori AsTTle results.

- The Māori writing results were slightly higher than the English results. This is predictable considering the relative exposure the students have to formal English and Māori language instruction at School One
- The audience awareness category received the highest scores in both the Māori and English assessments, and may reflect the teachers' strong instructional focus on genre analysis
- The students' knowledge of the deeper features of each language tends to occupy higher levels than their knowledge of surface features. This is a positive feature as learning deeper features is more difficult and requires a more complex level of understanding about that language
- The lower level achieved in the language resources (English) category was predictable because the students have had significantly less exposure to academic English language
- The grammar category scores are quite similar for both samples (3.92 – Māori; 3.84 - English)
- There was a difference in the scores for the content category (Māori – 3.87; English – 3.73). Again, this was predictable but it may also have been affected by the design of the assessment. The focus for the Māori sample may have been more engaging for the students, and may have lead them to write more interesting stories
- The scores for the punctuation category rated lower than other skills categories in both the English and Māori writing samples. This could be a reflection of the

students' weakness in this area. It could, alternatively, be a consequence of their neglecting to edit their work after they wrote their stories for this research.

- The results for the spelling category of the Māori assessment may not be reliable. As discussed earlier, the application of the AsTTle skills scales was very difficult, as they did not seem to reflect the development path of students learning te reo Māori as a second language. This meant that the students' spelling ability was often decided by their ability to use macrons appropriately in written Māori. As students were not told to ensure they used macrons correctly prior to writing their stories, many may also have neglected to do so.

Overall, the results for the English and Māori writing samples were quite similar, with the Māori writing achieving slightly higher scores than the English assessments. In both languages the students scored a mean level of just below Level 4 (3.78 for English and 3.84 for Māori). This is a very positive when considering that these students' education has been split between English language instruction and te reo Māori instruction, and when considering they have only had a minimal amount of formal English instruction.

The strength of these results is likely to be a reflection of the high quality-teaching programme that has been devised at School One. It may also show the extent to which language skills transfer from Māori to English is positively affecting the learning of English in this school.

5.12.7 Conclusion

The results from these literacy assessments show that the level of development of these Year 8 students' Māori and English literacy achievement is sound. The combined assessment scores show that for most of these students their reading and writing achievement are close to the indicators of age appropriate achievement (such as the curriculum levels). Therefore, at this stage in the development of these Year 8 students, they are well on their way towards achieving the goal of bilingualism and biliteracy.

One area from the results that does show itself as being slightly weaker is in the area of English language resources. This category includes the range of English vocabulary used, the use of descriptive language, sentence complexity and overall control of the story elements (dialogue, description, tension, emotion etc). This area of weakness, which may

also be reflected in their Māori language development, is not a surprise. It should be expected from these students' achievement because they have had less exposure to academic English language, and an exposure to the Māori language that has primarily centred on the school context.

5.13 School One discussion

5.14 Emerging themes from School One's case study

5.14.1 Teacher - student relationships

A significant pattern that was apparent when talking with each of the groups of participants was the depth of the relationships between the students and teachers, and the level of care and commitment the teachers have for their students. This aspect helped make School One highly successful. The Year 8 students were very positive, describing their relationships with teachers as fun and stating that they were able to “get cheeky” with them.

The importance of relationships among staff and students at School One is something that was evident at many levels. For example, teachers applying for work were carefully chosen by P1. The most important attribute he sought was a love for the students and a commitment to teach in a Māori bilingual school. These important qualities in teachers have been researched widely (see for example, Bishop, 2008; Bishop et al., 2001; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Gay, 2000; Nieto, 1999; Pang, 2001). P1 discussed what he looks for when interviewing potential candidates.

Ka whakarongo au mēnā ka rongo ahau i roto i te ia o ana kōrero, te wairua o ana kōrero, tana tino ngākau nui ki tēnei kaupapa, te mahi nei i roto i tēnei momo kura, me tana tino whakataua, he taonga kei a au, he pūkenga kei a au, hei tautoko i ngā mahi i roto i tēnei kura e pakari kē atu ai ngā tamariki. Ki te rongo au i tērā, kātahi, ka uru mai ki tēnei kura... Kāore e taea e au ki te ako i tētahi tangata kia aroha ki ōku tamariki, me haramai kē a ia me tērā i te tuatahi.

Translation.

I listen to see if I can hear amongst his words, in the spirit of his discussion, his/her love for the kaupapa, for working in this school, and [I listen to] his resolve that he/she has a special skill that will support this school in strengthening the students. I listen to that, and then they enter this school. I

cannot teach a person to love my children. They must come with that in the first place.

ETT1 observed this principle when reflecting on her own path to working at School One. She felt that this was because of her affinity with Māori, having spent her whole life living in Māori communities, and because she showed a commitment to the kaupapa (as her own children were enrolled in the school), she was offered her position. It was also obvious that she embodied an important virtue inherent in all the staff of School One, being a belief in the students' abilities and in their future prospects in the world.

The relationship theme was important in the interviews with ETT1 and ETT2. They both demonstrated that they care for their students' education and wellbeing. ETT1 provided an example of a teaching moment when she found a child who did not know what a farm was. In many teaching contexts a reality like this would cause a teacher to think of the child as having a deficit. However, for ETT1, it simply meant that she had to alter her approach to cater for this individual need.

ETT2's interview also illustrated this concept of care (Gay, 2000; Pang, 2001) and how it is portrayed in the classroom. In her explanation of the philosophy of the school she gave an example of the reciprocal nature of learning (in this case, when teaching vocabulary). She discussed the creation of the ideal student, with the complete physical, spiritual and cognitive attributes. She also discussed the idea of the students needing to know how important they are. In a similar way, the Māori immersion teachers talked about the importance of planning programmes that successfully meet the needs of the children. That includes incorporating aspects of the students' lives and interests into the classroom programme.

5.14.2 Collaboration and communication

A significant difference between School One and the other two case study schools was that it manages the students' education for the full 13 years of their compulsory schooling. This meant staff were able to plan for the students' long-term academic growth and use assessment data to provide feedback and feed forward information about the students' patterns of progress as they appeared. The decision to administer a genre-centred programme in the Year 7 and 8 classes was reached because of observations from

the secondary teachers about the senior students' weaknesses in English. Therefore, for School One, being able to manage the students' education for 13 years represented a significant advantage over the other case study schools, and increased their ability to devise programmes that met the needs of the students and the community. Essential to the success of this school was the leadership of P1, and his management of responsibilities to the board and staff.

At the management level, a high degree of collaboration was evident. School One had created systems of collaboration that allowed the teachers to monitor the programmes and maintain channels of communication between staff. DP1 described the overall structure of School One as consisting of two schools in one (primary and secondary). P1 oversaw these two sections, and delegated responsibility for the management to his Deputy Principals. Below this level, senior teachers also led clusters of junior teachers. DP1 described the dissemination of duties to the staff, and her acknowledgement of the different work they conduct.

...i kaha kē a [Principal's name] ki te akiaki i te hunga nei ki te tiaki i tētahi wāhanga o te kura, māna e tiaki, pēnei nei. He mea hei whakapakari i a rātou i roto i ā rātou mahi, pēnei nei, ko [ETT1], i āta tohua ko [ETT1] te kaiwhakahaere o te reo Pākehā, ngā mahi o te reo Pākehā i roto i te Kura Teina. Ko [teacher's name] tērā mō te Kura Tuakana. Nā reira, i roto i ngā marau nā, kua āta hoatu tēnā mahi, responsibility ki tērā tangata, ki tērā tangata, māna e tiaki. Nā reira, mō te pāngarau, mō te pūtaiao, aha rānei, nā koirā te taha o te marau. Mēnā ko ngā pouako o ia marau, ko tā rātou mahi tiaki i te pūtea o tērā marau, tiaki hoki me pēhea te tautoko i ngā kaiako i roto i tērā marau mō te pūtaiao, te pāngarau, kimi whakangungu, aha rānei, āta hoko rauemi hei tautoko i ērā o ngā mahi. Ā, koirā hoki ngā mahi kua hoatungia e [Principal's name] ki ngā kaiako.

Within this school wide structure there was also an effective system of communication that allowed for the dissemination and corroboration of information among the teachers. One committee in particular was called the Kāhui Marau (literally the curriculum group). This group are the senior teachers of each section of the school who meet to plan and discuss developments in their programmes. Through this medium, the English transition

teachers of both the primary school level and secondary school level met regularly to discuss student progress. ETT1 (English transition) described this.

The literacy programmes (both te reo Māori and English streams) maintained a parallel genre based programme where both these sections of the school taught the same genre types during the same period. This meant that when the students learned about the report genre in Māori-medium classes, they also did so in their English transition classes. An obvious advantage of this arrangement was that the students could compare the language styles and vocabulary use in their two languages – a form of contrastive linguistics, and an important principle of Cummins' Interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1978). A further positive development of teachers speaking both te reo Māori and English within the classroom could see even greater results. At this stage it has not occurred, but remains a potential untapped resource.⁶⁰

A final element of School One's collaboration concerned the level of communication between the two English transition teachers themselves. ETT2 discussed this relationship.

We share ... we plan together..., but we teach different [sic]. We plan exactly the same format and so forth with our planning, but it's just our teaching strategies are a little bit different that we will apply in class. But everything's done in pairs, so it's just [for] the consistency that we're doing the same thing...

Both teachers indicated the huge advantage this relationship had for them in terms of providing a friend and colleague with whom to collaborate and discuss aspects of planning, teaching, and assessment. This system of employing dual English transition teachers occurred because of the larger size of School One. Unfortunately for other schools in this study, this staffing level was not an option.

Finally, positive outcomes of School One maintaining this effective system of collaboration were evident in discussions with the group of Māori immersion teachers. There was a sound collective knowledge among all these staff regarding general

⁶⁰ According to the Māori immersion teachers, one English transition teacher who was employed at School One in the past taught English using a large amount of te reo Māori. From the Māori immersion teachers' perspective, she was extremely effective.

principles of Māori-medium education, appropriate educational provisions and structures within the school, and a strong commitment to the educational attainment of students. The group of Māori immersion and English transition teachers had a clear understanding of each other's approaches, both in Māori-medium and English transition classes. Both primary and secondary school teachers at School One shared these understandings.

5.14.3 Teacher knowledge of the principles of biliteracy

A theme that emerged strongly in this case study was the level of staff knowledge regarding the bilingual and biliteracy needs of students. This understanding was inherent in the interviews with the management and staff at School One. In the first place, the philosophy and guiding principle of School One alluded to the need for students to strive towards developing both languages, and to seek appropriate support to achieve that end.

Alongside this philosophical level, there was a clear English transition policy. School One implemented what they called the seven-year principle, which meant that the students were immersed in the target language (te reo Māori) for seven years (including two years at kōhanga reo – preschool) prior to the introduction of English language instruction. This ensured that the students' Māori language proficiency developed to an extent where it was not compromised by the introduction of formal English instruction. It was at this point, when the students reached Year 4, that formal English language instruction commenced for 3-4 hours per week. School One had maintained this language principle since the mid-1980s, when they sought advice from visiting scholar Bernard Spolsky. It is also a principle that finds credibility from the international literature in studies by researchers such as Ramírez (1992) and Thomas and Collier (1997, 2002). These studies find that that at least six years of target language instruction is required to stabilize the target language and academic progress. While the total number of hours of English language instruction in School One was still below the levels of many international programmes which tend to implement a sliding bilingual arrangement (García, 2009), this school had based its decision on a knowledge of the characteristics of its own community. Te reo Māori is not spoken widely in the homes, and the children who attend Māori-medium schools are usually L1 speakers of English. The literacy data presented in this research revealed that at Year 8 most of the students were approaching comparable levels of Māori and English reading and writing, close to their chronological age. This strongly suggests that the school's language policy is successful.

The staff interviewed for this research all displayed a sound knowledge of the issues around biliteracy development, and the related need for students to gain high levels of proficiency in both te reo Māori and in English. P1 and DP1 provided professional leadership and direction for the staff. They both have extensive knowledge of the research into bilingual education.

ETT1 (English transition teacher and leader), also showed a depth of understanding regarding areas such as the principles of second language learning and the unique language development path her students follow, including how communicative and academic language proficiency manifests itself among her students. She showed a sound knowledge about language learning delay, and the need for teachers and parents to be patient in their expectations for the children's language learning. ETT1 also showed a knowledge of language transfer between a child's L1 and L2, and the advantage of allowing students to speak te reo Māori if they wish (May et al., 2004).

ETT2's (the second English transition teacher) programme reflected some bilingual principles. When the students learned about narrative texts in Māori, they then learned the same theme in English. This close proximity of the subjects of the language programmes assisted the students to learn by comparing the two languages, thereby kindling the principles of Cummins' Interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1978, 2000; Cummins & Mulcahy, 1978). In her classroom programme, the themes of study closely matched the programmes of the Māori immersion teachers.

5.14.4 Genre studies

School One arranged its English transition programme by employing independent English language teachers who taught in a separate space. Therefore, the languages were separated by time, by person and by place and subject (Jacobson, 1995). DP1 described this arrangement as ensuring that the Māori language remained tapu (sacred) because, otherwise, allowing children to speak English in school can jeopardise the Māori-medium nature of the school (Lindholm-Leary, 2001).

The approach to English language instruction within the Year 4 to Year 8 classrooms began with a reading focus, followed by a growing emphasis on writing development and genre studies (see Derewianka, 1990; or Education Department of Western Australia,

1998 for details of these genre). This arrangement, with the inclusion of genre studies, was established after feedback from the secondary school teachers, who found these skills to be lacking in the students' English writing abilities when they entered the secondary school environment at Year 9. This focus on a genre approach is common in New Zealand schools (it is explicitly incorporated in the NCEA English programme), and provides many benefits for students. Further, the Year 8 students not only enjoyed the English transition programme, but their progress was also sound. The assessment results demonstrated that for most students their English reading levels were approaching their chronological age levels (see Table 9 in the last section). Their Māori reading levels were either close to approaching fluency levels or were already there (see Table 10), and the writing assessments (both English and Māori) showed an attainment level of just below Level 4, a level most teachers of year 8 children would be happy for their students to reach (see Tables 11A and 11B).

As discussed above, the focus of the Year 8 programme on genre studies had successfully assisted in strengthening the students' knowledge of how typical texts are structured, and their elements. However, there may be a limitation in using an approach predominantly based on genre studies. Adopting a solely genre approach could limit the students' exposure to the richness of English language literature that they may need beyond the examination-focused secondary school. Genre structure, as espoused in many textbooks, is often not how real language is used, so a formulaic approach to teaching literacy can result, such that students can become tethered to a simple construction that is only one way of viewing language use. Important supplementary approaches to genre studies could include analysing the functions of the writing and the audience for whom the writing is created. These two important elements provide the student writer with the additional information on what content each text type should incorporate. Rather than genre study being the sole focus of the Year 8 programme, it may be advantageous for genre studies to be supplemented with the inclusion of other literacy elements.

5.14.4.1 A narrow perception of English literacy

The discussion on genre in the last section highlights another related issue concerning teachers' perceptions of language needs, which view the most important English language skills as surface features, including spelling and punctuation. A disproportionate amount of time can be spent attempting to strengthen these more obvious yet less vital language

elements. It was clear from interviews with ETT2 (English transition) and the Māori immersion teachers that they felt these are the most important skills that the students require because they are weak in these areas. However, the wider literature on bilingual education would contend that while study about surface features is important, this needs to be balanced with other language skills instruction (Smith & Elley, 1997).

Spelling is a skill that ETT2's programme focussed on for a significant period each week. Activities she incorporated included the memorisation of spelling lists and other associated activities,⁶¹ and were designed to increase the students' understanding of how English works. During one day when I was gathering data for this research, I witnessed three consecutive lessons where the students were required to discuss and memorize decontextualised vocabulary (in Māori and in English) as the single focus for the lesson.

This approach to teaching vocabulary does not necessarily lead to significant long term attainment benefits (Glynn, Weamouth, & Berryman, 2006; Smith & Elley, 1997; Templeton & Morris, 1999). Interestingly, when the Year 8 students were interviewed, they voiced satisfaction with this method of teaching language. However, they also stated that this type of work is of little benefit to them because they soon forget the words and do not use them in their subsequent writing.

There is no doubt that the surface features of language are important for these students to learn. However, there also needs to be a thrust towards rapidly increasing the breadth and depth of the students' knowledge about academic English language through contextualised language study. Increasing the time students are exposed to reading could be one potential avenue for achieving this end. This was the perception of one of the Year 8 students who was interviewed.

5.14.4.2 Oral language

In learning language, the development of the three skills of oral, written and reading are all equally important. In fact, attention to oral language development is often viewed as the first step, or at least a central element in learning the intricacies of a language. The

⁶¹ These include writing definitions and sentences using spelling lists, unscrambling letters, Chunk Check Cheer, and creating new words from larger words.

absence of any oral language instruction in English transition instruction at School One was one very surprising finding. The English transition teachers were aware of this and were taking professional development on the subject as this research project was being conducted. Just as oral language in Māori is an important element in Māori-medium classrooms, it should also feature more prominently in English transition classes. Its absence in School One is likely to be the same in most Māori-medium schools around the country, and could be evidence of a continued misconception about automatic language transfer - that because most Māori-medium students grow up speaking English as their first language, they do not require any special educational provision to further strengthen it. This is not the case, as discussed previously in relation to wider educational research on this topic.

5.14.4.3 *Language transfer*

Like most Māori-medium schools, School One went to some lengths to isolate the teaching of English from the teaching of te reo Māori. While this policy is sound (Lindholm-Leary, 2001), there is also an argument for the benefits of students being able to utilise their knowledge of te reo Māori to assist them in the English transition classes (see 1.10 for discussion on biliteracy and language skills transfer). In fact, some closer corroboration between the programmes could allow students to build on one language to assist in the learning of the second. In order to enable this to occur, the English transition teachers would need to strengthen their abilities to speak te reo Māori. This is achievable over the medium to longer term.

5.14.5 Parental perceptions

There are three important themes regarding parents that arise from this research in School One. These include parents' commitment to the school, their knowledge about their children's academic achievement patterns, and the academic support parents provide their children at home.

5.14.5.1 *Whānau (family) commitment*

School One worked hard to educate the whānau about the expectations of the school, and how whānau can support their children at home with their schoolwork and general development. DP1 discussed this process when interviewed. The high percentage of

students spending two or more years at Māori preschool before entering School One is evidence that these whānau have thought carefully about the type of education they desire for their children, well before the children reach school age. This is very positive. At the management level also, the high level of whānau representation on the Rūnanga (governing board) of the school was testament to this level of support for the education provisions at the school. There were 22 members on the board (most schools have between four and seven members). This level of whānau support assists in the successful functioning of the school. It is also largely reflective of the significant work and commitment of P1, the Deputy Principals and staff over the years, to engage with and collaborate with whānau.

5.14.5.2 Whānau knowledge about their children's academic achievement patterns

While the level of whānau commitment at School One is extremely positive, there still seemed to be a lack of whānau knowledge about what to expect in the students' language growth, particularly around English language development. The two English transition teachers, and DP1, discussed the need to educate parents about the speed of language growth and patterns of language development of both te reo Māori and English. However, there was an inclination by parents to hold similar expectations for their children's English literacy growth, despite the lower number of English instructional hours. ETT2 indicated that some parents divided their children between schools (one in English-medium and one in Māori-medium), and sometimes had unrealistic expectations of the growth patterns of the two languages. Fortunately, both of the English transition teachers were aware of the need to educate the parents on these matters, and were both knowledgeable about the developmental path children in Māori-medium schools follow. They were therefore able to allay the somewhat predicable whānau anxiety when parents were not fully knowledgeable.

5.14.5.3 Literacy support at home.

In School One, as in most Māori-medium contexts, there were two related issues regarding parental support at home that the school must negotiate. First, as most Māori parents were L1 English speakers, they were less able to support their children's Māori language development at home. In this situation, the school can become an island where parents send their children to be educated within a Māori-medium context. This situation

therefore can create barriers, and could affect relationships between home and school, and importantly, the level of te reo Māori development attained by students. Overcoming these barriers is an ongoing challenge for Māori-medium schools.

Exacerbating this is the level of economic stress experienced by many Māori whānau. The School One community was largely low socio-economic, with many whānau having low levels of formal education. As a consequence, their homes are unlikely to have many books or to have solid traditions of reading for pleasure. The interviews with the Year 8 students showed this phenomenon. Very few of them reported reading for enjoyment. The Bible was the only reading that several of these students occasionally pursued in their homes. Instead, these Year 8 students reported that in their own time they were more likely to watch television, eat, sleep or play sports, than to read for pleasure.

This pattern of whānau being able to provide only limited support for L1 and L2 learning in the New Zealand context is somewhat different from what is found in bilingual programmes in international contexts. Parents in many overseas programmes are either native speakers of the target language (such as Spanish bilingual programmes in USA), or are from middle-class families who are familiar with school processes, and can support the literacy developments at home (such as Canadian-French immersion and many Welsh bilingual programmes). Students within these programmes are more likely to receive greater levels of support at home in the development of their L1, L2 or both. This is why the task of teaching students in Māori-medium programmes is more complex, requiring context-specific solutions (Goldenberg, Rueda, & August, 2008). Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand have the simultaneous challenges of both revitalising their language, which was nearly lost, as well as ensuring their children acquire bilingual and biliterate competencies.

The issue of reading patterns at home is highlighted here to raise awareness of the importance of oral language, in addition to reading and writing, as an important means of extending a person's language competence, including their vocabulary knowledge. For students such as these Year 8 students, whose academic English language instruction was delayed until they were around eight years of age, their base knowledge of academic language was still in its infancy. This area required a great deal of teaching input, and it needed to occur through a range of means – particularly through additional attention to speaking, as well as reading and writing.

5.14.6 Assessment practices

English language assessment was an area where the English transition teachers of School One were well supported. For every segment of the classroom language programmes (excluding oral language) an assessment method was implemented for a number of available assessment tools, especially for reading, writing and spelling assessments. However, the issue remains as to how English transition teachers manage assessment when they have a limited number of student contact hours each week. With only four precious hours available for English transition instruction each week, there was not the time to spend assessing every dimension of language on a regular basis. These teachers (ETT1 and ETT2) had devised two strategies to accommodate this issue. First, they were sometimes able to retain their students during alternative times outside of English transition class time, to allow them to complete the necessary assessments. Second, they streamlined their assessment practices by reducing the number of times they assess students. They tended to assess the students' language ability early in the year, and subsequently provided follow-up assessments solely for the students who were found to be struggling. This approach appeared beneficial, provided the English transition teachers were able to gather enough information on the more able students to inform themselves and whānau of these students' attainment. This is an area that requires on-going monitoring and research.

6 Chapter Six: Case study two

6.1 Introduction

School Two is a kura kaupapa Māori. As such, it is a state-funded, Level 1 Māori-medium school that educates the students from Year 1 to Year 8 through a Māori (language and culture) focused programme.⁶² A Decile One school, School Two is situated on the outskirts of a small, predominantly Māori town with a population of around 5000 people. It is also the only Māori-medium programme in the community. Once the students graduate from this school, they will either attend a Māori-medium secondary school in a neighbouring town, or alternatively, the English-medium high school in the School Two community. School Two employed seven teachers (including English transition teacher three), and had a roll of 100 students.

When this study was conducted, the English transition programme at School Two was at the end of its first year of experimenting with a new design of employing a separate English transition teacher to teach English transition, commencing from Year 6 to Year 8. Previously, English instruction commenced at Year 7 and used an existing immersion teacher (or Principal 2). This meant that the Year 8 students involved in this study had been exposed to less than two years of English instruction, rather than three, as would occur with subsequent students. English transition teacher three (ETT3) was also new to teaching English transition and was experimenting with her approach. It could therefore be predicted that the Year 8 students' English literacy results from this study would rise for subsequent student cohort groups as the programme continues to develop.

Students at School Two were exposed to between 3.5 and 4.5 hours of English instruction each week (Year 8 students receive the higher amount), divided into daily morning and afternoon classes. The morning classes focused on general language skills building (including investigating grammar and spelling rules). The afternoon classes, by contrast, were designed as extension classes, and involved selected groups with similar needs. These lessons had a strong reading emphasis.

⁶² Level 1 programmes deliver 81-100 percent of instruction through te reo Māori.

6.2 School Two participants in the research

The key participants from School Two included the Principal (P2), the Deputy Principal (DP2), the English transition teacher (ETT3), four Māori immersion teachers (MIT5/6/7/8), and six Year 8 students (not individually identified).

6.2.1.1 *Principal 2 (P2) and Deputy Principal 2 (DP2)*

P2 is from the school's tribal region, having taught there for over 20 years. He also taught in School Two and in the neighbouring secondary school before he became the Principal at School Two. He is a highly fluent speaker of te reo Māori and has both a Bachelor of Education degree and a Master of Applied linguistics degree.

DP2 is from another iwi, but has taught at School One for 15 years. She is a highly proficient speaker of te reo Māori, who has a Bachelor of Education qualification. Soon after this project she studied towards a specialist second language teaching qualification.

6.2.1.2 *English transition teacher three (ETT3)*

ETT3 is a Māori teacher from the School Two tribal region. She had six years teaching experience and had worked at School Two for only one year when this research was conducted. Prior to working there, ETT3 worked in a low decile English-medium school teaching general classes, and coordinating the ICT programme. She was the only English transition teacher at School Two.

6.2.1.3 *Four Māori immersion teachers (MIT)*

Four Māori immersion teachers, all of them Māori, were interviewed in this project. Their teaching experience ranged from one beginning teacher to one teacher with 12 years experience. Three of the four MITs had a Bachelor of Education teaching qualification (while the fourth had a teaching diploma); three of the four teachers were also second language speakers of Māori.

6.2.1.4 *Year 8 students (6)*

Six Year 8 students were interviewed at School Two. They were from a range of tribal backgrounds (including the local iwi). All of these students had spent a total of eight

years of their primary level schooling in a Level 1 bilingual programme. They had all also been attending this school since they were new entrants at five years of age, having attended kōhanga reo prior to entering School Two.

This chapter includes six main sections.

- A history of the school, its organisation, and the background to the English transition programme, as discussed by P2
- English Transition teacher three's (ETT3) background and approach to teaching English transition
- The attitudes of the immersion teachers regarding English transition instruction at School Two
- The attitudes of the Year 8 students towards learning English and te reo Māori at School Two
- The results of the English and Māori literacy assessments that were conducted on the Year 8 students of School Two
- A discussion of the main findings from the case study of School Two.

6.3 History

School Two was opened in 1965 as an English-medium primary school, and was called Number Three School (presumably because it was the third primary school operating in the township). The first governing Board changed this name to something with more community relevance, and School Two then operated for the next 16 years as an English-medium school servicing the local community. In 1981, within a national context of increasing support for Māori language revitalisation, and with School Two's close proximity to a significant tribal marae, the then Principal raised the idea with the community of the school becoming bilingual. This occurred in 1987, followed by a further change to becoming a kura kaupapa Māori (state-funded Māori-medium school) in 1992. School Two has remained a kura kaupapa Māori since that time.

6.4 Philosophy

In the early days of School Two's history, a waiata (song) was written by a local member of the community to embrace its philosophy. The waiata, which was called Kia kaha katoa e, highlights the importance of Māori and Pākehā living together harmoniously. P2 explained:

Tērā tētahi wahine a [name], nāna i hanga tētahi waiata mō te kura, nāna anō i hanga tētahi kōrero mō te kura, Kia kaha katoa e, i runga anō i te whakaaro o tēnā wā, kia noho tahi te Māori me te Pākehā. Me mahi ngātahi te Māori me te Pākehā, Pākehā me te Māori. Koinā te kōrero o te kura nei.

While this statement still serves to inspire the school, the interpretation has altered to incorporate School Two's central aim of nurturing the Māori language.

Heoi anō, kua āhua huri tēnā kia whakapakari ake, kia whakaorangia ake, kia tautokohia atu te reo Māori, kia ora ai, kia kōrero ai. Koinā te take o te tāhuritanga atu ki te kura kaupapa Māori.

Central to this aspiration is for the students to learn te reo Māori and the culture of the local iwi (tribe). A commitment to the marae is a central feature of School Two.

He wāhanga tūturu [mātou] o [names their marae]. Ko te katoa o ngā tamariki o tēnei kura he piringa anō ki te marae o [names marae]. Nā reira he pononga mātou - rātou katoa, [ki] tēnei taonga te [names tribe].

When asked how this commitment is achieved by School Two, P2 discussed supporting local celebrations, their location close to their marae, the school's hosting of visitors sent from the marae, and senior students going to work at the marae.

I ētahi wā, haere ki te marae - tautoko ana i ngā pōwhiri he aha rānei. Ā, i ētahi wā ka tukuna e te marae ētahi manuwhiri i kōnei, mā te kura anō e tiaki, e manaaki. Ngā rā o te [names a tribal celebration]... haere ake ngā tamariki pakeke ki te marae mahi ai. Ētahi o ngā whānau, haere ki reira mahi atu. Ko ētahi o ngā kaiako, ngā pakeke o te kura nei, ka ngaro atu ki reira - tutukihia ngā hiahia...

According to P2, the importance of the children learning te reo Māori is central to the school's aim, more so than the learning of English. Another important aim for School Two is to produce graduates who will prosper in the world outside the Māori immersion school. This includes their becoming skilled in both te reo Māori and English. The success in both languages was an aspiration of most Māori people for their children. P1 explained this Māori emphasis.

Me Māori - āe, heoi anō, e arotahi ana ki te reo Pākehā, kia mōhio mai ngā tamariki ki te reo Pākehā, ngā mea e rua. Nā te mea, kei waho o te kura nei te mea whai mahi.

P2 was asked about the graduate profile of students he wished School Two to produce. His response showed that they have high expectations of a broad range of aims for students, including educational, cultural, tribal history, language, and aims concerning behavioural principles, such as respect for their elders.

Ki a au nei, kia ara atu ki ngā kōrero o te [tribe], kia tautoko i ngā mahi ki runga i te marae, kia mōhio ia ki ētehi o ngā mahi kia mahia e ngā tamariki ki runga i te marae, kia mōhio ia ki te noho ki te whakarongo atu ki ngā kaumātua e kōrero ana, kia mātaki atu i a rātou e mahi ana. Koinā ngā mea. Kia mātau ia ki te reo Māori. Anā, tua atu o tēnā, kia mātau hoki ia ki te reo Pākehā, kia mātau ki ngā marautanga katoa, ā, hoki ana ki ērā mea o mua noa atu, ngā kōrero mō te three Rs reading writing, arithmetic. Kite atu ana ngā tāngata i te tamaiti rā, ka kite mai ana mahi, ka kite rātou, he tamaiti pai tērā, kua mōhio te tamaiti rā ki tōna whakapapa, ki ana mahi ki runga i te marae, ā, ko tērā me te mātauranga o te ao nei.

In light of his last response, P2 was asked his opinion regarding the school being an instrument for revitalising te reo Māori, as distinct from being centrally concerned with producing bilingual children. He responded that both are equally important. He discussed these two objectives.

Ki a au nei, kia ora ai te reo, kia kōrero ai te reo ngā tamariki nei, ā, me te reo Pākehā kia rite nei. Kia rite nei te kaha o te reo, te kaha o te mōhio ki te reo Māori ki tā te reo Pākehā. Āe, kāore au e kite i te rerekētanga. Engari, ko tāku, kia mōhio mai ngā tamariki katoa ki ngā reo e rua ka puta atu i te kura nei

From this response it is clear that a sound knowledge of both languages is important to this school within its wider social objective of Māori language revitalisation.

6.5 School organization

P2 explained how the school is organised. He stated that during the 1990s, the school was divided into four whānau (family) groupings, each named after a native tree. Each class incorporated two-year composite groupings of students. At the time of this research the classes were termed paerewa and were numbered according to their level. In this way, the students were still grouped according to their ages, but with less emphasis on whānau groupings.

6.6 Staff

There were seven teachers working at School Two, all certificated and most possessing a teaching degree. Their levels of teaching experience ranged from two first-year teachers, to teachers with at least 13 years of teaching experience. P2 and DP2 had 13 and eight years experience respectively, and had both gained additional qualifications in second language pedagogies. The English transition teacher had been teaching for six years, but for only one as an English transition teacher. At the time of this research project, she was enrolled in a diploma in second language learning/teaching. All of the teachers of School Two were second language speakers of te reo Māori.

6.7 Community and the students

According to P2, most families whose children attended School Two were poor, spoke English at home, and lacked formal educational qualifications. Despite this context, the families had strong aspirations for their children to achieve well, and learn both te reo Māori and English.

P2 described three groups of parents who sent their children to School Two. Group one, he called the “movers and the shakers”, who provide the most support for the school. Group two, he called the “fence sitters”, whose support fluctuates. The third group of

parents send their children to School Two, he believes, because their houses bordered the school. He explained characteristics of these three groups.

6.7.1.1 *The movers and the shakers*

..ko te hunga mātua e ngoikore ana tō rātou nei mōhio ki te reo [Māori], heoi anō, ko te hiahia, ko te wawatā tino nui, kia mōhio mai ā rātou nei tamariki ki te reo Māori, kua tukua mai, ā, ko rātou ngā “movers and shakers”, ko rātou ngā mea tino tautoko ana I te kura me ana mahi.

6.7.1.2 *Fence sitters*

... mēnā he raru kei te kura nei, ka tuku atu [ngā tamariki] ki ngā kura [kei] tērā atu taha o te awa. Mēnā e pai ana te kura nei pēnā i te kapa haka...āe, noho taiapa...I ētahi wā, e pai ana te haere o te kura kāore e kite [i a rātou]. He raru kei te kura ka kite ai, ne...

6.7.1.3 *Families whose properties border the school*

Ko tētahi rōpū paku noa iho nei, nā tō rātou noho pātata mai ki te kura, ka tukua mai ngā tamariki, ...ka tukua nā te mea koinei te kura tata atu

P2 described the support that whānau (families) provide School Two as being mixed. It primarily occurred through the movers and shakers parent group, and was limited to assisting fund-raising efforts. The educational matters of School Two attracted little input from parents. According to P2, even the movers and shakers parent group did not feel confident enough to assist, giving sole responsibility to the teachers to look after this area.

Ērā atu o ngā mātua - te wā e tū ana tētahi cake stall, hāngī, mini gala, aha rānei, kei kōnei katoa [ngā mātua], tino mīharo ana au ki a rātou, ki tā rātou nei tautoko. Heoi anō, ka karanga atu tētahi hui kia matapakihia te charter, he curriculum statements rānei, e torutoru noa iho ngā tangata e haramai ana. Ka tuohu mai te māhunga ki a mātou ngā kaiako, “kei te mōhio mai koutou ngā kaiako, mā koutou e whakatakoto, mā koutou e ārahi.”

P2 described the fence sitters group as lacking knowledge about Māori-medium education, and therefore having little commitment to it.

...kāore anō kia tau ki a rātou, he ōranga tō te reo Māori, he tino huarahi tēnā, te reo Māori ki te ao Māori, kāore anō kia convinced rātou, kāore anō kia tau tērā ki a rātou, ki a au nei.

The families who live close to school (Group three) are seldom seen at School Two, according to P2, particularly at parent-teacher interviews when they are most needed by the teachers.

... tae mai ki tā mātou nei student-parent interviews i te marama o Pipiri, ko rātou te hunga ngoikore ana ki te haramai. Ko rātou te hunga e pirangi ana mātou kia tino kite, engari, ko rātou te hunga e ngoikore ki te haramai.

Despite the limitations of the parental support at School Two, P2 believed that these issues were not insurmountable, and that the school should be able to attend to what the homes do not provide.

Ehara i te mea hei karawhiu te whakapae ki runga i ngā mātua. Mā te kura anō e kimi he huarahi, mā te kura anō e kimi te huarahi kia tōngia mai ngā mātua ki ngā kaupapa o te kura nei, kia mārāma ai. Āe, he take nui, he take pai mō a rātou nei tamariki. Mēnā, ka haramai ki te kura ia rangi, ia rangi, kia akongia ngā tamariki te pāngarau, te tuhi, te pānui...

School Two has an enrolment policy requiring the students to have previously attended a kōhanga reo (Māori-medium preschool). Nevertheless, according to P2, the students arrive at School Two with a wide range of te reo Māori proficiency levels.

I ētahi wā, puta mai i konā tētahi o ngā ture o te kura nei, mēnā pīrangi te uru mai, me uru mai i te kōhanga reo. Heoi anō, te āhua nei...he pai ētahi [kōhanga reo], kāore i te tino pai ētahi atu, nā runga i te rongō atu i ngā tamariki pakupaku e kōrero ana.

However, it was these youngest students who are the most eager to speak te reo Māori at school, while the older students tended to prefer to speak English.

Nā, tua atu o tērā, ko ngā tamariki pakupaku ngā mea kaha i roto i te kura nei, i ngā tau maha nei, ko rātou te hunga kaha ki te kōrero i te reo Māori, ahakoa he hapa o roto, kōrero tonu ana i te reo Māori. Ā, tae atu ki ngā tau tuawaru, kua

huri. Ko te reo Pākehā te reo e kawea ana i ngā whakaaro... Nā reira, tīmata mai i konā, ngā tau tuatahi, e pai ana te whakarongo atu ki a rātou e kōrero ana. Kaha ana rātou ki te kōrero mō ngā āhuatanga i roto i te rūma, haere tonu atu ki te tau tuawhā pea... ko te reo Pākehā tō rātou reo tuatahi i roto i te rūma...

P2 thought that the older students favoured speaking English rather than te reo Māori because of the influence of the outside world, such as television, their friends, and their English language saturated homes.⁶³

6.8 Secondary school

Once the graduates completed their eighth year at School Two, they progressed to one of a range of options available to them in either Māori-medium secondary schools or English-medium secondary schools. Most attended one of two Māori-medium secondary schools in neighbouring towns. Others followed family tradition and enrolled in either single gender or English-medium secondary schools. Most families chose to continue attending a Māori-medium school.

6.9 The English transition programme

In the mid 1990s, a basic form of English transition education based solely on reading began operating in School Two. During these early years the commencement of English classes ranged from beginning at Year 5 to Year 7. More recently, School Two had experimented with utilising the students' Māori immersion classroom teacher to teach both English and te reo Māori. This strategy was not successful. It led to the students speaking English during times te reo Māori was timetabled. School Two then decided to

⁶³ Principal Two discussed the issue of Year 4 being a threshold where students began to revert to speaking English rather than te reo Māori. I have also witnessed this when teaching Year 4 students. Cummins et.al. (2007, p.53) discusses the “fourth-grade slump”, a phenomenon the reading progress of low-income students slows as the academic language in classes becomes more challenging. This phenomenon Principal Two discusses may relate to this slump.

employ a separate English transition teacher (one year prior to this research) and confine the English language teaching to a separate classroom. This arrangement seemed to be working well compared with previous years, according to P2.

I ērā tau katoa kāore i tau pai āwhea tīmata mai, mā wai e kawē tērā [kaupapa] - ērā momo whakaaro katoa. Heoi anō, i tēnei tau, i whakaritea mā te kaiako Pākehā e kawē te reo Pākehā.

English language instruction commenced at Year 6. The Years 6, 7 and 8 students attended English transition classes every day. This time was divided between morning and afternoon lessons. The morning classes offered a more general English lesson and include a single age group of students, while the afternoon lessons were special purpose in nature, gathering smaller groups for either extension work, or in order to focus on strengthening identified student weaknesses. DP2 explained the basis for the afternoon sessions.

I ngā ahiahi hoki, ka tīpakohia e [teacher's name] he rōpū, inā he rōpū hei whakapakari, inā he rōpū hei whakaoho ake. Māna e whakahaere aua rōpū iti i ngā ahiahi.

School Two strategically timetabled a morning lesson because, according to P2, they felt that this is the time when the students' minds were most active and they learned the greatest quantity. This showed the importance English transition education was given in the School Two programme.

According to P2, the English transition teacher had complete control of the content she taught. However, she attempted to align the writing genre themes to those studied in the Māori immersion classrooms. P2 felt that it was the "surface" features of the English language, such as spelling, grammar and punctuation that required the most input. He stated:

E mōhio ana mātou, ko te spelling me te punctuation me te grammar ka raru ngā tamariki ki reira. Nā reira, mā te kaiako rā e whakatikatika haere tērā. Tua atu o ngā mea i runga i te karewa o te moana, me kī, kia rukuhia kia kite he aha te whakaaro o te kaituhi, ērā mōmō mea, te genre... Engari, ko ngā surface features

- koinā, whakatikangia wēnā, kia rata pai ngā tamariki ki te reo Pākehā me te reo Māori.

He was also aware that there was a need to develop the deeper features in writing. This included studying the author's voice, perspective and the structure of writing.

Tirohia tēnei kaituhi rongonui nei, he aha tana voice, he aha tana bias? Ērā momo mea katoa. He aha te hanga? Nā, i mua i tēnā, he aha te hanga o tēnei mea te narrative? He aha te hanga o tēnei mea persuasive argument? – ērā mea katoa.

The English transition teacher was also expected to weave local topics of study into her learning programme.

I ētahi wā, te wā o te [names a tribal celebration] nei, koinā te kaupapa i āta tirohia i ērā wiki, ā, koinā hoki tāna. Koinā taku hiahia i taua wā rā, ka tirohia atu ngā kaupapa o te [celebration] i roto i te reo Pākehā rā.

Apart from improvement in spelling and punctuation, vocabulary development was identified by P2 as important and requiring specific attention.

...ko tētahi o ngā tino mahi mā te kaiako kia whakanuihia ake ngā kupu e mōhio ana, me ngā rerenga kōrero e mōhio ana ngā tamariki. Nā, e haere tahi ana tērā me te kaupapa e rapuhia ana. Ko ngā kupu, kia haere tahi me ngā whakaaro o te kaupapa e rapua ana.

In general, P2 felt that the English transition programme was progressing well when compared with earlier years. However, as it was the first year a specialist English transition teacher had been employed, he felt it would take some time before the school's assessment data would show a level of success of its English transition programme.

He pai ake i te kaupapa ako Ingarihi i ngā tau o mua. He pai ake kia noho motuhake ia me tana rūma, he mea tapu tērā rūma mō te reo Pākehā, ēnei rūma i kōnei. Nā, he tapu mō te reo Māori.

6.10 Pursuit of bilingualism and biliteracy

P2 was asked if he thought his students were reaching the stage of development where they are both bilingual and biliterate. He felt that while the effects of the new arrangements are yet to be seen, the assessment data from past years had been very positive compared with the attainment of Māori students in English-medium settings.

...hoki ana ki ngā kitenga o ngā tau o mua, he torutoru noa iho ngā tamariki kei raro iho i te taiapa - te bar. Ko te tamaiti tekau mā rua tau, e rite ana tōna kaha reo Māori ki tōna kaha reo Pākehā, haunga te spelling me te grammar. Koinā ngā mea ngāwari nei kei te kite. Engari, he on a par with or better than their cohorts, tētahi kura auraki. Heoi anō, kei raro iho ētahi, kei tōmuri rawa.

P2 reported that he has received positive feedback on the students' achievement from teachers at the local English-medium secondary school, and from Māori-medium secondary schools. He discussed feedback from the lead teacher of the English department of the English-medium school.

...ko tana anecdotal comment ki a au nei i tērā wā, ā, he pai ngā tamariki o [names School Two] ki te ako i te reo Pākehā, ahakoa te spelling, grammar, punctuation. Nā te mea, e mōhio ana rātou me pēwhea te whakahaere o te reo. They know how language works. Nā tō rātou nei noho ki konei, ko te reo Pākehā te reo whakaako, ā, he tere ake rātou i ērā atu tamariki ki te kapo i te reo tuarua.

P2 was asked why he thought the graduates of School Two were successful when they attend other schools. He was not exactly sure. However, he thought the focus of classroom programmes on explanations and understandings of proverbs and sayings helped develop the students' thinking skills. He also felt that language skills transfer between the students' two languages was operating.

...he kitenga noa iho, tae atu ki reira [secondary school... ko ngā mea [students] o [School Two] nei ka tae atu ki reira, i roto i te reo Māori e pēnei ana te kōrero, i roto i te reo Pākehā e pēnei ana te kōrero, tere rawa te mau.

P2 showed a clear understanding of the nature of the students' first and second language learning development, and how students often experienced difficulty when they attempted to transfer grammar rules from their first language to their second language.

... ko tā rātou nei reo tuatahi ko te reo Pākehā. Ko tā rātou nei reo mother language ko te reo Māori. Engari, ko te reo Māori te reo tuarua. I ētahi wā e whakararu ana te reo Pākehā, te reo tuatahi, i te reo Māori. Anā, kua rongu koe ki ērā momo hapa, he aha tēnā mō, ā, ka taea to pene rākau ...

However, he also felt that language transfer had positive benefits.

Ā, ko tā mātou whakapono, mēnā e mōhio ana te tamaiti ki te pānui, ki te tuhi, ki te kōrero, ki te whakarongo i te reo Māori, he māmā noa iho te whakawhiti atu ki te reo Pākehā, nā te mea, kei waho atu i te kura te reo Pākehā, kei te kāinga te reo Pākehā e ora ana. Kei runga i te pouaka whakaata te reo Māori...

P2 showed an understanding of the positive benefits of language skills transfer, and is committed to developing the students' English proficiency. He also showed an understanding of the differences between language learning and language acquisition (see Delpit, 1995; Krashen, 1988), and thus the need for formal English language instruction to secure language learning. He explained the difference between language acquisition and language learning thus:

He ...rerekē anō te [language] acquisition to the language learning...I te wā e ora ana te tini, te mano o ngā mea Māori e kōrero ana i te reo Māori, he acquisition tērā. Kāre e rite ana, kāre e pērā ana i kōnei. Pakupaku noa iho ngā tamariki e mōhio ana ki te reo Māori, e kōrero ana i te reo Māori i ngā wā katoa

P2 also felt that English language skills in the wider community were weak, so there was a challenge for the school to teach what was lacking in the community – the academic dimensions/aspects of the English language.

6.11 Case study English transition teacher three (ETT3)

6.11.1 Growing up

ETT3 is from a multicultural family. Her mother is Australian aboriginal and her father is Māori. She is married to a man of Samoan descent and has three children. ETT3's mother grew up in Australia. She was one of the stolen generation of children who were taken from their parents, and adopted into white Australian families (Haebich, 2000). As an adult, ETT3's mother trained and worked as a teacher and moved to Aotearoa/New Zealand. ETT3's father was of Tainui descent. He was brought up by his grandparents but left school after Standard 2 (eight years of age), and later pursued a career in the army. ETT3 described her father as “tūturu Māori” [real or genuine Māori]. His perception, according to ETT3, was as follows.

“That’s [school] not going to teach me anything, I need to be back on the marae.” And before he got quite sick his whaikōrero [speeches] ... he was just a beautiful orator, that was Dad ... and very strong you know. Like he died talking about the Kīngitanga [the king movement].

With her father working in the armed forces, ETT3's childhood life (she described herself as an ‘army brat’) revolved around army bases around Aotearoa/New Zealand. She spent the latter part of her school years living in Tokoroa, and two years living in Japan with her family.

Following secondary school, ETT3 began a university degree, but during her first year of study her father passed away. She failed her papers and dropped out of university. She did not return for another seven years, during which time she had her first child.

After seven years of bringing up her daughter, ETT3 decided she needed to change her lifestyle and pursue a career that would allow herself to spend as much time as possible with her daughter. She chose teaching.

...[After] seven years of solo mum, DPB [Domestic Purposes Benefit – welfare benefit], I thought no, that’s not going to happen, I need to find all the time that I can with my one child at the time, so I decided to become a teacher and ...

haven't really looked back. I mean, I love teaching anyway, and with Mum being a teacher, back then, [when] you were sick, you went to her room, you didn't stay home. You went and lay on the mattress at the back... in the library corner! So, I decided, yeah, teaching's the job for me...

6.11.2 Lead up to a teaching career

ETT3 completed a Bachelor of Arts degree followed by a one-year graduate diploma of teaching. She graduated at the end of 1998, but instead of immediately commencing teaching, she chose to stay at home to be a mum.

I was going to be a teacher, the same year. Then I thought, no, I really just want to be a mum. So I gave it away for two years, didn't even think about it, [I] moved to Wellington, came back to [town's name] and secured a position at [name of school] Primary School ... worked there for five years ... Year 4, 5 and 6 and then basically got head-hunted into this position.

ETT3 had been teaching for a total of six years when this research commenced, and had been the English transition teacher at School Two for one year. She was also completing a diploma in second language teaching.

6.11.3 Why ETT3 is the English transition teacher

ETT3 first heard about the English transition teaching position at School Two when the assistant Principal and personal friend approached her. School Two was searching for a replacement English transition teacher at the time, and ETT3 was encouraged to apply.

She... knew that I lived in [mentions home town], and just kept ringing.
“There's a job coming up in your English department?”

“Okay, sweet.”

“Do you want it?”

“No” ... You know, the next day,

“Have you applied for that job yet?”

“What job are you talking about?”

“The English one, I’m dropping some papers off tonight. Fill them in I’ll pick them up in the morning. Have you got your CV done? Well you better hurry up and get it finished because I need to take that in by Friday” ... You know, all of this sort of stuff...

With ETT3’s daughter about to turn five years of age and start school in a neighbouring town, the opportunity to take this English transition job and keep her daughter in a nearby school was attractive to ETT3. She was interviewed, and accepted the teaching position.

ETT3 enjoyed the new challenge that this English transition position provided. She felt that she was becoming too comfortable in her previous position and needed another challenge. In respect to working at School Two, ETT3 still had reservations about how long she would stay. Spending a long time as an English transition teacher could be disadvantageous when she returns to an English-medium school environment.

I cannot stay here too long because I’m going to be unemployable when I move on. You know, that was my own thinking. Whereas right now, it’s like ... well, who wouldn’t want me you know.

ETT3 felt uncertain about how successful she was as the English transition teacher of School Two. This made her feel uneasy about her performance.

I don’t actually know what’s prepared me for this job. I think ... I don’t even know if I’m doing this job right, and no one can tell me... what I’m doing right, or what am I doing wrong. I’d be gutted to think that I’ve taught a year and my kids haven’t learnt anything by the end of the year because I’ve had no guidance on where to go.

6.11.4 Challenges

Despite ETT3’s reticence about the impact of her teaching, she was motivated to succeed, and continued to challenge herself.

... You know, why be just satisfied with how the river’s running, when we could change that, you know, and, maybe not make it better, but not change it just

because of change. Change it because we are trying to make it better... which is much how I see this job at the moment, but that's all good, yeah.

This meant that ETT3 sought solutions to teaching issues and if she couldn't make the changes, then she would find someone who could do it for her.

6.11.5 Personal beliefs about teaching English

ETT3 believed that formal English instruction was a necessary element of a Māori-medium programme because the students will have to survive in an English-speaking world when they leave school. However, she was not sure of the quantity that is required. She discussed her reasoning.

... Personally, I believe that there should be some English, I'm just not sure when it should be. And I only think that because ... New Zealand isn't a Māori-speaking country yet, and unless they have some knowledge of English and how it's formed and structure, they're not going to achieve...

ETT3 felt that the small amount of formal English language education the students at School Two received was not adequate to prepare them for the demands in the outside world, and with most of the Year 8 students graduating to an English-medium secondary school, rather than a Māori-medium school, she felt that the Year 8 students were not yet ready for the demands of the English secondary school environment.

As for me it's like well, if this is the standard of your English now, we've got a lot of work to do if you're going to go and survive in [names the secondary school].

6.11.6 Parents' perceptions

ETT3 stated that she was not sure of the parents' views regarding their children's English education needs. However, parental feedback was usually positive.

“We're really happy with the structure. My kids love your class. They're having fun. They're learning.” ... Some things that I've sent home for homework, “Oh we liked that.” The whole family gets involved doing it.

Homework was also an area in which she had received positive feedback from her students.

All I sent home is the alphabet challenge. Twenty questions, the answers all start with 'A'. And they've just got to sit there with their families and do them. Word building, general knowledge and it's that simple ... And the kids [are] coming back, "Whaea [aunty], we did it! You should have seen my dad!" you know, that sort of attitude. "My mum,... she knew it but she wouldn't tell me. I had to go and find it myself," you know, cool! That's a whole part of it...

ETT3 wanted more parental contact, particularly with the parents of the students who struggled.

It's the ones that ... I want to hear from who I don't hear from, that I don't know. You know, like the ones who may need a bit of help at home whose parents don't bother to come in. So I don't know what the community feeling is out there.

6.11.7 School philosophy

When asked about the school philosophy, ETT3 stated that she was not aware of one. Her perspective was that she has been drawn in to School Two to do a job in the English language area. Her response below shows that she felt a little uninformed regarding some aspects of the School Two's organisation.

I walked in here. "This is your timetable. This is who you are going to teach."
That was it.

ETT3 planned, implemented and assessed her programme independently. She stated that when her teaching syndicate met to plan their programmes, she did not take part in these. However, she attempted to incorporate similar genre themes into her programme, as occurs in the Year 6 immersion teacher's programme. ETT3 spoke negatively about her situation in the school.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ On a subsequent trip to School Two 18 months after this interview, ETT3 stated that she felt far happier working at School Two. She commented on there being better

So I've sort of gone off on my own. Nobody cares, that's the feeling. And I've defined it as ... I've gotten very lazy this year and I put it down to, I'm accountable to nobody but myself, because no one seems to give a stuff.

Once each year ETT3 provided feedback on her students' progress to the other staff members, when they discussed the children's progress in Term 2. This was the only time of the year she felt accountable. It was clear that ETT3 felt isolated at School Two. However, it may be that she had high expectations of her own performance and felt anxious in her first year of becoming an English transition teacher. Despite ETT3's feelings of doubt, she had been proactive in making changes for the following year's programme (see below). These may have helped her feel she has an important role to play in School Two.

Well, this is what I've asked for next year. I've asked for a cultural hour where I'm actually part of the school rather than just the English teacher and I actually get a rapport with the kids who I don't teach. I think someone ... you know, even though it's in Māori we could still joint plan.... You know, whatever they're teaching in reading and writing and ... in their classrooms, it could be done in here.

From this statement, it was apparent that ETT3 realised that making changes to improve her situation would depend on her initiating the change, rather than waiting for it to happen.

6.11.8 An overview of ETT3's English transition programme

ETT3's programme incorporated the following elements:

- Year 6-8 students received English transition instruction
- Genre studies (see Derewianka, 1990) guided the content of each term - one genre per school term
- The content included reading and writing (but not oral language)

communication between her and the other staff, and she was feeling more comfortable teaching in this new area of English transition.

- Lessons were divided into morning classes and afternoon classes. The morning classes focused on language conventions, language rules and spelling and were for all students. The afternoon classes, termed ‘extension’ classes, were more intensive and were designed for smaller groups of students with similar needs.
- Reading was a central focus of classes (particularly in the afternoon classes). The reading themes also aligned to the genre focus of the term, and included the use of the Guided reading approach, and round table group discussions
- When studying a genre, ETT3 had her students break down the structure, and focus on each section independently.
- Rainbow reading (Pluck, 1995) is a reading programme that ETT3 often implemented, particularly with the students who experience reading difficulties.

6.11.9 Classroom approach to teaching English transition

According to ETT3, the Year 6 students received 3.5 hours of English transition classes per week, while the Year 7 and 8 students received 4.5 hours per week. The classes occurred twice a day: in the morning with the full cohort group (either Year 6, 7 or 8 students), and in the afternoon for shorter, more intensive, extension lessons with smaller groups of students.

The morning lessons focused more on specific language skills such as grammar and vocabulary building. The afternoon extension lessons, by contrast, had a heavy emphasis on reading and comprehension. In these extension lessons, which attract high interest from her students for their exclusivity, ETT3 would typically use guided reading and concentrate on comprehension, and skills development activities. These could include games, or activities encouraging other skills such as skimming reading and searching for information. The reason for the focus on English reading, according to ETT3, was because she had found this was a major weakness in her students. ETT3 described the benefits of reading for her students’ development.

Just giving the kids the opportunity to open a book and read every single day in English, which is really what the basis of my intensive groups are... Again it needs space, they need to know how to read. I’ve got nine weeks [until the end of the year] to teach them as much as I can that they can understand at a decent level, and we just go for it. There’s no mucking around. Sometimes there’s not

even any writing. It's just, "Let's read. Let's ask each other questions. Who can find this? What do you think about that? Let's talk about it." Bang, half an hour's gone.

ETT3 felt that many positive benefits were being derived from the extension programme. She noticed a change in student skill development.

So to me... it's a good roll-on effect to say, okay, they want to be here, ... I think they're doing what they should be doing, or they're actually reading a lot more or comprehending at that level, and you've got the rest of them dying to get in here.

As this was the first year ETT3 had been employed at School Two, she was still experimenting with her teaching approach. She used a genre approach and aligning her literacy themes with the Year 6 Māori immersion teacher's programme. In Term 1 of the year this research was conducted, the class focus was on the recount genre, and in Term 2 it was the report genre. The procedural genre was the theme in the third term, when ETT3 was interviewed.

ETT3 was asked about the language content within this framework. She discussed a programme that incorporated a variety of activities, but with a strong focus on reading, writing and a small component of oral language skills development.

I teach them spelling, how to spell words. I teach them how to use those words in a proper sentence. I teach them how to speak in this classroom compared to the playground English they bring to this classroom. Besides the genre, recounts, reports, narratives ... article studies. Pulling articles to bits and finding out what they learnt. You know, journal stories ... ripping them to bits and finding different parts out about them. What else do I do? I've taught Rainbow Reading,⁶⁵ where they listen to tapes, comprehension ... this is for my lower groups ... comprehension, word finds, cloze activities, all of it's there. I teach

⁶⁵ Rainbow Reading is a reading programme that provides graded reading material with accompanying audio tapes to allow students to follow the written text as they listen to the tape (see Pluck 1995).

power point usage and how to put it all on a power point. I've taught poetry ... a whole unit on poetry, which is all sitting on the computers ready to show Mum and Dad when they walk in. Paragraphing, which is all in recounts and ... editing skills, reading comprehension.

ETT3 described her programme as a "needs based" English transition programme. She planned each day according to how well her students performed the previous day.

I'll teach a lesson. The need from that lesson is that nobody understood what I said yesterday about a setting. So my teaching point today is I'm going to teach you what a setting looks like. "Let's get all the journals out that have got narratives. What is the setting in this journal? What is the setting in this journal? What is the same about the settings in this journal?" You know, so there's always a need on ... something I've noticed in that particular class. So if it's Year 6/1 who I teach Tuesday and Thursday, and I've noticed something on Tuesday, 'Oh I need to target that', that will become part of my lesson on Thursday.

The reason for this short term day-to-day planning was that unexpected disruptions to the programme frequently occurred at School Two, which affected the students' English transition programme. This frustrated ETT3.

It changes so dramatically and then they close the school and then ... there's a tangi [funeral] and then... I haven't had a consistent week of teaching in I don't know how long. Which for me is an issue because, you know, the kids will hold it for a day but probably not longer, and I've got to re-teach.

ETT3's programme content differed according to the age of the students. The Year 6 students focused more on the surface features of English.

With Year 6, I'm probably [including] more skills, like, "this is what it's called. This is a homophone. This is what it means. This is an adjective. This is what it does. This is an adverb. This is what this does." So they've actually got that basic knowledge of word patterns ... you know, "Here's a sentence, circle all the nouns." You know, all that set-up stuff for later on when they're actually using dictionaries and thesauruses and all that.

The Year 7 and 8 students, on the other hand, were exposed to more content on the deeper features of language, such as the use of metaphors, similes and alliteration.⁶⁶

6.11.10 Oral language development

The English transition programme was centrally focussed on literacy skills rather than oral language development. ETT3 was asked why oral language was only taught incidentally. Time limits were a factor that restricted ETT3's oral language programme.

Yeah, it's actually quite hard to do, and no there's no time ... unless I specifically ... break it, and talk about it, and do an oral language lesson...

She also felt that oral language development was not as important as literacy development for the students. She stated that the oral language needs of this group included learning social skills when using English.

6.11.11 Assessment

ETT3 used the following methods of assessment of her language programme.

- Probe (reading) (Parkin & Pool, 2002)
- STAR (reading) (Elley, 2000) twice a year
- Peters spelling test (Peters, 1970) twice a year
- Waddington Diagnostic Reading and Spelling (Waddington, 2000) newly implemented once this year
- The eight level writing matrix from the English curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1993b)
- Samples of the students' writing.

6.11.12 Resources

1. Big books
2. Journal stories

⁶⁶ This includes aspects such as, audience awareness, content, structure and language resources, and are discussed in the following section of this research.

3. Rainbow reading programme (Pluck, 1995)
4. Computers (writing and internet).

6.11.13 Description of students

ETT3 described two ability groups she worked with, the more advanced group and the less advanced. The following description relates to the advanced group.

I teach 18 Year 6s, six Year 7s and 11 Year 8s ... I have probably six Year 8s right now who could walk out of this classroom biliterate. That's how I feel... There's four in my extension group, an extension English group, which I take for the last half hour of the day, and we go hard... but when we get to our core group,... and they could quite easily walk out of here at the end of this year knowing [they're]... on an equal par with Māori and English. And I bet you if you went to [names the Māori immersion teacher] and got their results in Māori, they would be on par up here with English. Brilliant.

ETT3 felt constantly surprised by the abilities of this group of students.

You know ... you listen to them in a normal ... with the whole classroom and "Whaea, why is it that da-da-da-da?" And I'm thinking, mate, this is just too easy for you. You need to be in my extension group where we can answer those questions. It's just their whole attitude to it. They're in here to do that work. They're not in here to talk about who fought who on WWF [World Wrestling Federation] last night.⁶⁷

The second group of students discussed by ETT3 were those who often had difficulty retaining information in class. It was a phenomenon that she felt was ultimately an issue of not being able to transfer their skills from one language to the other.

ETT3 felt that the students' strength lay in their ability to discuss and debate subjects. Other than this, ETT3 described their respect of others (including relieving teachers who work with them), their solid behaviour habits and a high personal motivation amongst the

⁶⁷ This is a popular American television programme on wrestling.

students. She felt that her high expectations contributed to the development of these students' attributes.

It's because my bar is this high, and I don't drop my bar. You attain my level, behaviour, academic, whatever. You need to keep reaching for my bar.

ETT3 also felt that the children had good attitudes towards learning English.

Definitely, they're very keen to learn. I mean of course there's the odd two who had a ruckus at playtime and need to finish it. That's sweet. But ... generally, "I'm in here. I want to learn English, whaea. What are we learning today?" which to me is like, wow, a class who actually wants to listen to me! - which is all good.

ETT3 described three weaknesses she had observed in her students' general reading ability and, in particular, their reading comprehension skills.

...this child who scored eleven years old on BURT [vocabulary knowledge assessment tool], comes out with less than seven on a Running Record, because ... yes he can decode every single word ... no, he does not understand what he read... So probably the reading comprehension is an issue. And that's pretty much across the ones who are struggling. They can decode like nothing, easy as. You know, "Oh I know those words, whaea, I can just read all those words."

"Tell me what that story was about?"

"I've got no idea, whaea." To me that's a weakness, that's a general weakness.

The phenomenon that ETT3 described is a common characteristic often witnessed by teachers in Māori-medium programmes. Many Māori-medium students develop into expert decoders of English (and te reo Māori), but have poor levels of comprehension (Crooks & Flockton, 2007 show that the area of comprehension is an issue for Māori medium students; Rau, 1998 also discusses this phenomenon). The second area of weakness ETT3 described was the students' understanding of the surface features in writing. She discussed skills such as their use of English punctuation, with capitals and full stops as examples of these. The final area of weakness ETT3 discussed was the

students' dictionary skills. This weakness she felt stemmed from having poor phonemic knowledge.

6.11.14 Future prospects

ETT3 once again described the two ability groups when discussing the students' future prospects. She felt her high achievers (around 50 percent of the Year 8 students) would pass the NCEA examinations at the secondary school level and would achieve equally well at the university level, if that was their ambition. The second group however (the lower achievers), she felt would struggle, particularly if they moved from the safety of the Māori-medium school environment to an English-medium secondary school.

The other group are going to struggle and they are going to have trouble at school, and if they go to [name of local English-medium secondary school], but if they were to go to mainstream [English-medium schooling] after this, they would struggle to succeed. They would [struggle] ... and I can see them on the dole [unemployed] and being bums for the rest of their lives.

6.11.15 Bilingual issues

6.11.15.1 Teaching English using Māori

ETT3 did not speak te reo Māori and therefore did not integrate te reo Māori into her English programme. This was a significant disadvantage for ETT3 since she could not tap into the students' knowledge of academic Māori and bridge the gap between the two languages.

6.11.15.2 Achieving biliteracy

ETT3 felt that around 50 percent of her senior students would become biliterate as well as bilingual. She gave credit to past English transition teachers for helping them to achieve this level.

Fifty percent will be [biliterate] ... what makes me say that? Just the level of English ... just their level of English. Because my understanding is that the Year 8 children [have] only been to kura [school], they haven't actually been mainstream at all. So the teacher who was in here the last couple of years has

done a really good job with them ... because I can see the progress compared to the other children in Year 8. And I'm sure if you were to go back and ask their class teacher what their mahi [work] is like in Māori, it would be in a par with English, which is quite high. That's how I feel anyway.

However, she also felt that some students would not become biliterate, because of the limited time available to raise their English language achievement.

6.11.15.3 The relationship between the students' L1 and L2

ETT3 recognised the close relationship between the skills gained in the students' first language, and their second language. She noticed the pattern of achievement of students who achieve highly in one language would often have high levels of achievement in their second language. ETT3 also demonstrated a knowledge of the importance of language skills transfer between the languages and the need to make students aware of language transfer. She discussed a situation she had observed in her classroom recently.

And now I have to turn around and think, "No, maybe you don't know what it's called. This is called a comma, what does it do?" And because they know what it does in Māori, yes some of them can transfer it and go, "Oh whaea [aunty] that's a break between two sentences,"

"Well done, exactly the same in English." So it's trying to ... show the commonalities I suppose between the two, especially in writing, but also to show that there are some really different ways that we can write.

6.11.16 Aspects ETT3 would like to learn more about?

ETT3 was keen to improve her own ability as an English transition teacher. She was also concerned about the level of communication that occurred between the teachers regarding one another's classroom programmes. She felt that the English transition programme was the 'poor cousin' in the school, and was being jeopardised by the requirements of the Māori-medium programme. She saw this as a lack of acknowledgement of the importance of learning English in School Two, and of the importance her work.

6.12 Interview of Māori immersion teachers (MIT5/6/7/8)

6.12.1 Introduction

Four Māori immersion teachers were interviewed from School Two. All of them were of Māori ancestry, and taught students between Year 1 and Year 8. Their length of tenure as teachers ranged from one to 12 years experience.

The interview with the teachers aimed to explore their perceptions and understandings about the place of English language instruction in the school, and also to uncover the extent to which they were informed about their English transition programme. The questions therefore revolved around these issues. This interview was conducted after school, in a small window of time when all four teachers were available. The responses reflect this situation.

6.12.2 Background and path towards teaching

MIT5 came from the School Two tribal region. She had been teaching for five years and was employed as a relieving teacher while another teacher was on leave. She was teaching Year 5 students and has a teaching degree.

MIT6 was from an iwi outside School Two's region. She was a first-year teacher teaching the Year 1 students at School Two. She completed two degrees at university, a Bachelor of Arts degree in Māori, and a teaching degree, before working at School Two.

MIT7 was from a town in the School Two region. She was a Year 1 teacher who had a teaching degree. Whilst MIT7 was a Year 1 teacher, prior to working at School Two, she worked for a year as a kaiawhina (teaching assistant) in another school. She taught the Year 2 students of School Two.

MIT8 was from a neighbouring tribal area. She had been teaching for 12 years, and was also the assistant Principal of School Two. She had a Diploma of teaching.

6.12.3 Teacher training

The teachers were first asked to reflect on the usefulness of their teaching training. All the teachers agreed that their training had not been particularly useful preparation for teaching in a Māori-medium school. Some of the complaints they cited included being taught conflicting theories and approaches by their lecturers, and their training being largely theoretical with little teaching practice. MIT7 felt that most of her learning of the teaching trade occurred when she was attending the practicum (when teacher trainees work in schools for periods of between one and two months).

Ko te wā haerenga ki te kura, te wā i whai hua mōku i te mutunga o ngā tau.

6.12.4 Should students learn English at school?

To this question there was general agreement expressed about the need to teach English to students, particularly for the students of School Two who often graduated to an English-medium secondary school. MIT6 stated:

Ki a au nei, āe, nā te mea, te nuinga kei te haere ki te kura tuarua – ngā mea rīroa [mainstream English].

MIT7 used her own personal experience to discuss the dangers of switching children from Māori-medium programmes to English programmes without considering the implications for the child's wellbeing. She felt that care must be taken to decide when English instruction should be introduced, and that it should ideally occur once the student's Māori proficiency has risen to a significant level.

Ko tāku noa iho, i tēnei kura ka tīmata te reo Pākehā i te reanga tika...Engari, mēnā e tika ana te whakaako i te reo Māori, ki te tae atu ki aua reanga mō te reo Pākehā, ka taea e rātou te hōpu i te reo Pākehā, mēnā kei te tika te taha Māori.

MIT6 felt that while English should be taught in Māori-medium programmes, schools should be careful to maintain a separation of the two languages. She also felt that te reo Māori should be the central focus of the school, as it was the endangered language. By contrast, English language development by contrast, according to the teachers, could be fostered in the students' homes.

Me noho wehe i kōnei kia matatau, i te mea ko te reo Māori te reo tuarua. Kei te pai te reo Pākehā, ka whāngaihia ki te kāinga. Anā, he aha taua rangahau – e ono tau pea kei roto i te reo... Ko te tumanako ka matatau. Mai i te Kōhanga, e toru pea ngā tau, paerewa tahi, rua, toru. E tika ana me mau.

The notion that the home can look after the needs of the students' English language needs is one that is often prevalent amongst staff of Māori-medium programmes. It derives from a belief that language skills will automatically transfer from one language to the other, thus negating the need for formal exposure to English. However, this criticism of MIT6's belief can be tempered because she still believed in the need for formal instruction. Furthermore, she showed in her quote above that she possessed some knowledge from the international literature regarding the number of years of language exposure that are required in order to successfully stabilize the target language (as found by Ramírez, 1992; Thomas & Collier, 1997).

6.12.5 What English skills do the students need?

When asked about the English skills the students of Māori-medium schools require, the teachers discussed the need for the development in writing, reading and oral language skills. Oral language development (English) was one area that the teachers felt was especially important for students of Māori-medium programmes to develop. MIT7 highlighted this need, particularly for students who progressed on to English-medium schools to complete their secondary schooling.

Mō ēnei tamariki, mēnā ka puta atu rātou ki tētehi atu kura Pākehā, ka noho ki te taha o ngā tauira e rite ana te tau, ētehi kupu ka puta mai, kāore e mārama ēnei tamariki. Ka penei, "Aat, what are you on about?"

Two interesting points arise from the teachers' responses to this question. First, they understood that there were still many areas of the English language that the students of School Two need to further enhance, one being oral language development, an area that is often neglected by Māori-medium programmes. The second point that arises here is that several teachers took for granted that most School Two students would graduate to an English-medium secondary school, and would therefore require a sound knowledge of English when they leave. It was not clear whether these teachers felt that students who

stayed in Māori-medium programmes in secondary school would also require formal English training.

6.12.6 What skills should the English teacher have?

In answering this question regarding the English transition teacher's skills, the Māori immersion teachers stated that one important skill English transition teachers should possess is strength in oral language. MIT6 stated:

Tērā pea ko te mea nui ko tōna reo, ko te kōrero. Mā te kōrero ka rongu. He pai ake mā te reo e whakaako mā te pukapuka, mā te mahi rānei.

Access to English language resources was also a theme that arose from this question, particularly regarding the advantage English language teachers have in their access to teaching resources. MIT8 stated this. However, MIT6's perspective was slightly different. She felt that the job of the English transition teacher would be challenging for two reasons. First, the English transition teacher would need to be able to target those resources to the needs of the students. MIT6 also felt that the teaching of the English language, with its many rules and complexities, would be quite challenging for the English transition teacher.

MIT8 provided an interesting idea that the English transition teacher should also have knowledge of the Māori language, which should be used in the English classes. This idea was debated during the interview, as other teachers disagreed. MIT6, for instance, felt that this would not work, because the teacher would be mixing the languages and diluting the language boundaries the school had created. She felt that the school would essentially be changing from being a Māori immersion school (with a high level of te reo Māori exposure) to one resembling a partial immersion school – a watered down Māori-medium programme. She stated:

Ki ahau nei, ki te mahi pērā, ka huri te kura hei kura reo rua (partial immersion), kua hei kura rumaki. Ka tīni te āhua o te kura.

6.12.7 What does the community think about English teaching?

The teachers were not particularly knowledgeable about the parents' perceptions regarding the teaching of English at School Two. However, MIT8, the Assistant Principal, felt that there had been a change in parental perceptions during the current year which had caused many of them to fail to gain feedback on their children's English language development from School Two. She was not sure why this pattern had occurred this year. However, she thought it could be a reflection of many variables, such as a feeling of satisfaction among parents, or shyness to enter School Two (as they may not speak te reo Māori). She felt, alternatively, that it might have been a reflection of the types of parents the School Two community attracts. P1, in his interview (see above), described three groups of parents (the movers and shakers, the fence sitters and the families whose houses border the school) whose children attend School Two. Two of these groups (the fence sitters and the neighbouring families) were said to provide little support for the school. It may be the case that these groups of parents are a significant part of the School Two community. MIT5 felt that a greater amount of dissemination of information from the school to the families was needed. She felt that if the parents heard about the successes of the English transition programme, it would lift parental participation in parent-teacher interviews. She stated:

I reckon that if the parents knew what they were doing in the English class that they'd be sweet.

6.12.8 If your children were here, would you wish them to learn English?

Three of the four Māori immersion teachers stated they would send their children to this type of school without question. MIT6 described her own children's education. Two of her children attended a Māori-medium school in this tribal region, while her third child who lived in her tribal homeland, further away from large towns, was in a traditional Māori environment. She stated that her two children living in the School Two region were coping well in their education and in the community. However, her son (staying in her tribal area) had experienced several unexpected cultural issues related to his exposure to the non-Māori world and the culture within larger towns.

Kua kite au i te rerekē - tōna matatau ki tōna Tūhoetanga. Koretake mō te taha Pākehā. Ka mate taku pēpi, te haere ki te toa ki te hoko i ana taputapu. Ka noho

ia ki waho. Kua matakū ki ngā tangata. Kāore e pīrangi ki te haere ki te tāone.
Pīrangi ki te noho ki te puihi.

Her other two children, who lived in a larger town and attended a Māori-medium programme there, were not having any such difficulties. She felt she would send her children to a school like this.

6.12.9 What is the philosophy of the school towards learning English?

The teachers were not aware of a School philosophy that included the learning of English language.

6.12.10 What does the English transition teacher teach in her classroom?

The teachers did not have any knowledge of the content of the English transition programme. They also stated that ETT3 did not have a great deal of knowledge about what they taught in their own classes. As such, these Māori immersion teachers did not have input into the planning and content of the English transition programme, instead viewing it as ETT3's domain.

These responses confirm ETT3's own observations that the majority of teachers at School Two saw the English transition programme as 'separate' to the work undertaken in Māori-medium classrooms. However, an explanation for this lack of knowledge amongst the Māori immersion teachers was that three of the four Māori immersion teachers interviewed were from the junior syndicate whose students are not involved in English transition. It is therefore reasonable to expect that they would not be fully knowledgeable about the content of the English transition programme.

6.12.11 When is English taught to the students?

There was great deliberation about the timing of English transition education at School Two. Several teachers thought English transition commenced when the students were in Year 4 or Year 5 (English transition actually commences at Year 6). However, MIT8 who was also the Assistant Principal, was more knowledgeable.

I tērā tau i tīmata mai i te tau tuawhā. Ināianei, ka tīmata i te tau tuaono.

MIT8 stated that the students had one hour of English instruction each day from Year 5.

I ia rā, i ia rā, ka noho ētehi o aua ākonga ki tōna taha...Kōtahi hāora mō te tau 5, kōtahi anō mō te tau 6, kōtahi anō mō te tau 7. Kōtahi anō mō te tau 8 me ērā atu rōpū, hei mahi ngā mahi i ia rā i ia rā.

This general lack of knowledge of the timing and content of the English transition programme may reflect the environment at School Two where, over the past few years, they had been experimenting with different approaches (see the section on ETT3). It may also reflect the short amount of time these teachers had been employed at School Two. MIT8 was the only teacher who had been employed at School Two long-term.

6.12.12 What English language skills do the graduates of this school obtain?

A final question the teachers were asked pertained to the level of English and te reo Māori skills School Two hoped its students would attain by the time they completed eight years of education there. The Māori immersion teachers were not sure about the types of skills and levels of skills the students should achieve by the time they leave School Two.

6.13 Year 8 student interviews

Six Year 8 students were interviewed on two occasions as a focus group. The interviews were conducted in English at the request of the students.

6.13.1 Background

This group of students have a range of tribal affiliations, including Ngati Porou, Taranaki, Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato. They had all attended kōhanga reo prior to entering School Two. Their ages ranged from 12 – 13 years. Five of the six students had siblings. Their families ranged in size from two children to six.

6.13.2 General questions

6.13.3 Reasons for attending a Māori-medium programme.

When asked if they knew why they attended Māori-medium school the students provided a range of responses, including the following:

- A parent was a Māori-medium teacher at School Two (one student)
- Family tradition (one student)
- The parents wished them to become knowledgeable in te reo Māori like their grandparents (two students)
- The parents are native speakers, and speak te reo Māori at home (one student)
- Not sure why (one student).

6.13.4 Enjoyment of school

When asked whether or not they enjoyed going to a Māori-medium school, there was a mixed response. Most students expressed negative thoughts about attending School Two. One student stated:

“I don’t like it that much, because I don’t learn that much, like writing.”

This student felt that, in general, school life for her was uninteresting and that the teachers should make learning more enjoyable for them. She stated that her Māori immersion teacher used the threat of punishments to induce the students to complete their work. She commented:

“It’s more like do the work and finish it or else.”

The learning of mathematics was one area that many of these students highlighted as less enjoyable. There were several elements that the students voiced concern about, including the regular repetition of themes of study, their teacher’s teaching approach, and the choice of mathematics resources used by their teacher. Several students felt that lessons often repeated themes of study that they already knew. The theme of fractions was one such area highlighted. Another student felt that the teaching approach was to blame, and stated:

“If I were the teacher I will teach them and I won’t let them write out of the book every day because that’s a sign of laziness from the teacher.”

This student also commented on the poor use of mathematics resources. He felt that learning maths often involved a great deal of copying.

All of the students had difficulty in comprehending the language used in the new mathematics textbooks. As one student observed:

“Like on the first page it has this whakamāramatanga [explanation] on it. It explains it, but we don’t understand it.”

From these responses, it seems that the use of these textbooks may occur without sufficient explanation and scaffolding of the subject content information. All these students agreed that they would prefer the textbooks to be written in English rather than in te reo Māori, so they could more easily comprehend the content.

Other concerns about the Māori immersion classroom programme included the following two areas.

- “Not much sport or art work at school”
- “Not much time to use the school computers.”

6.13.5 Use of te reo Māori

For all of these students English was the language they predominantly used within and outside school. In school, they stated they sometimes used te reo Māori if talking to the teacher, but apart from this they favoured using English to communicate. At home they also usually used English. The marae was the other place where they would sometimes use te reo Māori.

- “Sometimes I speak Māori at school, sometimes at home, a little bit at the marae. And a little bit at the wānangas [overnight stay on a marae] when we listen to kapa hakas [cultural performances].”
- “I only speak Māori when I am told at school.”
- “I speak Māori sometimes at school and at the marae. And I speak English at home. Oh sometimes I speak Māori at home. And I speak Māori to like kids who get smart – like Pākehā kids.”

Interestingly, the students who stated that their parents predominantly used Māori at home (and were perhaps stronger Māori speakers as a consequence) still preferred using English with their parents. When the students were asked why they do not speak te reo Māori, very often several students offered explanations. These are paraphrased below.

- When they were asked to speak Māori by parents who are not highly fluent, the students became frustrated when attempting to communicate
- At school they sometimes did not understand their teacher’s te reo Māori.

The students were then asked why they didn’t understand their teacher’s reo Māori, given that they have been in Māori-medium education for over eight years. Their responses included the following thoughts about not understanding the teachers’ level of te reo Māori, and their attempts at speaking te reo Māori attracted negative responses from teachers.

- “I think it is because they [teachers] don’t pronounce it properly. Yeah they go too fast.”
- “Yeah when the teacher talks you can’t really understand.”
- “Some teachers when they say ‘mārama?’ [understand?] And you say no. They say, ‘You should have listened!’”

The group were asked if the level of Māori their teachers spoke was too difficult to understand. There was a mixed response to this with some agreeing and others disagreeing.

6.13.6 Do you like learning te reo Māori?

Despite the negative reflections of students regarding their experiences using and learning te reo Māori, most of the students felt happy that they attended a Māori-medium programme. Several students stated “in the middle”, meaning that they liked being in a Māori-medium programme sometimes but at other times they disliked it. Only one male student stated that he did not like learning te reo Māori. He said he never spoke te reo Māori at school, but liked being at the school his friends attend. This question of enjoyment of learning te reo Māori was revisited in the second interview. They were asked why they like learning te reo Māori. Some ideas they presented included:

- It’s part of our culture
- It’s easier to learn te reo Māori than the English language because pronunciation is simpler
- Learning in a Māori-medium school gives them a head start if they were to change to a mainstream English school and the teacher there decided to teach some reo Māori.

6.13.7 Confidence in using te reo Māori

None of the students felt highly confident in their general ability to speak te reo Māori.

- “Not really [confident], because if teachers ask you questions and you don’t know what they are saying. I just don’t reply. I don’t understand what she [classroom teacher] says to me.”
- “I’m average.”
- “I’m not all that confident speaking it.”
- “I don’t really like learning about Māori because I think you won’t get anywhere. Like if you learn Māori you won’t be a bank man.”

One male student felt confident speaking te reo Māori because he was often given the responsibility of making speeches of thanks.

“A little bit of speaking Māori because I’m really used to it, because Whaea [aunty/classroom teacher], she often asks me to stand up and do a mihi [a thank you].”

However, this student also felt his Māori reading and writing ability was poor, although he thought he could read and write Māori if asked to.

When asked whether the lack of teacher encouragement had anything to do with their lack of confidence in speaking te reo Māori, one member of the group gave the following reply.

“Because sometimes teachers don’t encourage you. Like when you are asking for something and you get it wrong, they growl you. And it makes you feel like you have done something wrong – you don’t want to try it again.”

All the students agreed with this statement. They felt that this is one reason why they were reluctant to take part in discussions in Māori in class.

6.13.8 Perceptions regarding their English language ability.

All six students agreed that they really enjoyed learning English at School Two. Three students felt very confident in their abilities. However, three students felt less confident, citing skills such as spelling, and their knowledge of complex words and silent letters as aspects of learning English that they found difficult.

- “I don’t feel confident writing, reading or talking. Because I am not good at writing English, reading English. Oh I am confident about speaking English.”
- “I’m confident in speaking it but not in reading and writing it, because of my spelling. I can’t spell...and the rules.”
- “I feel ultimate confident (sic), because she [English transition teacher] taught me lots of things about English and computers, and she made me brainy.”
- “Yes I am all right. I just don’t know how to make those long-as words.”

All the students felt that if they were given the opportunity, they would like to learn English for a longer period of time than the two years currently allocated by School Two.

The students were asked about their confidence in achieving the following English reading tasks (see Table 12). Their responses show four patterns. First, simple English writing tasks, such as reading signs and packets, are unchallenging for them. Second, they do not often read for pleasure. Third, writing in English is challenging for some of them. Fourth, English is the language they would use when writing notes to their mothers.

Literacy task	Year 8 student perception of difficulty
Reading road signs	Simple
Reading labels on packets	Simple
Reading comic books and magazines	Most students stated they didn't read comics and magazines.
Reading newspapers	Most students stated they did not tend to read newspapers. Several students had read sports articles and several stated they just look at the pictures.
Writing a story in English	Four students felt confident. Two students did not feel confident
Writing a message to Mum	All students would write in English (not te reo Māori)

Table 12: Year 8 students' perceptions of their English writing abilities.

6.13.9 Thoughts on the English transition programme at school

6.13.9.1 Content of the programme

The students described the following elements of their English transition programme, paraphrased below.

- Writing genres, such as recounts and narratives
- Class debates
- Writing meanings to lists of words
- Close activities
- Power points, poems and computer work.

When asked about the difference between the morning English transition classes and the afternoon extension classes, the students stated the following points.

- “The morning one is just a little joke around one – just like to see how good you are. And if you are good enough, you will go to extension, and that’s like, a bit harder than the morning one.”
- “In the morning sometimes we do dictionaries and in extension we read books.”

The students were very positive about the contents of the extension classes. The group had the following things to say about the themes of study.

- “The extension session is more enjoyable, and more hands on.”
- “I’m interested in it [themes of study], that’s why [I enjoy it].”
- “It’s 30 minutes [extension classes] and it only felt like 5 seconds, and it’s all over.”
- “It’s cool fun work.”
- “The themes are more fun” (general agreement).

All the students enjoyed their English transition classes. They tended to comment on their English transition teacher’s relationship with them and the interesting activities they pursued.

- “Yes. She does it in a friendly way.”
- “Yes, she does it in a fun way.”
- “She doesn’t lose her temper.”
- “We play games sometimes – energisers.”

They stated that they enjoyed the hands on work when it occurred in the English class. However, this did not occur often. One such example they described was a fossils study. Other enjoyable aspects they discussed included the following elements.

- Learning interesting themes
- Spelling activities
- Close activities.

6.13.9.2 Aspects they do not enjoy.

The students could only think of one aspect of the English transition programme that they did not enjoy. This related to a lesson earlier that day that included a class debate. All the students agreed with the following point.

- “Just one thing this morning. I didn’t want to do this - when we had to write about debates. It was boring.”

There were a number of ideas the students offered regarding how to improve their English transition programme.

- More hands on work
- More fun things
- Include enjoyable themes of study.

6.13.10 Secondary school

As School Two did not enrol students who were above Year 8, these students moved on to another school for their secondary schooling. Four of the six students indicated that their next secondary school would probably be English-medium. However, two students expected to attend a Māori-medium secondary school in a neighbouring town.

6.13.11 Future ambitions beyond school

The group was asked what they would like to do when they leave school. Their responses were wide-ranging, and included the following career options.

- Journalist
- Scientist
- NRL player
- Work for a family company
- Actor.

6.14 Description of the literacy status of students in School Two.

6.14.1 Introduction

There were five literacy assessments collected from the Year 8 students in this study.

- English reading (non-fiction texts)
- English reading (fiction texts)
- Māori reading
- English writing
- Māori writing

See Case study School One above for details of the procedures for each test. Please note that, as stated in School One's case study, care needs to be taken when using these results. Analysing the students' literacy skills using the AsTTle assessment tools proved to be extremely subjective.

6.14.2 English reading assessments

Description of students in School Two			
	Chronological Age (N=9)	Probe Reading Achievement Non-fiction (N=9)	Probe Reading Achievement Fiction (N=6)*
Mean (yrs)	12.83	11.06	12
Range (yrs)	12.3-13.1	9.0-12.5	10.0-13.5

Table 13: Age and Probe reading Levels (English) for nine Year 8 students at School Two

* A random sample of six of the nine students in the classes

Table 13 shows that of the nine Year 8 students who were involved in this study, the mean chronological age was 12.85 years and the range from 12.3 to 13.1 years. The mean non-fiction reading level was 11.06 years and the range, 9.0-12.5 years. A random sample of six of the total nine students was used to test the students' reading of fictional texts. The results showed that the mean reading age of the students reading fictional texts was

12.00 years, or 0.94 years above the results for non-fiction texts. This disparity between the non-fiction and fiction reading results occurred as a consequence of two students who achieved higher at fiction than non-fiction reading by between 1.0 and 1.5 years. The remaining four students in this group of six performed at a similar level as they did when reading non-fiction texts.

These results show that the students' English reading levels (both non-fiction and fiction) were 1.77 years lower than the students' chronological ages. This result is positive, considering this group of students had been exposed to relatively few English language instruction hours (five hours per week for two years), and School Two had only just established the English transition programme with a specialist English transition teacher. These students have only had one year with ETT3 as their teacher, and a total of two years of English transition lessons. Future students would have three years, and so it should be expected that the students of School Two would further increase their English reading ability.

6.14.3 Reading Levels (Māori)

Eight of the nine students of School Two had reached a Māori reading level of at least Kpi within the range of the third kete Pingao (see School One's results for details of the Māori reading progressions). The Miro level is reached by three, or one-third of the nine students. These figures show that the students are achieving at an appropriate level in their reading of Māori.

6.14.4 English writing

Deep features					Surface features		
	Audience awareness	Content	Structure	Language resources	Grammar	Punctuation	Spelling
Mean	3.78*	3.86	3.74	3.75	3.86	3.64	3.81
Range	2.75-5.5	2.75-5.25	3.25-5.25	2.75-5.25	3.25-5.75	2.75-5.25	2.75-5.25
**							

Table 14A: English writing status: AsTTle⁶⁸ indicators for nine Year 8 students at School Two

*These measurement units equate to between Levels 2 to 6 of the New Zealand Curriculum framework (Ministry of Education, 1993b).

**Possible maximum range 2.25-6.75

Table 14A shows the mean scores for all AsTTle English writing skills categories (including deep and surface features), ranged from 3.64 to 3.86. The students scored highest in the grammar (3.86) and content (3.86) categories. Spelling (3.81), audience awareness (3.78), language resources (3.75) and structure (3.74) were spaced relatively closely below these, but within a band of 0.7. Punctuation (3.64) was the category that scored lowest. The range of scores across the language skills categories was 2.75 to 5.5. However, in five of seven categories, the upper range level was 5.25.

Overall, the levels achieved in the AsTTle Māori by the nine students were very similar to those of the School One students. For both schools, the range of scores were very similar (between 3.64 and 3.89), and the mean scores achieved for some categories were almost identical (for example, grammar, punctuation and spelling). The combined mean score of all the categories of School One and School Two was the same (3.78).

⁶⁸ (Hattie et al., 2004)

6.14.5 Māori writing

Deep features					Surface features		
	Audience awareness	Content	Structure	Language resources	Grammar	Punctuation	Spelling
Mean	4.17*	4.17	4.22	4.03	4.19	3.89	4.06
Range**	3.5-5.25	3.5-5.25	3.25-5.25	3.25-5.25	3.5-5.25	2.75-5.25	3.5-5.25

Table 14B: Māori writing status: AsTTle indicators for nine students at School Two

*These measurement units equate to between Levels 2 to 6 of the New Zealand Curriculum framework (Ministry of Education, 1993b).

**Possible range: 2.25 to 6.75

Table 14B shows the Māori AsTTle writing scores. The students' mean scores for each skill varied from 3.89 to 4.22. The highest score was for the structure category (4.22), followed closely by grammar (4.19), audience awareness (4.17), content (4.17), spelling (4.06) language resources (4.03) and punctuation (3.87). The range of scores across the seven Māori writing skills categories varied from 2.75 to 5.25. However, in six of the seven categories, the lower range was 3.25.

The students' Māori writing results were very positive, with all except one skill (punctuation) scoring above Level 4. The range of scores was also relatively narrow, with the lower range score for six of the seven skills being 3.5. This would seem to indicate that there was a smaller tail of lower-performing students, as was apparent with the School One results.

6.14.6 Comparison of the Māori AsTTle and English AsTTle results

- The Māori AsTTle writing scores were consistently above Level 4 (in six of seven categories)
- The English AsTTle scores were approaching Level 4 in each of the categories⁶⁹

⁶⁹ The Year 8 students of School Two were restless during the time the English writing sample was taken. The sample was also taken in the school library, an area that was not

- The grammar skill rated the second highest place in both the English and Māori writing samples
- The students' scores for punctuation (3.36) were low in both English and Māori writing samples
- There was no obvious pattern of difference between students' skills in the deeper features and surface features of language.

6.14.7 Conclusion

The results from these literacy assessments show that the level of development of the Year 8 students' of School Two in their Māori and English literacy achievements were approaching one another. Most of the English results were around 3.75, while the Māori results were usually above level 4. This is an interesting yet predictable pattern, as it seems that having a greater amount of Māori language instruction compared to English instruction at School One, results in a higher level of Māori writing attainment. However, it also seems that the relatively fewer hours of English instruction at School Two had not resulted in a significantly lower level of English attainment among students.

conducive for this type of work. This may have affected the results obtained for this sample.

6.15 School Two discussion

The School Two case study provides an interesting comparison with School One. School Two is one-third the size, and educates its students for eight years (not 13). Once the students graduate from School Two, they either transition to the local English-medium secondary school, or if they wish to continue their learning in a Māori-medium context, they commute to a neighbouring town. It therefore falls on the shoulders of whānau (families) to decide the type of secondary school programme they wish for their children. To continue with Māori-medium education requires greater commitment and travel. This would be a difficult decision for whānau that would test their resolve to continue having their children educated in a Māori-medium setting.

The interviews with the students, Māori immersion teachers and ETT3 demonstrated that many School Two parents decide, for whatever reason (including family tradition, and student preference), that English-medium secondary schooling is the preferred option for their children. This has implications for the School Two English transition programme. First, it means that there is a pressing need to lift their students' academic English skills, and ensure the students are prepared for the examination-saturated environment of the English-medium secondary school context.

A second implication concerns the graduate profile School Two developed for its students. An aspiration of achieving bilingualism and biliteracy in students in eight years is not as realistic an option for School Two as it is for School One, which controls the students' education for 13 years. Despite this, P2 discussed the graduate profile as students who are highly proficient in English and te reo Māori across the range of curriculum subjects and also in terms of Māori tikanga (customs). Altering the graduate profile which allows for the different education paths of School Two graduates may be more realistic.

One of the disadvantages of there not being a Māori-medium secondary school option in the School Two community is that it affects the ability of School Two to receive valuable assessment feedback from secondary school teachers. This aspect did not affect School One because the secondary school English transition teachers were 'on-site' and were actively involved in disseminating assessment data to the teachers of the primary school

section. Without this option, School Two needs to find other ways of maintaining communication channels with the secondary schools which take their graduates. This is one area that P2 discussed in his interview. He actively sought feedback from secondary schools, and had found that the School Two graduate students generally cope well in their new secondary school environments.

A final difference between School Two and School One concerns the school's management structures. With School Two's smaller size, it had a flatter management structure than School One. P2 devolved the coordination role of the teaching staff of School Two to DP2 and the Assistant Principal (MIT8), who each oversee a teaching syndicate. This simple structure could be advantageous in enabling School Two to create and maintain high levels of communication about student progress. However, there is also the danger that the less complex structure of School Two leads instead to a more relaxed outlook and to less staff accountability. At School One, there was a definite feeling of group accountability amongst the staff when discussing the achievement of students. This did not seem to exist to the same degree at School Two.

6.16 Emerging themes from School Two's case study

6.16.1 Māori and English academic achievement

The English and te reo Māori literacy assessments that were conducted in this study showed some very positive achievement results for the Year 8 students. Their writing achievement (in both English and te reo Māori) was positioned at around Level 4 of the AsTTle matrices. Their Māori reading levels were also very satisfactory, with one-third (three students) of students reading at the highest reading level (Miro), and over a third of students (four students) reading one level below Miro level, at Kpo. These results were similar to the assessments of School One.

The results from the English reading and writing assessments also demonstrated a sound achievement level for these students. The English reading scores (non-fiction) showed a mean level of 11.06 years, around one and a half years below their mean chronological age (12.85). The students' AsTTle English writing assessments also placed them at around Level 4. The mean writing level reached by this group of students was 3.78. These very positive results were the same as was achieved by School One. What makes the

School Two results even more interesting is that, at the time the assessments were conducted, these students had been exposed to less than two years of formal English lessons (of four hours instruction each week). After a very short period, these students' knowledge of English was quite close to their knowledge of te reo Māori. The speed of this English language growth may be a result of their language transfer skills being activated (discussed in 1.10.3).

While the results of these literacy assessments were promising, the assessments still showed some areas that will need to be addressed when the students attend secondary school. The students' skills in the (English) punctuation and language resources categories were two such areas. The question that remains is how well these students would cope in secondary school, particularly for those students who plan to transition to an English-medium school where academic English language skills will be immediately essential. ETT3 felt that around half of the Year 8 students would be successful, regardless of which type of education they chose to attend. However, the other half may struggle if they intend to graduate to an English-medium secondary school that is not responsive to their needs.

A final related issue that emerges from this research concerns the students' confidence at using English and te reo Māori. Despite the English and Māori literacy results that indicated a sound level of attainment, the Year 8 students who were interviewed stated that they did not feel highly confident when using either English (particularly writing) or te reo Māori (oral or written). Clearly, confidence is an important aspect that impacts on a student's potential success at school. It should perhaps be an area that School Two investigates further.

6.16.2 Programme content

When this research project was conducted, ETT3 was in her first year as an English transition teacher, having previously worked only in English-medium schools. Being new to this specialist field at School Two, ETT3 was experimenting with teaching approaches. She was also, predictably, experiencing some anxiety regarding the most suitable content to implement into her programme. The following themes emerge overall from the English transition programme at School Two.

6.16.2.1 Genre approach

ETT3's English transition programme (like School One) used a genre approach with a strong reading component. She focused on a different genre text type each term, in line with the Year 6 Māori immersion teacher. Teaching parallel genres would assist the Year 6 students to simultaneously learn about the nature of each genre through both languages, and would therefore allow the students to transfer their language knowledge between te reo Māori and English as they study genre in the classroom.

The position that reading had in ETT3's English transition programme was also important. According to ETT3, the students of School Two required large amounts of reading exposure in order to increase their knowledge of the English language – particularly of academic English. ETT3 found that, as with many students of Māori-medium programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the students at School Two were good decoders but poor comprehenders of texts (as discussed by Rau, 1998). This means that they could read a text aloud with high levels of fluency, but with little comprehension. It is for these sound reasons that ETT3's programme incorporated a large reading component (see Cummins et al., 2007 for discussion regarding research into the place of reading for second language learners; see also Krashen, 2004)

6.16.2.2 Morning and afternoon lessons

An interesting aspect of ETT3's programme was the design of the morning lessons and the afternoon 'extension' lessons. The morning lessons were designed for a wider range of learning needs, and incorporated content such as English grammar, rules and surface features of English. The learning of genre through writing also occurred during these times. In the afternoon, ETT3 implemented extension lessons, which were designed for smaller groups who have specific learning needs. These afternoon lessons revolved around reading (using the Guided reading approach), and also incorporated round-table discussions.

The Year 8 students spoke very positively about their enjoyment of learning English at School Two, and of their relationship with ETT3. It was apparent from ETT3's interview that the extension classes in the afternoons invoked an element of exclusivity that the students really enjoyed, even though these were essentially guided reading lessons, much like those incorporated in most New Zealand primary school reading programmes. The

central place that genre studies and reading had in ETT3's English transition programme provided the solid foundation that will enable the students to progress rapidly, provided the students who are not fortunate enough to attend the extension lessons are able to make up for it at some other time.

6.16.2.3 Surface features to deeper features

Another element ETT3 incorporated into her programme was a strong weighting towards teaching the surface features in the early part of the students' English education (with the Year 6 students), followed by a weighting towards the deeper language features of English texts. Therefore, early in the students' formal English education, they were learning about aspects that would impact on their ability to decode and unpack the English language. This was followed by a greater emphasis on gaining a depth of understanding about how to use English to cater for their personal needs.

6.16.2.4 Self-chosen study topics

An interesting element that was discussed with the students and with ETT3 was the students choosing their own language themes of study. The Year 8 students had recounted positively a 'once-off' study on fossils that they had thoroughly enjoyed, and would like to further explore. Unfortunately, ETT3 had not repeated self-chosen topics since the fossils unit, because, according to her, it created issues and debates about which topic the class should study. This situation is a little disappointing because the fossils theme would have resulted in many benefits for the students in terms of increasing their English language knowledge, and their enjoyment of school. Therefore, perhaps a broadening of student-chosen themes may add another dimension to the School Two programme.

6.16.2.5 Oral language instruction

A final feature of ETT3's English transition programme to be discussed here is oral language instruction. While ETT3 included oral language instruction in her programme, the quantity was very small. ETT3 stated that oral language was dealt with as a "teaching moment." On occasions when she would hear students making errors in their oral language, she would teach that rule soon after. The reason for the small quantity of oral language instruction is because she could not find enough time for a more substantial oral

language component. This issue of the place of oral language instruction (which was also evident at School One) seems to be one that Māori-medium schools struggle with.

6.16.3 Collaboration and communication

6.16.3.1 Communication between staff

The interviews with the staff of School Two (including P2, Māori immersion teachers and ETT3), showed that there appears to be some gaps in their knowledge regarding the school, its aims, and its processes. In particular, the English transition programme was an area about which most of the staff had limited knowledge.

To temper this criticism, three of the four Māori immersion teachers who were interviewed at School Two worked in the junior syndicate, rather than the senior syndicate where ETT3 operated. Therefore, as their (the Māori immersion teachers) students were not directly involved in the English transition programme, it would be unlikely that they would be completely familiar with the School Two English programme. However, this lack of knowledge does reflect a lack of communication about the processes in School Two, the achievement profile for graduating students and, indeed, a lack of staff knowledge about the concept of biliteracy development. It is also a finding that contrasts with the findings of School One, whose Māori immersion teachers had a very good knowledge of the English transition programme and its components.⁷⁰

A second related issue concerns the status of the English transition programme in School Two. One important finding from the interviews with ETT3 was that she was experiencing a feeling of isolation in her role as English transition teacher at School Two. She described herself as an island within her school, and felt that the English programme had little status. It was treated as an add-on rather than as an integral component of the School Two programme. She recounted times when her English classes were cancelled, and other times when she was called in to relieve in a Māori-medium classroom when staff shortages occurred. This made her feel that English transition was not important at

⁷⁰ Most of the Māori immersion teachers of School One were also teachers of the Year 8 students. Therefore, a greater knowledge of their programme would be predicable in this group.

School Two, despite there being an urgency (felt by ETT3) to lift the students' academic English skills in the short time they are working with her.

While ETT3's frustration was understandable, there were two other factors that may have exacerbated ETT3's feelings. First, she was not yet a fluent speaker of te reo Māori, and was therefore unable to take a full part in School Two classrooms, or have input into matters that pertain to the Māori language component of School Two. The second factor that affected ETT3's frustration was that she was the only teacher of English in the school (unlike School One, which had four English teachers). As such, she was unable to seek counsel from her colleagues about her work, because they did not experience the same issues and had little knowledge of the specialist area in which ETT3 was working.

In light of these mitigating factors, care needs to be taken in criticising the apparent limitations in School Two with respect to its English transition programme. Any criticism about the place of English in School Two should be balanced by the fact that School Two, like other Māori-medium schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand, operates with a central aim of revitalising te reo Māori and tikanga Māori, and ensuring the younger generations of Māori grow up with a knowledge of these important Māori cultural elements. As te reo Māori is the target language in Māori-medium education, the support for this language must take priority. And where this condition is threatened, circumstances may require the pooling of teacher resources to ensure the Māori-medium component of the school is maintained. What may be required at School Two, however, is the nurturing of a greater common knowledge among staff about the aims and processes that operate at School Two, and perhaps an adjustment in the management of these processes. A shift in the balance of English and Māori programme timetabling could also go some way to ensure that the English achievement aims for students are still achievable in the limited classroom time that is available.

6.16.3.2 *Communication between school and whānau*

Like the whānau community of School One, the School Two community was complex. It was a poor community, and most parents have low levels of formal education. P2 discussed three distinct groups of whānau who enrol their children in School Two, including the movers and shakers, the fence sitters and the whānau whose properties border the school. It was the movers and shakers group who provided the most support

for School Two, and this was limited to fund-raising efforts only. The other two groups of parents tended to be whānau who took little part in the operations at School Two and, in the case of the fence sitters, were quick to remove their children from School Two if any issues arose. For this group, and the whānau living close to the school, their commitment to Māori-medium education was limited.

This issue of whānau support for School Two is not restricted to school management and guidance. School Two also had difficulty encouraging the whānau to play a greater part in their children's education in areas such as supporting parent-teacher interviews, an important aspect of the running of any school. MIT4, the Assistant Principal and ETT3 discussed this particular phenomenon directly.

Despite these issues around whānau support, P2 was adamant that the problems that School Two faced were not insurmountable. He felt that his school could still provide a quality education for its children. The results from the literacy assessments (discussed in 6.14) that were conducted in this research tend to support this viewpoint. The Year 8 students were performing well in their reading and writing in both te reo Māori and English. They were achieving at or around their chronological ages in most cases as a result of at least six years in Māori-medium education, consonant with the findings to the wider literature on bilingual education (see Cummins et al., 2007).

6.16.3.3 Relationships

Effective relationships between teachers and students is an essential element of any education provision (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). A positive outcome to emerge from this case study is the relationship that was nurtured between ETT3 and the Year 8 students. The Year 8 students voiced their satisfaction with learning English, and cited ETT3's humour, her friendly demeanour, and her positive attitude towards them as positive features of ETT3. This aspect, along with the engaging programme ETT3 implemented, must have assisted students gaining enjoyment in their English transition classes, and increased growth in their English language skills.

This positive perception of learning English contrasted with the students' feelings about learning te reo Māori and being in the immersion classes. While the students enjoyed having the ability to speak te reo Māori, the Year 8 students spoke negatively about the learning environment in the Māori immersion classrooms. There seemed to be two issues;

first, the relationship they had with their Māori immersion teachers, and second, the way the content of some curriculum areas (especially mathematics education) were scaffolded to them. The first issue is about establishing and maintaining effective relationships with students, a critical concept in effective teaching practice that has been frequently researched in the literature (see for example Bishop, 2008 on teacher student relationships in mainstream English medium secondary schools; see also Gay, 2000; Gibbs & Holt, 2003; Nieto, 1999, 2000). The second issue concerns knowing how to effectively scaffold curriculum language to second language learners. It is a skill that is lacking in many Māori-medium schools (see 2.9.4 on the importance of specialist teacher skills in bilingual education), despite the literature that is available (see for example, Coelho, 2000; Gibbons, 2002; Snow & Brinton, 1997)

The students felt that there was a lack of respect from the teachers toward them. This seemed to emerge in the way the teachers spoke to the students. The Year 8 students also felt their own Māori immersion teacher was too authoritarian in her approach. She expected them to complete their work with little support, and was often critical of their efforts to ask for help. One student explained that it was a relationships of “do the work and finish it or else.” Clearly, the students’ personal feelings are important in any learning context if the teacher wishes to maximize their learning potential. It may be that the relationship issue discussed here was impacting on the students’ overall enjoyment of being a member of the School Two community.

7 Chapter Seven: Case study three

7.1 Introduction

School Three is a state-funded bilingual school (not a kura kaupapa Māori) that teaches its students from Year 1 to Year 8.⁷¹ It offers two educational options: the first, the Whānau reo rua, is a Level 3 Māori-medium programme, offering between 30-50 percent instruction through the Māori language. The second option, the Whānau reo Māori, is a Level 1 Māori-medium programme that provides between 81-100 percent of instruction through the reo Māori. It is this high immersion programme only (Whānau reo Māori), that is the focus of this research project.

School Three is situated within a city with a population of 30 000 people, a significant proportion of whom are Māori (around half the population). This school was one of three primary schools in the city that offer Māori-medium options to their students. The surrounding communities contained a further five primary schools with some type of Māori-medium education.

School Three had several characteristics that distinguished it from Schools One and Two. Firstly, the School Three English transition programme was taught by the same teacher who was responsible for teaching the Māori-medium curriculum content. Secondly, the quantity of English language instruction was significantly less than Schools One and Two, commencing when the students entered Year 7, for 1.5 hours every week.⁷² As a consequence of this short time, the school implemented a simple translation programme. Whatever theme was being studied in the Māori immersion literacy classes was also mirrored in the English transition programme (this is discussed in more detail below).

A third significant difference between School Three and the other two schools concerns Principal 3 (P3), who was not only new to her position, but was not of Māori descent or

⁷¹ See Chapter Two for definitions of these terms.

⁷² Schools One and Two included around four hours instruction from Year 4 (at School One) or Year 6 (at School Two).

born in New Zealand. This had implications for the amount of background information I was able to gather on School Three, and caused me to seek further information from the Deputy Principal (DP2) and two former leaders of School Three, with whom I had worked when I taught at School Three 13 years earlier.

7.2 School Three participants in the research

The key participants from School Three for this study included the Principal (P3), the Deputy Principal (DP3), the English transition teacher (ETT4), three Māori immersion teachers (MIT9/10/11), and six Year 8 students (not individually identified).

7.2.1.1 Principal 3 (P3) and Deputy Principal 3 (DP3)

P3 is a minority group member from South Africa, who had taught in primary schools for 20 years. Prior to winning the position at School Three she was the Principal of a smaller country school (in New Zealand). She is bilingual (speaking English and Afrikaans) and has a Bachelor of Education degree.

DP3 is from the same tribal area as School Three, and had taught there for 10 years. She is a native speaker of te reo Māori, and has a Bachelor of Education degree and specialist second language teaching qualifications.

7.2.1.2 English transition (ETT4)

ETT4 is a Māori teacher with seven years teaching experience. He has a Bachelor of Education and Diploma of Teaching, and had worked in School Three for his entire teaching career. However, he spent the first five years teaching in the partial immersion unit (Whānau reo rua) of School Three, and two years in the total immersion unit (Whānau reo Māori), teaching the Year 7 and 8 students.

7.2.1.3 Three Māori immersion teachers (MIT)

Three Māori immersion teachers, all of them Māori, and all from the local iwi, were interviewed in this project. Their teaching experience ranged from four years to 12 years, and all possessed a Bachelor of Education degree and a teaching diploma. They were also all second language speakers of te reo Māori.

7.2.1.4 Year 8 students (6)

Six Year 8 students, all from the local iwi, were interviewed for this research. Their ages ranged from 12 years to 13 years. All of these students had spent a total of eight years of their primary level schooling in a Level 1 bilingual programme, and all except one attended kōhanga reo prior to attending Māori-medium primary level schooling.

This chapter includes six main sections.

- 1 A history of the school, its organisation, and the background to the English transition programme, as discussed by P3 and DP3⁷³
- 2 English transition teacher four's background and approach to teaching English transition
- 3 The attitudes of the immersion teachers regarding English transition instruction at School Three
- 4 The attitudes of the Year 8 students regarding learning English, and te reo Māori at School Three
- 5 The results of the English and Māori literacy assessments that were conducted on the Year 8 students of School Three
- 6 A discussion of the main findings from the case study of School Three.

7.3 History

School Three first opened in 1967 as an English-medium primary school to educate the growing (predominantly Māori) population of the city. In 1989, after a great deal of debate, the parents of School Three were successful in influencing the educational authorities into giving the school official bilingual status. It has remained bilingual since that time.

Like Schools One and Two, School Three is a Decile One school, the lowest socio-economic level. There were approximately 200 students enrolled at School Three when the study was conducted, with 15 staff employed there. The graduates of School Three

⁷³ Further information was gathered from one past Principal and one past senior teacher of School Three.

had a number of options when choosing a secondary school. Many of them attend a local secondary school that has bilingual options. However, a small percentage of students attend one of the other secondary schools (either single sex or special character) that are located in the same town, and which offer the study of te reo Māori as a subject only.

School Three had some similarities to School Two. Both schools opened towards the end of the 1960s in order to educate the growing population of children at that time. Both schools also opened as English-medium programmes before applying for bilingual status in the late 1980s, at the time when Māori-medium education was enjoying a high level of expansion (Jenkins & Ka'a, 1994).

P3 was questioned about her background, and in particular, her links to School Three. She stated that she could relate well to the Māori people, because as a minority member in her home country of South Africa (see below), she faced similar issues as Māori face in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

I would see my background, probably there are similarities in the backgrounds relating to being a coloured South African and a Māori person ... in terms of what I see [what] Māori are fighting for in relation to education and the land claims, and stuff like that. ... And also the socio-economic background is where [School Three] kids come from in comparison to my prior background. There are lots of similarities and so that allows me to have empathy for the children, and it allows me also to relate to a lot of the issues around the school. My background was of a nature that we were seen as ... a kind of group of people who aren't able to develop ... in terms of the racial issues that were in South Africa. And I can see Māori fighting for the same things. Like, one is their language ... second is their culture and thirdly economically ...

P3's background of living in the multilingual setting of South Africa and Aotearoa/New Zealand also gave her an insight into the learning of second languages.

You [teachers] still have that misconception of oral language and reading and writing. So I've come from that background where we've learnt that ... you start from the listening, then the understanding, then the speaking and then the reading and writing. And I'm sort of relating to what she [DP3] is saying and the

difficulty that they've experienced in the past where reading and writing was sort of the first port of call, and now going back to the oral language.

Here P3 discussed the order of teaching language skills. School Three had been discussing this theme during the time this research data was collected, and had come to the conclusion that a literacy-based second language introductory programme may not be as beneficial as one that has an oral language foundation. It was felt that oral language should be the first and prevalent form taught at school, and that focusing less on literacy might strengthen the students' productive skills – an area that was causing concern amongst the teachers.

7.4 Philosophy

School Three, like School One and Two, had a very strong iwi/tribal affiliation. It's charter statement was a tribal whakataukī (proverb), which describes the profile of the well-rounded Māori person being knowledgeable about his/her language and culture and about the Pākehā culture. It also emphasises the importance of having a spiritual connection to God. The whakataukī's reference to the Pākehā culture also implies that the English language must be an integral element of creating the well-rounded student graduate.

School Three's charter described eight dimensions that it wishes to develop in its students. These are:

- 1 Wairuatanga (spirituality)
- 2 Mana āhua ake (individual uniqueness)
- 3 Mauri (life principle)
- 4 Ngā taonga tuku iho (appreciation of one's heritage passed down by one's ancestors)
- 5 Te taha tinana (physical wellbeing)
- 6 Whanaungatanga (encouraging understanding, caring for one another)
- 7 Whatumanawa (catering for the emotional and inner feelings, and encouraging expression of these)
- 8 Hinengaro (extending the mind and ability to use senses).

P3 did not discuss the graduate profile of students in terms of these elements. Instead, she discussed the needs for the students to be well equipped in relation to learning, language and culture, and living to an individual's potential.

I would see our school as a school ... where children would have the freedom to develop as individuals in terms of who they are, their background that they come from ... in terms of their language and their tradition. And I would like to see our school as a school where children would feel comfortable to come to this place where they can live out who they are and have the freedom to express who they are in terms of their culture and their language. And that our school would be a safe environment where the children can do that. And that they wouldn't feel threatened to express and to be who they are ... as Māori people. And also a school where they could aspire to become the best possible Māori person that they could be...

P3 also thought it important that students should be proud and knowledgeable about their iwi links, histories and their language. Other aims for the school's students that P3 discussed included the following:

1. Gaining confidence for transition to English-medium school contexts
2. Increasing the level of the students' reading and writing skills in both languages, to assist with academic tasks such as research projects
3. Increasing the students' levels of oral language development.

According to P3, English language skills development is important for the students. She felt that this was an area of weakness, particularly the students' English reading comprehension skills. She recounted an example of one student at her previous school:

I had a boy at a previous school. He came from a total immersion background and when he needed to do the necessary research that was where he was lacking. And he was a fluent English speaker, and just having to write and also to put it all in his own words was really difficult, and that showed to me at that time when I was up there that it was the reading and writing ...

P3 showed here that she was aware that in the case of students in Māori-medium programmes, though they are L1 speakers of English, they still need to be instructed

about the academic nature of the English language. She felt that transition to secondary school was more difficult for the students of the Whānau reo Māori (Level 1) programme than the students who are enrolled in the Whānau reo rua (Level 3) programme.

It's not as hard for our bilingual [Whānau reo rua] stream to transition into mainstream because they are in English. So they don't really need as much support to transition. Whereas our Māori (Whānau reo Māori) students may feel that they haven't got enough skills to be able to survive within a mainstream set up.

DP3, a long-term staff member of School Three, was asked about the prospects of the graduates of the Whānau reo Māori. To this she replied that the most important attributes in a graduate would be good work habits, the ability to complete homework, and self-management.

Wētahi, me kīa pērā, wētahi, kāre au e kīa mō te katoa, engari mō wētahi, nā te mea, mehemea, ka kitengia - tau rātou ki kōnei, tau ki te whakaoti i ā rātou mahi, tau ki te mau i ā rātou mahi ki te kāinga, tau ki te mahi the tasks and assignments that the teacher gives them, and it can manage themselves, on time – all those sorts of things. Ki ōku nei whakaaro, ka tūtuki o rātou nei wawata ahakoa he aha pea o rātou wawata.

This response implies that DP3 felt that those students who are organised, and have sound work habits will be the students who achieve highly when they leave school. Interestingly, she did not discuss the required levels of academic achievement or Māori language skills when discussing student prospects. This may be a reflection of her perception of the importance of being organised. It may alternatively reflect her not being highly knowledgeable about the Year 8 students' progress (being herself a junior school teacher, a similar scenario to the MITs in School Two).

7.5 School organization

School Three was divided into two whānau (family groupings), each with a different level of Māori-medium content. The Whānau reo Māori was a total immersion programme that predominantly taught through the medium of te reo Māori, while the Whānau reo rua

incorporated considerably less Māori language instruction (30-50 percent). As a consequence of having two different programmes at School Three, one of the negative ramifications was increased rivalry between the students and teachers of the units. P3 discussed this.

...there are actually competitions between the two whānau groups which I would to some extent, try to eliminate. But if it's a good fair-play kind of competition then ... but at the present moment I feel that there is ... a division between the two whānau groups, and it's quite evident sometimes during assemblies when you can see that this is the side where the Whānau reo Māori sits and this is the side where the other.... And also when the children play in the playground I've just recently heard one of the little girls say, "Oh they are the Pākehā kids" [despite both groups being predominantly Māori]

P3 stated that she was attempting to establish systems in the school to alleviate this competition between the school whānau, by encouraging the teachers to work closely together.

7.6 Staff

When this research was conducted the Whānau reo Māori consisted of five teachers, and the Whānau reo rua had four teachers. According to P3, they had a wide range of experience, including two beginning teachers (Year 1), one teacher with 18 years experience, and one with 20 years experience. In the Whānau reo Māori, the focus of this research, the teachers had between six and 12 years teaching experience. Four of the five teachers were second language speakers of te reo Māori, with only DP3 being a native speaker of Māori. P3 noted that all the teachers had teaching certificates, but only one (DP3), had a second language teaching qualification.

According to P3, English transition teacher four (ETT4) became the English transition teacher as a consequence of a shuffling of classroom teachers at the beginning of the previous year. When the teachers had met to discuss their classes for the following year, ETT4 had asked to be considered for the position. His application was also supported by the kaiārahi reo (Māori language assistant) of School Three, who volunteered to assist

ETT4 to teach te reo Māori if he were employed. ETT4 was successful, and made the move from the Whānau reo rua, to the Whānau reo Māori the following year.

7.7 Community and the students

Because P3 was new to working at School Three when this research was conducted, she was not yet familiar with all the students. However, she was forming some initial impressions.

I'm still learning, but the ones that came across in my conversations with them, I think that if our children were given the opportunity to reach for the stars they will be able to do it. But because they are limited, and this is not a reflection on the teachers, but the [parental] expectation is so low, and I feel if the teacher raises the expectation and allows them to go, then they would excel. But I feel that at the moment we've got kids that are limited in terms of their learning, but I'm hoping to rectify that too and so on. But I feel that our children do have the potential but they just need to be pushed to that higher place, and [learn] those higher order thinking skills and those kind of things, and enquiry-based learning which they're not exposed to yet.

P3 described a number of other issues that affect the learning potential of the students of School Three. These include issues relating to controlling anger, and the students arriving at school without enough food. It was clear that the School Three community shared many of the same socio-economic and poverty related issues as both School One and School Two. Many of the issues are associated with the families having very low levels of formal education and very low incomes.

7.8 The English transition programme

With P3 being new to School Three, two past staff (a past Principal and a senior teacher) were also interviewed to gain a history of the English transition programme. According to these former staff, English transition education commenced at School Three in the mid 1990s, with a reading instruction focus, teaching the Year 6-8 students. In these early days of the English transition programme, the reading levels of the Year 6 students were

assessed, and a teacher from outside the school was employed to teach each afternoon with the students whose assessment demonstrated their reading level to be below their chronological age. The Year 6-8 students who were already reading above their chronological ages worked with their Māori-medium classroom teacher each afternoon, focussing specifically on the skills of English reading comprehension and increasing their vocabularies. Spelling was also an area targeted by the teachers at that time.

Unfortunately, as a consequence of incorporating a higher level of English language instruction, School Three was forced to lower its Ministry of Education stipulated level of immersion from a Level 1 (81-100 percent) programme to Level 2 (51-80 percent) for a period of time. They subsequently increased the reo Māori content and had its Level 1 status reinstated.

According to the past Principal and senior teacher, another experiment into teaching English occurred later, when the teachers trialled integrating English language instruction through other curriculum subjects, such as science and social studies. They also experimented with sending the Whānau reo Māori students to the Whānau reo rua teachers (who predominantly teach their students through the medium of English) to learn English. Throughout this early period of exploration, English transition instruction was optional for the Whānau reo Māori parents. Parents could allow their children to attend English transition classes or have them remain in a one hundred percent Māori immersion programme for their entire school week if they wished. Some parents preferred their children to remain in a Māori immersion situation, according to the past Principal and the past teacher, but most parents were happy for their children to learn English.

When this research was conducted, the English transition programme at School Three included 1.5 hours of English language lessons each week. This occurred every Friday morning from 9.00am until 10.30am. However, unlike Schools One and Two, School Three's English transition programme did not separate the English component by place and by teacher. ETT4 was responsible for teaching both English and te reo Māori to his students in his own classroom.

DP3 stated that the English transition programme at School Three was a translation of the Māori-medium literacy programme. It was designed in this way to ease the pressure on ETT4 to plan his programme.

Me whakatakahuri [te Māori] mō te literacy, āe kei te tika tērā, nā te mea he ngāwari kē atu ki a [ETT4] te whai i tērā huarahi i te tiki atu i te huarahi Pākehā ake, ka mau mai, ka whiriwhiri noa ia, ka rangahau a ia. Te mea māmā ake i kitengia e au mōnā, me te tautoko me te āwhina, me te kōrero a tō mātou tumuaki hou, ngāwari noa iho ki te tiki atu i te huarahi kei roto i te reo Māori, and then whakahoki mai ki kōnei, and then māna e tiki ngā paraoa i roto i te reo Pākehā, tautoko ai - ka whakamana.

Planning the content of the English literacy programme was the domain of ETT4, according to DP3. However, she stated that ETT4 derived his teaching themes from topics that were deliberated upon by the wider teaching syndicate.

DP3 was asked about the English achievement of students. She stated that she could not confidently comment on this as ETT4 had not yet submitted an achievement report. However, she added that achieving a high level of English skills would be unlikely because of the busy school timetable. Friday, the day of English transition lessons was extremely busy, according to DP3.

Kāre anō au kia āta titiro, kāre anō kia homaingia e ia he rīpoata. Nō te mea, mōhio au kei te pōkaikaha ia ki te whakahaere i te hōtaka rā. Ā, nui ngā āwangawanga, nui ngā taumahatanga kei runga i a mātou. I ia Paraire, ka tū mai tēnei kaupapa, ka tū mai tērā kaupapa, wērā āhuetanga. Nā reira, kei te āhua haere tītahataha tonu mātou i runga i tērā huarahi, me kī pēnei mō tēnei wā...

While DP3 was not sure about the Year 8 students' English language progress at School Three, she had been provided some positive feedback from a secondary school which takes many of the Whānau reo Māori graduates. The head of the Māori department of that school reported that the students of School Three had higher Māori language literacy levels than equivalent students from other Māori-medium schools in the community.

...tāna [the HOD] tirohanga, haramai ki te aromatawai i ngā tamariki o tēnei kura, ngā tamariki tau waru rā. Tana haere ki te aromatawai ngā tamariki tau waru i [names neighbouring schools] e rua - toru noa pea wērā...kī mai ki a au a waha... ko tana tirohanga, tiro whānuitanga ki ngā kura kei te uru atu ki roto o [name of her secondary school], ko tēnei kura kei runga, wēnei tamariki i te

kaupapa o te literacy, te mōhiotanga, me ngā pūkenga o wēnei tamariki in comparison to the other two lots.

Given the small amount of exposure to academic English in School Three, DP3 was asked whether she thought English had a place in Māori-medium schools. She stated that between four and six years of target language instruction was necessary in order to stabilise the target language, at which time a second language could be added. She also stated that research supported the School Three stance.

Kua kite mātou tino uaua mehemea ka tarai koe ki te whakauru atu e rua ngā reo. Ko ngā kōrero a ngā kairangahau, mehemea e hiahia mātou, ngā mātua, kia whiwhi mātou, o mātou tamariki tētahi reo ake i tō rātou ake reo - whā, ono tau me waiho koe, ki te reo kotahi, mā tērā ka whakapakari taua reo tuarua rā, ki tōku nei whakaaro...

While DP3 was correct concerning exposure to target language instruction, she is incorrect in her belief that research states that instruction should be exclusively through the target language (Māori) for the entire four to six years before English is introduced. In fact, in most bilingual programmes English instruction is usually incorporated into the programme by year three of primary schooling (see Baker, 2006 for details).

7.9 Pursuit of bilingualism and biliteracy

DP3 stated she hoped that the graduates of School Three would emerge as experts in reading, writing and oral language in both languages. However, she recognised that this was an unrealistic ambition, when the students' English instruction was so limited.

Ko te tikanga mō wēnei tamariki kia puta atu ki waho, ...ko te wawata mō rātou, they are bilingual and biliterate, i roto i ngā reo e rua. And that's school wide, but that's a dream. He moemoeā kē tērā, nā te mea kāore anō kia ū pērā. Te nuinga o rātou bilingual i roto i te reo, ka taea e rātou te kōrero Māori me te kōrero Pākehā.

However, DP3 did not feel that this was a huge issue for School Three, because the parents of the Whānau reo Māori prefer te reo Māori to be the sole language of the classroom.

I tēnei wā, kei te wawatā ngā mātua i te reo Māori, koira tā rātou hiahia, nā te mea, kāore hoki i a rātou

7.10 Concerns

DP3 felt that she would like to increase the English transition component at School Three, and possibly employ another teacher for the subject, to keep the two languages separated and to simplify the job for ETT4. However, finding the funds seemed to be an issue.

I have concerns for us here, yeah, time constraints, like 1.5 hours, for them to get good English. And I think we need to look at employing a good English teacher that knows English well, that could give our children a little bit extra. Not that I'm saying that [ETT4] can't, but you know we need a person that's just solely doing that [teaching solely English], just like these other schools are doing it. I think that's a concern of mine.

DP3 also had concerns about the general teaching skills of the staff of School Three, including their Māori language skills and their passion for teaching. She explained this issue of teachers needing to have passion.

You go there, you got to go and up skill yourself, you open your heart and you tell yourself, you go there, but te nuinga o ngā Māori ka mahi i roto i ngā kura kaupapa nei, ngā immersion units ngā bilingual units, call it whatever, are just not passionate about it. [They] have to be passionate, kaingākau - te kaingakautanga i roto i a koe – that you take kids for. Mehemea ko koe tērā kaiako, kāre i te kaingākau, or kāre koe te passionate mō te whakaako tamariki mō rātou te mau o rātou mahi mai i tēnei pito ki tērā pito, oh well hey – oh well. Koirā tāku.

It is obvious that DP3 had more urgent issues on her mind than whether the students are learning a high level of English language achievement. Gathering and retaining qualified

teachers who are skilled practitioners and who speak the target language with a high level of fluency, was a higher priority for her. This must be a prerequisite for the maintenance of any primary school programme and, given the language loss experienced by previous generations is a key issue of concern for Māori-medium education more broadly (see 1.1). DP3's statement above shows that, unlike many bilingual programmes from overseas contexts, the administrators of New Zealand Māori-medium programmes are under constant pressure to continue to maintain skilled teachers of Māori. As such, to try to do something about the standard of English language teaching is less of a priority.

7.11 Case study English Transition Teacher four (ETT4).

7.11.1 Growing up

ETT4 was brought up in a small town, where he lived with his grandmother from the age of seven until he left home after completing secondary school. His grandmother was a significant influence on him. She established a kōhanga reo, where ETT4 would often assist, working with the kōhanga reo children. ETT4 remembered his grandmother being a strong advocate of maintaining the Māori language because she felt it was an essential aspect of the Māori culture. Unfortunately, she did not impart her knowledge of te reo Māori to ETT4, which saddened him. He stated:

She could teach everyone else but not her own. She used to be tough on us. She'd speak really fast. But for everyone else she had patience.

ETT4's grandmother later regretted her decision not to speak Māori to her grandson. He remembered his grandmother frequently reciting a saying, “Ko te reo Māori tō tātou mana. Ka mate, ka mate te iwi Māori.” (The Māori language is our status. If it dies, so will the Māori culture.)

While ETT4 did not develop significant oral Māori language skills, living with his grandmother helped ETT4 develop sound Māori listening skills. His grandmother used to take responsibility for caring for the kaumātua (elders) of their community, which enabled ETT4 to sit with them, to listen and to learn. ETT4 felt that during these times, he gained a knowledge of many old Māori proverbs that the elders would recite.

7.11.2 Lead up to a teaching career

ETT4 credited his grandmother's influence for his choice of career as a teacher. He remembered working in his grandmother's kōhanga reo and making teaching resources.

I was always the person to help her to take her stuff to the kōhanga. So I was involved around a lot of stuff like that, looking after tamariki [children]. And then it was just a natural step for me to go on to university.

When ETT4 trained to be a teacher, he enrolled in the bilingual option of the training course designed for fluent speakers of te reo Māori. He emerged from university with a Bachelor of Education and a Diploma of Teaching. ETT4 had mixed feelings about the usefulness of his teacher training. He felt the course content did not always correspond to the reality of classroom practice. However, ETT4 did remember studying some useful university papers for his Bachelor degree.

We used to have the support papers, like you had to ... like you had to do eight professional support papers and add it to your degree. And I found a lot of those, even though they were small intense classes, a lot of them I'm finding that they were actually quite good, like the art courses, the music, ones like going on camp, how to set it up and everything.

ETT4 began teaching in 1999 as a relief teacher in School Three's Whānau reo rua (partial immersion programme), before winning a permanent position there. He had always wanted to become a total immersion teacher and in 2005 his ambition came to fruition, when he was invited to teach in the senior school of the Whānau reo Māori. It was a transition that ETT4 found extremely challenging, but rewarding.

I was supposed to have come back [to the partial immersion], but due to certain shuffles around with staff they asked if I could come into the Form twos [Year 8]. And it's been a challenge, it hasn't been easy. I've been so used to juniors, but I'm enjoying it.

ETT4's move to the Whānau reo rua solved some staffing issues for School Three. He believed that he was chosen to teach the senior Whānau reo Māori students because he possessed skills derived from being a junior-school teacher.

7.11.3 Inservice training

ETT4 had undertaken two forms of in-service training since his pre-service teacher training; Whakapiki reo and a series of kura reo (five-day Māori language courses). Both courses were designed to strengthen teachers' knowledge of te reo Māori and the Māori curriculum. Whakapiki reo was a six-week course designed to strengthen teachers' knowledge of te reo Māori and of the content of the Māori curriculum document. ETT4 found this course very satisfying.

Brilliant. I loved it,.. we had papa tākaro [games] for learning Te Reo and it was really good. We'd always start in Māori wairua, karakia i te ata, he mihi,.. ko koe te kaituku karakia, and always finished off with ... he mihi ki tēnā kaikōrero kei roto i te rōpū. So it always ...had that flavour, you know. I found it was brilliant, kōrero Māori. Kāore e taea te kōrero Pākehā. Koinā te mea pai. Kei raro koe e putu ana mēnā ka tahuri koe.

The second type of inservice training ETT4 regularly attended in the school holidays was the kura reo which ETT4 found to be very beneficial for his Māori language development.⁷⁴ Apart from these courses, ETT4 had been involved in a literacy support group in conjunction with the teachers of other bilingual schools from his region. He had not had any specialist training in teaching English transition.

7.11.4 Challenges

In moving to the Whānau reo Māori, ETT4 found that his biggest issue concerned accessing resources for teaching through the medium of te reo Māori.

I find the toughest thing ... it's the biggest difference from there [partial immersion] to here [total immersion], is the world is so open for resources on the mainstream side. Anything that we want to use [in the total immersion unit], ... we've got to translate it. Most of the stuff that really excites the kids and is up with current things, like happening right now in their lives, which they seem to respond [to] and are stimulated by, a lot of it, we have to translate ourselves if we want to do it. It's very much ... a lot of work. I mean a lot of work you know. On average we'll leave school at... six o'clock...

7.11.5 Personal belief about teaching English

ETT4 believed that students of Māori-medium should be learning te reo Māori for 100 percent of their primary school years. He felt this is required if the aim of School Three is to create highly fluent Māori language speakers in a country dominated by the English language.

⁷⁴ These are five day 'live in' Māori language courses that are arranged on marae.

When the kids get home they're spoken to in English. When they are talking to their mates, they're speaking English. Or they're listening to their music and watching TV – it's English. Of course it's not guided English programmes but ...it's an up-hill battle for us teaching immersion.

The issue was further exacerbated, according to ETT4, by the parents being unable to support their children's learning of Māori in the home. This is why he felt the parents wanted their children to be totally immersed in the Māori language – without English instruction.

Āe, te nuinga o te wā, ka kōrero Pākehā rātou. I te kāinga te nuinga o ō rātou mātua [kōrero Pākehā]. Ka tuhi au [i] o rātou rīpoata, [mō] te tino nuinga o rātou, i roto i te reo Pākehā. Kāore e taea te kōrero Māori, te pānui reo Māori rānei. Nā reira, ko te take kei te mahi tātou i te reo Māori kei roto i tēnei kura, ko tēnā te hiahia o ngā mātua.

While ETT4 would have preferred the total focus of their Māori-medium programme to be on Māori, he was aware of the potential learning issues that could occur for Māori-medium graduates who transition to secondary school without high levels of academic English and Māori knowledge.

Mōhio au tēnā, nā te mea, ētahi o rātou, ngā tamariki, kua haere ki [names a secondary school] mai i tēnei kura...Mōhio au ko ēnā tamariki kua haere atu, give them their registrations form and they couldn't read it... te reo Māori - couldn't read that either. So I was going, oh my God!

From ETT4's comment, it seems that achieving high general Māori and English literacy levels was an issue he had to contend with. Despite this, he was still of the opinion that the primary school education (Years 1 to 8) should focus solely on te reo Māori. He believed that the children could become confused if they are expected to swap between learning one language to learning the next on a weekly basis.

...I would have liked it to have been te katoa o te wā kōrero Māori, because, I actually think it confuses them. Mēnā ka kōrero i ngā reo e rua. Mēnā ka kōrero tētahi, ka pakari tō reo ki tētahi taha ka mōhio koe he aha ngā mahi kei mua i a

koe. Mēnā ka kōrero e rua, tērā pea kua rangirua koe...Kāore koe e haere ki mua ki tētahi taha – ka hinga koe ki tētahi atu taha.

A second interview with ETT4 clarified his perception about student confusion. He described the problem of students feeling attracted to the English language, which could cause them to neglect their Māori language development.

In school you expect them to be in one mode, but as a child you want what you can do best at, and what attracts you the most. And when we do a lot of English, they don't want to switch back [to Māori]. They've had it [Māori-medium education] for 7-8 years, and getting a taste of something new - of course they want it. And who wouldn't...

This type of view that ETT4 offered is a genuine concern many Māori-medium teachers have described to me (this researcher) in the past. This is despite the reality that senior students in Māori-medium schools predominantly speak English at school, regardless of the rules stating they should not. This was the case with all of the Year 8 students who were interviewed in this study, across all three schools. The question that needs to be answered is whether or not the inclusion of English transition lessons will adversely affect the students' Māori language development. If it does, this is an important issue that needs to be rectified. If, on the other hand, it makes no difference to the students' Māori language development, then English transition lessons are adding value to the students' education, not detracting from it. Jim Cummins (2000) is one researcher who has criticised the tendency in Aotearoa/New Zealand to ignore English transition education as a key part of an effective bilingual education programme (see 1.9.8). His belief is that in order to learn a language well, you must have significant exposure to it. If Cummins is correct, then schools that continue to shelter students from learning English are doing them a disservice, as academic English skills are critical elements in New Zealand society.

7.11.6 Parents' perceptions

ETT4 spoke with some disappointment when he discussed the level of support the community of School Three provide their children. He contrasted the parental support at

the time of this study with past years when the bilingual programme at School Three was in its infancy.

Before when the children were all coming through [names School Three], it wasn't an odd thing to see kuia [female elders] walking around. Wasn't an odd thing to see if you had a ... rōpū kapa haka, you had twenty or so kuia there. You know, i te kōrero Māori rātou, i te wā i te parakitahi rātou. And that's kind of died and with it that support and tautoko. This issue is starting to come up as being more prominent.

ETT4 was aware that some parents were concerned about the level of English ability of the students. He recounted one occasion when a number of parents approached him at a school camp to discuss the matter.

We were sitting having a cup of tea and I had about seven parents come up to me and go, "Oh I'm quite worried about what my child's going to be like when they get to high school" and I was, "oh what are you worried about, they do really well in their Māori side?" And, "Yeah, I know that but what about English. How's my kid going to ... I've heard stories?" ... That's the usual one, "I've heard stories that such-and-such has dropped out of [secondary] school because they're not doing this well." Yeah and ...they are really concerned.

ETT4 contrasted this parental concern with other parents who were enthusiastic about the benefits that Māori-medium education was providing their children. The following example discussed by ETT4, came from a parent who enrolled one of her children in Māori-medium education and another in English-medium education. This parent reported that the daughter who stayed in the Māori-medium programme had far fewer learning issues than the child who was schooled in the English-medium programme.

And then you have the parents who are going... "I ended up putting my child [who was schooled in English-medium] on after-school [literacy] programmes, language boosting and everything. Hello - my other daughter [who] stays in here [School Three], goes straight to [secondary school] and she's flying past the older one." You know, he's going ... "You know I spent so much time and effort on my older one and the one who stayed with kura reo is the one that flew ahead."

7.11.7 School philosophy

ETT4 was not aware of School Three's philosophy.

So far, we haven't really sat down and done it properly, as in long-term, what is our long-term goal. When I was sent down to organise my programme it was ... like I had had no training, basically had no training for how to implement, even though I had taught on that side [partial immersion unit].

However, when asked whether the philosophy was more about promoting the Māori language and culture, rather than the English language, ETT4 agreed that this is the case.

7.11.8 An overview of ETT4's English transition programme

- The English programme included 1.5 hours instruction for Year 7 and 8 students
- A translation programme was implemented where the literacy theme studied in Māori immersion classes is mirrored in the English programme
- ETT4 attempted to divide the 1.5 hours evenly into reading, writing and oral language. However, he found this difficult to achieve in the time available
- English lessons were often not implemented as timetable pressure and the need to complete other curriculum tasks often took priority.

7.11.9 Classroom approach to teaching English transition

According to ETT4, the potential benefits of the English transition programme were unrealised because of the short amount of time that is designated to teaching English. He stated (like DP3) that 1.5 hours was the maximum amount of time that he could allocate to teaching English without jeopardising School Three's Level 1 funding. As such, ETT4's English transition programme was simply a translation of the Māori literacy programme.

Because basically what we teach in the Māori is what we're teaching in English so as not to confuse the children. If we're doing speech-making now, so we're doing speech making for English. It's just a simple support ... supporting one another, working together, complementing one another.

ETT4 attempted to divide his English transition lessons evenly between the oral, writing and reading skills.

Oral English ... they will have done twenty minutes oral language and then would have done twenty minutes ... oh, twenty to thirty minutes writing. And then ... the rest would be reading, and that's our English.

However, this situation was problematic, according to ETT4, because there was insufficient time to complete all three tasks, particularly the reading component. As a consequence, ETT4 taught reading to only half the class each week.

This is where the problem is. I can only see two groups a week, because ... I can't do it as a class because they're all at different levels. And that's the frustrating part where there's only just you.

This situation of having only 90 minutes for English transition lessons each week posed obvious issues of how to teach all the language skills. As such, some skills instruction was not completed. ETT4 provided an example of a recent lesson he taught, which focused on the theme of speech-making.

So this week we've been doing whakamana tāu ake kōrero - giving supporting statements to help persuade a person to your point of view. And we've been using our sentences like, E ai ki ōku nei whakaaro, Nāwai rā, ki ahau nei, and just more or less in English, I've been giving them issues. Our one was; should we wear school uniform? A real good one we had was, if we had a fizzy drink fountain from the taps and it could give out unlimited coke, would you support having that, or not support? And they just orally do that and talk about ... and using those sentence starters. And then, the oral language was basically the format for how we do for writing.

ETT4 was not satisfied with his English programme, and stated that when he evaluates it at the end of the year he would ask for greater assistance with planning the content.

7.11.10 Assessment

The short time available for timetabled English lessons also affected ETT4's ability to assess his students' progress. He conducted very few assessments, and was forced to complete them outside school hours.

That really is the tough one because it's double work, and because I only get released to do my Māori Running Records, I get no release to do my English ones. See, I've only really done the first ones [assessments] for this year. And trying to fit doing a writing assessment, doing a reading assessment for English, it's just unmanageable. I'm finding it way too unmanageable myself.

ETT4 used two forms of English language assessments: PMI Benchmarks (Nelley & Smith, 2000) to assess reading ability, and analyses of the students' writing samples. He found that these were useful assessment tools as they are simple to implement, and he was familiar with them. ETT4 did not assess oral language.

7.11.11 Resources for English

Because ETT4's English transition programme was a translation of his Māori literacy programme, he used the same teaching resources for both languages. However, for English reading ETT4 additionally used reading books from the school library, and the School Journal series (Ministry of Education, 1907-present). He also used the PMI reading assessment resource (Nelley & Smith, 2000).

7.11.12 A description of the students

ETT4 was asked to describe his students. He compared his current class with the students he previously taught in the Whānau reo rua unit of School Three.

Okay, we've got a good mixture of kids in here ... I find a lot of the kids on this side [Whānau reo Māori] seem to be ... a bit more fortunate than the ones on the other side [Whānau reo rua]. They seem to come from a more wealthier background, due to the fact that their parents ... a lot of them on our side are 'bussed' to school ... These are parents who can afford to put their kids on the bus in the first place, who choose to send them to a [names the tribe] school. A

hundred percent in this class would be [names the tribe] ... So we have ... that background where ... they tend to... come in the uniform. [It] seems if they need something, it's just given. Whereas on the other side [Whānau reo rua], I notice you asked for something it was like pulling a fingernail out of the finger ...

From ETT4's explanation, the students of the Whānau reo Māori come from higher socio-economic backgrounds than the children who attended the Whānau reo rua unit of his school. However, despite ETT4's description, School Three is a Decile One school, and most whānau are from lower socio-economic backgrounds, even if ostensibly some higher socio-economic families of the School Three community send their children to the Whānau reo Māori.

When ETT4 was asked about the learning needs of his children, he focussed on two areas of needs, their knowledge of vocabulary and their comprehension when reading.

A lot of it is they don't have the great word pool. Building that up, understanding of English words, ... comprehension... If there is a word that they don't know, that will just totally throw them ... just like Māori I guess ... [They] seem to get a lot of confusions with 's', a few letters, you know, because we don't have them in Māori. So how to pronounce that ... we don't have silent nouns ... silent letters and things like that and 'ph' ... all those kind of blends like that. That's another one that seems to get them. The vowels,... In Māori it's a 'o', in English it can be 'o'[short] or 'o'[long], 'i' can be 'i' [short] or 'i' [long].

ETT4's comments were similar to the comments made by ETT1 and ETT3 at Schools One and Two respectively. Reading comprehension, vocabulary development and knowledge of English rules seemed to be significant language issues for Māori-medium students to overcome. Despite these weaknesses, ETT4 felt that the students had a positive attitude towards learning English - more so than their attitude towards learning Māori - because they had had little exposure to English at school, and viewed English as a critical feature for their future wellbeing.

7.11.13 Future prospects

ETT4 was confident that his students would have benefited a great deal from being part of the Whānau reo Māori, particularly, in terms of boosting their wairua (spirituality), confidence, and their ability to look deeply at concepts.

There are a lot of children in here that are very entrepreneurial, and they don't realise how well their reo has helped them, especially the wairua part, and don't realise how, when they evaluate things, they tend ... to look into things a lot deeper, because of that aspect. And they tend to look a bit more deeper [sic] and they don't realise it's coming... from their wairua [spiritual] Māori side.

ETT4 believed that the future prospects of his students were positive.

I think they're on a good start. To me ... they know who they are, and knowing that is really important, and when you know who you are, you know where you're from, you know where you can go. I think that is just so important. And because we're actual hands-on, get there, go to these places, learn about where you're from and everything, I think that's great. They know that and they know there's always something there to support them, someone there.

ETT4 had no doubt that in general, the graduates of the Whānau reo Māori would fare well when they leave school. He referred to the success that some of the School Three graduates had achieved when they subsequently moved on to secondary school.

From what I've read on research, if you've been strong on one side of the reo, of course it's going to be a bit slow but gradually they end up going further, and we've seen that from ... most of the schools around [name of town]. Now, all the head boys, head girls are from our school... Last year, we had [names a past student] winning ... the Dux ... for her studies. We've had so much success come out of the school and being because they were so strong in their reo. Yeah, they had teething problems. Well I remember [parent's name] saying yeah she'd had teething problems when she went to secondary school. But it was really just refocusing.

7.11.14 Bilingual issues

ETT4 was asked to comment on two issues concerned with teaching in bilingual schools.

1. The place of the Māori language to support the teaching of English
2. The attainment of biliteracy

7.11.14.1 Teaching English using Māori

ETT4 preferred to speak only English to the students during English lessons because this was the language that he felt most comfortable using. As ETT4 had the assistance of a native-speaking kaiārahi reo [Māori language assistant] in the classroom, he left Māori translations and explanations of the English content to her.

I think to myself, depending on the mēnā ka kōrero au ki a Nan,⁷⁵ mēnā kāore au e tino tika, ka taea e ia te whakawhānui i taku kōrero. So for me, I'd probably be able to more confidently explain myself in English.

7.11.14.2 Achieving biliteracy

On the question of whether his students will become biliterate, ETT4 was not so certain. He was not sure what level of language proficiency the term biliteracy referred to.

No way ... I wouldn't say biliterate, even to a degree. You would argue the point ... nobody has actually said, 'What is bilingual?' So you know they say, bilingual - ... efficient in both reos [languages]. Well what's the amount of efficiency are you talking about?

ETT4 raised a pertinent issue here (discussed in 1.9.3), regarding the regular distinction made between conversational and academic language in the wider literature (see Baker 2006, for an overview of the debate). A definitive explanation of biliteracy is difficult to pinpoint in light of these distinctions – and more significantly, the balance between them – in both languages. ETT4's belief was that the Year 8 students' two languages would not

⁷⁵ Short for Nanny (grandmother). Used by students to refer to a senior female Māori staff member of School Three

be balanced at a high level when they graduate from School Three. However, he did describe three distinct ability groups in his classroom.

I'd say we've got three groups here. It's like the bell curve where the majority are sitting in the middle, who are just ... maybe not too far from catching up. And then you've got your exceptions, where there's one or two who ... are par with one another. And then you've got the ones where they're here [indicates a high level] on te Reo Māori and they're way down in the English.

When ETT4 was asked whether he had any concerns about his students' English language growth, he stated that he was more concerned with the children's knowledge of te reo Māori, because he could still see many gaps in their attainment.

7.11.15 Aspects ETT4 would like to learn more about

A final question ETT4 was asked concerned further information he would like to gain about this subject. ETT4 discussed learning more about the benefits of bilingual information, particularly in order to educate the parents.

...for the school to get its vision for the parents to get an understanding of where we're sitting and where other schools sit... Because that's a lot of the thing with the parents, why they're so scared is that they don't really know... Putting all their money onto their children coming out with te reo Māori. At the end of the day, they're worried that they're going to lose out on the English concepts. So it's all ... confusion and because no one's ever asked those questions before.

Here, ETT4 described a real issue Māori parents face. They are often uninformed on current research into bilingual education and feel anxiety over whether their children will develop into skilled, employable adults having been through a Māori-medium education programme. This issue is important, and Māori-medium schools should be taking the lead in informing parents of this research.

7.12 Interview of Māori immersion teachers (MIT9/10/11)

Three reo Māori immersion teachers were interviewed at School Three. All these teachers are from the local tribal rohe (tribal boundary). They all taught in the Whānau reo Māori unit, teaching the Year 1 students, the Year 3-4 students, or the Year 5-6 students.

7.12.1 Background and path towards teaching

MIT9 began to learn to speak te reo Māori as an adult, when her preschool children began kōhanga reo. She spent a great deal of time helping at the kōhanga reo and later assisted at her children's Māori-medium primary school. During this period her ambition arose to become a teacher in the Māori-medium context. She wanted to be able to support her children's growth in the Māori language, and for them to learn about themselves and their history. She also had a desire to assist in preserving te reo Māori for future generations. MIT9 became employed as a kaiārahi i te reo (Māori language assistant) working in several schools (including School Three). When a school-based teacher training programme for kaiārahi i te reo was established, MIT9 was encouraged to enter into formal teacher training. This course enabled MIT9 to continue to work in her school as the kaiārahi i te reo, and to attend university classes during the school holidays. Since completing her teacher training, MIT9 had been working as a teacher for approximately 12 years, many of them in School Three.

MIT10, like MIT9, began to learn te reo Māori as an adult when her own child entered kōhanga reo. She wished to support her child's te reo Māori development at home by becoming a proficient speaker herself. She attended university for three years, studying towards a Bachelor degree in Māori, and later enrolled in a Diploma of teaching course that was established in the School Three community. MIT10 had been a teacher for four years, and was a long-term reliever at School Three at the time of this research.

MIT11, like MIT9 and MIT10, learned to speak te reo Māori as an adult. In 1992 she enrolled in a course at her local polytechnic, and was encouraged by her tutors to extend her qualifications at university. She completed a Bachelor of Arts degree, specialising in te reo Māori, and subsequently spent an extra year training to be a secondary school

teacher. Her motivation to become a teacher was in order to support Māori students. Her own memories of secondary school as a teenager were of there being few teachers who genuinely cared for the Māori students. She wished to change this and be a positive influence on Māori students. MIT11 began working with the older students of School Three. She had been teaching for around 10 years when this research was conducted, and had also previously served as the English transition teacher at School Three.

7.12.2 Should students learn English in Māori-medium schools?

There were contrasting answers to this question. MIT9 felt that Māori language and English should be separated, and if possible, the teaching of English should wait until the students commence secondary school. When asked why she thought this, MIT9 stated that by the end of Year 8, the Whānau reo Māori students were not yet strong speakers of te reo Māori.

Ki ahau nei, kāore rātou i te tino pakari... Ka mutu ki ngā kura tuatahi, ki a au nei, ka tae ki te kura tuarua, mā rātou e āta titiro he aha ngā hiahia. He aha ngā tino akoranga mō ēnei tamariki – pakari ki te kōrero Māori.

MIT9 felt that the secondary schools did not cater well for the needs of Māori-medium graduates, and that this issue could only be solved if secondary school teachers were to nurture closer relationships with the Māori-medium schools and their teachers. She stated, if these teachers understood more about the Māori-medium approach, they could better cater for the needs of Māori-medium students when they entered secondary school.

MIT11's view of the place of English transition in a Māori-medium programme differed from MIT9's. She felt that these students require 2-3 years of English transition lessons prior to entering secondary school. She discussed why she felt this way.

The children from kōhanga should go as far as Standard Four [Year 6], and give them two years at least before they go to high school for transition in English. Because when they get to high school, that is when the mamae [hurt] comes out, because not only are they in Māori classes, they are also in Pākehā classes as well. Koinā te wā ka puta mai te mamae, because ... each curriculum area has a different language and the children don't understand.

As support, MIT11 provided an example of a time when she accompanied a group of Year 8 students to their local high school for an introduction into secondary school life. When working with a physics teacher on the principles of how a battery works, the Year 8 students experienced difficulties comprehending the teacher's language. MIT11 stated that it was only when she explained the concepts to the students in Māori, that they felt comfortable about this physics theme.

Therefore, MIT11 felt that the environment of the secondary school is not receptive to the needs of Māori-medium graduates, and that Māori-medium schools should therefore ensure their graduate students are well prepared for the demands of the new educational context. She also felt that the secondary school teachers who take on the responsibility for teaching the Māori-medium graduates should be fully bilingual themselves, as this would resolve the issue of students not understanding the academic English that was prevalent in the secondary school curriculum.

MIT10's response to this question of the place of English in Māori-medium education was that, provided the two languages were kept separate in the Māori-medium school, English transition teaching should operate. She felt that a specialist English teacher should be employed to teach this subject and that lessons should be conducted in a separate classroom.

Ki ahau, ka noho wehewehe te rūma, te kaiako [hoki] ki te whakaako i te reo Pākehā, kāore e noho tahi. Whakarerekē[hia] te rūma [me] te kaiako

MIT10 felt that if a policy of strict language boundaries was adhered to at School Three, their policy would thereby conform to the philosophy that governs most kura kaupapa Māori called Te Aho Matua (Mataira, 1989). She felt that the principles in this document were important (See 2.10.1.5 for discussion on Te Aho Matua.)

7.12.3 What considerations should the English transition teacher account for?

The Māori immersion teachers discussed a number of ideas that relate to English transition teaching approaches, including the need for the teacher to possess knowledge about the structure of English, to be creative, and to have a high level of commitment to teaching in what is a specialist form of education.

MIT10 felt that the use of engaging reading books in the English transition class should be the basis of a good English transition programme. She felt the English transition teacher should incorporate the interests of the students into the programme, and be inspirational in the ways he/she engaged the students. She provided an example of her mother's teaching practice.⁷⁶ MIT10's mother would capture the students' imaginations using interesting books. When she found a topic that engaged her students, she would gather books and resources relating to it, and would incorporate engaging activities such as drama and art into the programme. The children would dress up as storybook characters and go on trips to the library or to her farm.

MIT9 and MIT11 both felt that English transition teachers should be highly knowledgeable in their subject area of the English language. MIT9 provided an example of a teacher who taught her son at secondary school, and who was particularly knowledgeable about the structure of the English language, and how to teach it. This teacher also formed good relationships with the students, according to MIT9.

I haere ia ki college. I reira tētahi kaiako tino mōhio ki te ako i te reo Pākehā. And he taught them what the English language was about. It wasn't just a translation of something. He taught them everything about English like the nouns the adjectives, all the language functions and the genre... and he [MIT9's son] thoroughly enjoyed it. And that was an excellent teacher who also understood that our kids were fluent in te reo Māori... He put them up on a pedestal. He realised that they were really special kids.

MIT9's view shows how teachers who understand the topic and understand the children can be extremely effective (See 2.9.4 on bilingual teacher skills.).

⁷⁶ MIT10's mother was also a teacher in a Māori medium school.

7.12.4 What are the community perceptions about the students learning English?

All of the teachers felt that the parents are very supportive of the Whānau reo Māori students learning formal English at their school. They stated that the inclusion of English lessons at School Three was a consequence of the parents' influence on the School Three programme. They also felt that the parents were satisfied that the English transition programme had a two-year duration, from Year 7 to Year 8.

7.12.5 Would you like your children to learn English if they are in a school like this?

All the teachers agreed with this. Both MIT9 and MIT10's children had already attended Māori-medium schools. MIT10's youngest child would attend Māori-medium education when he was five years.

7.12.6 Do you have any say in the planning of the English programme?

According to these Māori immersion teachers, the responsibility for planning the content of the English transition programme rested primarily on the shoulders of ETT4. MIT9 stated that she occasionally provided some assistance to ETT4 when it was required. However, ETT4 tended to plan the content independently.

7.12.7 How is the learning of English encompassed into the philosophy of School Three?

In asking this question, I referred to School Three's Mission statement. The whakataukī [proverb] that leads this Mission statement makes specific reference to the need to learn aspects of the Pākehā culture. The Māori immersion teachers found this question interesting because they had not previously thought about the content of the whakataukī in relation to the learning of English. MIT10, a relieving teacher at School Three at the time of this interview, stated that the only time she had heard discussion on the English transition programme was in relation to government funding. The staff discussions at these times revolved around the constraints of being a Level 1 Māori immersion

programme, which allowed for only three hours English-medium instruction each week,⁷⁷ including assemblies, ‘Prep’, and English lessons. It therefore seems that no serious discussion about the place of English transition education had occurred amongst the staff at School Three because they felt that their hands were tied in respect to the quantity of English they could implement.

7.12.8 What is the graduate profile of a Year 8 student who leaves School Three?

From MIT11’s perspective, the graduate profile of the students of the Whānau reo Māori was about teaching Māori, and not about teaching English.

Academically speaking on both things, the reo and the theory part of it. Ko te mea tuatahi, ko te reo Māori anake.

She also felt that when the graduate students leave School Three, the school should have nurtured them to the extent that they can ‘stand tall and be confident’. MIT11 discussed three groups of students who graduated from School Three. One group was the students who were high academic achievers. Another group was the students at the other end of the scale whose academic performance was poor, and who did not receive a high level of parental support from their homes. The third group, according to MIT11, sit between the other two groups. MIT11 felt awkward about discussing the students in terms of graduate profiles, because she felt that discussing them in a public forum might be detrimental to the two lower-performing groups of students who would not be able to meet the high expectations demanded by the graduate profile.

So when you ask this question what profile will you give your children, it will be at the detriment of some of them, if we give them a profile pēnā. The ones that are here [lowest achieving students] and here maybe [middle achieving students], but pēhea ngā mea i raro nā?

⁷⁷ P3 stated that she had found that School Three’s Level 1 Ministry of Education funding would not be jeopardised by increasing the English component. This was misinformation many of the School Three staff possessed.

Here MIT11 was saying that having a profile for graduates of what School Three expected them to achieve by the end of their stay at School Three could have a negative impact on the lower-achieving groups.

The discussion around this question led to further talk regarding how the graduates of Māori-medium schools fare when they move on to secondary school. The Māori immersion teachers reiterated their earlier comments (see Question one), that the secondary schools did not support the School Three graduates well enough, and did not understand their special (bilingual) needs (This is an issue Berryman & Glynn, 2004 deal with; see also, Rau, 2004; Rau, 2005).

7.13 Interview of Year 8 students

Six Year 8 students were interviewed as a focus group on two occasions. The interviews were conducted in English at the request of the students.

7.13.1 Background

All of the Year 8 students were aged between 12 and 13 years, and had ancestral links to the iwi of the School Three district. Several students reported also having ancestral links to other neighbouring iwi. All six had spent their total primary school education in Māori-medium programmes, three of them attending School Three for eight years, and the other three spending short amounts of time (less than a year) in Māori-medium programmes outside their district. Four of the six students attended kōhanga reo preschool for four years prior to attending primary school, and two students spent less than two months attending kōhanga reo prior to commencing their primary school education.

The reasons the Year 8 students cited for attending a Māori-medium school included in order to follow family tradition, and because of their parents' ambition for their children to learn te reo Māori. However, several of these students came from homes in which their siblings attended an English-medium primary school programme, rather than a Māori-medium programme. All of the Year 8 students interviewed stated that they enjoyed attending School Three. Seeing their friends, learning new waiata (songs) and their relationships with their teachers were elements these students described that made School Three an enjoyable school to attend.

7.13.2 Use of te reo Māori

The Year 8 students discussed two main contexts where they tended to speak the greatest amount of te reo Māori, at school and at home. They also reported speaking te reo Māori to their grandparents, and on marae. Their use of te reo Māori at home seemed to vary a great deal. Several students spoke of being frustrated with their (non-fluent Māori speaking) parents when they [parents] attempted to communicate in te reo Māori at

home.⁷⁸ The following comments were made about where the students speak te reo Māori.

- “I speak Māori at school and at my nan’s [grandmother] house, and I speak English at home.”
- “I speak Māori here and at my nan’s and sometimes at home, but it’s usually English.”
- “When I don’t want someone else to know and just a certain person [I] will sit there and speak in Māori and have a conversation, so no one else will know”
- “I have to talk to my uncle [in Māori]. They tell me I have to [speak Māori] or they won’t talk back.”

While the language use patterns of this group of Year 8 students were similar to the patterns of students in Schools One and Two, it seemed apparent that this group may have had greater exposure to te reo Māori outside school. Their comments indicated that they were more inclined to discuss the influence of grandparents and extended family on language use. It may be the case that these School Three students had greater exposure to native-speaking family members in their home lives than occurred at Schools One and Two.

The Year 8 students were asked about speaking te reo Māori at school. The general response was that te reo Māori was the language they use when speaking with the teachers. However, like the Year 8 students of School One and two, the School Three students preferred to speak English to their peers.

- “I only speak Māori when they [teachers] tell me to stand up and do something.”
- “I speak Māori to the teachers.”

When asked why they preferred to speak English to their friends, one student responded that the people with whom they speak had a greater command of English than te reo Māori. A second student responded that speaking Māori to friends did not feel right. All the students agreed with these two statements. These responses seemed to indicate that it is the successful communication of a message that is the central aim of these Year 8

⁷⁸ This was also the view discussed by students at School Two.

students when communicating with their peers. As te reo Māori was these students' second language, they preferred to speak English, their stronger [oral] language, when communicating with friends.

Despite the preference of the Year 8 students to use English as their language of communication, they stated that they enjoyed learning te reo Māori and viewed it as a positive skill to possess, thus providing them with a high level of self-esteem. They all felt very proud of being able to speak te reo Māori.

- “I know two languages, that’s mean [good].”

There were only two situations the Year 8 students discussed that caused them to have negative feelings about te reo Māori. These were when their teacher repeated content they had already learned, and having their Māori language corrected by their grandparents, uncles and aunts. This was particularly the case if they used Māori vocabulary from a different tribal area. One student stated:

- “That’s what my nan [grandmother] does. I’ll say something...and if I say something from a different area she’ll try and correct me and say that’s not it.”

The Year 8 students also discussed sometimes feeling self-conscious about speaking te reo Māori. One Year 8 student offered one scenario where this self-consciousness occurred, when speaking Māori in public places among Pākehā (non-Māori) people.

- “They look at you snobby and they start talking about you.”

Speaking te reo Māori amongst native Māori speakers was another situation the Year 8 students felt self-conscious about.

- “When there’s like fluent speakers around, that put you to shame.”

7.13.3 Views about learning English

All the Year 8 students who were interviewed wanted to learn academic English. They felt that there were many advantages to learning English.

- “You can understand it more.”
- “It makes you feel brainy.”

While they felt that learning English was important, they stated that they found learning it difficult. The complexities of the English language and, in particular, learning the spelling rules and the academic vocabulary, were two areas these students struggled with.

The students were asked about their reading patterns outside the school. Only one of them reported that he read at home regularly. This student stated that it was because his mother wished to increase his English reading ability. The other Year 8 students indicated that they occasionally read the newspaper; two of them doing so frequently. However, they stated they find the language in newspapers difficult.

7.13.4 Perceptions of their English language ability

The students were asked about their confidence in achieving the following tasks (see Table 15 below). Their responses are in the right column.

Literacy Task	Year 8 student perception of difficulty
Reading road signs	Simple to all students
Reading labels on packets	Simple to all students
Reading comic books and magazines	They did not read them very often, but the female students stated that they found comics such as Dolly, Cream and Cleo, simple to read
Reading newspapers	This group stated they did not read newspapers
Writing a story in English	They all felt confident
Writing a message to mum	All students would write in English

Table 15: Year 8 students' perceptions of their English writing abilities.

Overall, these students felt their reo Māori ability was stronger than their knowledge of English. This is interesting because their answers to the previous questions about their day-to-day use of te reo Māori seemed to indicate a preference and strength in English. Their feelings of confidence at using te reo Māori rather than English may have been a reflection of their perceptions about their academic language ability, rather than their oral

language ability. They were native speakers of English, but learning academic English was similar to learning a second language.

7.13.5 English transition programme

When asked whether or not they enjoyed learning English in the transition programme the Year 8 students stated that their English transition lessons yielded relatively few benefits for them. The following statements illustrate the discontent they felt.

- “We just talk English but don’t learn English.”
- “He’ll just read an English book and then tell you to write.”
- “All you have to do is listen to him talk English.”
- “And then an hour and a half goes past because he always gets off the kaupapa [theme] and then we get back to Māori.”
- “He just talks about his experiences.”

The Year 8 students described their lessons as consisting of their English transition teacher reading to them, and then filling the remaining time with a talk. The students were then allocated personal reading books to be put into their desks for weekly reading. They stated that they were not formally taught English, they were instead sent away to read independently. They also stated that writing stories was an occasional element of their English transition programme.

The Year 8 students did not find this type of lesson format satisfying. They would rather learn about English than just listen to it, as often occurred at the time of this research. They also felt that they would prefer more time to be designated to English language learning. When asked what English content they would prefer to be exposed to one student thought that exercises that help them spell correctly would be helpful. Other suggestions included:

- Reading
- Writing
- Reading stories and summarizing the key points
- Writing stories of their own choice.

7.13.6 Future ambitions beyond school

The students were asked about the type of secondary school they planned to attend the following year. Three students indicated they would attend an English-medium school. Two students indicated a Māori-medium stream of a local secondary school being their preference. One Year 8 student was not sure where he would be sent.

A final question asked of this group of students concerned their career ambitions when they leave school. Their choices included becoming a producer of music, an actor, a singer, being involved in fashion design, hairdressing, and working for Revlon in the cosmetics industry.

7.14 Description of the literacy status of students in School Three.

7.14.1 Introduction

There were five literacy assessments collected from the Year 8 students in this study.

- English reading (non-fiction texts)
- English reading (fiction texts)
- Māori reading
- English writing
- Māori writing.

See the Case study of School One for details of the procedures for each test. Please note that, as stated in School One and School Two's case studies, care needs to be taken when using these results. Analysing them using the AsTTle assessment tools proved to be extremely subjective. I have therefore been conservative with my assessments.

7.14.2 English reading assessments

Description of students in School Three			
	Chronological Age (N=9)	Probe Reading Achievement Non-fiction (N=9)	Probe ⁷⁹ Reading Achievement Fiction (N=9)
Mean (yrs)	13.03	10.61	11.00
Range (yrs)	12.6 - 13.4	5.5 – 14.0	6.0 – 15.0

Table 16: Age and Probe reading Levels (English) for nine Year 8 students in the Whānau reo Māori at School Three

Table 16 shows that of the nine Year 8 students who were involved in this study, their mean age was 13.03 years and the age range was from 12.6 to 13.4 years. The mean non-

⁷⁹ Probe (Parkin & Pool, 2002) is a New Zealand designed reading assessment tool.

fiction (English) reading level was 10.61 years and the range, 5.5-14.0 years. The Year 8 students were also tested on fictional texts. The results showed a mean reading age of 11.00 years, or 0.39 years higher than the results for non-fiction texts.

These results show that the students' mean non-fiction English reading level was 2.42 years lower than the students' chronological ages, and 2.03 years lower for fiction texts. While this result was somewhat lower than the students' ages, it is positive, when considering that this group of students have had surprisingly few English language instructional hours (less than two years at around 1.5 hours per week). Also apparent in these data was the large gap between the students' upper and lower range English reading levels. Two students, at the lower range level had very low reading levels (5.5 years and 6.5 years), while two students had very strong reading levels of 14 years. This pattern stretched the results somewhat. If the results of the two students at the lower end of the range were eliminated from the statistics, the mean reading levels would be far more representative of the whole group, at 11.92 years (non-fiction) and 12.29 years (fiction).

7.14.3 Reading Levels (Māori)

All nine Year 8 students had reached at least the Miro Māori reading level, from the Ngā Kete Kōrero framework (Ministry of Education, 1999). Seven of them had reached the level Whatu, which is a new reading level that has been designed to accommodate the reading levels of secondary school students (Rau, 2009). This is a very high result.

7.14.4 English writing

Deep features					Surface features		
	Audience awareness	Content	Structure	Language resources	Grammar	Punctuation	Spelling
Mean	3.08*	2.94	3.00	2.94	3.02	2.53	2.72
Range*	2.25-5.5	2.25-4.75	2.25-5.25	2.25-5.25	2.25-4.75	2.25-4.75	2.25-4.75

Table 17A: English writing status: AsTTle⁸⁰ indicators for nine Year 8 students at School Three

*These measurement units equate to between Levels 2 to 6 of the New Zealand Curriculum framework (Ministry of Education, 1993b).

*These measurement units equate to between Levels 2 to 6 of the New Zealand Curriculum framework (Ministry of Education, 1993b). The possible maximum range is between 2.25 and 6.75

Table 17A shows that the mean scores of the nine Year 8 students in School Three, for all English writing skills categories (including Deep and Surface Features), ranged from 2.94 to 3.08. Audience awareness (3.08), grammar (3.02) and structure (3.00) were the highest scoring categories. Content (2.94) and language resources (2.94) both scored 2.94. Spelling (2.72) and punctuation (2.53) achieved the lowest scores in the skills categories. The range of scores across the language skills categories was 2.25 to 5.25.

The interesting pattern from these data is seen in the high proportion of students who consistently scored at Level 2. Five students were at this level, with three of these five scoring the lowest possible score across the full range of English skills categories. At the upper end of the scoring range, one student consistently scored between 4.75 and 5.5 across the skills categories. Overall, the scores achieved by the nine Year 8 students of School Three were significantly lower than those achieved by Schools One and Two.

⁸⁰ (Hattie et al., 2004)

This is a highly significant outcome that relates to the amount of exposure the students of School Three have to English language instruction.

7.14.5 Māori writing

Deep features					Surface features		
	Audience awareness	Content	Structure	Language resources	Grammar	Punctuation	Spelling
Mean	4.14*	4.17	4.10	4.06	4.08	3.61	3.97
Range**	2.75-5.25	2.75-5.25	2.75-5.25	2.75-5.25	3.25-4.75	2.50-4.50	3.25-4.50

Table 17B: Māori writing status: AsTTle⁸¹ indicators for 9 students at School Three

*These measurement units equate to between Levels 2 to 6 of the New Zealand Curriculum framework (Ministry of Education, 1993b).

**Possible range: 2.25 to 6.75

Table 17B shows the Māori AsTTle writing scores. The mean scores across the Māori literacy categories varied from 3.61 to 4.17. The descending order of the scores was content (4.17), audience awareness (4.14), structure (4.10), grammar (4.08), and language resources (4.06). Spelling (3.97) and punctuation (3.61) were the two lowest scoring categories. The range of scores across the seven Māori writing skills categories varied from 2.50 to 5.25.

The Māori writing results for the nine Year 8 students in School Three are very positive, with the students' scores in five of the seven writing categories achieving a mean score above Level 4. A further positive pattern in these results is the students' strengths in the deeper features categories. The mean scores in these four categories exceeded those of the surface features categories in all but one instance. The wide range between the highest and lowest scores that was evident in the English writing data was also evident here in the Māori writing data. One student scored 2.75 on four of the seven categories, and another student scored between 2.25 and 3.25 across the seven categories.

⁸¹ (Hattie et al., 2004)

These results for School Three would seem to indicate that the tail of lower performing students that was evident in the School One and two results was also apparent at School Three.

7.14.6 Comparison of the Māori AsTTle and English AsTTle results

- The English AsTTle scores were weak by comparison with the Māori scores. Language resources, content, punctuation and spelling all scored below Level 3
- The Māori AsTTle writing scores were consistently higher (one level higher in most cases) than the English AsTTle writing scores
- Students scored higher in the deeper features categories (both English and Māori measures)
- The spelling and grammar categories yielded the lowest score in both the English and Māori writing samples
- Three students scored consistently low across the categories compared to their six peers, thus forming a significant tail of low achieving students in the English AsTTle scores
- The low achieving tail was less evident in the Māori language writing categories
- One student consistently scored higher than her peers on all measures, both Māori and English.

7.14.7 Conclusion

The results from these literacy assessments showed that School Three's Year 8 students' Māori literacy levels were high. Their Māori reading levels were extremely high (far higher than those of Schools One and Two), with most students reaching a Māori reading level that a secondary school Māori-medium student would hope to achieve. However, several of the students whose Māori reading levels were indicated by their teacher to be at level Whatu, scored poorly in all other literacy assessments. This may indicate that the teacher's reading assessment was not accurate. The School Three Year 8 students' Māori AsTTle writing samples were also high, with a mean level of four achieved for five of the seven skills categories.

One significant pattern that was indicated by these data concerned the size of the difference between the Māori literacy scores (reading and writing) and the English

literacy scores (reading and writing). The difference was usually one full level for the School Three students, indicating that their English literacy skills had not yet begun to approach those of their Māori literacy levels. However, if, as the Year 8 students explained in their interviews, their English lessons seldom occurred (see 7.13.5), then the English literacy results for at least three of these Year 8 students are encouragingly high. This said, the issue still remains that these students will soon move on to a secondary school context. Those students who choose a Māori-medium secondary option, which is available, may be able to have more time to achieve biliteracy. However, for those Year 8 students who choose to attend an English-medium programme, they will work beside students whose entire education has been in an English-medium school, and who may have higher levels of English literacy. This could disadvantage the Māori-medium students if their needs are not catered for appropriately.

7.15 School Three discussion

The case study of School Three is interesting because this English transition programme is quite different from that of School One and School Two. School Three students were offered English transition later in their primary school education, and for less time. As a consequence of these factors, from the outset of this research project it was expected that the results for School Three might not compare as well with the results of Schools One and Two.⁸² P3 and staff of School Three were aware that this study might reveal weaknesses in the English area. Nevertheless, they were happy to become involved in this project in order to gain an insight into how their English transition programme compares with the programmes of other Māori-medium schools. It is therefore important that the findings from this case study, both positive and negative, are viewed and understood with this background in mind.

7.16 Emerging themes from School Three's case study

7.16.1 The School Three context

School Three was affected by the same community and staff issues found in Schools One and Two. The school community was relatively poor and School Three has had difficulty attracting teachers who were fully qualified professionally and have native-like fluency in te reo Māori. School Three's issues seemed to be more challenging than the other schools in this study, particularly in relation to effectively staffing the Whānau reo Māori. From the interviews with P3 and DP3, it seemed that they struggle to attract high quality staff and, in the event of a staff member resigning from School Three, finding a suitable replacement was a major issue, and one that could potentially jeopardise the Māori-medium programme. ETT4's employment as a teacher of the Whānau reo Māori unit was an example of one of the compromises Māori-medium schools sometimes make to ensure their programmes remain staffed. ETT4 was not a highly fluent speaker of te reo Māori, but was an experienced junior class teacher with the ambition to succeed in the Whānau

⁸² Interestingly, though, the te reo Māori literacy results of this group ranked higher than both other schools. See the student assessment results later in this case study.

reo Māori. Therefore, School Three felt the need to compromise what is considered a cornerstone of a Māori-medium programme, fluency, in order to progress. Compromising fluency in the target language in this way would be unacceptable in most other international contexts, yet in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and at School Three, there is difficulty in fulfilling both requirements because of the shortage of skilled teachers who are fluent reo Māori speakers.

As a consequence of this situation at School Three, it is clear that their English transition programme was not as much a priority as the more pressing issues of maintaining a sound Māori-medium programme with quality teachers. Given the small part the English transition programme played at School Three and the funding constraints that prevent them from enlarging it, School Three was a school in transition - wishing to develop further, and looking for assistance to do so. This development will only occur when staffing issues are solved, and when P3 settles into her role as the leader of this school.

7.16.2 The treatment of English in the Whānau reo Māori of School Three

As discussed in the introduction to this section, the Whānau reo Māori offered significantly less English transition education to its students (1.5 hours weekly), and offered it later in the students' primary school years (involving only Year 7 and 8 students). Furthermore, ETT4, the Māori immersion teacher, taught both the Māori immersion component and the English transition component of the programme. (Schools One and Two employed separate teachers.)⁸³ This situation had obvious implications for ETT4's workload. He was required to teach both the Māori and English curriculum and to teach the English segment in an extremely short weekly time slot. The quantity of time spent teaching English transition and the positioning of lessons on a Friday will now be discussed.

⁸³ Interestingly, minority group bilingual programmes in overseas contexts, particularly the Spanish-English programmes in the United States, often follow the School Three example of employing one teacher to teach through the medium of both languages. Programmes such as that found in School One and two by contrast, are less popular, offering a similar programme as, in effect, an *ESL* withdrawal programme in other schools. This is further discussed in Theme four below.

7.16.2.1 The quantity of time of English transition lessons

The quantity of time that was reserved for English lessons was an important factor that limits the potential of the School Three English transition programme. It is clear that a programme where 1.5 hours instruction is available in which to teach oral language, written language and reading, is not possible. ETT4 attempted to split his lessons three ways, and provide a mini-lesson for each language skill. However, he found this too difficult to maintain in the time period. He also modified his programme by spreading the reading lessons over a two-week period, rather than one. However, this system was still difficult to implement. It resulted in the students reading with ETT4 once a fortnight, and led him to favour independent student reading instead. The Year 8 students who were interviewed for this study, were concerned about this hands off approach to teaching English. In a Māori-medium school, where there is high demand on a teacher's time to create programmes and the resources to support them, teaching both English and Māori can be extremely difficult.

A key factor influencing the amount of time devoted to English transition is the method of government funding of the Whānau reo Māori programme. Only 1.5 hours per week was set aside for English lessons, because it was felt that any greater quantity would jeopardise the school's Level 1 Māori-medium funding.⁸⁴ P3, DP3, ETT4 and the Māori immersion teachers all discussed this factor as limiting the School Three English transition programme's potential. DP3 explained that when School Three calculated the English component of the school programme, which included assemblies, 'Prep' classes, and the English transition classes, 1.5 hours was the total allowable quantity of time that School Three could implement before they would be required to drop to Level 2 government funding. As there is now no threat of funding loss, School Three should increase the English component in order to ease both the logistical issue of fitting instruction into the time period, and in order to increase student achievement.

7.16.2.2 The content of the English transition programme

Because of the difficulties ETT4 faced in maintaining his programme, the English transition content replicated the Māori literacy content. If, for example, the students were

⁸⁴ We now know that this is not the case.

studying speech making in Māori, they would simply replicate this in the English classes. This simplified the programme caused two problems. First, a simple translation of the Māori programme may solve the issue of what English the students study. However, it creates issues around skill development progression, and whether the programme caters to the students' English learning needs. 'Single hit' English lessons will not provide the continuity necessary for students to progress systematically, nor will they enable a wide coverage of skills development. Instead, it is likely that the students will feel frustrated and turned off by learning English in this way. The Year 8 students interviewed in this school voiced considerable frustration at the lack of a stable English programme, wanting more time to learn English and a more effective approach.

The second issue concerns language skills transfer. Repeating the language content in both languages ignores any potential language skills transfer that might occur between the students' two languages. This is an important argument Baker (2006, p. 331) makes. He states that instead, "Coordination, integration and synchronization are needed to ensure learning is cumulative and not repetitive."

While the teaching of English to students did not reach its potential, one of the more positive findings of this study concerns the high English literacy levels attained by several students. Several Year 8 students showed strong English reading and writing levels, with two students' reading Level 1 year above their chronological ages, and two students reading at less than one year below their chronological ages. Unfortunately, there were also a number of students whose English reading levels were very low. Two students' English reading ages were seven and eight years below their chronological ages.

7.16.2.3 Friday morning classes

Situating the weekly English transition lessons on Friday mornings seemed to contribute to an underperforming English transition programme. It was clear from the interviews of the Year 8 students that English lessons were often either not implemented at all, or the content was 'watered down.' One reason for this may have been because Fridays are at the end of the school week when the teacher's focus is on completing other unfinished school projects. Fridays are also often also a time teachers in many New Zealand primary schools engage the students in less structured work, having had four days of intensive

engagement. Friday mornings may therefore not be an ideal time to embark on a new initiative, particularly one as complex as teaching English transition.

7.16.3 Beliefs about the place of English transition in Māori-medium education

7.16.3.1 Staff beliefs

Two prevailing views regarding the place of English language instruction in Māori-medium education emerged from the results of this study. ETT4, DP3 and one Māori immersion teacher (MIT9) felt that English transition should not be part of primary level Māori-medium education. They felt instead, that as much time as possible should be dedicated to educating the students through the target language, te reo Māori. MIT9, for example, felt that the teaching of English should commence at secondary school. However, she lamented the situation she had observed in that the secondary schools did not even try to emulate the way Māori-medium primary schools operate. She felt secondary schools should align more to the kura kaupapa Māori model rather than tread their own path. A closer ongoing relationship between both schools is what she felt was needed.

The contrasting view (that English transition teaching should be part of the curriculum in Māori-medium schools) came from P3, from two Māori immersion teachers (MIT10 and MIT11) and from the Year 8 students. MIT11, a previous Year 8 Whānau reo Māori teacher and English transition teacher, was strong in her view that English language education is required at the primary school level to ensure students survive their transition into secondary school and into the academic English language demands of this sector. P3 had similar views. She believed students needed to develop a balance of skills, including Māori and English, so that they could reach their full potential. She stated:

I would like to see our school as a school where the children feel comfortable to come to this place where they can live out who they are in terms of their culture and their language...and that they wouldn't feel threatened to express and to be who they are... as Māori people.

7.16.3.2 *Students' beliefs*

The Year 8 students discussed their enjoyment of learning English, as they could see the advantage this knowledge would bring them. However, they felt quite frustrated by the English transition programme they were exposed to. They described lessons that were dominated by their teacher, and requiring them to listen to their teacher tell stories.

7.16.3.3 *Parents' beliefs*

The staff perception of the parents' beliefs was also an area where there was no consensus amongst School Three staff. ETT4 and DP3 were content that parents preferred a total immersion Māori environment for their children. The Māori immersion teachers, by contrast, felt that parents were supportive of their children learning English at School Three.

From this discussion, it is clear that there were a wide range of views in School Three regarding the teaching of English transition. There also seemed to be some misconceptions by teachers regarding community beliefs regarding the subject. These differences of opinion were more marked than at both Schools One and Two.

7.16.4 Using one teacher to teach both English and te reo Māori.

School Three was the only school of the three in this study to utilise the Māori immersion teacher (ETT4) to teach both te reo Māori and English. This occurred because employing a specialist English transition teacher would have proven too costly at School Three, and for such a small portion of the programme (1.5 hours per week) finding a suitable teacher who was prepared to take on the job would be difficult. Elsewhere in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the reason other Māori-medium schools separate the two languages by teacher, place and time is because of a fear that by positioning the two languages in close proximity, the pervasiveness of the English language may cause the students to refuse to return to speak te reo Māori.⁸⁵ This scenario would therefore jeopardise the most fundamental principle of Māori-medium education. Māori-medium schools instead tend

⁸⁵ There was also the fear that the senior students would negatively influence the junior students who generally speak te reo Māori more frequently at school.

to prefer to locate the learning of English in a separate location, by a separate teacher who only teaches English curriculum objectives.

In international contexts, this arrangement of situating the instruction of both languages under the same roof by one teacher (as occurs at School Three), is quite common, and if implemented effectively, has some advantages. Current perceptions on teaching approaches (see Bourne, 2001; May, 2002a; May et al., 2004) in ESL (English as a Second Language) contexts are increasingly critical of withdrawing students from the language-rich classroom context in order to learn English themes which do not relate to studies within the classroom. It is instead felt that the ESL teacher should accompany the ESL students to their language rich classrooms and scaffold the language there, through whichever curriculum area is being studied.

If the teaching of English is conducted under the same roof, there is the opportunity to provide a seamless transition from learning in one language to learning in the other, while still studying all the curriculum areas. Not only will the range of English language learning opportunities expand as the students are exposed to the language of curriculum areas such as science, social studies, and mathematics, but the students are also better able to use their te reo Māori knowledge in order to assist in their learning of English. This ability to transfer the knowledge of the first language to assist in the learning of the second language is termed contrastive linguistics (Cummins, 2001; Lambert & Tucker, 1972),⁸⁶ and is an area that researchers, such as Jim Cummins (Cummins, 2000; Cummins et al., 2007) argue has great potential to assist in creating highly proficient bilinguals.

If this teaching arrangement that occurred at School Three has potential, as it seemed it did, then School Three is an ideal environment where experimentation of methods could occur. There are several issues that would need to be overcome in order to test the efficacy of this approach. One is sourcing the availability of equivalent teaching resources, including curriculum resources and reading materials in both languages. Possessing the same resources in both languages would allow the classroom teacher to transition from one language to the other without requiring him/her to translate the materials him/herself. A second issue is a willingness to experiment with a situation that

⁸⁶ It is also probably the same as 'translanguaging' (Garcia, 2009; Baker, 2003, 2006)

other Māori-medium schools have been reluctant to try. A third issue is the need to reconsider the timing of English lessons and, if possible, extend the length of time of classes in order to provide a broader coverage of English skills teaching.

7.16.5 The Year 8 students' language preferences

An interesting finding to emerge from this research pertains to the Year 8 students' language preferences. The Year 8 students enjoyed attending a Māori-medium school, and having the ability to speak te reo Māori. One Year 8 student stated, "I know two languages, that's mean [good]" – a reflection of how they all felt. However, they also revealed that they seldom spoke te reo Māori to anyone apart from their teachers, instead preferring to use English. Yet they felt confident using academic Māori when studying at school.

The Year 8 students' feedback illustrates a predictable pattern of them favouring oral English language and academic Māori language over academic English language and oral Māori language. This is a pattern that stemmed from the different types of exposure the students have had to each language in the school and in the wider context. Outside school they were usually exposed to conversational English, while in school they were predominantly exposed to academic Māori. This seems to indicate that there are gaps in their knowledge of both languages and this is preventing them becoming fully bilingual and biliterate.

A question that remains unanswered is whether or not increasing the amount of English language instruction at school will harm the students' Māori language proficiency? Given that these students speak English at school, an increase in English instruction may not make any difference to their reo Māori, but would significantly increase their English language knowledge (both academic and oral). This seemed to be the case at both Schools One and Two, which included more English instruction and gained higher achievement results.

A final theme regarding student perceptions concerns where the School Three students go after they graduate. The whānau of four of the students interviewed were considering attending an English-medium programme. For these students in particular (but also perhaps for other students), the need to be exposed to formal English transition lessons is

important because it is this group who will be vulnerable initially when they share classrooms with students who have spent their entire education in an English-medium setting. This is a genuine issue that should be addressed by School Three.

8 Chapter Eight: Final discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter pulls together the central themes that have emerged from the three case studies. Six themes are discussed.

1. The community characteristics
2. Staff perceptions regarding English transition, and their knowledge of bilingual education principles
3. Relationships
4. Treatment of English
5. Student perceptions
6. Literacy achievement.

8.2 Community characteristics

All three schools in this study shared a number of community characteristics that contributed positively to the Year 8 students' education. In each school there was a core of highly motivated parents who provided the most school support. School One had a large school *rūnanga* (governing board) that consisted of 22 members, together with a very supportive parent community with a history of commitment to Māori-medium education. School Two had what P2 described as 'the movers and shakers' parent group who provided support for all the fundraising efforts at school. At School Three, the *Whānau reo Māori* parents were among the most highly committed families within the school community.

The three school communities also displayed a common ambition for their children to grow up learning *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori*. They were committed to Māori-medium education because they saw it as providing the only truly Māori-centred option for them. Furthermore, as parents in these communities had themselves been deprived of learning their heritage language when they grew up (King, 2003; Walker, 1990), they

were highly motivated to provide te reo Māori learning opportunities for their children. Such parental and whānau motivation will contribute to reversing the alarming decline in Māori language usage in Aotearoa/New Zealand, as discussed by Benton and Benton (2000).

Another common element among these three communities related to the learning of English. While whānau were committed to ensuring their children learn te reo Māori, most parents (according to the participants of this research) were also realistic about the need for their children to be equipped to live in a world where English is the language of status and, as such, requires instruction. The Principals of each of the case study schools stated that improving English literacy was an ambition of whānau. Many of these parents, who may not have experienced high levels of success themselves at school, desired greater success for their children and this includes reading and writing English, as well as te reo Māori.

This study found that there were several related factors that affected each community's ability to support their children in their education. These communities comprised a generation of parents who had not been exposed to te reo Māori when they were growing up, and so that they are less able to support their children's Māori language development at home. Interacting with this, Māori-medium schools usually service lower socio-economic communities, where parents have extremely limited material resources. Parents' ability to support the academic English learning at the school was therefore also constrained. Hence, the education of Māori-medium students comes to be seen as primarily the responsibility of the school, rather than as a shared responsibility between school and home. This situation was explored within the School One case study, but applies to all three schools.

These two factors have important implications for the academic and linguistic development of Māori-medium students. First, how do the students achieve broader Māori language registers in areas that the school does not offer? Second, how does English literacy development progress if whānau do not have a strong English literacy tradition? These two issues would seem to affect students' educational attainment, and present an enormous challenge to Māori-medium educators. The discussion theme below, under the heading Students' perceptions and Literacy assessments, supports this argument.

8.2.1.1 Summary

While each community provides a degree of support and encouragement for the school, there remains a significant issue of how to develop and extend the parent and community support mechanisms for the students' academic Māori and English language learning. In order to assist the school in extending students' literacy skills, ways need to be found to extend their range of Māori language registers and to deepen their knowledge of academic English. This is clearly an issue of national importance. In order to make a significant difference and reverse the Māori language shift that has already occurred in previous generations, these communities need to stretch and expand their already limited socio-economic resources. Additional financial and professional development resources from outside these communities are sorely needed to support their students becoming bilingual and biliterate. Achieving high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy requires a community solution, as has been strongly advocated by researchers such as Joshua Fishman (Fishman, 1991). Each community needs to negotiate a long-term strategy to find its own local solutions. However, schools such as those represented in these three case studies cannot be expected to provide the high quality Māori and English language models on their own. It requires a national strategy.

8.3 Staff perceptions regarding the teaching of English transition, and their knowledge of some of the attested principles of bilingual education⁸⁷

8.3.1 Perceptions about the value of te reo Māori instruction

A clear pattern that emerged from this study, and common to staff across the three case study schools, was their belief in the value of Māori-medium education, and a strong commitment to the revitalisation of te reo Māori. All staff who were interviewed, including the four English transition teachers, understood the need for target language

⁸⁷ Attested principles of bilingual education derive from research that explores the unique growth of a bilingual's two languages and the related need to plan for English transition education. It includes knowledge of the concept of biliteracy along with bilingualism and knowledge of language skills transfer (see Chapter Two for a full discussion).

(Māori) instruction to be the cornerstone of the programme, as recommended by Lindholm-Leary and Borsato (2006), Cummins (2000), Baker (2006), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and many other researchers. Where their beliefs differed was around the place of English transition instruction in Māori-medium education.

8.3.2 Perceptions about the value of English transition instruction

Staff perceptions regarding the place of English transition instruction in a Māori-medium school differed at each school. School One staff embraced English transition to a high degree. This was reflected in their perceptions, and their school policies and procedures. In this school, the teacher participants (including English transition teachers, Māori immersion teachers, P1 and DP1) believed strongly in the need for English transition instruction. They were able to provide explanations to support their views, both pragmatic reasons (i.e., to function in society), and reasons related to bilingual research principles (i.e., when discussing language skills transfer). At School One, English transition instruction seemed to be embedded in the school philosophy, and not viewed as an add-on. This finding was predictable because School One had the longest-standing English transition programme, having been in place since the 1980s, as well as having a reputation for pioneering Māori-medium education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The School Two staff had similar perceptions as School One staff regarding the place of English transition in Māori-medium education. However, these staff did not have the same depth of knowledge; nor were they able to link their perceptions to the research literature to the same degree. The Māori immersion teachers were more resistant than those in School One to accept the idea of having English development stand alongside te reo Māori development. The place of English instruction seemed to be more of an add-on element rather than an integrated component of the school programme. For example, the English teacher in School Two described a feeling of separateness from the rest of the school. She also felt that there was a lower level of accountability regarding her performance teaching English, compared with that of the Māori immersion teachers teaching te reo Māori. In another example, the Māori immersion teachers showed little knowledge of the components of the School Two English transition programme, including knowledge about school policy for the commencement of English instruction. Together, these findings suggest that English instruction in School Two had a lower priority and lower status than it did at School One.

The value that staff placed on English transition instruction at School Three contrasted with both Schools One and Two. There was a definite split in their perceptions. ETT4, DP3 and MIT9 felt that, at the primary school level (below Year 9), te reo Māori should be the sole focus of Māori-medium primary schools. These staff believed that English instruction should wait until secondary school rather than primary school, despite their concerns about how secondary schools cater to the unique literacy needs of Māori-medium students. In contrast, other staff (P3, MIT10 and MIT11) and the Year 8 students felt that English language instruction should be a necessary component of primary school level Māori-medium education. MIT11, for example, was strongly in favour of English instruction because she had previously been the English transition teacher and had accompanied the students into secondary school to witness the language issues they faced. She was adamant that the students required assistance to help them cope in the secondary school.

Overall, it was clear that the development of te reo Māori was the priority for many staff at School Three (as should be expected). However, unlike School One, which integrated English instruction into its philosophy, and School Two, where English was an add-on, English transition instruction at School Three had a highly marginal position. The short amount of time allocated to English transition, and the perceived constraints (including financial and logistical) may have made the subject of English transition too difficult for staff to engage with seriously. It appears that School Three implemented a token English instruction programme to satisfy community pressure, rather than as a result of understanding what is needed to produce bilingual and biliterate students.

However, at the outset of this research project School Three had highlighted English transition as an area of development. P3 was also new to her position when this research was conducted. This meant that during the initial stages of the research, she was still becoming familiar with the school. School Three also experienced difficulties maintaining staff numbers in the Māori-medium classrooms. This situation meant that themes such as English transition were of a lower priority than maintaining effective target language instruction. Together, these features mitigate the criticisms of School Three to a degree.

8.3.3 Knowledge of bilingual principles

At School One, the teachers displayed a sound and unified rationale of the principles of bilingualism and bilingual education (including the biliteracy needs of students and the idea of language skills transfer between languages), and of the need for the students to learn English (as discussed in 8.3.2). English language instruction seemed to be part of the ‘total picture’ in terms of graduate profiles of students, not just an add-on measure.

It was clear from the interviews with the teachers, P1, and DP1, that the staff at School One was actively involved in professional development regarding the principles of effective practice in bilingual education. They had a common knowledge about many bilingual education concepts - for example, the advantages of teaching languages in parallel and the achievement of biliteracy - as well as a clear knowledge of the school philosophy, the processes, structures and outcomes that are derived from the School One programme. Staff knowledge of the students’ academic achievement was obvious at all staffing levels, from the management staff and lead teachers (Kāhui Marau), to the general teaching staff. This was despite School One being the largest and most complex school of the three case studies. This is a very positive result.

School Two, a smaller school with a lower range of student age levels, showed a slightly lower level of common knowledge and understanding of the principles of bilingual/Māori-medium education, and the need for English transition to be part of it. ETT3 was a new teacher to School Two and to Māori-medium education when the data were gathered. She showed a moderate level of knowledge about bilingual principles, but a sound knowledge of the need for the students to learn English, and of how to achieve this end. One of her strengths (as for ETT1 in School One) was her dissatisfaction with the status quo, and her active search for new ways of increasing the children’s English language skills.

The Māori immersion teachers in School Two showed a range of levels of knowledge and understanding. They were also able to provide some research evidence about the length of time students should be immersed in second language instruction in order to stabilize their language, but not much beyond this. In this instance, it was understandable that their knowledge of bilingual principles was less advanced than that of the teachers at School One because several of these teachers were either beginning teachers or relief teachers.

Nevertheless, they supported the need for English instruction, but only after te reo Māori has been sufficiently developed.

The teachers at School Three (apart from DP3 who had second language teaching qualifications) indicated that they had moderate levels of knowledge and understanding of bilingual principles. For most of them, te reo Māori development should take precedence, and it seemed that any discussion about Māori-medium educational principles and the efficacy of English transition were incidental and unplanned. One of the issues that had been discussed by the staff was how some school-wide English-medium components competed with the amount of time that could be spent learning English. In one example, DP3 discussed the students' compulsory involvement in the 'Prep' programme, which taught the students about the principles of business practice. This was one commitment that she stated competed for time with English transition education. This research would question the relevance of less essential components, such as 'Prep', when more essential elements such as English language instruction, should take precedence.

8.3.3.1 Summary

The themes discussed here show that the schools that embrace the need to include English transition instruction, which have a sound knowledge about bilingual principles and theories, and can articulate them, tend to maintain a more unified, holistic approach to their programmes, without adversely affecting the Māori language focus of the school. The issue here is the need to view students of Māori-medium programmes as bilingual students who need to develop both languages while they are at school, rather than viewing students as solely requiring te reo Māori development. Achieving bilingual and biliteracy goals for the students can be achieved in a Māori-medium programme without risking the learning potential of the students' Māori language development, provided that enough time is devoted to Māori language development early in the school programme, and provided also that the development continues in the later primary school years. Viewed in this way, teaching English enhances the value the learning of te reo Māori and vice versa.

8.4 Relationships (pedagogy, teaching, general)

Throughout the data-gathering period at School One, the nurturing of effective relationships between the teachers, and the teachers and students, was a salient feature. There was a culture of willingness amongst the teachers to help one another to find ways of improving student achievement. The literacy teachers at the secondary school level provided important assessment information to the English transition teachers on student progress. There was also an important link between the Māori immersion teachers and the English transition teachers, who parallel genre studies in their literacy programmes throughout the year. Student progress was discussed regularly at school-wide meetings and staff spent a great deal of time deliberating on the students' progress. The relationship that the teachers nurtured with the students was also very positive at School One. This was an aspect that the Year 8 students highlighted when discussing what they liked about School One. One student had stated, "They [teachers] get smart to us and we're allowed to get smart back."

This shows that there was a culture of care and commitment between the teachers and students (the same feature found in Bishop, Berryman and Richardson's (2001) study of effective literacy practice in Māori-medium programmes). It was a culture that owes a great deal to the work and commitment of P1 and the management team, who had created a culture of trust amongst students and teachers. One policy that School One adopted was to employ only staff who have a genuine commitment to the students and to Māori-medium education. This is a key element in their success. ETT1's description of how she gained employment at School One was a clear example of this. She was a Pākehā who had grown up in a Māori community and who had an affiliation and an appreciation of the Māori culture. She worked in a Māori bilingual school, and enrolled her own children in that school. ETT1's skills and qualities were exactly what P1 and DP1 sought.

Schools Two and three also displayed positive relationships between staff and students, although not to the same extent as teachers in School One. At School Two, while the staff of the immersion classes worked closely together, little communication occurred between ETT3 and the Māori immersion teachers. The only time discussions occurred amongst the staff, according to ETT3, was once a year, when the teachers came together to discuss achievement targets and assessments. She felt that there was little interest from the rest of

the staff towards the English transition programme, and explained that her classes were often cancelled at short notice if immersion staff were sick and they needed cover in other rooms. Despite the disparities among staff, the students of School Two spoke very positively about their relationship with ETT3, who they felt was fun and effective. However, they did not speak as positively about working with other teachers at School Two. They discussed being bored, and sometimes not being provided with explanations of how to solve their mathematics problems. They also felt that the teachers were occasionally derogatory towards them.

The students at School Three were positive about their teachers (both ETT4 and the Māori immersion teachers). This was a feature that made school more enjoyable to them. However, they were critical about the content of the English transition programme which made them feel frustrated because they believed not much thought had gone into it. They wanted to increase the English content of this class, and focus on important skills they would need in the future.

The collaboration between the School Three teachers was also mixed. At times, DP3 and Māori immersion teachers would provide advice to ETT4 on his programme. However, for the most part, ETT4 was left to his own devices to maintain his English transition programme. He was struggling to achieve significant progress in that area given the limited time made available for the programme.

8.4.1.1 Summary

There is a large amount of support for the view that successful schools (both bilingual and non-bilingual) incorporate a high amount of collaboration among staff (May, 1994) and nurture caring relationships with their students (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Gay, 2000; Nieto, 1999; Pang, 2001). A caring and collaborative environment assists in creating a climate where students feel comfortable and their learning is stimulated. This study has found that School One had a highly collaborative environment, and close relationships between teachers and students. As a consequence, this school was clearly a more positive place in which to work and to be a student. While a level of collaboration also existed in the other two schools, this was less developed. Despite this, most of the Year 8 students still enjoyed attending their schools and working in a Māori-medium environment.

8.5 The treatment of English

		School One	School Two	School Three
1	Timing	Year 4 to Year 13	Year 6 to Year 8	Year 7 to Year 8
2	Hours	3.5 to 4.0 hours weekly (45 minute lessons) Half size classes	4 hours weekly divided between morning and afternoon classes	1.5 hours weekly on Fridays
3	Separation of language	By time, teacher, and space	By time, teacher, and space	By time only
4	Percentage of English instruction hours for the years that English instruction occurs	14.8 percent	16 percent*	6 percent
5	Percentage of English instruction hours for the total number of instructional hours from years 1-8 (8000 hours)	7.5 percent (740 hours)	4 percent (320 hours)	1.5 percent (120 hours)

Table 18. The teaching arrangement at each of the three case study schools

* School Two's English instruction hours were calculated from the total quantity of English instruction the Year 8 students were exposed to by 2006 (two years). Subsequent groups will have 3 years of English transition instruction.

Table 18 shows the arrangement of each school's English transition programme. School One incorporated English transition for the longest period (3.5-4 hours weekly from Year 4). This school employed separate teachers who had a separate space and time to teach

English transition. School Two implemented a similar arrangement. However, they commenced English instruction at Year 6, two years after School One. This timing was a recent change which had previously commenced one year later at Year 7.

School Three's English transition programme differed markedly from the programmes of the other two schools. Their English transition programme commenced at Year 7 and incorporated the fewest hours (1.5 hours weekly). Furthermore, they used the same classroom teacher to teach both te reo Māori and English. Therefore, the language allocation at the School Three was separated by time, but not by teacher or by space, as occurred in the other two schools.⁸⁸

The final two rows of Table 18 (rows four and five) show two sets of data relating to the percentage of English language instruction time. Row four (Percentage of English instructional hours for the years that English instruction occurs) presents the percentage of English instructional for those years the students received English transition instruction (for example, School One offered instruction between years 4 and 8, so the English content percentage was calculated solely in relation to those five years). This calculation is important because each school's bilingual designation and funding (between Level 1 and Level 4 funding) is based on this. The table shows that School One included the highest quantity of English language instruction (16 percent), closely followed by School Two (14 percent) and School Three (six percent).

Row five of Table 18 (Percentage of English instruction hours for the total number of instructional hours from years 1-8) shows a more revealing set of data, the percentage of English instruction hours over the total eight years of primary school. These data show that School One allocated 7.5 percent of instructional time to English instruction over eight years. School Two allocated 4 percent, and School Three allocated 1.5 percent. These figures are a more accurate calculation of students' total exposure to English transition instruction. Furthermore, when these figures are compared with an equivalent 90/10 Canadian French immersion programme, the French programme will include around 2600 hours English instruction or 33.75 percent of the total school hours (see Baker, 2006 for details on 90/10 and 50/50 programmes). This is because in Canada, like

⁸⁸ Separating English language by teacher, time, place or subject is the most common approach in Māori medium education (see Chapter Two).

many other overseas programmes, instruction in the second language commences earlier and rapidly increases to a 50/50 balance.

Care needs to be taken in drawing negative conclusions from these data about Māori-medium programmes. Canada and other overseas bilingual programmes operate under different conditions, and the students have different language learning characteristics. As such, a greater and earlier exposure to English in Aotearoa/New Zealand may be warranted in this case. Nevertheless, the question of the balance of instruction between each language is important for Māori-medium schools to continually consider, particularly in terms of maximising the potential for achieving biliteracy. Cummins (2000, p. 22) negotiates this New Zealand issue of fulfilling English learning needs without jeopardising the revitalisation of a threatened language. It is an issue, he feels requires careful consideration. He states:

Research on these issues [of the place of English] is lacking and thus [Māori-medium] educators must carefully observe the outcomes of different programme options in order to work towards optimal development of both languages.

Cummins makes two additional points. First, he highlights that skills transfer across languages is a two way process, requiring a repositioning of the two languages, rather than a total exclusion of one of them (see 1.10.3). Second, Cummins states that the acquiring the skill of critical awareness, an important language-based skill, requires that both languages be acknowledged through the process of comparison and contrast. Cummins therefore highlights the need to rethink the place of English in Māori-medium education and to consider the potential advantages of allowing both languages to be nurtured in the Māori-medium classroom. This view has merit.

8.5.1 Pedagogical approach

A positive element in common to each of the schools of this study was their implementation of “top-down” (Manzo & Manzo, 1993; Nicholson, 2000) language teaching pedagogies. All these teachers, including ETT4 to a lesser extent, taught English using approaches such as guided reading, shared reading (Ministry of Education, 1996, 2003, 2006) and some elements of the writing process (Calkins, 1994; Graves, 1983). The use of these meaning-based approaches clearly assists in extending the students’ language

skills, as I observed myself when observing the teachers' lessons (see also, Cummins et al., 2007, and 2.9.10).

Another element that was observed, particularly in Schools One and Two, was a strong focus on genre studies, in both reading and writing classes. School One Māori-medium classes designated two genres to each school term, in parallel with the Māori immersion literacy classes. Reading and writing approaches formed the foundation for this programme, with the balance shifting from a reading skills focus between Years 4 and 6, to a writing skills focus between Years 7 and 8.

At School One, the English transition programme was simple, well planned and was producing clear literacy skills gains for its students. However, the strong genre focus seemed to limit the programme, particularly in the senior classes (Years 7 and 8), where much of the programme seemed to consist of breaking down writing genres into their basic components, analysing them, and practising them. The memorisation of spelling words was also a significant component of this programme, which seemed to yield negligible learning outcomes for the students.

School One's programme had obvious benefits in helping students learn the basics of written genre design, which may be helpful in preparing the students for secondary school. However, a narrow literacy focus such as this might not be sufficient to provide the students with the English language knowledge that they will need in upper secondary school and beyond. In this school's programme, English literacy was being compartmentalised into six boxes (reflecting six genres), and was treated as a task to be practised, rather than as a pursuit in order to broaden their minds and vocabularies. It may also contribute to the students of School One having less developed academic vocabularies. This was evident from a reading of students' writing and reading assessments (see 5.13).

School Two also used genre as the basis for its English transition programme. However, there was a stronger emphasis on reading, and a changing emphasis from the surface features of English with the younger students, to the deeper features of English. This programme included the interesting element of dividing classes into morning and afternoon lessons. The morning lessons were designed for the whole cohort, and incorporated content such as exercises in the surface features of English, and story

writing. The afternoon 'extension' classes, by contrast, were for special ability groups and incorporated a strong English reading focus (using guided reading).

The content of the English transition programme in School Two was regularly adapted, as ETT3 experimented with new ideas. She seemed happy with it when the data for this research were gathered. While the study of genres was central to this school's programme, the programme also had a strong reading focus, with the inclusion of a great deal of discussion. Like ETT1 and ETT2's programme at School One, ETT3's programme offered opportunities for students to read and talk about academic English. The Year 8 students stated that they enjoyed the programme ETT3 had created. In particular, the extension classes seemed to attract a level of eliteness among the students, which they enjoyed. The focus on surface features with younger students and a shift to deeper features with the older students also seemed to offer many benefits to these students' learning. However, care would need to be taken to ensure that their skills in the deeper features of English (including academic English) are not jeopardised for less important aspects. Academic English was an area of weakness identified through this research. Careful monitoring of the English focus within this school should be maintained.

School Three implemented a translation English transition programme where the English literacy content mirrored the content the students were studying in their Māori immersion literacy programme. The primary reason for this approach, according to DP3, was because time restrictions necessitated a simple design. ETT4 had experimented with several arrangements with limited success, including dividing the 90-minute lessons evenly into reading, writing and oral language components. However, the time restrictions meant that this type of organisation was unsustainable. For example, it meant that he could only afford enough time to listen to the students read once a fortnight rather than once a week, as he desired. As a consequence, the programme often included independent reading and writing. ETT4 was not satisfied with this English transition programme, nor were his Year 8 students.

The English instructional approach at School Three suffered from several issues, one being the lack of sufficient instructional time to enable any significant English language learning; and others being the positioning of the lessons on Fridays, and employing a teacher who was already challenged teaching te reo Māori. The English transition

programme at School Three thus failed to flourish, and frustrated the Year 8 students. Attending to these timing and staffing issues could significantly improve English learning outcomes for the students at School Three. Despite these concerns about minimal exposure to English language, several of the Year 8 students performed surprisingly well in their English reading and writing assessments. Most of the students however, performed significantly lower in their English assessment than the students of Schools One and Two, as might be expected.

While much of this discussion regarding School Three has been negative, this programme has the potential to strengthen considerably. There are two aspects that potentially advantage School Three. First, ETT4 has the ability to incorporate a wider range of curriculum subjects (and a broader range of academic English) delivered through the English language because he controls the whole programme for his students. Second, being bilingual means that ETT4 is able to monitor the students' learning of both te reo Māori and English. This would then enable him to draw the two target languages closer together in the classroom situation so that the students are able to compare and contrast them to a greater extent, and thus transfer their learning of one language to the other. This approach has had success in overseas contexts (Cummins, 2000; Cummins et al., 2007) and in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Lowman et al., 2007). However, for this to occur effectively, School Three would need to reorient its school programme, dispensing with other pursuits, such as 'Prep', in order to increase the time available for English language transition.

8.5.2 Oral language development

Specific instruction in oral language was not implemented in any of the three schools in this study. There are two reasons why this might be. First, the English transition programmes had limited time allocations (with the exception, perhaps, of School One), which meant that inserting oral language instruction was effectively impossible. The second reason for its exclusion may have been a consequence of a perception among the teachers that, as most Māori-medium students are already native English speakers who live in an English speaking community, they do not need to learn oral language because it will develop naturally. However, this outlook indicates a misconception of the concept of automatic language transfer, a phenomenon that has historically plagued Māori-medium programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In recent years, many Māori-medium schools

have been shifting their understandings and practices around language transfer of English literacy skills, moving to a greater recognition of the need to formally teach academic English in their programmes (May & Hill, 2005). However, this change does not appear, as yet, to extend to oral English language instruction. Oral language instruction should be a necessary component of English transition programmes, but sufficient space needs to be provided for it in the timetable.

8.5.3 Language assessment

This study found that all the English transition teachers experienced difficulty implementing their language assessments, given the limited time their programmes occupy. Despite this, teachers in Schools One and Two implemented a wide range of assessments. School One assessed reading (using Running Records (Clay, 1988) and Probe (Parkin & Pool, 2002), writing (using AsTTle (Hattie et al., 2004)), and spelling (using Peter's spelling test (Peters, 1970)). ETT4 used only two simple forms of language assessment, Running Records (Clay, 1988) and analysing samples of the students' writing but, because of the time constraints, he found it necessary to conduct and process all of these either before or after school hours.

These examples highlight the issue of which English language skills should be tested and how often assessments should occur in a context that has significant time constraints. This research would suggest that language testing of students should be more selective, and that assessments that are time consuming to implement, such as AsTTle and Running Records, should only be used when necessary. Blanket testing (of all students) should occur only several times a year. At other times, only students who are at risk or are ready to cross a learning threshold (such as moving up a reading level) should be tested. This was the approach that Teachers One and Two implemented at School One.

8.5.3.1 Summary

This section shows that of the three programmes, one (School Three) is distinctly different in its characteristics and treatment of the two languages. Unfortunately, because of the time restrictions and the limited careful planning to its content and outcomes, the School Three programme is not yet reaching its potential. A programme that is only able to pay lip service to learning English cannot easily be compared with the other

programmes. Despite this, as stated above, it could potentially effect significant growth in the students' knowledge of English if small changes were incorporated. A unique English transition programme could be developed in School Three, where the students are exposed to the language of a wider range of curriculum subjects. It could also incorporate content that encourages cross language comparisons, and thus the transfer of language skills from one language to the other. Until this type of change occurs, along with changes in staff understandings of the place of English transition in the Māori-medium education, the English programme will not live up to its potential.

The Schools One and Two English programmes share many characteristics, and both deliver in terms of the student learning outcomes (discussed below). These programmes require only small adjustments in their approaches to further refine the content, and continue their positive rate of progress.

Two unresolved issues from all three programmes include the optimum quantity of English instruction, and the related issue of the place of English oral language instruction within them. All three school programmes incorporated a considerably lower number of hours of English instruction than might be found in bilingual and biliteracy contexts outside Aotearoa/New Zealand. This shortage of time limits the ability of staff to incorporate oral language programmes. Both of these issues need to be negotiated by schools. More time spent learning English will allow oral language to be better incorporated, and provide more room for assessing language. Furthermore, it will not necessarily result in a dropping of Māori language standards in schools (this is further discussed in 8.6 below).

8.6 Student perceptions and preferences

An analysis of the Year 8 students' perceptions led to some interesting findings across all three schools. The first and most important of these concerned which language (Māori or English) the Year 8 students prefer to use in everyday contexts. Apart from when they spoke to their teachers or tribal elders, the students reported that English was their preferred language, both in and outside school. This included speaking with parents,

siblings and peers.⁸⁹ School Three students explained the central aim for them was to ensure their recipient understood the message. This was why English was preferred as the language of use. This response shows that not only was English the Year 8 students' preferred conversational language, but it was probably also their stronger language. For these students, communicating ideas was central in their language interactions, a priority which conflicts with the aims of Māori-medium schools. Interestingly, this preference for using English among the Year 8 students differed for the junior school students. According to P2, the junior students were more likely to use te reo Māori at school but tended to change to English at around Year 4. This may signal that there is a threshold that exists in the students' first years of Māori-medium education where students decide to return to speaking predominantly English. It may be connected to the phenomenon of the "fourth-grade-slump," as discussed by Cummins et al. (2007, p.52; see also, 6.72).

The second student finding that emerged from this research concerns their enjoyment of learning English and te reo Māori. The Year 8 students across all three schools stated that they enjoyed learning English but found it difficult at times. They also enjoyed having the ability to speak te reo Māori because they viewed it as a special skill that few other people attain, even though they preferred not to speak it in the classroom. Only the School Two students had some negative perceptions about learning te reo Māori, but this was likely to reflect their frustration at the content of lessons and their relationship with the teachers.

This situation where the Year 8 students have conflicting language preferences (preferring to speak English but enjoying having the ability to speak te reo Māori) can be better understood in relation to the distinctions between conversational language ability (earlier referred to as Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills), and academic language ability (called Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (Cummins, 2000, 2001)). That these Year 8 students feel more comfortable speaking English leads me to believe that their English conversational language (BICS) is their highest developed language – at least for communicating non-academic concepts.

⁸⁹ Several Year 8 students from School Two discussed using te reo Māori with their preschool siblings who attended kohanga reo.

On the other hand, there are two distinguishing patterns in the Year 8 students' academic English and academic Māori ability. Their academic English knowledge was less developed than their academic Māori knowledge, because of the lower amount of formal exposure to it (through the English transition programmes). On the other hand, these students seemed to feel comfortable learning through te reo Māori, and were performing at an appropriate level for second language learners of te reo Māori (the literacy assessment results discussed in 8.7 show this).

This link between student language preferences and language strengths can be explained using the Threshold hypothesis (Cummins, 1976b, 2000; Toukoma & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977 and Chapter One). On this model, the Year 8 students appear to have crossed the first threshold to the second floor, but have not yet crossed the second threshold to the top floor in either English or te reo Māori. They are not far away from achieving this major step, provided their Māori and English proficiency is further strengthened in those areas that have not yet been fully developed (i.e., in academic English and Māori).

This finding is important but is somewhat predictable, as the students' language proficiency reflected the amount of exposure and the type of exposure these students have had to te reo Māori and to English over the 12-13 years of their lives. Their total English exposure had been predominantly conversational in nature, with the addition of several years of academic literacy instruction. Their Māori language exposure will have consisted of a predominantly academic exposure, derived from their school experiences. Their language competences reflected a group of students who had been learning through the medium of Māori – their second language - from teachers who are also predominantly second language learners of te reo Māori. Several important questions yet to be answered concern how the secondary schools will receive these students, how they will assess their language competence (whether wharekura, or Māori-medium schools, or mainstream English-medium schools) and whether or not their conversational and academic language proficiency (in both languages) will continue to develop to high levels.

For the students of School One (a school that retains their students for 13 years of their education), and for the other students who enrol in a wharekura, the potential may be greater, as their Māori and English needs are more likely to be nurtured in this type of environment. However, for a significant proportion of Year 8 students whose parents choose an English-medium secondary school, careful monitoring will be required. For

these students who choose English-medium secondary schools, it is imperative that by the end of Year 8, they have progressed to a satisfactory level of academic English attainment. For these students, who will be a minority group in these English-medium schools (as Māori-medium graduates), there is a danger that the secondary school environment will not be sympathetic to their needs. It is possible, for example, that an assessment of their academic competence in English may be used to determine their overall ability to learn, and they may be placed inappropriately, in lower-level classes. This has been a pattern in other national contexts, where bilingual students have often been constructed in deficit terms when entering English-medium secondary schools (Flores, Cousin, & Diaz, 1991).

8.6.1.1 Summary

The findings of this section show that while the Year 8 students enjoyed attending a Māori-medium school, and having a knowledge of te reo Māori, they still preferred to use English, their stronger language. This pattern reflects the relative exposure (the type and amount) they have had to each language. To these students, communicating their needs was the priority and this was best conducted in their stronger language. This is despite the aim of the three schools to limit student exposure to the English language.

This finding raises the issue of whether or not increasing the English component will make any difference to the students' Māori language skills and their language speaking preferences. The Year 8 students preferred English and predominantly used English. There is a good basis for contending that increasing English instruction will not adversely affect their Māori, but may in fact stimulate it. Increasing English may also offer opportunities to further engage the students' thinking.

8.7 Literacy achievement

Literacy assessments were conducted in this research to assist in building a full picture of how the Year 8 students were coping in their learning of te reo Māori and English. The assessments were simple and therefore provided only indicative information. While they did not show conclusive patterns, the data presented here are helpful in supporting the findings from the interview data.

8.7.1 English assessments

School One (N= 29)		School Two (N= 9)		School Three (N= 9)	
Mean chronological age	Mean reading age	Mean chronological age	Mean reading age	Mean chronological age	Mean reading age
13.2 years	12.19 years	12.83 years	11.06 years	13.03 years	10.61 years

Table 19: The mean English reading age and mean chronological age of Year 8 students across the three schools.

Table 19 displays the mean English reading levels for each school. The results of these assessments (both non-fiction and fictional texts) showed that the Year 8 students of Schools One and Two achieved the highest results, with a mean English reading age approximately one year below their mean chronological age. School Three's English reading assessment results were lower than Schools One and Two, achieving a mean reading level approximately two years below their mean chronological age.

The results of the students' English AsTTle (Hattie et al., 2004) writing assessments showed a similar pattern. Schools One and Two students performed the highest, achieving a mean level equivalent to their ages (Level 4 of the national curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1993b)). The Year 8 students from School Three reached Level 3, one curriculum level below Schools One and Two.

8.7.2 Te reo Māori assessments

The Māori reading levels of the Year 8 students were similar for Schools One and Two, with most students either approaching or having reached Miro level, using the Ngā Kete Kōrero framework (Ministry of Education, 1999).⁹⁰ This is considered the highest reading level for students in Year 8. However, at School Three the Māori reading levels

⁹⁰ I did not personally assess the te reo Māori reading levels of the students. Instead, I accessed the results of the Māori immersion teachers' most recent Running Record results (Clay, 1988)

exceeded both the other schools, with most Year 8 students reaching the level *Whatu*, a level usually designated for secondary school Māori-medium students. The Māori writing assessments showed similar results across all three schools. Schools Two and Three students reached Level 4 of the national curriculum. School One Year 8 students scored marginally below this.

8.7.3 Patterns emerging from these assessment data

The most significant pattern these data confirm is that the more time spent studying a language (either Māori or English), the higher the achievement. In each of the four skills areas that were assessed in this research, providing more opportunities to study through a given language translated into higher attainment. School One and two implemented the highest number of English instruction hours, and their students consequently performed best in the English language assessments. At School Three, where less time was spent learning English, the results from the English assessments showed a larger gap between their chronological ages and performances (in both reading and writing). One surprising result was the higher than expected performance of the School Two students in English reading and writing. Despite these Year 8 students being exposed to less than two years English transition instruction, their English achievement levels were similar to those of students in School One, who had three extra years of lessons. This is a very positive finding.

Overall, the results of the *te reo* Māori and English assessments showed that the students of Schools One and Two were progressing soundly towards biliteracy levels in both languages. This is an extremely positive finding considering that these students have been exposed to far fewer hours of English instruction, and their instruction in Māori has been through their second language. The results demonstrate that the Year 8 students' levels of Māori literacy had reached a satisfactory level, and their academic English skills were also progressing soundly. What is clear from these assessment results is that language skills transfer between the students' two languages (as discussed in 1.10.3) was occurring as anticipated, despite being exposed to a small number of English instruction hours.

8.7.3.1 Summary

The results of the literacy assessments tend to support the findings that have emerged from the interview data. They show that the students' te reo Māori progress had reached satisfactory levels when considering the conditions under which they had been exposed in their schooling (i.e., they had been working through their second language in their schooling, and their immediate environment provided teacher models who were often second language Māori speakers themselves). The Year 8 students' English achievement levels tended to reflect the amount of exposure they had received. The School One and Two students, with the greater exposure to English instruction, were achieving higher levels in English. The School Three students, by contrast, had less instruction and their English skills had not progressed to the same level.

While the results of the assessments are generally positive, it is important to ensure that steady and sustained progress in both of the students' languages is still necessary for students to reach high levels of conversational and academic language ability in both languages. They will require a greater depth of knowledge of both languages beyond primary school. The choice of secondary school the Year 8 students make will also be crucial, as will the continual monitoring of their progress. These findings support a case being made for increasing the academic English language exposure the students receive at school from the low levels they currently receive. This may further facilitate bridging the gap between the students' two languages. It may also further stimulate their Māori language development if approached in an innovative way.

9 Chapter Nine: Educational implications

As a result of my exploration into the three case studies of Māori-medium programmes, I have encountered several major issues that need to be explored further.

9.1 The conflict in aims between restoring te reo Māori and educating bilingual students

Within the context of the renaissance of Māori-medium education, schools face a range of major challenges, not the least of these being how to address two kaupapa [philosophies] simultaneously. First, the push to restore te reo Māori, and second, the push to advance Māori students educationally. Sometimes these two kaupapa conflict with one another, particularly with respect to the inclusion of academic English in Māori-medium programmes, but both still need to be urgently addressed. With Māori resources (particularly people) being limited throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand, we cannot afford to have the two issues competing with one another. Schools need to commit to achieving both, and to work out carefully the best approach in order to accomplish this.

9.2 Teaching English should be an integral part of the Māori-medium programme

Implementing an English transition programme is a necessary element of any Level 1 Māori-medium programme. This is not a surprising finding, as it was signalled in the international literature. In this study, Schools One and Two implemented a more significant English transition programme and their student literacy attainment in both languages seemed to be stable, without detracting from their Māori language programme. By contrast, School Three's English transition programme was less developed and resulted in lower student literacy assessment outcomes.

With the likelihood of many Māori-medium students moving on to English-medium secondary programmes, their future educational wellbeing could be compromised if their

English (and Māori) literacy levels are not well developed. For the students who continue on the Māori-medium path into secondary school, however, there is still a need to continue their English literacy development to appropriate levels.

9.3 Schools that are successful at addressing both kaupapa need to have good collaboration, communication, teacher-student relationships, and shared knowledge about bilingual theory and concepts.

This study confirmed the finding that schools that share the qualities of having high levels of staff collaboration, better relationships between staff and students, and knowledgeable staff who perceive English transition as important, are likely to achieve higher results in the English and Māori literacy assessments.

Furthermore, if teaching staff have sound understandings of bilingual theory and the principles of effective practice in bilingual education, as well as competence in te reo Māori, they will be better able to satisfy the educational needs of the students. This has implications for the way that bilingual teachers are trained by pre-service and in-service training providers.

9.4 Achievement of bilingualism and biliteracy

Achieving bilingual and biliterate aims for students is complex. This study has demonstrated that bilingualism and biliteracy are not unrealistic goals, though they are inevitably challenging ones. Both Principals and teachers in the three schools indicated that their communities still had a long way to go towards understanding the complexity and the challenges involved in achieving these goals. Māori and English bilingualism and biliteracy in Māori-medium contexts may take longer than the between five and seven years that Cummins and other researchers state (see 1.9.2), given the more limited role for English transition in many kura programmes. Moreover, the experience in Canadian French immersion schools indicates that even with this extended time, students may still predominantly use English as a language of communication (Genesee & Riches, 2006), as appears also to be the case here.

9.5 Separating the languages by time, teacher, subject and place may not be the only means of arranging Māori/English instruction.

The English teaching approach implemented by two of the three schools of this study separated the languages by teacher, time, place and subject. This type of approach is typical of most Māori-medium programmes that implement an English transition programme, because it positions English as far away from the Māori language environment as possible, and addresses a genuine fear that damage may be caused by allowing English to gain a foothold in Māori-medium schools.

The fear of English invading the space that te reo Māori occupies is understandable. However, there are other options that need to be considered. This climate of fear has prevented schools from experimenting with other approaches that could offer advantages that current approaches do not offer. One option could be to use Māori immersion teachers to teach (and assess) both languages through a wider range of curriculum subjects, and to allow language skills transfer to occur. Whatever approach is implemented, one important component of any English transition programme should be oral language instruction. It needs to hold a legitimate and prominent place in the English transition programme.

9.6 The importance of theory to this research

Experience within the three case studies has affirmed the importance of wider bilingual and biliteracy research as a basis for assisting New Zealand teachers to understand and overcome the challenges they face in Māori-medium contexts. For example, theoretical constructs such as the Threshold and Developmental interdependence hypotheses, and the conversational/academic language distinction (otherwise known as BICS and CALP), have guided and assisted the course of this project.

The Threshold hypothesis has been very useful, particularly in order to depict the unique patterns of language growth Māori-medium students experience as they progress through the Māori-medium education system. The Developmental Interdependence hypothesis provides support for the argument that both of the bilingual's languages should be nurtured in the pursuit of bilingualism and biliteracy. The conversational/academic

language differentiation provides impetus for us to think about Māori language development in different ways and to devise programmes to meet diverse student needs.

9.7 Listening to students and communicating effectively is important.

Experience within the three case studies in this project highlighted the valuable contribution that students themselves offer to the researcher. The Year 8 students were able to reflect and report on their learning experiences with great clarity and focus. The information they provided offered me important insights into pedagogies that work well for students. This kind of information both complements and supplements the information that the teachers and school personnel provided. Hence, it is important for future research to incorporate student voice over the full 13 years of their formal education and beyond to ensure that their needs are being met.

9.8 Continuing conversations with Principals and teachers

This research exercise has illustrated the value of regularly discussing the issues that concern Principals and teachers who are involved in Māori-medium education. This project has illuminated many important findings that should continue to be discussed and developed further in Māori-medium schools.

An important consideration in relation to this theme is the need for teachers to be well informed and well resourced. It must include the consideration towards providing quality pre-service and in-service training to teachers and trainees in bilingual pedagogies. This will enable Māori-medium schools to successfully implement programmes that offer the community a quality education.

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11 Appendices

11.1.1 Appendix one: Interview questions for English transition teachers

General

- Could we begin by discussing your background (iwi, teaching experience, etc)
- Why did you become a teacher - and why are you in this school?
- Why are you the English transition teacher?

Training

- What training did you complete in order to become a teacher in a bilingual school?
- How useful was that training for this job?
- Did your training include any second language teaching qualifications or pertaining to teaching English?

Beliefs about teaching English/Māori

- What is your personal belief regarding teaching English to students in Māori-medium schools?
- What do the parents/students think about the school's approach?

School philosophy

- What is the philosophy and approach of the school towards teaching English transition?
- What part do you play in the English transition programme in terms of planning, teaching, assessing, discussing approaches, etc?
- How do you feel about being both the classroom teacher and the English transition teacher? Advantages/disadvantages.

Students

- Tell me about your students (backgrounds, homes, skills they come with)

- What are the key strengths of these students (English and Māori)? Are there any gaps?
- What are their English language learning needs?
- What are their attitudes to learning English?
- What do you think the future prospects are for the graduates

Teaching approach/Assessment

- How do you approach the teaching of your students?
- Where do you start when teaching a new group of students? i.e., alphabet, phonemic awareness, reading...?
- What skills do you teach (speech? reading? writing, etc)?
- Take me through a typical lesson format.
- Have you found this method effective in terms of catering to their needs?
- Are there any special considerations that are needed in regard to catering to the students' needs?
- Tell me about your assessment of English? (types, frequency, skills focus)
- What resources do you use to assist in your teaching and assessment?

Second language acquisition

- When teaching English do you use te reo Māori with students?
- Do you ever compare or explain English language concepts using the example of te reo Māori? Explain?
- What is the link between the development of a child's L1 and their L2?
- Have you heard about language learning delay? Have you witnessed this in your students?

General - conclusions

- When you have finished with teaching Year 8 students, do you feel they are bilingual and biliterate? What makes you say that?
- Do you have any concerns
- What areas do you wish to find more information about?

11.1.2 Appendix two: Interview questions for Principal

School history/Philosophy

- Tell me briefly about the history of your school?
- What is the underlying philosophy of your school? (Te Aho Matua, etc). What are the elements of this?
- What are the aims/goals (graduate profile) for the students who graduate from the school?
- To what extent is language revitalization and/or bilingual-biliteracy an aim of this school?

Students

- Tell me about the students who attend this school. (iwi, families, background, distance)
- L1/L2 Māori/English – home languages
- Education levels of families
- Any issues?

School organisation

- Tell me about how the school is organized (whānau, groupings, staff allocation).
- Tell me about staffing and their skills/qualifications
- Tell me about the Māori/English programme components (te reo ratios, timing).
- (Wharekura only). As your school is wharekura, are there aims for various stages the students pass through?
- How do you plan for their schooling over the 8 Years-13 years?
- Where do your students go to from your school? What kind of relationship do you have with this school?

English transition

- Tell me about how the background/history of English transition programme at the school? Has it always been the same? If not why has it changed?

- How do you plan for the English language of the students?
- What are the students' needs in terms of learning English?
- What approach is used when teaching English (methods, skills focuses)?
- What part does staff play in the planning and teaching of English?
- Are you happy with the way it is going?
- What kinds of outcomes do you achieve from this programme? (biliteracy)
- How do parents/community view your English programme?
- Are there any special considerations that your school has to consider
- How is assessment carried out at school?
- Are there any issues that you'd like to further look into?

Second language acquisition issues

- Comment on the following issues
- Timing of English language teaching
- Use of te reo Māori with students when teaching English?
- The link between the development of a child's L1 and their L2?
- Language learning delay?

11.1.3 Appendix three: Interview questions for Year 8 students

Background

- Tell me about your pre-school experiences and school experiences. (kōhanga reo, number of years in bilingual schools)
- Did you grow up here? (iwi and hapu links)
- Why do you attend a Maori medium school?

Attitudes to school

- Do you enjoy this school? Why?

Te reo Māori

- Where do you speak Māori? Where do you speak English?
- Tell me about your learning of te reo Māori. Do you like learning te reo? Do you feel confident speaking, reading and writing it?

English

- Tell me about your learning of English. Do you like learning English? Do you feel confident speaking, reading and writing it?
- Tell me about any incidents where you felt uncomfortable about your English language knowledge?
- Are there any things you don't feel confident about in English?
- In English do you feel confident about doing the following things
 - Reading road signs
 - Reading labels on packets in the shop
 - Reading comics
 - Reading newspaper articles
 - Writing a letter or a story at school
 - Filling in a competition form from TV
- If you want to leave a note for mum at home, what language would you write it in? How confident do you feel in doing this?

School programme (English)

- Tell me about what learning of English you do in your classes?
- Take me through a typical lesson. What is in it?
- Do you enjoy that type of lesson?
- What do you like about learning English at this school?
- Is there anything you don't like about learning English?
- If you were a teacher planning English lessons, what English do you think would be useful for your students to learn?
- How do you feel about the amount of English language instruction you receive at school?
- Do any of you receive extra help at home with English reading and writing?
- When you have homework either in English or Māori, do you receive assistance at home from parents, whānau?
- What school will you be attending next year? Will it be a bilingual school?
- What do you want to be when you leave school?

11.1.4 Appendix four: Interview questions of Māori immersion teachers

Personal details / Academic and teaching experience

- Tell me about yourselves, your backgrounds and why you are teaching here now?
- Tell me about your knowledge and learning of te reo Māori and English?

English transition

- Do you think teaching English is necessary in bilingual schools? Why?
- What considerations should an English transition teacher take into account when approaching teaching English to your students?
- What skills should an English language teacher have in this context?
- What is the community perception regarding the teaching of English to your students?
- Would you expect your own children to learn English at school?
- What part do you play in planning, implementation and assessment of English transition at your school?

School organisation

- What is the schools philosophy about teaching English to students?
- How does the school approach the teaching of English transition (teacher, timing, ratio)?
- What would be the graduate profile of a student who graduates from this school?

11.1.5 Appendix five: Letter of consent (parents and Year 8 students)

Tēnā koe

I am a lecturer at the School of Education Waikato University, working in the Arts and Language Department, and teaching papers in the language and literacy area. I am beginning my doctoral research project, which will focus on the **teaching of English to children in Māori-medium schools** in three Māori-bilingual schools. This work will help us to understand how to further strengthen bilingual students' knowledge of English. It will also help to strengthen the English programme at your school.

My research involves gathering the thoughts of Year 8 students about learning English in their school. I am therefore writing to you to ask your permission for your child to assist me in completing this research as one of the participants. There are two research activities that I would like to carry out in terms 3 and 4 of this year.

1. Interview a small group of Year 8 students on two occasions about their learning of English (two 50 minute interviews).
2. View the school documents of your child, including English assessments, and if necessary, assess his/her English reading and writing (using a standard school assessment procedure).

The general themes that I would like to explore in interviews include the following areas (see the questions on the attached paper).

- Preschool and bilingual experiences
- Thoughts regarding learning English and their knowledge of English
- Likes, dislikes, concerns
- Secondary school transition
- Aspirations
- Exposure to te reo Māori and English outside school

I have already discussed this project with the Principal and Board of Trustees at Bernard Fergusson. They have given permission for me to undertake this research, as they see that many benefits will arise from it.

If you are happy for your child to take part in this research, please send to school your signed consent form. If you would like to find out more, I will be at your school tomorrow (19 September). You will be able to ask any questions you have during this time. Alternatively, you could phone me at work at the School of Education (07 838 4500), or contact me by email– my email is rihara@waikato.ac.nz

I have attached an outline of possible questions/themes to this letter for your consideration.

Regards

Richard Hill

Parents' consent form (to be returned to school)

This consent form explains how the rights of your child will be safeguarded while he/she takes part in this project. Please read this paper, and if you are happy with your child taking part in this research, sign at the bottom and return it to school.

Name of parent/guardian _____

Name of child _____

- I am happy for my child to take part in Richard Hill's research.
- I understand that his/her school documents will be viewed by Richard Hill, and an assessment of his/her English reading and writing may also be conducted if necessary (using a school assessment procedure that will take no more than 20 minutes)
- My child may be one of the Year 8 students to be interviewed. The two interviews will take place at school in a private situation and will be taped.
- My child will not be personally identified in the research and the information will be confidential to Richard Hill and his supervisor, Professor Stephen May.
- If there are any questions that my child does not wish to answer he/she does not need to answer them
- I know that at any time I can withdraw my child from this programme, up to the period when the research data is being processed (30 November 2006)

- I am happy for Richard Hill to use the information from this project for the purpose of a Doctorate thesis he is completing, and subsequent academic articles and conference proceedings he writes.
- If I wish, I will gain access to a copy of the draft of this thesis for comment when it is written.

Signed (parent/caregiver) _____

Consent of the Year 8 student

I have read this consent form and talked about it with my parents/caregivers. I am happy to be part of this research project.

Signed (student) _____

11.1.6 Appendix six: Letter of consent (teachers)

Letter and consent form for teachers

Tēnā koe

I am a lecturer at the School of Education Waikato University, working in the Arts and Language Department, and teaching papers in the language and literacy area. I am embarking on my doctoral research project, which will focus on **English transition teaching of Year 8 students of Māori-medium schools**.

My research involves gathering information on your perceptions regarding the teaching of English in Māori-medium schools. As a consequence it will help us to understand more about the teaching of English to bilingual children. It will also help to strengthen the English programme at your school.

I am therefore writing to you to ask your permission to assist me in completing my research as one of the participants. The general themes that I would like to explore include the following areas.

- Teacher backgrounds
- School philosophy, aims, goals,
- History of English transition at school
- Components of English transition programme
- The need for English transition
- Teacher's roles concerning this
- Considerations for teaching senior students English
- Place of English and te reo Māori

Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. If you are happy to take part in the research but subsequently change your mind, you may withdraw if you wish, provided the request is made prior to when the data is being analysed (30 November 2006).

If you would like to discuss my proposal, or have any issues with it, please contact myself or my supervisor, Professor Stephen May at the School of Education – my email is rihara@waikato.ac.nz; Professor May's email is s.may@waikato.ac.nz.

Regards

Richard Hill

11.1.7 Informed Consent form for teachers

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Phone +64 7 838 4500
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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Please read the following points that are involved in Richard Hill's EdD project (entitled, What is the role of English transition in Māori-medium education?) and sign at the bottom if you are happy to take part in this research.

Research activities

General teachers and Principals

- A 50-minute recorded interview that examines your perspectives on the teaching of English in Māori-medium schools.

English transition teachers

- Two 50 minute recorded interviews that examine your perspectives and role in the teaching of English in Māori-medium schools.
- One classroom observation of an English lesson.
- The interviews will take place at school in a private situation
- I will not be personally identified in the research, and the information that I give will be confidential to Richard Hill and Professor Stephen May.
- If there are any questions that I do not wish to answer I do not need to answer them
- I know that at any time I can withdraw from this programme up to the period when the research data is being processed (30 November 2006)
- Once transcripts of interviews are completed a copy will be sent to me to read and confirm, and/or suggest changes where it is incorrect.
- I do not mind a small selection of Year 8 students to be interviewed provided I am informed of the questions and they are they are acceptable to me.

- I am happy for Richard Hill to use some of the information from this evaluation project for the purpose of a Doctorate thesis he is completing, and subsequent academic articles and conference proceedings he writes.
- I understand that my identity will not be revealed. If I wish, I will gain access to a copy of the draft of this thesis for comment.

I agree to take part in this evaluation undertaken by Richard Hill and am happy with the conditions outlined above.

Name: _____

Signed: _____ Date _____