Pathways over the Transition to Schools
Studies in Family Literacy Practices and Effective Classroom Contexts for Maori and Pasifika Children

Report to the Ministry of Education
Auckland UniServices Ltd
Pathways over the Transition to School:
Studies in family literacy practices and effective classroom contexts for Maori and Pasifika children

FINAL REPORT

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We would like to acknowledge the two funding agencies that contributed to the research report. These were the Ministry of Education and Fletcher Challenge Trust. Together they enabled us to complete the research while, in three cases, supporting doctoral studies. The families and teachers in the early childhood settings and at school allowed us to see them at work. We are very grateful for their patience and the privilege this gave us. Pauline Te Kare provided administrative help through the Woolf Fisher Research Centre and Jenny Alford at Uniservices has provided much needed professional guidance in managing the project.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Two outcomes of research and development are described in this report. One is the development of a set of resources suitable for family literacy education. The second is a set of research goals involving Maori and Pasifika families.

A socialisation model was used to guide the development of video and written resources. The report also describes relationships between research and development, policy development with national agencies, national and local dissemination and evaluation. We contributed to the preparation of over 17,000 booklets and wall friezes in English, Maori and Pasifika languages. Our programme also contributed to the ‘Feed the Mind’ campaign involving 400,000 resources and advertisements on television. The training video was used in the successful intervention reported in Phillips et al (2001).

A model of effective teaching to enhance connections between teachers and students over the transition to school was developed using research descriptions of Maori children and classroom teaching. The model identifies instructional and learning processes of incorporation and awareness as central to effectiveness. It also identifies the vehicles of a wide curriculum, versatile activities and properties of instructional language as central to building connections.

The last section describes literacy practices in Tongan and Samoan communities. The descriptions highlight the need to support and regrow the telling of stories in families. Increased story telling is aided by access to high quality early childhood education and the availability of appropriate books.
INTRODUCTION

This report presents findings from a programme of research focused on Maori and Pasifika early literacy that was funded in 1996. Two funding agencies were involved, the Ministry of Education and Fletcher Challenge Trust. Together, the agencies provided funds to accomplish two outcomes.

1. The development of a set of resources suitable for family literacy education through early childhood centres. The resources would comprise videos and written materials that would outline ideas about early literacy and family practices in the areas of reading to children, guiding children’s writing and telling and retelling stories.

2. A set of research goals pursued through a research programme involving Maori and Pasifika doctoral researchers. The original aims were:

   (a) to add to the descriptions available for literacy practices in Maori, Pakeha and Pacific Islands communities

   (b) to add to descriptions of excellent teaching practices in classrooms with significant numbers of Maori and Pacific Islands students

   (c) to systematically evaluate an educational programme which aims to increase the development of school-related literacy knowledge and skills in children before entry to school, and the effectiveness of teachers to build on and optimise children’s knowledge and skills on entry to school.
From 1996 these aims have been modified as changes in the funding base occurred, as the research programme was refocused through the doctoral research, and as the overall research programme developed. For example, from 1998 onwards consultation about, and the development of intervention studies through the Ministry of Education’s ‘Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara’ initiative took place. Rather than carry out more limited intervention research under the third aim, this current project contributed theory and research-based components to the more general project (Early Childhood Primary Link via Literacy), which has now been completed (‘Picking up the Pace’ Phillips, McNaughton & MacDonald, 2001).

Here we report on two outcomes, including the results of research conducted under each of the three research aims. The development of the resources and the impact of those resources is essentially an analysis of dissemination and knowledge transfer. These are important research objectives and it is important to document their development.

The report is presented in three sections. In the first section we outline the theoretical and research base for the two objectives. This is both a context for and in certain respects an outcome of the research projects. In the second section we detail the development and knowledge transfer associated with the resources. In the third section selected results of the research projects are described.
SECTION ONE

The transition to school: a theoretical base

Going to school creates a developmental transition through a predictable age-related change in child rearing. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Shifts in developmental tasks, in the roles of teachers, students and families, and in the goals of socialisation are compressed into a short period of time. This means that processes of development occurring in patterns of guidance and engagement in tasks become accentuated. The transition is potentially fraught because all children face contrasts in tasks, and for some they are marked (Wood, 1998). Under optimal conditions the refocus in socialisation is associated with the rapid emergence of new forms of expertise. In less than optimal conditions children struggle and socialisation agents have to work to provide additional supports for the new forms of learning.

The need to further enhance the development of conventional literacy over the transition to school occurs for some children. Despite international comparisons which show generally effective literacy instruction in the early years, beginning instruction in New Zealand has not been as effective for some groups (Literacy Task Force, 1999), these are Maori and Pacific Islands children in low ‘decile’ schools.¹

¹ Schools in New Zealand receive a rank from 1 to 10 according to indicators of employment and income levels of the local communities and proportions in the school of Maori children (from the indigenous culture) and Pacific Islands children (from first or later generation migrant families from Pacific Islands such as Samoa and Tonga). Decile 1 schools have high proportions of Maori children and/or high proportions of children from Pacific Islands and have communities with the lowest income and employment levels.
Differences have been apparent between Maori and Pacific Islands children in low decile schools and other children on entry to school on conventional school literacy measures. The national data from School Entry Assessment showed significant differences on measures of concepts about print and story retelling (Gilmore, 1998). Other studies indicate differences on measures of alphabet knowledge and writing vocabulary; although, when family literacy activities are described it is apparent that children’s preschool environments contain rich literacy experiences, albeit not necessarily well matched with conventional school activities (McNaughton, 1995).

From this transition point disparities in conventional school literacy have tended to increase, particularly in text reading, comprehension and writing. After four years of instruction in New Zealand, substantial differences in achievement have been apparent between both Maori and Pacific Islands children and other children, and between children in low decile schools and children in other schools (Literacy Task Force, 1999). However, very recently there is evidence of increased teaching effectiveness especially in the area of text decoding (Flockton & Crooks, 2001) and in early interventions in decile 1 schools (Phillips, McNaughton & MacDonald, 2001).

The transition to school is a point at which developmental processes associated with these disparities begin to be accentuated. Hence, having the most effective educational tools in place really matters. Processes similar to ‘Matthew Effects’ operating within classrooms (Stanovich, 1986) can take place across schools. Schools that have substantial numbers of ‘at risk’ children can have cohorts of children over time making substantially lower progress than schools who do not have the same numbers (Fiske & Ladd, 2000). As the bulk of children at a school make lower than the normative progress this is associated with teaching
practices and expectations, which can consolidate or even exaggerate that low progress. For example, reduced expectations of rates of progress and achievement can be present in New Zealand schools (McNaughton, Phillips & MacDonald, 2000; Timperley, Robinson, & Bullard. 1999), and are salient in schools serving low-income and ‘minority’ children in the United States (Dyson, 1999; Snow, Burns & Griffen, 1998). Similarly, such schools are less likely than others to have early and personalised contact with the families of prospective students enabling schools to optimise the transition for these students (Pianta, Cox, Taylor & Early, 1999). Given this situation a marker for effectiveness is one that enables rapid early progress to occur.

Planning for more effective transitions for children from diverse cultural and language communities has been approached in a number of ways. But a common assumption is that effectiveness is determined by continuity. In some analyses this is conceived as the ‘cultural capital’ to which a family has access (Bourdieu, 1973), which means a child has ways of knowing and ways of acting that enable them to enter mainstream classrooms with resources to participate relatively effectively. Writers in this tradition tend to see the school as an institution reproducing larger political and social structures, and hence relatively fixed and passive, with little agency to change this process (Nash, 1993). Other analyses focus on how schools and families may value either similar or different ways of acting and forms of knowledge. It is theoretically possible in this account to provide a better match between families and schools by focusing on the continuity between aspects of discourse (Cazden, 1988) and pedagogy (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988).

The latter approaches provide more hopeful models for managing transitions, and there is some experimental evidence to support that optimism (Cazden, 1988). Three general
strategies have been deliberately adopted to optimise the transition for children from diverse communities. A number of interventions have been developed for modifying family literacy practices to better match the skills and behaviour needed for success at school. These include increasing the frequency and or the style of reading, typically storybooks, to preschoolers at home (eg Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). In some instances this has been in the home language of a minority language group (eg Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993; Wolfgramm, Afeaki & McNaughton, 1997). Other interventions have adopted a broader focus on school related activities, by extending literacy activities to include writing and oral story telling, or by creating inter-generational family literacy programmes (Morrow, 1995).

A second strategy has modified classroom practices to better match community practices. Early examples, reported by teachers in the Native Schools used children’s local topics and vernacular (McNaughton, 2001). This strategy is present in contemporary schooling in the selection of books for reading instruction which in content; language and illustrations match children’s out-of-school event knowledge and language (Hollins & Oliver, 1999). Similarly, Dyson (1997) has reported teachers incorporating topics that minority children bring from their community experiences into classroom writing. Au (1993) systematically modified classroom discourse patterns to incorporate a culturally preferred style of talking by indigenous Hawaiian children.

A third strategy is doing both through shared understanding of practices in each setting as with Heath’s (1983) work on discourse patterns at home and at school, or more extensive collaboration in designing ways of teaching and learning (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990).
There are issues associated with each strategy. In the case of students from diverse cultural and language communities, modifying family practices runs the risk of a form of cultural imperialism. That is, given that community literacy carries and expresses cultural identity at least in part, modifying practices has an impact on identity. However, there are solutions to this. For example, working with families might be justified when beliefs and goals are negotiated together and by creating ‘textual dexterity’ through the addition of new text activities, rather than the undermining of core cultural activities (Wolfgramm, Afeaki, & McNaughton, 1997).

In the second strategy there is an issue for classrooms. How might classroom instruction incorporate features of community pedagogy and discourse yet enable students to achieve the curriculum requirements and make rapid early progress in conventional school literacy? Again, there are solutions. For example, Au (1993) describes creating a balance between the teacher’s control of instructional time to achieve instructional goals for comprehension and the incorporation of preferred community practices of ‘Talk Story’ in classrooms for indigenous Hawaiian students.

However, the general concept of continuity has been criticised on a number of grounds including lack of evidence for many claims of discontinuity between what happens at home and what happens at school (Losey, 1995), and failure to differentiate between those discontinuities common to all children and those differentiated according to culture or social identity (Hemphill & Snow, 1996). A further problem is that there is a need to clarify the processes involved for families, children or teachers which contribute to continuity between settings, or which optimise continuities. For example, what are the processes of development that enable students and teachers to make connections between in-school and out-of-school
knowledge and skills? Traditional notions of transfer are not sufficient to untangle the processes of teaching and learning (Dyson, 1999).

**The socialisation model**

The framework used here to elaborate the idea of continuity is a socialisation model of literacy development (see Figure 1). The model is based on the view that learning and development are co-constructed in a community’s practices (Rogoff, 1990; Valsiner, 1988). Children construct ways of acting with significant family and community members who function as socialisation agents – they provide a means for learning through their interactions with children and through the activities they employ for these interactions. A child’s ways of constructing and their family’s patterns of guidance are mutually constituted, hence the term co-construction (Valsiner, 1988).

Figure 1: A socialisation model of early literacy development. From McNaughton, 1995
In the model, socialisation is seen as an active process – active in the way in which activities are selected, arranged, and deployed, and active in the way in which joint and personal constructions take place within activities. In family settings, a family’s social and cultural practices are the source of these activities.

Activities are at the core of the model and provide the primary unit of analysis. Activities are structured events. Activities have goals, and participants’ actions within the activities are directed towards those goals. There are known patterns of action within activities, but they allow for dynamic variations in participation. A basic assumption about the nature of activities is that, if activities are to be the means for learning and development, the participants must come to have shared understandings about the goals of, and ways of acting in, these activities.

**Literacy activities – at home**

Family literacy activities – reading stories with a child, reading the Bible to children, singing an alphabet song, providing materials with which children draw and write, storytelling – are a subset of these socialisation activities. Like all other activities, they occur in three forms – as joint activities, as personal activities, and as ambient activities. The latter are those in which the child may be peripherally involved as an observer. Each of these forms of activities provides a means for learning and development to take place. The processes by which this happens have been described using concepts such as scaffolding (Wood, 1998) and guided participation (Rogoff, 1990). The processes enable the expertise that is required to participate in and perform those activities to develop while engaging in the activities.
**Literacy activities – at school**

The same sorts of patterns and processes occur in schools, acting as secondary sites of socialisation. Teachers select, arrange, and deploy particular activities that reflect the socialisation practices of school. Development and learning take place in joint, personal, and ambient activities. Classroom-based expertise is situated in these activities. The professional roles of the teachers (the agents) and their use of particular tools such as curriculum documents and resources set constraints and conditions for what children learn and what develops.

In this model, expertise develops within particular activities and, at least initially is situated within these activities, so before school children’s expertise is developing within familiar activities. What happens when children go to school is that they are confronted with new, or at least more intensively patterned, developmental tasks. The curriculum and classroom practices require certain forms of expertise, at certain times and in certain sequences. To add to the complexity, the ways in which children and their significant adults are expected to participate in classroom activities are in settings of crowded environments where the participants have defined roles as “teacher” and “learner” (Cazden, 1988).

The model depicts family, community, and educational sites for children’s learning and development in which the activities that are selected, arranged, and deployed provide guidance for learning, directly or indirectly. Each site can be seen as resource-full; each has resources that are used in guiding language and literacy. Not all families may be able to capitalise on these resources because of difficulties they confront such as economic hardship, or, not having access to knowledge and skills associated with mainstream schooling (Hart &
Risley, 1995). But armed with this model one can ask questions about the nature and effectiveness of the available resources and the nature of the constraints on those resources

**Multiple pathways in literacy**

In the model for how literacy develops, it is evident that there are a multitude of sites for the development of literacy. The diversity comes from the processes of co-construction. Children construct ways of using written language within the various patterns of socialisation that they experience. Multiple forms of literacy are possible with different developmental properties before school.

The significance of multiple pathways is that it should be possible for teachers to capitalise on these forms by using different patterns of guidance and through different pathways achieves the same school literacy outcomes (Clay, 1998). On the other hand the developmental possibilities support the idea of literacy programmes that might add pathways to those existing already developing in family settings. It is not developmentally speaking untoward to support this plurality.

This view is very different from the view that development can be located in a single, predetermined, sequence of literacy development – a view that is not supported by the evidence. The presence of multiple forms is a feature of cognitive development and learning in general (Baltes, 1997; Siegler, 2000) and can be seen in literacy development over the transition to school in diverse forms of knowledge and strategies (Elster, 1994; McNaughton, 1995; Phillips, Norris, & Mason, 1996). It can be seen in learning to read and write at school. Children learn to read and write under different curricula prescriptions and with different programmes showing that the underlying structures of school literacy can be
learned in a variety of ways. There is evidence that the various components of reading and writing at school can have different developmental pathways leading to them (Snow, Barnes, Chandler, Goodman & Hemphill, 1991; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 2001).

Making connections

Armed with this framework of ideas about how literacy happens, making more effective transitions can be seen as enhancing the sites that learners and teachers have available to them in which to develop better understandings and connections with each other. These connections might be enhanced by building on the familiar – a kind of transfer of learning, as expertise and activities found in one setting are incorporated into another. This is the reformulation of the continuity approach. But they might be enhanced also by unlocking the unfamiliar – a kind of discrimination learning in which awareness of the goals and rules of different activities develops, enabling the boundaries or applicability of different forms of expertise to be discerned. These approaches can be seen as complementary and supportive and adding to the degree to which more effective transitions can be built for children.

Making connections by building on the familiar

From the point of view of the learner, making connections can be understood as a kind of transfer. Effective connections for the learner happen when the activities in an (often unfamiliar) instructional programme incorporate features of some familiar expertise that up until now has been situated in out-of-school activities. Transfer of learning occurs as a consequence of this incorporation – bridges between the familiar and the unfamiliar can be made both by the learner and by the teacher. Children are better able to engage, and continue
to engage, in classroom instruction (and hence learn from classroom instruction) because they have entry skills – expertise, which is immediately functional for the activity.

This is not the traditional psychological account of transfer, which focuses on the learner’s knowledge and strategies as though these are independent of any given situation. Much of what is learned is context specific, and transfer needs to be seen as an issue to do with the relationships between contexts. Thus transfer is a product of the learner, their settings and the activities, including guidance provided those settings.

A redefinition of the idea of transfer, which captures this sense, is provided by Dyson (1999) who claims that transfer:

‘involves negotiation between and among teachers and learners, as frames of reference for judging “relevant” material are themselves differentiated and expanded’ (page 142).

There is another dimension to the idea of transfer that is important in school contexts for children of diverse cultural and language backgrounds. That is the transfer of a feeling of being “at home” – being comfortable or being affirmed or being recognised. This is a fundamental psychological matter of identity and location. This kind of concern for identification leads writers such as Ladson-Billings (1994) to argue that a major criterion for the effectiveness of instruction for children of diverse backgrounds is that it maintains or enhances positive cultural identity. Au (1993) sees the teacher who incorporates cultural ways in classroom instruction as having a role of cultural mediator to help students feel comfortable with their own identities. Her argument is that enabling students to have their identities also affirmed and developed can be done in ways that do not conflict with high literacy achievement.
**Making connections through unlocking the unfamiliar**

For the learner, making connections might be enhanced further by a kind of discrimination learning – one which is complementary to the process of transfer. Transfer of learning depends on the bridges that are made between the learner’s existing activities, knowledge, and expertise and the activities, knowledge, and expertise, which are of high educational value. But incorporating out-of-school knowledge and expertise of itself might not guarantee learning those literacy and language uses that are at the core of school curricula – uses that can be markedly different from out-of-school ones in purposes, participation structures, and rules (Hemphill & Snow, 1996).

The idea of discrimination here is that it is a process by which children can come to be aware of two things. The nature of classroom activities (their goals, modes of participation) and the relevance of their out-of-school knowledge and expertise for those activities. There is a general argument in psychology that increasing awareness of one’s acts enhances one’s ability to perform them. Similarly, and especially for the unfamiliar learner, awareness of goals, rules, and ways of performing can enhance effective learning, leading to the learner’s greater self-control over performing, and decreasing their reliance on external regulation (Clay, 1998).

**Developing awareness for effective teaching and learning**

This view of how transfer and discrimination in learning can work together leads to a new perspective on what makes for effective teaching of children from diverse cultural and language backgrounds (McNaughton, in press). It is the need for children to become aware of the fabric of classroom activities so that they understand the goals and rules of these
activities and what is required of them to perform them. A number of researchers argue that both apprenticeship processes – that is, acquiring knowledge and expertise through immersion in activities – and explicit instruction are required for this to happen (see Bartolome, 1998; Gee, 1998; Hemphill & Snow, 1996). Through such a combination, children not only achieve their learning but also become aware of the ways in which in-school and out-of-school forms of expertise are aligned. A more dynamic form of making connections comes about, ultimately mediated by the learner, the outcome of which is that learners are able to understand and reflect on new forms of expertise.

Hemphill and Snow (1996) conclude from their analysis of the discontinuities between home and school language practices that simply increasing continuities could easily confuse children. But because children are problem solvers and because guidance can be active, a solution is possible.

‘If we view children as skilled linguistic problem solvers, as form masters, and as flexible sociolinguists, what view of literacy acquisition might we adopt? First we would expose children to a wide range of spoken and written language genres, involving children in producing as many different varieties of spoken and written language as possible. Second we would provide activities to develop children’s capacities consciously to analyse those genres and how they differ, acknowledging that children can treat language as an object of contemplation, not just as a tool for communication. Third, we would recognise that the rules for producing extended discourse are arbitrary, language-specific, community-specific, and situation-specific, and we would abandon the notion that some forms are natural, universal and directly accessible. (Page 198)’

These ideas are summarised in the following diagram (Figure Two). The general process of incorporation takes place through the vehicles of a wide curriculum and text-rich activities that have the properties of versatility in that they admit a range of forms of expertise. Incorporation is enabled by the degree of resonance school activities have with outside of school activities in features such as goals and ways of participating. Children develop
awareness through immersion in activities that provides frequent opportunities for practice and variation in text-rich activities. Activities have the property of being text-rich if they are based on the reading or writing of connected text composed to convey meanings beyond the individual words. The more possible meaning in the connections and composition the richer the text.

The processes of incorporation and awareness are both heightened with properties of the instructional language (space, contingency, clarity and consistency) that enable children to identify and reflect on their expertise, and on the task requirements. The instructional language may be peer talk as much as teachers talk. Both take place as a consequence of particular activities. Teacher’s select, arrange and deploy activities within the curriculum guidelines. It is their expertise that provides intentionally or unintentionally the vehicles and their properties through which children come to incorporate and be aware. Through instances of incorporation and a child’s developing awareness a teacher can increase their expertise. Given a teacher’s existing knowledge base, the manner of a child’s participation adds to the teacher’s own awareness of this particular child’s expertise, enhancing the teacher’s capability to act strategically and knowledgably.

However, the overall prediction is that the effectiveness of teaching and learning is determined by the degree to incorporation is enabled and the degree to which awareness is developed. The outline makes no prediction about specific amounts, degrees or necessity of these properties beyond assuming they each individually and in some combination have some effects on children’s development in literacy over the first weeks of school. In addition, the properties can be examined in detail and there is research evidence about how these properties function.
There are several dimensions of activities that create a basis for resonance between activities. These are summarised in Figure Two. The participants’ goals, the forms of participation in the activity, the expertise entailed in engaging in the activity and the forms of teaching and learning associated with the activity each provide a basis for resonance. The research-based prediction is that the degree to which activities resonate along these dimensions determines the degree to which a child can incorporate his or her expertise (McNaughton, 1995).
Figure Three. Activity Dimensions: the basis for resonance between activities.

- **Goals / ideas**
- **Participation**
- **Expertise**
  Knowledge, strategies, awareness
- **Pedagogy**
  Teaching / learning

- **Goals / ideas**
- **Participation**
- **Expertise**
  Knowledge, strategies, awareness
- **Pedagogy**
  Teaching / learning
A further elaboration of the general model for incorporation and awareness is shown in Figure Four. There are relationships between a teacher’s awareness (a part of their expertise) of what a child already knows and can do in reading and writing and a parent’s knowledge. The degree to which these are shared enables both to provide more effective guidance in school related literacy activities. With more effective guidance a child develops greater expertise in those school forms of literacy, which then provides a further basis for the teacher’s and parents becoming more knowledgeable.
SECTION TWO

Development and dissemination of educational materials

An early outcome of the project was the development of a video with educational booklets (McNaughton, Turoa, Tanielu & Wolfram, 1998, a, b and c). The video was prepared using descriptions from the existing research base (McNaughton, 1995) and from the early results of the research studies carried out for this project (see Section Three). It was designed to enable researchers and teachers to collaborate with families to add to or extend their language practices with children before school to include specific literacy activities, as well as enabling early childhood teachers to add to or extend their practices. The activities that are described in the video are reading with children, guiding children’s writing and story telling / retelling with children. A generic video with voice over in English was made which features Maori, Pakeha, Samoan and Tongan families. The voice over in English is supplemented during teaching sessions by commentary in the appropriate language for a setting.

Written materials, in the form of booklets for parents and for early childhood educators, were prepared which augment the video. These were made available with consultation to both the Ministry of Education and Learning Media Limited. They have contributed, along with many other sources, to the Ministry of Education’s National Literacy and Numeracy Strategy, which has an aim to ensure that by the year 2005 every 9-year-old child in New Zealand would be able to read and write at an appropriate level. The strategy has included the ‘Feed the Mind’ campaign developed by the agency Singleton, Ogilvy and Mather designed to encourage the involvement of parents, whanau and other caregivers in the education of young children. It has included advertisements on television backed up with radio presentations, billboards, posters and a mail drop. The video and booklets also have provided
a resource base for Learning Media Limited productions of friezes and pamphlets, which promote literacy activities for families.

During a period of consultation in 1997 and 1998 the resources contributed to the development of the policy for specific programmes of intervention for schooling success in South Auckland through the Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara programme (SEMO: Ministry of Education). Out of this consultation, as well as from other sources, came the specific programme focus for SEMO on the transition to school, formalised in plans with schools for the Early Childhood Primary Link via Literacy (ECPL) project. This has had an educational intervention component through professional development for early childhood teachers and primary teachers. The video and materials were the basis for the sessions with the early childhood teachers. It has also had a parent education component for which Learning Media has produced friezes and booklets.

17,000 of the booklets and wall friezes for families were prepared and distributed through the SEMO initiative to local schools and families. They were in six languages: Maori (4000), English (5000), Samoan (4000), Tongan (1500), Cook Islands (1500) and Tokelau (1000). In 2001, a reprint of both the Maori (3500) and Pasifika (3500) versions using the English text has occurred following requests from schools.

In addition, our materials and consultation contributed to the national ‘Feed the Mind’ campaign, which is part of the Ministry of Education’s national Literacy and Numeracy Strategy. This has involved 400,000 resources, user-friendly guides in Maori and Pacific Islands languages as well as English, which have been delivered to communities around decile 1 and 2 schools throughout New Zealand. These guides were designed to support a set of informative advertisements on national television.
The ECPL project has been evaluated in a number of ways. The research based evaluation of the specific interventions is contained in Phillips et al (2001). The national ‘Feed the Mind’ campaign has been evaluated by Research Solutions (2001) who were commissioned by the development agency.

The research-based evaluation of the interventions shows educationally significant effects on children’s literacy learning. The evaluation of the national campaign by Research Solutions shows significant changes in the attitudes of parents and caregivers in how they view their contribution to helping children learn. Since a benchmark study in 1999 positive attitudes to helping children learn have strengthened, and barriers have weakened. The results of each of these have fed back into our own programme of research and development. For example, we are now focussed on Pasifika Early Childhood Education Centres as important sites for strengthening literacy and language development.

The overall process, summarised in Figure Five, illustrates a systematic pattern of relationships between research and development, policy development, dissemination and evaluation. The relationships have sometimes been deliberate and planful, at other times a result of serendipitous contacts and decisions involving researchers, Ministry of Education personnel and other agencies. The results however, demonstrate the significance of these relationships for impacting on families and early childhood centres and schools.
Figure Five: Relationships between research, policy, dissemination and evaluation.

Sources: (examples)
- McNaughton (1995)
- McNaughton et.al. (1998)
- Early Childhood Primary Link (ECPL) proposal (1999)
- Literacy Task Force (1999)
- Literacy Experts Group (1999)
- ECPL Contract (1999)
- Phillips et. al. (2001)
- Research Solutions (2001)
- ©Learning Media
- © Ministry of Education

Phase:
- Research & Development
- Policy development
- Resource development
- Dissemination
- Evaluation

Prior to 1998

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Research &amp; Development</th>
<th>Policy development</th>
<th>Resource development</th>
<th>Dissemination</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
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SECTION THREE

In this section we report analyses of family and classroom components of this model of transition. The aims of the research were to add to descriptions of community literacy practices especially for Maori and Pacific Islands families as well as to add to descriptions of effective classroom practices.

The descriptions of family activities focus on the characteristics of three literacy and language activities. These are reading to children, guiding children’s writing and telling / retelling narratives. The descriptions aim to show how the activities are constituted, specifically the goals and ideas participants hold about the activities, the patterns of participation, the features of the guidance provided by more expert participants (family members) and the and the kinds of expertise emerging through the activities.

Similarly, the descriptions of classroom activities were limited to the same three literacy and language activities of reading to children, guiding children’s writing and telling / retelling narratives. Again the intent was to analyse these activities in terms of goals, ideas, participation, interactional features of expertise. But, in addition, the focus for the classrooms was to examine how classroom activities enabled children to engage quickly and effectively in classroom activities, given the expertise they bought with them to school. Specifically, the questions were:

(a) How was their emerging expertise able to be incorporated into classroom activities?

(b) How did classroom instruction enable them to become aware of the relevance of their own knowledge and skills, solving the inherent conflicts and discontinuities they encountered in classroom activities?
The first question asks about how classroom literacy activities enable incorporation to occur, and the second how teaching for awareness might occur in the first stages of literacy instruction. How classrooms may provide opportunities for children’s expertise developing before school to be recognised by and built on by classroom instruction, and how children’s awareness of the relevance of that expertise is enhanced. The hypothesis is that sites can be identified where children’s emerging expertise could be incorporated into classroom instruction and where children develop awareness of the match and mismatch between their own knowledge and skills and those required in classroom activities.

The expertise that is identified here includes the understanding and strategies associated with conventional school literacy, but as well as that, the expertise and event knowledge which has come about from being participants in family literacy activities. There may or may not be considerable overlap in these fields of expertise. In either case, the hypothesis assumes that effective teaching would enable expertise to be brought into classroom activities and awareness to develop through classroom activities.

In order to achieve this analysis and demonstrate the significance of this process, descriptions of children’s expertise are needed from before school. Armed with this description, the following study aims to identify occasions within activities where processes of enhancing incorporation and of building awareness might take place.
**QUESTION ONE:**

*Adding to the descriptions of excellent teaching practices in classrooms with significant numbers of Maori and Pasifika families*

In this study we describe the transition to school for a small group of Maori children and their families. The descriptions provide a close analysis of the classroom teaching. The teachers were those that happened to be the teachers of the children we had followed to school. They were teaching in decile 1-3 schools. The descriptions of their classrooms help to elaborate the exact nature of excellent teaching as summarised by the model of processes of incorporation and awareness.

In each of four cases the detailed analysis of the first days at school provides descriptions of how the processes of incorporation and awareness are dependent on the vehicles of a wide curriculum with text-based activities. Having these vehicles does not alone guarantee the processes of incorporation or awareness. The degree to which incorporation is enabled and that awareness is developed depends also on the versatility and resonating properties of activities, their frequency and variations, as well as the instructional language of teachers and peers.

**Methodology**

A network sample of urban families (in the Manukau region of Auckland) was recruited. Two routes for contacting families were used. One was via a kindergarten and the second was personal contacts. In each case the families were invited to participate with a personal approach (kanohi ki kanohi) establishing whanau connections (Bishop & Glynn, 1992), and then using the formal protocols of informed consent and information to participants required in the ethics procedures for research by the University of Auckland.
Each of the caregivers identified themselves and their whanau (family) as Maori. Data were collected with families using interview formats and diaries filled out by the caregivers. When first contacted the children were aged 4 years and 6 months. Brief descriptions of the families are provided below with each case study.

Observations in classrooms began on the first days the child went to school and continued for up to four weeks. The purpose of the observations was to sample reading writing activities, and any activity of oral narratives (typically story telling or retelling). A combination of videotaping, audiotaping, teacher interviewing and file notes was used to capture classroom activities. These provided permanent products for later analysis.

In the descriptions reported below we concentrate on the classroom observations. Selected relationships between classroom experiences and those outside of school are analysed using these classroom observations as the unit of analysis.

In addition, we report children’s progress after a year at school. A trained observer collected achievement data in literacy using the standard tests of the Observation Survey (Clay, 1993) of Letter Identification (LID), Hearing and Recording Sounds (H&RS), Concepts About Print (CAP), Word Recognition (WORD) and Writing Vocabulary (WRVOC). An additional measure of generalised word recognition – the Burt Word Recognition Test was collected (BURT - Gilmore, Croft, & Reid, 1981). Also, oral language measures were collected using the Tell Me test from the School Entry Assessment (Learning Media, 1998) and using the

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2 Observations took place when children went to school and for one child this was at an awkward time for the classroom teacher. Hona began school approximately five weeks before the end of the school year, a time that can be described for many teachers as ‘stressful’. Children enter school and are allocated to a Year 1 class and remain in the same class for the entire year. This class had reached its maximum number of 27 children for the year when Hona joined the class. The children’s ages ranged from 5 years old to 6 years of age. Observations reflect this time and may not be an adequate reflection of this teacher’s usual classroom instruction.

3 The doctoral research is more extensive than these descriptions and will be reported in full elsewhere.
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Dunn & Dunn, 1997). Full descriptions of these tests and their characteristics can be found in the recently released report with which this report is associated - *Picking Up the Pace* (Phillips, McNaughton & MacDonald, 2001).

**Schools**

The schools were decile 1–3 schools. In general, the three schools were typical of other schools in the Manukau region. The core literacy programmes in these schools were consistent with descriptions of beginning literacy programmes adopted by New Zealand schools in general (e.g., Smith & Elley, 1994; 1997). Language-based reading and writing activities are promoted from when children enter school on their fifth birthday using teaching frameworks supplied by national resource material (e.g., Learning Media, 1996). Self reports by literacy leaders in a recent study of all the decile 1 schools in the area indicated that the standard components of guided reading, shared book reading, independent reading and process writing were present (Timperley, Robinson & Bullard, 1999).

The four classrooms had a typical daily routine of morning news, alphabet work and in one case worksheets, writing (involving teacher modelling, text writing sometimes in the process writing format and conferencing) and reading (reading to children, shared reading, and guided reading). Because of these features, the classrooms can generally be considered to be employing a ‘wide’ curriculum that has at its core text rich activities as defined earlier.
Teachers

Each of the four teachers were Pakeha and spoke English in their classrooms. The teachers of Theresa and Mark had many years of experience (15+ years) while Hona’s and Mary’s teachers were relatively new teachers (less than 5 years experience). Each had a basic primary teaching qualification.

Child One: Mary

Family characteristics

At the start of these observations Mary was 4:6 years old. She lived with her mum and dad and is the middle child with an older sister (then aged 7 years old) and younger brother (aged 5 months old). She had attended the same kindergarten as her older sister since she was 3 years of age. Mary’s mother said that they have very close links with their whanau (family) and identify strongly with tikanga Maori (customs). She commented that her mother has always made sure that they (her brothers and sisters) have participated in hui (gatherings) back home on their marae (place used for communal gathering). She recalls how this was extremely important in understanding her own identity and now with children of their own, it was even more important in teaching them where they come from, or understanding their whakapapa (genealogy). The whanau (family) share a close bond with extended whanau (family) members who visit frequently. It was quite common for Mary and her older sister to have a cousin stay over the weekends or during school holiday breaks. The effects of these visits illustrated the dynamic and interchangeable roles taking place within the tuakana-teina relationship, where older and younger siblings, including extended whanau (family), share in the teaching and learning process. A great deal of Mary’s confidence in writing and reading came from these early play sessions with other family members.
Writing

Activity One: writing a story with teacher collaboration

Story writing is a core part of the language activities in Mary’s classroom. After an initial modelling of the activity the teacher collaborates with individual children to develop their story. Mary’s earliest story writing attempts showed her knowledge and understanding of the writing activity as structured in the classroom. The story she developed was a collaborative exercise during which the teacher helped Mary generate a sentence by asking questions around a special event she recently celebrated, her fifth birthday. This activity occurred on Mary’s very first day, this versatile activity occurs within a wide curriculum with known resonance with family activities.

[process outcomes: enabling incorporation of pedagogy, of topic]

From the discussion the teacher wrote:

Teacher  ‘I had a banana cake with five candles.’

Beneath the teacher’s version Mary wrote:

Mary  ‘I Had a bANANA Cake witH five CANdles,’

A picture of a little girl followed her writing.

Two things are important to note in this activity. The first is the teacher used the activity to search for indicators of Mary’s existing knowledge and expertise. The teacher commented on her attempt noting that she was able to “spell words, because many are written in capitals. She knows the alphabet and that a sentence is written together”. She had not copied directly underneath each word, as the teacher expected.
The second is the resonance this format had with home activities. The discussions with Mary’s mother and the diary recordings revealed that at home, writing stories was a familiar activity shared during play sessions with family members as well as extended family members. There were many occasions when Mary and her older sister and a visiting cousin would play ‘school’ or ‘shop’ together. Her mother recalled a time when Mary and her cousin were “writing from a book ...copying something from a book ...writing the whole story”. During these occasions, copying words from a book increased her knowledge about individual words kept apart with a space between them. Her mother was prompted to explain where Mary learned to put spaces after each word. She described her daughter’s success, “...before (prior to school), when she used to write something she knows it’s a separate word, she used to put a full stop ... that was to separate each word. That just came about with practice. She learned by Te Aroha (sister)” quickly adding “...although Te Aroha didn’t do it (when she was of similar age)”. This latter observation lead to her being uncertain about her original belief that Mary learned from watching her older daughter. She modified that observation and agreed that Mary’s expertise had a great deal to do with her own efforts of modelling and practicing written words as well as the influence of her older daughter

**Activity Two: modelling story writing with the whole class**

The above episode was Mary’s first attempt at writing a story. Her fifth attempt, in the second week at school, shows further Mary’s ability to apply the writing knowledge she gained prior to school. It also describes the strategies she used in ‘figuring out’ how to spell unknown words and known words. The activity began as the first activity had, with the teacher modelling writing. After morning news, the teacher (Ms M) introduced the story writing routine. The teacher chose a theme from which a story was developed. Initial
collaboration with the whole class included reporting the day’s date, and recognition of shared words in the production of the teacher’s text. The actual construction of the story was modelled and developed by the teacher. When the story was completed, she added a picture underneath then returned to the story highlighting one of the words. Some word level solving was also instructed during this time. The versatile activity enabled different forms of knowledge and expertise to be incorporated and resonated with family activities.

**[process outcomes: Enabling incorporation of pedagogy and item knowledge; Building awareness through clarity, consistency]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>What date is today? <em>(Pointing to the calendar)</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td><em>(calls out)</em> Monday!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td><em>(contemplating a story)</em> I know what to write! “Tonight I am going to...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(Asks children)</em> …what’s this word (begins writing the word ‘the’) … Mary?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>… ‘the?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Good girl Mary, <em>(continues writing)</em> … “Today I am going to the ... movies with Mrs C and Mrs W.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(The children and the teacher read the story together, then draws a picture beneath.)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>What’s this word? <em>(Pointing to ’going’)</em> ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In constructing her story, the teacher had set a topic that was familiar and personal to her. The teacher then directed the writing activity with minimal interaction. It has been found that a dimension of structuring lessons this way is so that the teacher provides a kind of format or script for children to follow as they begin independent writing. The formatting enabled children to imitate and construct their own writing. By her deliberate commentary and by highlighting features in the writing such as re-reading the story together or introducing new or known words, awareness of the goals of the activity and the ways of performing the activity might have been further developed.

At the beginning of personal writing, the teacher instructed the children that they draw a picture and write a story beneath. Consistency in representing what was required took place,
in her own commentary (‘I know what to write’) and as she reminded them to “think about what you’re going to write today.” It occurred also in her expressed encouragement to use the word chart (in the front of the classroom) “if you know any of the words... if you don’t know any of the words, how to write the word and you know they’re on the board go and have a look”.

**Activity Three: writing a story with teacher guidance**

Mary like the other children sitting at her table followed the teacher’s model wanting to begin their stories with “I am going...” The versatile activity enabled different forms of knowledge and expertise to be incorporated and resonated with family activities.

**[process outcomes enabling incorporation of pedagogy, expertise strategies and item knowledge] building awareness through contingent comments, clarity]**

**[process limits limited contingency for topic]**

Teacher What is your story?
Mary I am going swimming.
Teacher Do you know how to write “I am?”

The teacher watched Mary confidently write, “I am”. Mary paused as she contemplated spelling the word “going”. The teacher asked:

Teacher “going”, do you know how to write the next word Mary?
Mary (She indicated she did. She referred to the wall chart to find the word ‘going’ then proceeded to write it in her story. She began the next word and produced an “s”. She paused and waited for assistance. The teacher assisted, reminded Mary).
Teacher Do you remember in your storybook the word “swimming?”
Mary (She makes several attempts to check back to earlier writing attempts to find the word “swimming”.
Teacher Did you find swimming?
Mary (Continues looking. The teacher helps her to locate the page the word is written on for an earlier story Mary wrote).
Teacher Which word says swimming? Can you show me?
Mary carefully wrote out the word to complete her story. When it was finished the teacher asked Mary to read out her story. The teacher read and commented that Mary “produced excellent work”. The completed story showed a great deal about what Mary knew about writing, for example, correct spelling and legibility of words, and ‘finger’ spacing between words. As well, she utilised the resources around her to figure out the spelling of a word. A passing comment the teacher made was that “Mary is a very confident writer. She will attempt many ‘bits’ of writing alone. Once she understands the workings of doing something she will happily move on to other parts of writing”. The teacher’s knowledge of what Mary could write, and what her resources were are clearly evident in this interaction. What is missing perhaps is a contingent response to the story itself, to gain an elaboration and further understanding of the topic.

The activity incorporated many aspects of family activities in writing, from the general framework of writing ‘a story’ to the use of familiar words and phrases as a platform and to specific word solving strategies. Mary’s mother described how Mary would utilise familiar words or phrases when writing stories at home. She explained that “she picks the same words over and over again.” Writing familiar words and phrases became common practice while watching and participating in play activities at home. When she was unable to write a word, she would ask her mother to help. Her mother stated that she “...would sort of break it down into syllables so that she can hear the letters...the spelling.” Therefore observing writing from her older sibling and having the input from her mother to help spell words contributed in the development of her own story writing. Mary’s word level solving resonated further with home activities. In the home diary that Mary’s mother kept of events
and products her child produced was recorded an occasion where her mother wrote a list of words like, ‘mat, cat, sat, hat’ using the syllable ‘..at’ for Mary to “practice writing and reading”. Her mother wrote that “… Mary made one mistake – she spelt the word ‘at’ like ‘aat’ to include an extra letter.” Her addition of the extra letter ‘a’ was in keeping with a search for regularity and the familiar format of maintaining the three letters the other words possessed.

**The role of teacher and parent awareness for writing**

The comments of the teacher show the teacher actively trying to construct knowledge from what Mary demonstrated she could do. There was one part of the writing format however, that Mary hadn't figured out and it was her mother who helped her become aware of the appropriate way to perform the activity. She was able to do this because she had access to Mary’s writing book through class contact.

Mary’s mother commented specifically about the writing format. Since Mary began school, she noted that the stories Mary had written were not connected to what she had drawn claiming, “at first it wasn’t what she was drawing … the story.” She wondered that perhaps this was part of the writing process, that is, to allow children to draw and write, even if both parts were unrelated. But from classroom visits she came to the conclusion that the teacher was helping them develop the skill of writing what they had seen and drawn. For example she explained that, “… what she (teacher) is trying to lead them to, is to draw a picture of the story that they are going to write and I think that Mary is only realising that. Because she just kept on drawing a person and writing a story which didn’t fit the picture.”
She questioned her daughter about the first personal recount she had written (about her birthday) and why there was no drawing of a birthday cake remarking, “...’cause there was one!” Her concern about her daughter’s writing style (unrelated story and picture) caused her to query this because Mary needed to get these coordinated for her performance at school. Mary, she said, didn’t say anything, not overtly responding to her mother’s concern. But her interest in Mary’s story writing style enabled her to recognise an important aspect of the structure and organisation of this activity. That is, there is a specific format to writing a story, which includes having a picture that relates to the story.

**Reading**

Over the first few days at school Mary engaged in a series of reading activities also. The analysis of these activities also focuses on the degree to which classroom activities enabled incorporation to occur, as well the degree to which awareness was being built. Because of the extensive school related reading activities in Mary’s family these are described first in some detail.

A large amount of Mary’s initial expertise in classroom activities can be attributed to the support she had received at home. Having a *tuakana* (older sister) to ‘model’ and ‘practice’ with as well as joint activities with extended *whanau* (family) increased her knowledge about books and literacy in general.

Like writing, Mary was a very confident reader when she began school. Since the age of four for instance, she was capable of reading several stories from the *Ladybird - Read it yourself* series and *Mother Goose* nursery rhymes without much assistance. The *‘Read it yourself’* series are graded readers that begin at level 1, for children who are starting to explore
reading with others, continuing through to level 4, an advanced series for the more fluent reader. Her mother considered these books “useful” because they engage the reader by the use of repetition and rhyming words which she felt were an easier way for children to remember not only the story but as she mentioned, “what the word looks like”.

Reading nursery rhymes at home contributed to the way in which Mary recognised and memorised familiar words and verses. Her older sister spent a great deal of time reading nursery rhymes with her younger sister. These events were played out as one person speaking while the other listens. When her mother read stories or verses with Mary the episodes were semi-structured in the sense that she would encourage her to point to each word in the book as she read. It also enabled Mary to develop the technique to follow the story by pointing to each word as her mother read to her. Her mother had the expectation for Mary to read three pages of a book per day. In this way her mother felt that it would sustain her daughter’s interest in the story without over burdening her with too much reading. However, Mary would insist on reading the entire story without her mother’s approval mostly to finish a book quickly so she could read another. The familiarity and frequency of having verses and stories read to and with Mary at home enabled her to participate in similar reading activities at school.

At home, there were occasions for Mary to read to a family member and vice versa. Her mother remarked that, “...she likes it if someone sits with her while she reads.” Her mother further explained that her reading was based on “…just memory.” She concluded that if she taught her daughter to “…try and point to each word in the book as she says it,” would perhaps allow her to recognise individual words better.
Where Mary was unable to recognise a word her mother indicated that Mary had devised a strategy where she would, “…look(s) at the picture” in the text for clues. Another strategy Mary utilised to ‘test’ her word knowledge was to have her mother “…hide the pictures so she could read it. I cover the picture up and she reads the word.” This particular act became more frequent once Mary began school. Her mother recognised her daughter’s increase in knowing more “…words” and wanting to read a lot more. For example, a reader she brought home from school was read to the entire family three times until mum intervened saying “…yeah, that’s enough!” to escape another rendition.

**Activity Four: shared and guided reading with a new text**

Classroom reading in small groups enabled the teacher to listen to each member of the group read a small passage from the book aloud. The teacher also mentioned that it gave the quieter children a chance to participate in small group activities without being overwhelmed by the whole group. Because Mary was at a reading level on her own, individual reading between her and the teacher took place.

Common to the guided reading format in general, the teacher familiarised Mary to characteristics of the text to be read. In the general format this could include discussing the title of the book, the topic, and related concepts or vocabulary. In the following example the teacher introduced Mary to a new text. Following this more focussed collaboration took place based around event knowledge and vocabulary knowledge.

[process outcomes: enabling incorporation of pedagogy and topic knowledge]

[building awareness]

[process limits: some initial lack of clarity]
Teacher: What is this book about?
Mary: *The Zoo.*
Teacher: *The Zoo,* you’re right.
(pointing to the title) Can you say this word?
Mary: (nods - pause)
Teacher: ‘At’ (pointing to the rest of the words)
Mary: ‘...The Zoo’
Teacher: Good girl. Can you say it all together?
Both together: ‘At The Zoo’
Teacher: Good girl.

The interaction was teacher directed in a series of item display exchanges involving questions mostly focussed on word recognition, although the first set the general theme. It proved a little difficult for the teacher to be able to identify individual words with which Mary was familiar. For example, she asked Mary if she could “… say the word, At?” The question posed some sort of problem for Mary as she indicated with a ‘nod’ that she knew how to ‘say’ the word, but didn’t say it. This may reflect an unfamiliarity with this rhetorical style. There was nothing in the family data that indicated familiarity with this form of question.

Following Mary’s pause the teacher provided the word. Perhaps she interpreted the pause to indicate that Mary might not have known how to say or recognise the word therefore modelled the word for her. From the video recording it appears that the teacher was unaware that Mary had acknowledged through a ‘nod’ she knew that word. Mary quickly figured out the requirement from the teacher’s model (supplying ‘at’ herself) and completed saying the rest of the title without error when her teacher used the rhetorical style again: “*Can you say it all together?*” As noted above, very soon after starting school Mary adopted the item knowledge format to test herself or have her mother test her. As noted earlier, the family descriptions indicate she was adept at imitating and inferring rules.
Sharing knowledge about the topic was useful in helping the teacher to identify what Mary knew about concepts in the text. Following on from the previous interaction between Mary and her teacher in this example the focus is around the topic content and connecting pictures to the story. The purpose of this discussion seems to be to establish the core vocabulary, in this case the labels for animals.

**Teacher**  (Opening the book to the Title page) What’s that? Do you know what that is? (both are looking at a picture of a hippopotamus)

**Mary**  (nodding …. Shrugs her shoulders)

**Teacher** That’s a hippo … mus. Have you seen a hippo … mus at the zoo?

**Mary**  (unresponsive)

**Teacher** You have seen a hippo? What else have you seen at the zoo?

**Mary**  (unresponsive)

**Teacher** Let’s have a look (motioning Mary to turn the page and look at the pictures) You might see a …? (pointing to the picture of a monkey)

**Mary**  …Monkey.

**Teacher**  Monkey, yeah.

**Mary**  (Turns the page)

**Teacher**  An elephant.

**Mary**  (Turns the page, looking at the picture)

**Teacher**  What is it? What’s in it’s pocket?

**Mary**  A baby …?

**Teacher**  A baby kangaroo.

**Mary**  (Turns the page)

**Teacher**  And a …?

**Mary**  …Tiger.

**Teacher**  What’s that one called? (looking at the next picture)

**Mary**  (Unsure, shrugs her shoulders)

**Teacher**  Do you know?

**Mary**  (Shakes her head)

**Teacher**  It’s a bear.

**Mary**  (Turns the page)

**Teacher**  (The teacher pauses from the activity to address the class who are becoming too noisy. Mary continues flicking through the pages of the book. Mary opens to the last page the teacher asks…)

What’s this one called?

**Mary**  Hippopotamus.

**Teacher**  (repeats) … Hippopotamus. Good girl.
A similar confused exchange to the earlier ones with rhetorical questions took place when the teacher asked Mary to label individual animals. But again Mary seemed to infer the format and quickly imitated models that were made available.

The teacher initiated questions and guided Mary through the pre-discussion of the text by reciprocating in a turn-taking process. Some of the turn-taking was in response to the teacher’s prompt such as, “you might see a...?” Mary responded with “monkey”. Or another turn where the teacher asked “and a...?” which Mary replied “tiger”. Other turn-taking required the teacher to get Mary to elaborate on a specific detail of the text. For instance, the teacher wanted Mary to identify that there was a ‘baby kangaroo’ in the pocket. By providing Mary with a format in reading and sharing the text helped Mary quickly recognise the event knowledge and vocabulary during the formal reading.

Teacher
Okay, lets do the reading now. First can you show me the spine?
Mary
(Shrugs her shoulders)
Teacher
Do you remember where the spine is on the book?
Mary
(continues looking at the book, unresponsive)
Teacher
It’s here (showing Mary). It holds the book together. (Turning the page to begin reading) Okay, lets read.
Mary
At The Zoo
Teacher
Good girl. Big loud voice.
Mary
(repeats the title) At The Zoo (pauses at the next page)
Teacher
Do you know the first word?
Mary
(Shakes her head)
Teacher
…Come
Mary
(continues reading) … and (pauses)
Teacher
…see
Mary
the (pauses) … monkey.
Teacher
Good girl (turning the page).
Mary
Come and see the ... (checking the picture) ... elephant. (Turns the page) Come and see the ... (checking the picture) ... kangaroo.
Teacher
Does that say kangaroo or kangaroos (pointing to the word)
Mary
(Checking)... Kangaroos.
Teacher
Kangaroos/ Good girl.
Mary
Come and see the tiger.
Knowing the format enabled Mary to quickly ease into the routine of reading the text with relatively few errors. Although the teacher may have reintroduced a confusion when she shifted from saying ‘Can you say the word’ to ‘Do you know the (first) word’. Despite this the teacher was able to scaffold Mary’s vocabulary until she was confident to continue to read unaided. A strategy Mary found useful for accurate reading was to refer to the picture. Here she was able to continue reading through the aid of the picture. When this became challenging for Mary was where the teacher highlighted the plural form for kangaroo. Whereas the previous animals were singular two of the animal groups (kangaroos and bears) referred to more than one animal. The teacher used the familiar ‘say’ prompt (‘Does that say kangaroo or kangaroos?’) and Mary quickly solved this error. This is mediated problem solving and two possible outcomes are noteworthy. The teacher had highlighted that it is important to use word level strategies to be accurate and that it is important to check.

Once the frame was mastered for this simple labelling text, Mary read without interruption and with accuracy, suggesting the text was relatively easy. The text was similar to some of the ‘Ladybird – Read it yourself’ readers.
Outcomes: development over the Transition into School

The transition into school for Mary was experienced with feelings of ambiguity. First, school was seen as a place that would nurture Mary’s learning and secondly it required children to be confident and capable of adapting socially to the classroom environment. During the interview discussions Mary’s mother expressed her concern about how she was going to cope socially in the school environment. She indicated that at kindergarten “Mary was a quiet, reserved, shy child” explaining that at first Mary found it difficult to interact with the other children or the teachers, preferring to stay by her mother’s side. Her mother would stay with her daughter, sometimes up to an hour to help ease her anxiety of being left behind. Prior to starting school Mary’s mother took her along to pre-school visits, one visit per week over 4 weeks. Questioned whether these visits made the transition a little smoother for Mary her mother responded saying, “…well…yes” quickly interrupting “… no, no it didn’t”. Partly she regarded the pre-school visits as helpful in that she believed they were going to familiarise her daughter with her environment. But also, she regarded the visits as unhelpful in that they did not prepare her daughter for the length of time children are required to spend in school each day. More importantly, her mother was becoming increasingly concerned about how these visits would help her daughter cope confidently while on her own.

Some of the comments her mother made concerning her daughter’s transition highlighted Mary’s anxiety. For instance, her mother mentioned, “Mary was looking forward to school until it actually happened… until it sunk in.” Her mother pointed out how Mary found it difficult settling into school and described on one occasion that she “had been crying at school for the whole day.” She highlighted her daughter’s distress by informing that “what really got her was the week she started and then she realised that she had to stay at school all day.” Her mother explained to her the importance of attending school by telling her
“...there’s nothing I can do, it’s the law, you have to” and later said how “Mary realised that there was no way to get out of it ...she has to go”. Because of her daughter’s uneasiness about starting school, her mother expressed similar if not more anxiety.

At kindergarten, her mother believed that Mary’s shyness and the difficulty she had in interacting with others had influenced her teacher’s perceptions about her daughters’ literacy ability. She commented that the kindergarten teachers were unaware of what her daughter was capable of doing. Her mother felt that much of what she had learned was achieved at home by her own means and while playing with her older sister. For example, while her sister was busy completing homework, Mary chose to reproduce portions of the homework. In this environment, she was very happy to talk about and share with the family what she had produced. By contrast, at the kindergarten Mary would at times be reluctant to discuss and share with anyone the work she had produced including her mum. Perhaps unfamiliar surroundings for some children decrease their ability to express their skills.

Although the transition for Mary to school was accompanied with feelings of anxiety, she was able to cope successfully with the work that was set by the teacher. In fact, she excelled in her reading and writing even more once she began school although she found adjusting socially into school took a little longer than her mother expected. Mary’s mother was confident that her daughter would adjust to the literacy work in the classroom because she had spent a great deal of time with her daughter in preparation for school. She clearly stated that, “I know what she can do ... they knew nothing of what I was able to do with her...” especially reading and writing. Her mother knew that she had developed competent literacy and numeracy skills prior to school, such as knowing her a, b, c’s, counting and adding figures, writing her name, capable of writing a story and being a competent reader especially
stories from the Ladybird, ‘Read it yourself’ series of graded readers. Having an older child at school helped the mother gauge what her younger daughter needed to learn prior to school.

After a few weeks at school, Mary’s mother began to notice her daughter making better social adjustments at school by making new friends and feeling confident at saying goodbye to her mum in the mornings. Her mother felt that a contributing factor to this process was the way in which her teacher accommodated her transition into school. For instance, she recalled an incident watching Mary hug her teacher before leaving school one afternoon. Her mother commented that this was “something really out of the ordinary … she never ever cuddles anyone else”. Being able to observe her daughter relate to her teacher positively reassured her mother “it was really good to see,” she knew her daughter was adjusting to the school environment.

Mary’s potential to excel in her reading at school was reflected in her ability to perform well across the reading levels. Her teacher acknowledged that Mary’s initial reading ability put her beyond the level of the other new entrant children in her class. Because of this she shared individual reading sessions with the teacher. The rest of the class shared reading in small groups common to their reading levels. Within 6 months she had already advanced to reading level 12 (Green series). This level is above the national expectation for average achievement at 1 year (see Phillips, McNaughton & MacDonald, 2001). Like the writing activity, part of Mary’s performance was due to her ability to understand what was expected of her in the reading activity. Her teacher made reference to her ability to persist with an activity until she was able to complete it independently. She also commented that, “...once Mary understands the workings of doing something she will happily move on.”
A summary of Mary’s observation survey results at 6,0 years (see Table 1) shows that she had made high progress in all areas and her oral language development in English, indicated by the Tell Me and PPVT scores, was advanced.

Table 1
Children’s scores on literacy and language measures at 6,0 years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>$LID^1$</th>
<th>CAP$^3$</th>
<th>H&amp;RS$^4$</th>
<th>WORD$^4$</th>
<th>WRVOC$^1$</th>
<th>BURT$^2$</th>
<th>TELL ME$^3$</th>
<th>PPVT$^4$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7-9)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(7-9)</td>
<td>(6-9)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7-9)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(6-9)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teresa</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7-9)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(7-9)</td>
<td>(6-9)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hona</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7-9)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(7-9)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
1. Stanine levels shown in parenthesis, based on 6,0 – 7,3 year olds in 1978 (Clay, 1993).
2. BURT raw score for lowest age level 5.10 – 6.04 years = 20 (Gilmore, Croft, & Reid, 1981)
3. Average of Tell Me scores for children in high achieving Decile 1 schools at 6,0 years = 12.2 (Phillips, McNaughton and MacDonald, 2001).
4. Stanine levels shown in parenthesis, based on 6,0 – 6,1 year olds (Dunn & Dunn, 1997).
Child Two: Mark

Family Characteristics

Mark was the younger of two children; his brother was two years older. Both his parents were working, his father as a process worker/labourer, and his mother part time in the evenings after Mark went to school and when his father arrived home in the evenings. Mark attended a kindergarten from 3,6 years of age. His mother spent a great deal of time with him before he went to school, and described herself as more controlled and conscious in her time spent preparing him for school. She said she was more laid back with Quentin (older son).

Writing

Activity One: Orientation to story writing – whole class

The lesson format for the story writing activity observed in this classroom was a combination of process writing and the language experience approach (Smith & Elley, 1997). The teacher introduced a topic, which provides, in the standard lesson format, a bridge to personal writing and collaborative writing. It sits within a wide curriculum and introduces the creation of rich text using versatile activities. There was little evidence for its direct effects in building Mark’s awareness and had little known resonance for Mark with out of school activities or expertise. However, as a bridge to the next activity it did enable the incorporation of a personal topic.

Prior to individual story writing taking place, the teacher introduced this event as a whole class activity providing instructions for the writing activity. This particular observation follows on from a previous class discussion the class had participated in about the role of the SPCA (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals). The teacher engages in a class
discussion about a ‘Pet’ they may own or would like to own. This topic provided the theme
for the story writing activity. Clearly, the teacher had a specific topic in mind for this.

[process outcomes: enabling incorporation of topic]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>What were we talking about yesterday? What were we talking about?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ch 1</td>
<td>(calls out) … SPCA (other children repeat).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Yes, we were talking about the SPCA. But we haven’t been to the SPCA yet so probably you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can’t write about it very well yet. But what else can we talk about?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch 2</td>
<td>(calls out) … Cats?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Yes, cats, but not just cats…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch 3</td>
<td>(calls out) … Puppies?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>… puppies … we talked about puppies … But what is the first word that tells us about all those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>things … (writing the word ‘pets’) … cats … puppies? (another child interrupts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch 4</td>
<td>The big dog?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>No. What I really want you to tell me about was …. (writes the word ‘Pets’ on the whiteboard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What does this word say?” (underlining the word “Pets”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(one child attempts to spell the word out, another child shouts out “Pets”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(repeats) … what does this word say? (the same child calls out “Pets”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>… Ok, who’s got a pet? (some children put up their hands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>… Hands down. Who’d like a pet? (some more children raise their hands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>… Alright, you could either write me a story about your pet. I want to hear about your pet ….</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>… and if you haven’t got a pet perhaps you could tell Mrs Bain what kind of pet you would like.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Who hasn’t got a pet and would like a pet? (one or two children raise their hands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bessy, have you got a pet, Edwina, have you got a pet? (nodding) Ok. But if you haven’t you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>could perhaps write about one you would like.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The general theme about animals resonated with topics familiar to Mark, as the flow-on
activities illustrate. Following on from the class discussion the teacher assigned children to
one of two groups for writing. One small group was completing publications while the rest of
the class began writing their story based on the ‘pet’ theme. The second group was instructed
to draw a picture, followed by a story underneath, which the teacher was to assess and
comment on when finished. Mark joined a group of four other boys at a table to make a start
on the activity. Conversing with his peers played an important part in his participation in the
writing activity.
Activity Two: Peer Collaboration over drawing for writing

A small group activity followed which provided opportunities for peer collaboration. It was not known how this resonated with out of school activities. A notable (but not inevitable) feature of children working together in small groups includes the contribution to building awareness that their talk has in activities like writing (Cazden, 2001; Dyson, 1999).

[process outcomes: building awareness through peer discourse]

Mark
I’m going to draw my pet.

Ch. 1
You colour in your pet.

Mark
See look what I’ve done. See? (showing previous drawings of animals)

Ch. 1
Can you draw this? Eh? Can you draw this? (shows Mark his drawing)

Mark
(nods)

Ch. 1
Go on then draw it.

Mark
(Mark proceeds to draw a house commenting to his peers at the table…)
This house … has two windows.

Ch. 2
(repeats) … windows.

Mark
(Out loud to himself) I’m going to make my pet outside.
(He begins drawing and comments to the peer next to him) My cat’s big.

Ch. 1
What?

Mark
My cat’s big.
(Both look at the picture together then continue with their own drawings…)

The children (Mark and Ch.1) rehearse different aspects of the same task. They engage in some discussion over what the task requires, whether Mark has to draw or colour his pet. Mark needs to draw, then colour in his picture. The interaction between Mark and his peer seems to allow each of them to learn from each other in a playful context as they share each other’s viewpoints. Their talk moves between current and previous drawings that add to their playful rivalry about who can draw the best. As Mark finishes his drawing he begins to utilise several strategies in developing his story.
**Activity Three: Personal Story writing**

Following the discussion Mark personally constructed his ‘story’. The development of Mark’s story emerged from his drawing (of a house and a cat). It read, “I see the can (cat)”. It appears to adopt a simple narrative structure common to beginning reading texts, but it develops into a personal recount. The creation of this simple text occurred through a versatile activity, with known resonance with Mark’s incorporating his experience of composing accounts (see below), incorporating component strategies and incorporating specific item knowledge. This came to be a familiar activity for Mark, but at this stage there is little evidence for direct effects on his awareness of types of text and text production.

**[process outcomes: incorporation of pedagogy, topic, item knowledge]**

**[process limits: contingent peer discourse for developing awareness missed]**

Mark

I saw… (Mark is unsure how to spell the word ‘saw’. He checks previous writing he has produced from his writing book, then decides to ask a friend…)

How do you spell ‘saw’? … (asking a peer)

(He doesn’t get a response, therefore begins to sound out the word himself)

sss … aw (sounding out loud)

(Mark makes a finger space before he produces the first letter, ‘s’. He repeats the word ‘saw’ again and decides, instead of figuring out how to spell the rest of the word he substitutes another known word ‘see’. As he writes the new word he sounds it out emphasising the ..ee, followed by Mark saying and writing the rest of the sentence. Mark says ‘cat’ but writes ‘can’)

I s…s…ee.   …I see the cat (can)

(After completing the sentence Mark takes his work to show the teacher. She comments on his drawing …)

Teacher

Now do you think that you could colour your house in with crayon? That would be good.

Throughout the development of his story Mark used several strategies. For example, his uncertainty in spelling the word ‘saw’ prompted him to first, check previous written work and secondly he resorted to asking another peer. Where these options turned out to be unsuccessful Mark attempted the word by himself. His knowledge of letter-sound relationships helped in the spelling of this word. However, when he was unable to figure out how to spell ‘saw’ he opted to substitute another word, ‘see’, a word he was more familiar
with and he knew he could spell. He understood this word would fit into the linguistic context and his recount. The versatility of the activity enabled Mark to engage at a level at which he could perform efficiently. The lack of a contingent response from his peer may have limited developing awareness further.

Earlier home discussions with his mother revealed a basis for Mark’s confidence at being able to attempt to spell words independently. In the home activities his mother provided a model of a word for him to copy. His mother recalled that if Mark was unable to spell a word she would write the word onto a separate paper for him to copy. She added that she encouraged him to write his name using a similar strategy of a model and where he became “stuck” she would help him sound out individual letters. This strategy had been developed from teaching her older child how to write, stressing that, “...it was important that he (her older child) know how to spell his name and be able to identify the alphabet and how to count”. The importance of teaching her children these basic writing skills was, as she explained, to provide both of them with “…a good boost to start school”. As well as identifying letters of the alphabet, Mark’s mother considered that knowing the sounds of a letter helped in the spelling of words. Incorporating what his mother had shown him, Mark was able to strategically produce words and parts of words successfully.

This family activity within which Mark had developed his understanding in the spelling and sequencing for name writing was a basis for more generalised writing. His mother stated that as well as his own name he was able to write, ‘mum’, and ‘dad’. She admitted that these names were relatively easier to write than trying to write his brother’s name (Quentin). His mother described how Mark was familiar with his brother’s name and how he “knows the letters but doesn’t know how to put them together properly...” giving the reason that, “he
doesn’t know how to spell it all, yet”. She explained to Mark that writing his brother’s name is “actually longer than ‘mum’, ‘dad’ and ‘Mark’ suggesting that his brother’s name required more letters to be represented appropriately.

His mother commented that she recognised the effects of her teaching skills. She observed him attempting to spell words alone. She made the comment that, “…he’s actually trying to spell it (words). He’ll try it himself. He would rather do it himself”. This may partly account for Mark’s attempt in producing the word ‘can’ in his writing (above) as being acceptable. That is, hearing and being aware of the beginning letters of the word, but in this case not the ending. This reflects a general process of how children come to comprehend that words are made up of a group of letters in a particular sequence, and eventually attending to all the letters in a word is part of the process of becoming a young writer (Clay, 1991).

**Activity Four: story writing – continued peer collaboration**

Once Mark had shown the teacher his writing attempt he was instructed to return to complete the colouring of his drawing. He repeated his teacher’s remark that he’s “…a good boy” to a friend. The following peer collaboration has the same general features as described above for Activity Two.

[**process outcomes:** developing awareness of task requirements]

[**process limits** limited consistency or clarity about task requirements]

- **Mark**
  Mrs B won’t like that. She won’t like that, eh? (turning to another peer) … eh, will she like it? … No. You have to colour in, you have to colour in.

- **Ch**
  It’s orange. Look! (pointing to Marks drawing)

- **Mark**
  (looking at his friends drawing, laughing) …You have to colour that in too (traces over his sentence) … Yes, I’m not lying.

- **Ch**
  That’s not writing! (meaning that you don’t colour in words)

- **Mark**
  …Yes. See. (pointing to his picture) … gold, gold!
Ch  That’s a different gold (he searches for a yellow crayon) … This is gold, this is a gold here.

Mark  Oh yeah! This is the same as me.

Ch  This is a gold (showing Mark another yellow crayon).

Mark  You’re not allowed skates at school, eh? You might … kill somebody. (They continue to finish colouring their drawings.)

The three children exchanged a light-hearted, and at times joking discussion about distinctions between colouring in a drawing and writing. However, other observations indicate Mark was trying to distinguish between writing and drawing and was still disambiguating what the task demanded (see below). The discussion came to an abrupt end as the topic changed. The conversation emerged from the teacher’s earlier response to Mark’s drawing, when she had instructed Mark to colour in his picture. Mark’s initial comment to his peers identified his concern about the importance of producing work in accordance with the teachers’ expectations. This concern was identified also by his mother, who commented, “he listens to what the teacher says”. The importance of peer collaboration lies in the opportunity to play with directions and performance. The goals for drawing seem to be developing clearly in this episode, but they are essentially irrelevant to the purposes of writing. If they are to serve the purpose of careful observation and representation functioning as a narrative prop to writing then there is little evidence for awareness of these goals developing. Mark’s peers didn’t appear to have this goal in mind.

Activity Five: Story writing – Teacher - child Collaboration

As each child completed their individual story they were taken up to the teacher to be assessed, following the general format of a writing conference (Smith & Elley, 1997). The following interaction between Mark and his teacher leads to the development of a collaborative story they elaborate together.
[process outcomes: enabling incorporation of topic and language]
building awareness through contingency and space in instructional language]

[process limitations: incomplete incorporation of language; limited awareness with lack of clarity]

Teacher Can you read me your story? You read me your story (writes in the date at the top of his page).
Mark (reads his story aloud, points to each word) … I see the cat.
Teacher Oh, good boy. Very good boy! (Writes out the word cat correctly beneath his attempt can) … That’s a very good story.
Mark (comments) … cats outside.
Teacher (checking) … your cat’s outside?
Mark (nods)
Teacher Does he sleep outside?
Mark (nods)
Teacher What does he do while your at school?
Mark Having kai.
Teacher Having kai! Is he? Having kai while you’re at school?
Mark (nods)

Contingency plus space were both strongly evident in this interaction. After the praise, which does little to promote awareness because it is non descriptive and unclear why it is a good story, Mark initiates further narrative and added to his account using a familiar topic (his cat being outside). This recount / observation is incorporated into the activity and the teacher’s contingent question extends the recount adding further information. His teacher recognised and accepted the colloquial Maori (kai).

After a brief reading of Mark’s story, both Mark and his teacher collaborated in constructing what was called a new story. Their discussion created the platform for the development of the narrative. There may be a problem for developing awareness of stories as coherent
(extended) narratives in the teacher’s use of the term ‘story’, although it was consistently applied to refer to completed sentences.

Teacher  Ok. Can you tell me a story about your cat?
Mark  My cat is (pauses) … having his kai.
Teacher  Alright then (teacher writes ‘my’) … You can write ‘cat’ … ‘my cat’. Leave a nice big space (indicating where to leave gaps. Mark proceeds to write the letters ‘ca’ and pauses) … Can you hear the sound … cat … t … t (emphasising the ‘t’).
Mark  ‘t’?
Teacher  (nods)
Mark  (writes the letter ‘t’)
Teacher  (says the next word) … ‘is’ … You write ‘is’ while I come back (attends another child. Mark makes a finger space gap then writes ‘is’. His teacher returns to read his story) … ‘My cat is’ …? … What? (Mark doesn’t respond, she asks) … Right at this moment ‘my cat is’ doing what?
Mark  Eating!
Teacher  Good boy (indicates where to write ‘eating’).
Mark  (writes a letter ‘t’, then pauses).
Teacher  (writes the word ‘eating’ for Mark, says) … ‘My cat is eating’? What’s he eating?
Mark  Kai!
Teacher  Do you know what ‘kai’ starts with? Kai, kai … spell kai?
Mark  K?
Teacher  Yeah, good boy.
Mark  (thinking how to write letter ‘k’, he hesitates, the teacher helps to sound out the letter for him).
Teacher  Kai, … ‘k’ (sounding the letter) for ‘kai’. Can you make the ‘k’?
Mark  (shakes his head)
Teacher  No, no, never mind (writes the word ‘kai’ and continues to write the last word ‘outside’ for Mark). You read me the two stories.
Mark  (carefully reading out loud his own story as well as the joint story. As he reads he is careful to point to each word. The teacher praises him and awards his work with a sticker).
Teacher  Now, can you go and copy over, underneath all these words (the corrections the teacher has written), also copy over the top of the date.
Mark  (Mark returns to his seat to complete the final part of the task).

Through the teacher’s guidance Mark was able to participate in producing a second ‘story’. The teacher’s guidance included highlighting the last sound in cat: /t/, clarifying the task of
representing sounds in decoding/encoding. There were occasions when it appeared that the teacher assumed or knew words Mark could write and other occasions when she would anticipate the need to write for him. For example, the teacher wrote ‘my’ without prompting first. Towards the end of the interaction the teacher assumed the responsibility for completing the task by writing the last two words. The teacher first sounded out the word ‘kai’ emphasising the letter ‘k’. Mark’s queries, pauses and then explicit signal about not knowing led the teacher to continue writing this and the next (last) word.

It is interesting to note the participants’ roles during the interaction. They both appeared to be trying to find out what the other is going to do next. The teacher having been distracted perhaps changed the initial phrasing of ‘having kai;’ to the phrase ‘eating kai’. Her last comment seems to add some confusion about the task, whether to copy over the model or to copy underneath.

**The role of teacher and parent awareness for writing**

Classroom observations for Mark began in his second week at school. Mark had participated in some of the writing activities while he attended pre-school morning visits with his mum. One of the activities in which he participated involved writing a story from a drawing. His teacher commented on his story saying that it was *“well written”* and also concluded that he couldn’t have written it on his own believing that his mother must have helped him to write it. She pointed out that *“he couldn’t have known how to spell elephant”* and mentioned perhaps he copied it from somewhere or that his mother spelt it for him.

The teacher’s uncertainty was based on a piece of Mark’s writing that she observed on the first of these school visits. Mark had written several words filling his entire page. Mark’s
writing revealed a great deal about his knowledge in relation to the writing process, such as use of capitals, spacing, and letter ordering when writing and spelling words. With a lot of effort Mark had been able to produce a sample of familiar words he was capable of putting together when making up a story. She said, “...it didn’t make sense, there were random known words and no sentence structure.” She acknowledged Mark’s competence in being able to produce some words saying that “Mark certainly knows a lot of words for a child at this school but he’s still to learn the structure of sentences...words and comprehension.” But she had superimposed and written out a (proper) story, following some discussion with Mark. This was followed by Mark having to trace over each word. The sentence read, ‘I am playing with the blocks.’

Discussions with his mother confirmed her involvement in the later writing activity. With the help of his mother he wrote, ‘The elephant is eating grass Dad’. She stressed that “it was Mark who thought of and wrote the story by himself”. His mother’s actions prompted Mark to use the alphabet chart displayed in the classroom to help him find the word ‘elephant’. By directing his attention to the chart she explained “look up at the, a, b, c’s ... see there’s an ‘e’ for elephant. That’s how you spell elephant ... there’s a picture of an elephant and the word elephant”. When asked if Mark wrote the rest of the story his mother confirmed that, “… he did it all by himself”. She further added that, she didn’t “… want to write it for him. He really wants to write it himself.” Her comments emphasised her son’s confidence in wanting to write independently. At home, she mentioned how they spent a lot of time drawing, or reading with their children. She also pointed out that Mark loved writing the letters of his name and alphabet letters. For example, his mother said, “it’s like he’s trying to write a letter ... to somebody ... he just gets down and starts writing ... writing down letters that make up a story”.

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The need for Mark to disambiguate participation is shown in writing his name at school. His mother produced a piece of work that Mark had brought home from school, which showed that his name had been scribbled over. She had questioned him about why he did this stressing to him that “you don’t do it like that. You write over your name or you do your name by itself”. On a subsequent visit she reminded his teacher of his being able to write his own name saying that, “maybe she (teacher) forgot because she says he’s probably one of the only one’s who can do that (write his name) in the class”.

This is a powerful example of the family activity as a source of the teacher’s awareness. Her intervention had an effect. During a later observation in the classroom, the teacher did make the ‘mistake’ of writing out his name for him to copy. Realising what she had done she quickly erased the model apologising and remembering that Mark’s mother had in fact pointed out to her that he could already write his name. The transference of knowledge from one setting, activity or from one caregiver to another is a critical area where a teacher’s lack of knowledge needs to be augmented.

The observations also show how a child’s expertise if it already resonates with classroom activities primes the teacher to see, make sense of and evaluate a child’s knowledge and skills positively. In this case what is seen was already quite well developed conventional school forms of literacy. Although ‘seeing’ this expertise was somewhat clouded by an expectation that this was probably too advanced for Mark to have done himself.


**Reading**

**Activity Six: Guided reading**

Guided reading sessions (Smith & Elley, 1996) would take place between Mark and teacher each morning following classroom language activities. In the general format, each child is given a new ‘reader’ every day to take home to read to a family member. A record of each book read at home is signed and kept in a journal. At the start of each reading session this book is read first. Following this activity the teacher introduces another new reader. The new reader becomes the book the child takes home and shares with a family member.

[**process outcomes:** building awareness with instructional language using space, consistency and clarity]

Reading books at home was an integral part of the whanau’s (family) everyday practices. At home Mark’s mother read frequently to the children. Listening to a story being read was more common than interacting in any shared discussion. It was a preferred style for reading a bedtime story, especially given the busy lifestyle and sometimes limited time available to hear a story.

Watching and listening to his tuakana (older brother) read books sent home from school provided Mark with a model for reading school books. Having an older child already attending school made the routine of reading a school journal an embedded and familiar activity. Reading was a shared activity between both parents depending on who was available. This homework activity gave Mark insights into how books from school are read. There were recorded incidents where Mark was observed imitating book reading similar to hearing his brother reading. His mother described his actions where he would pick up a book, “...looking at the letters and making up his own story, trying to read it, even though he
wasn’t actually reading any of the words.” Sometimes he would memorise some of the actual words from a story and pretend to read.

The interaction between Mark and his teacher show him reading his home reader with his teacher. It shows resonance with the family activity and opportunities for expertise to be incorporated. There are instances of building awareness of the new goals. The teacher focused Mark’s attention on pointing. She had to assist Mark in helping him recall word knowledge relating to the story.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Point your finger ready. Is that the hand you like to point with?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>(nods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Good boy. Can you point underneath?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>(begins reading)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>…Lambs like milk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>…Calves like milk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Pauses, checks the picture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Can you remember the name for a baby horse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>(no response, continues looking at the picture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>…a foal … a foal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>(repeats) … a foal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Mark continues to read without any errors to the last page and reads…)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>…we like milk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>(the teacher praises Mark for his reading and introduces the next new reader)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not uncommon during guided or shared reading for the teacher to direct the child’s attention to various parts of the text through ‘ instructional detours’ (see Cazden, 1992; Smith & Elley, 1997) highlighting relevant structural properties of a book, strategies and concepts. Establishing concepts and actions of directionality, orientation and sequence is a major goal for early instruction (Phillips, McNaughton & MacDonald, 2001). Teachers may point to individual words as a property of texts when young readers are following a line of text (directional movement) to help in recognising individual words and building concepts about
print (Clay, 1979). Hence the significance to Mark of repeated opportunities to point for
direction, orientation and sequence.

Mark was already familiar with the concept of ‘pointing’ to words from having observed his
tuakana reading at home. His mother described a “typical reading” event when her older
son who at the time had not long just started school. Part of her preparation during reading
sessions was “trying to separate the two boys” because of the different interactional styles
she experienced with each child. However, keeping them apart proved more difficult than the
reading event. For example, the session with her older son was more formal and child
directed, requiring him to read in a particular style. Like getting him to recognise and point
to individual words. The mother felt her role was to monitor and guide his reading and
playing a more passive role rather than directing the activity. Whereas the reading with Mark
was more informal, and it was usually, read by mum or dad focusing on the narrative.

The reading sessions with Mark’s brother helped in the development of his reading. For
instance his mother commented, “...Mark picks up a lot from watching, and listening to
Quentin.” These incidents helped develop Mark’s knowledge, particularly in the way in
which some narratives are structured. Some of the narratives he heard had similar sentence
structures to the school reader Mark was given to take home. For example his reader was
written using a pattern of repetitive sentences which read, “...lambs like milk, calves like
milk, foals like milk etc”. The predictable sentence structure allowed Mark to successfully
read each sentence partly with the help of the picture as a cue to his reading. Where the task
proved challenging for Mark was trying to recognise the name (foal) of one of the animals
even when he attempted to remember by looking at the picture. When this attempt proved to
be unsuccessful, his pause encouraged the teacher to respond by telling him the unknown word.

Discussions at home with Mark’s mother concluded that when Mark was unable to read a word a pause was an indication for his mother to respond by saying the word. The pause in the instance with his teacher described above was a strategy Mark found successful in triggering a prompt, similar to the result he would have received while reading with his mum. The corollary of a reader pausing is a teacher creating space for it to occur. Mark continued reading the rest of the text without error recognising the variation in the sentence structure that read, “…we like milk.”

**Activity Seven: Guided reading - Introducing an unfamiliar text**

The reading lesson in the classroom included the introduction of an unfamiliar book. The general procedure was followed by Mark’s teacher. A brief explanation about the story was given before elaborating words, concepts, and actions relevant to the text. Towards the end of the discussion before Mark began reading his teacher reminded him, as she did in the earlier reading, about pointing, further evidence for the presence of consistency in instructional language.

[process outcomes: building awareness through instructional language creating space, with consistency]

[process limits: limited awareness through lack of clarity]

**Teacher**

This is a story about a person getting dressed up pretending to be a goat. It’s called ‘*The goats*’ (running her finger across the title encouraging Mark to repeat).

**Mark**

‘*The goats*’ (pointing to each word)

**Teacher**

Good boy!

What’s she got on to make her look like a goat? (pointing to the picture beneath the title)
Mark: A coat?
Teacher: Yes … and a paper bag with some eyes cut out.
(She motions Mark to begin reading, reminding him to point…)
… right, do your pointing now?
Mark: (He begins reading, pointing to each word. He read confidently and without error. Once finished the teacher asked several questions relating to the text).

Given that this text was a new reader and an unfamiliar text it appeared that the instructional reading level might be too easy for Mark. While this might aid awareness via immersion, it is not a very good context to provoke or highlight new learning. Perhaps the teacher knew he could decode but wanted Mark to expand his knowledge around story comprehension. Clearly, the teacher’s focus was on the themes and narrative features of the story (eg the central intention of ‘pretending’). For instance during a discussion about the topic the teacher encouraged Mark’s participation by allowing him to elaborate his understanding of the topic. He responded in a manner that was satisfactory to the teacher’s query. Mark read the entire text by himself confidently and without error.

At the completion of the reading the teacher returned Mark to a focus on the narrative. However, the way in which the teacher’s direction was phrased was ambiguous and caused some confusion to Mark (show the word ‘mum’ versus show the illustration of ‘mum’). In the previous examples Mark was familiar with the concept of ‘pointing’ for word identification. When the concept was associated with finding ‘mum’ in the picture the question was not only too general but required specificity of the task. The confusion was resolved by a rephrasing of the question. Seeing his response, the teacher modified her question to one that was more explicit in directing him where to look, to “where’s mum … in the picture?” Mark was able to respond by pointing to mum in the picture without hesitation. This also enabled Mark to respond to the next question, “…where’s dad” without having to be prompted further, indicating rapid learning. However, it is not immediately clear from the discussion why it might be important in the narrative to know where the mum and dad are in
relationship to the child dressed up as a goat, and how using the illustration helps. Leaving
the reason unspecified misses an opportunity to clarify an attribute of knowing the text the
teacher felt was important.

Teacher  Show me mum? (pointing to the picture).
Mark        (points to the word mum)
Teacher  Show me dad?
Mark        (points to the word dad)
Teacher  Can you point to mum … in the picture? (pauses) … Where’s mum in the picture?
Mark        (points to mum in the picture)
Teacher  Yeah. Where’s dad?
Mark        (points to dad in the picture)
Teacher  Good boy!

Both the teacher and Mark were able to develop a shared understanding of this task by
negotiating and readjusting their level of understanding in this activity. The teacher
continued to maintain Mark’s focus on the narrative encouraging him to participate by
elaborating intentions, feelings and states of the characters.

Teacher  (Turns the page, asks) …Oh, what’s she doing? Why’s she looking so frightened? What’s she
saying?
Mark        (Mark doesn’t respond, the teacher prompts again…)
Teacher  What do you say when your frightened? … Because she wants to frighten him. Look, poor
mum and dad are really frightened, aren’t they?
Mark        (nods, agreeing with the teacher).
Teacher  Good reading, and I like the way you’ve been taking your book bag home each night! (session
ends)

Outcomes

Like the other parents, Mark’s mother commented about the importance of entering school
with some conventional knowledge about reading and writing. Before school she was
confident that because her son would go to school knowing his alphabet and being able to
write his name he would engage well “I feel sorry for some of them because some of them
don’t even know the alphabet let alone sit down and write an ‘a’. ” The corollary of this was
that she was concerned that school might make her son lazy. She explained that “...he knows how to do his name, I taught him how to do the ‘a’ and ‘b’s so I thought he knows how to do his name. I don’t want him to be lazy.” That is, the teacher might undo what he had already been taught and perhaps confuse him by using new strategies.

Nevertheless, Mark’s mother said that he quickly became accustomed to routine. She noted that he read daily and brought home a book bag everyday. She remarked “...what ever is in his book bag, we just read it and then mark down, sign it to say that he has read his book. What ever is in his book bag we read it with him.” It was important to her to maintain a regular routine of reading and other school related activities especially those that were required to be done at home. She said that going to school had made a huge amount of difference to what her son had been familiar doing because she stated that having attended kindergarten provided her child an introduction for doing some structured work. For example, she said “...he’s been doing homework since kindy like his scrapbook ... that was homework for him, so he’s really basically, used to it. But he really enjoys reading his stories.” She also recognised school expectations about reading each night that she believed helped maintain good homework habits. She also felt it her responsibility to provide as much assistance as possible. “I just don’t want him to be falling behind that’s all. I would love him to come home and do his own sentences. By the end of the year he is definitely going to be doing his own sentences – that’s my aim.”

The school progress data show Mark to have made high progress in his knowledge of items and concepts, and word recognition (see Table 1 p51). The measure of generalised word recognition (BURT) showed he was reading at age level. His progress was not as high in
writing (stanine 3). His language skills for retelling stories and receptive language (both in English) were age appropriate.
Child Three: Theresa

Family characteristics

Theresa was the eldest child in her family. Her younger sibling was 6 months old at the time of observations. One of her parents was working. She went to school late in one year. Her mother began part time work as Theresa started back at school in the new year. She had been a part of the HIPPY programme (a parent education programme focussed on supporting children’s cognitive and language development) but couldn't keep it up because of work, therefore pulled out of the programme when Theresa started school in the New Year. Her mother stated she became involved in the HIPPY programme through her sister-in-law. They both had their children attend a playcentre which informed them of the programme. Theresa’s mother was also involved in the ‘Parents As First Teachers Programme’, which she was contacted about at the hospital when she was in having her second child. She commented “...I thought it was really cool because it was ... especially for a lot of Maori women that were more from (a) lower socio-economic group.”

Reading and story telling

Many of the features of writing and reading noted already with Mark and Mary occurred with Theresa. Then we concentrate on showing the processes also at work with language activities (story telling).

Activity One: reading to whole class

Reading to the whole class places some limits on a versatile activity. Among them are constraints on personalising interactions and thereby reducing the potential for incorporation. However, with a rich text and with suitable teacher commentary and discussion it is possible
to build awareness (Phillips, McNaughton & MacDonald, 2001). The text was familiar to Theresa and had a repetitive structure. During the reading the teacher focussed on two styles of participation. In one she encouraged children to contribute to the reading by performing. This was aided by the type of text and the performance style took the form of completing sentences marked by the teacher with a rising intonation followed by a pause. However, also she used a second style of interaction focussed on the narrative. On several levels there was potential incorporation of Theresa’s familiarity with both these styles. This potential was then realised in the following small group activity (reported below).

[process outcomes: incorporation of pedagogy and of performance and narrative expertise]

process limitations: reduced versatility]

Teacher: Lucy went home to watch television. The rooster sat on the armchair. It went… (modelling intonation pattern and pause)
Together: cock-a-doodle-doo!
Teacher: Take that rooster…(modelling intonation pattern and pause)
Children: Out!
Teacher: …said Dad. So Lucy put the rooster on the…? (modelling intonation pattern and pause)
Children: Gate!
Teacher: …the gate.

These performance routines were present in the shared reading between Theresa and her mother. Before Theresa went to school they read a book called “Goodbye Berry”. At the end of each line, Theresa’s mother included expressive intonation patterns to help point to where Theresa could imitate. Theresa imitated her mother’s responses.

Mother (Reading) Berry wanted to go away; he wanted to go to a different place, a better place, and a more beautiful place. He said goodbye to his bed and closed the door with the picture of a strawberry on it and left. Goodbye Berry (modelling intonation).

Theresa Goodbye Berry (imitating intonation).
The main character, Berry meets a bird, and a goat that he invites to join him on his journey to “find a different, a better, more beautiful place”. The animals and Berry soon arrive at a big city where they find it to be an unpleasant, unwelcoming place. They decide to go back home. As they climb the last hill they soon see for themselves just how ‘beautiful’ the green hills looked (where the goat lived), and the ‘beautiful’ tall trees (where the bird lived) and Berry’s ‘beautiful’ home. As the story nears the end Theresa increases her participation by imitating her mother’s contributions more frequently.

Mother (Reading) The bird saw her three trees…
Theresa (counting) …one, two, three trees.
Mother …from far away and they looked…sooo beautiful
Theresa …sooo beautiful
Mother They were the most beautiful trees she had ever seen. Goodbye bird
Theresa Goodbye.

During the reading activity at school there were questions the teacher initiated that deliberately encouraged elaboration of the text. Interactions had a focus on understanding of the narrative and events around the central problem of finding a place for the rooster where his call won't interrupt others.

Teacher Do you think the movies is a good place to take a rooster?
Children No.
Teacher Why not?
C1 Noise.
Teacher It’ll make too much noise… What else
C2 …and you have to be quiet at the movies.
Teacher Yes, you have to be quiet at the movies…don’t you think the rooster will be quiet?
C3 No. It might flap around.
C4 It might wake the movie up.

The exchanges initiated by the teacher not only encouraged the children to participate and respond but it also enabled other children to elaborate on each other’s responses adding to the description of the story.
The reading activity at home also required Theresa to provide very detailed descriptions of what was happening in a story. The instructions from the HIPPY workbook required the reader, to “Read the whole book from beginning to end” without interruptions, listening to the entire story. A series of quite structured questions detailing events from the text “Goodbye Berry” were asked at the completion of the story for Theresa to elaborate and give descriptions. For example Theresa’s mother asked:

Mother: Where did Berry arrive at the end of the story?
Theresa: At home.
Mother: Berry arrived back at home.

Theresa’s mother would elaborate Theresa’s responses providing an explicit description as it was written from the activity book.

Mother: Did Berry find a better place than his home?
Theresa: No.
Mother: No, he didn’t find a better place.

These two examples were recordings from the first reading of this book. A few days later, the same book was introduced and read again with more in depth questions.

Mother: Berry decided to leave home. He said goodbye to the house and left. What was he looking for?
Theresa: A better place, more beautiful place, a different place.
Mother: He wanted a better place, a more beautiful place a different place.

Theresa’s response in the above example illustrates her understanding and expertise, she provided a more elaborate description repeating a larger section of the text.

Activity Two: story retelling in a small group

To enable the children to develop a better understanding of retelling stories, the teacher assigned each child to small groups. The teacher commented that she found small group
learning much better for children who were quieter and participated less with the whole group. She expanded her comment saying “it helps those children who rarely participate in whole group, to actually take part in small groups”. Therefore, prior to this activity taking place, each child was assigned to a group, usually of no more than three children. The teacher chose a person to act as a leader. It is, as the teacher advised, “recommended that an ‘older child’ help the younger less experienced children”. That is, a child who has been in this class a lot longer will be more familiar with the routines than one just beginning school.

The teacher expressed strong beliefs about the need for children to quickly adapt to the regular routines in class, by providing the same activities in very much the same order with similar instructions: “this type of routine helps children establish a pattern that becomes familiar to them without too many changes”. Establishing routines also aided in making transitions for children into the school environment smoother, helping them settle into school more quickly.

In this group the leader dictated who talked, when and for how long. Her role was to maintain control, keep the others in the group ‘on task”, provide guidance and direction in helping to ‘structure’ the activity. The records showed the group leader performing imitation and modelling routines reflective of the teacher’s performance. The leader maintained control over who should talk by at first directing a question inquiring, “what’s she saying over here, please... Theresa?” and systematically choosing the second child to respond to the next question making sure that both children participated. Where a child interrupted another child’s turn, the leader enforced her power and stopped her abruptly by saying, “...YOU’RE not Theresa!” The leader’s style of managing this activity reflected the consistent routine structure that the teacher maintained during the whole class reading
activity. This shows the value of modelling by the teacher and the development of consistency across activities.

This type of shared learning, involving the responsibility of an older child leading and guiding younger or less expert children is similar to that expressed in Maori families, referred to as tuakana-teina relationship. The role of the each child in this relationship is flexible and responsibilities are interchangeable depending on the circumstances. At home, Theresa is the older sibling therefore assumes the role of tuakana (older) when she interacts with her younger brother. Whereas in the small group she accepted her role as teina (younger) as well as respecting her slightly older cousin who was chosen to be in the same group. Theresa’s experience having her cousin present both at home and in class enabled her to participate in a non-threatening event, which to some extent was fairly familiar.

Child 1 Who wants to read me this page? …Theresa.
Theresa (quietly says) Lucy ….
Child 1 (doesn’t hear) No, her names Lucy.
Theresa Lucy
Child 1 …had
Theresa …had
Child 1 …a
Theresa …a …fire.
Child 2 No, a rooster.

Theresa’s participation is similar to her experience sharing and retelling stories from the HIPPY programme activity of which she and her whanau had participated. During the retelling session, Theresa was asked to describe the next series of events in the story. She began to describe the picture on the opposite page, which was not related to the current text. As she began to describe the scene other children in the group interjected, correcting her errors by showing her where to begin and demonstrating the appropriate way to explain. A small extract of the exchange read:
In this example, Theresa may have understood the process of describing an event from her earlier experiences with reading however, on this occasion she may have misunderstood the implied specific instruction about ‘how’ one describes an event, which corresponds to the context of a story.

The general familiarity of retelling was reported in a diary entry between Theresa and her mother playing pretend school. This event evolved from an activity from the HIPPY programme. The flexibility and interchangeable roles of the tuakana-teina relationship were captured in this activity allowing Theresa to presume the teachers role while her mother accepted the learner’s role and where necessary reversed roles when helping Theresa. The programme instructions required the teacher (Theresa) to “tell the children a story”. Cut out figures from the activity booklet were arranged in a circle, and they posed as the audience listening to a story. She created an imaginative elaborative story about a squirrel that had misplaced something.

Something was there … and he looked.
He looked and thought … something was there.
But nobody was there.
He thought it was small.
But he dropped it last time … for a long, long, long ago.
I know he said, said the frog.
Last time I went there, I dropped them all.
No. This is not mine!
It’s somebody else’s.
Are these yours?
Yes. I’ve been going here to find them.
And they went to go … and they waved to each other and they both went to sleep.
And that’s the end of the story.

The story utilised expression and shared exchanges between characters of which she described with rising intonations, similar to the accounts she shared with her mother while reading “Goodbye Berry”. It turned out to have familiarity when she went to school.

During the reading event at home, Theresa was guided and supported by her mother. The classroom instance above of referring to the illustration can be linked to her mother’s observation that “she looks at the pictures to see what the word would be”. She reconstructed her own sentence from using the picture as a vital cue to her retelling.

Another possible resonance that assisted Theresa through the retelling task was the specific instructions the HIPPY activity book provided. For example, during shared reading routines there were particular steps to follow that introduced and suggested ways for the reader to engage with the listener to discuss the components of the book and its text. One of the instructions referred the reader to “point to the cover and discuss the picture” while another suggested to “point to the pictures that illustrate the words you are reading”. This is consistent with her strategy in the classroom activity. The peer interaction allowed Theresa to negotiate her understanding and interpretation of the task. The evidence for this is the presence of self corrections in this activity.

Theresa

She sat watching ...TV...(s/c) ...the rooster
He saying ... (s/c) ...dad’s saying....
The role of teacher awareness and parent awareness

As a strategy, her mother would remind her to look at each word and try to recognise them and encouraged her to look back at words she had already come across. She explained “sometimes she’ll read one page and it’s got the same word on the next page, but she’ll forget it and I’ll say to her, you know that word is the same as that word (pointing to the previous example)”. Theresa’s mother was quick to point out that “you can tell though that it’s mostly based on memory, that she’s reading it”. To encourage her to recognise and remember each word her mother commented that, “...now, when she reads I make her read out each word so she’s not running them all together”.

Similarly when Theresa began school her mother explained how Theresa would try to pronounce words and try to memorise what letter these words started with. This was elaborated by her mother especially after noticing Theresa’s involvement with more reading from school saying, “she’ll try and guess ... I mean most of the time she’ll get it wrong but ... she’ll ask me what it (word) starts with ...she knows some of the smaller words but she does have trouble with the other words.”

This classroom event encouraged Theresa to adjust and relate to others in small group situations. For example Theresa was observed adjusting her posture according to what others in the group were doing. These incidences enabled her to quickly modify her own behaviour according to what was acceptable in the group as well as in the classroom.

For instance, in the classroom the teacher provided simple instructions about participation for the class to be aware of at the beginning of a reading session:

**Teacher**

Now, this is a story that you can join in … but when I put up my hand what does that mean?
Video recorded incidents showed Theresa being guided by her cousin’s movements and gestures, resembling the responsibilities that a *tuakana* (older child) would have for a *teina* (younger child).

**Outcomes**

Theresa’s mother reported that she noticed her daughter’s confidence develop in reading, since beginning school. She attributed this to the HIPPY programme. She observed that Theresa was, “*not slow at reading. I’ve seen other kids reading books and they’re really ...like, they take for ages and your patience gets tried ...but she’s not too bad ... it’s probably from the HIPPY programme that’s helped*”. Her comments acknowledged gains her daughter had made since beginning school; “*it’s different really, because I was more reading all the books to her and then asking all the questions about it whereas now she is reading all the books to me.*” She stated “*I don’t know, just more writing, to do with her writing. Her writing isn’t too bad, sometimes she gets letters back to front kind of thing ...but it’s not too bad for just having started really.*” She also elaborated that she tended to write a great deal more therefore expected this to improve even more by the end of the year.

Theresa adjusted well when another child she knew from kindergarten started soon after she began school. Like other parents, Theresa’s mother also believed that knowing someone else in class helped her daughter settle into the classroom environment. She said that further introducing younger children into the class had another purpose which was that: “*...it makes them older. She’s the older one and they’re the younger ones, just starting and she’s gotta be*
the older person to look after them.” For this child being a *tuakana* (older child) was a role she was familiar in performing, a role that she played within her own *whanau*.

The school progress data (see Table 1 p51) show Theresa to have made high progress in her knowledge of items and concepts, and word recognition. The measure of generalised word recognition (BURT) showed she was reading at age level. Her progress was not as high in writing (stanine 3). The measures of expressive and receptive language in English show appropriate development.
**Child Four: Hona**

**Family characteristics**

A feature of Hona’s preschool learning was that he had experienced several transitions across a variety of environments. Hona is the oldest child of a two-sibling relationship living between his extended *whanau* (family) and his mother. When this research was conducted he was living with his nana (grandmother). He had attended Te Kohanga Reo at the age of 2 until he was 4 years old and a Kindergarten at age 4 until he began school. Overall, his early childhood experience had provided him with a diversity of learning and socialisation practices as part of the environments that have been an integral part of his life.

**Writing**

There are fewer explicit examples in the data of incorporation and awareness taking place in the classroom. Here we describe some of these but also some incidents where there were difficulties.

**Activity One: introduction of worksheet to whole class**

A worksheet activity was presented to the whole group to prepare children for individual writing. Writing activities would take place each day during the morning language activities. The preparation of this writing activity involved the teacher introducing and collaborating with the class by identifying and modelling a letter followed by a short sentence the teacher added for children to copy into their individual books. The teacher’s instructions provided the basis of the activity. The worksheet, which required children to practice writing a letter in upper and lower case, had low versatility and was not a text rich activity.

[process outcomes: enabling incorporation of pedagogy]
developing awareness of (non text) activity by contingency, clarity]

The following excerpt shows the way in which this activity was organised and the teacher’s role in assisting the children.

Teacher: What letter are we doing for handwriting? (Inquiry)
Child: ‘q’.
Teacher: Right.
(Begins singing the algorithm) … quack, quack, quiet, quiet, qu, qu, quick … rainbow ‘c’ and a flick for ‘q’ … everybody
The teacher and children join together to repeat the algorithm adding actions (demonstrating in the air). Mrs D models another letter ‘q’.

The teacher drew two straight solid lines with a dotted line in-between ready for the handwriting exercise. Before the writing began the teacher focused the children’s attention on the beginning process of writing.

Teacher: What’s Mrs D doing now?
Child 1: (Calls out) A road!
Teacher: I thought you’d say that! A road. But we’re doing handwriting. Why would I be doing a road?
Child 2: (Calls out) A ‘q’ … handwriting … a ‘q’
Teacher: (Doesn’t hear the response) No. We’re doing handwriting, and it’s the half way part of the line (dotted lines). That’s the top (marks with an x) and that’s the bottom (marks with an x) … top and bottom … (puts another x by each solid line). Where there’s 2 crosses, that’s the bottom (of the line).

The teacher may have assumed that her inquiry helped her reduce the ambiguity inherent for these children in knowing about the writing. That is, recognising that letters have a ‘correct’ way of being formed and that they are written on lines that guide the writer where letters (and words) begin and end.

Teacher: I’m going to choose somebody to write … but I’m going to write it first, but you are going to help me. Put your fingers up (writing the letter in the air) … while I write it on the board. (Saying an algorithm) … a rainbow ‘c’ up and a tail for …. (checks her notes how the algorithm continues) … a rainbow ‘c’ up and a tail for ‘q’ (repeats). Now whose going to be first (teacher chooses a child).
C3 (Produces a very small letter ‘q’ that is half the size of Mrs D’s model. While he writes his letter the teacher repeats the algorithm …a rainbow ‘c’ up and a tail for ‘q’)

Teacher Well done. I have to give you a sticker because you’ve worked so hard but we have to talk about the shape of it don’t we? (To the class) Now what happened to his ‘q’? What happened to his ‘q’? … What happened to it?

C4 It’s not big enough.

Teacher It’s not big enough. Well which part? Show me. Do you think you can make it right?

C4 (Goes up to the whiteboard) Points to the small letter.

Teacher Make it right. (She encourages the child to show them on the board. He is reluctant to take the marker from the teacher, she says…) Well I’ll hold your hand … around and down half way (guiding his hand). Now it looks right doesn’t it?

The teacher and the class participated in this routine producing the letter ‘q’ before they were each given the worksheet to complete at their tables as individual seatwork. Along with the lower case ‘q’ there was the capital letter ‘Q’ and combinations of letters ‘Qq’ as well as the number 33. Children were given the worksheet to complete after the morning tea break once the teacher instructed them that she would help them with their work if they required help. It is not known from the observations how much Hona took from the demonstrations.

**Activity Two: Teacher collaboration on worksheet**

After moving to groups, the teacher collaborated with Hona on the worksheet activity. The first part of the worksheet required Hona to write his name.

[process outcomes: building awareness of activity goals and format through consistency, clarity and contingency of instructional language]

[process limits: limited incorporation of expertise]

An extended analysis of the collaboration is provided to illustrate how the process of developing awareness of the goals and forms of participation in the activity were created between the teacher and Hona. But the analysis also illustrates how the activity itself was limiting, in two ways. The first is in some respects positive. Because it had little versatility it constrained the teacher’s and Hona’s attention to solving a very circumscribed problem; how
to perform the activity effectively. In solving this problem one can see some opportunity created for Hona to bring his ways of participating developed through out of school activities, particularly skills in observing and imitating, into the activity. But the second sense of limiting is problematic. It is what Hona learns about the nature of reading activities in the classroom and how to solve problems associated with learning what to do.

The teacher regulated her performance to include Hona in the task by negotiating and making a series of contingent adjustments with her instructions. A contingent adjustment occurred when reducing the difficult level of a task contingently on Hona not performing effectively. The adjustments ranged from providing minimal assistance, such as simply asking Hona to write his name, to providing him with a full model, demonstrating formation and spelling each letter of his name. During the name writing part there were several occasions where the teacher had to negotiate parts of the writing task that were too difficult for Hona to do alone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>There you are there’s a seat. Show me how you hold your pencil … that’s right … good boy. Put your seat in nicely … if that will help you … put your hand flat (shows him where to place his hand to steady the paper)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hona</td>
<td>(commenting) I’m working nicely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>(Doesn’t hear his comment) Now, this is your name. Ho … na (pointing and pronouncing his name) (writes his name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hona</td>
<td>(At the same time Hona says his name out loud imitating the teacher) … Hona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Hona! (Out loud) H…o…n…a (spelling out each letter) Copy your name now (running her fingers across his name, Hona provides no response)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Upon the initial presentation of a model of Hona’s name through to spelling out his name, the teacher provided an overview of the task and the steps connected to writing his name. Once the teacher had provided a format it was then expected that Hona produce his name in a similar way, unaided. The pause in Hona’s response led to the first contingent adjustment.
where the teacher reduced the level of instruction in the task by demonstrating utilising a model.

**Teacher**  
Contingent Adjustment  
(explaining) Look … you go like this … over the top (traces over letters) … you think you can do that?

**Hona**  
Nah.

**Teacher**  
(says) Try! I’ll hold your pencil … you hold your pencil  
(Mrs D adjusts his grip on the pencil, she guides his hand, tracing and spelling each letter out loud)  
H…o…n…a… you try that.

His refusal led the teacher to negotiate and apply a new strategy to reduce the task further by modelling, demonstrating and spelling out his name. This enabled Hona to attempt a part of the task by himself.

(The teacher leaves Hona to attend children at another table. Hona begins tracing over the first letter in his name. The teacher glances over to see what Hona is doing. He looks up at her for comment. She says…)  
…Good boy … keep going.

(She turns to attend to other children while Hona continues writing his name. He copies over the second letter in his name. He calls out to his teacher…)

**Hona**  
…Mrs D … Mrs D … (He waits for her to respond…)

Hona attempted to trace over two of the letters in his name. He completed tracing over the second letter and waited for the teacher to check his performance. His willingness to wait for approval shows his competence at being able to move on to the next part of the task even if that meant completing only part of a task. When his teacher did return, Hona redirected her attention instead to the next task on the worksheet.

(She is involved talking to other children and cannot hear Hona. He calls two more times and waits for a response. He doesn’t write any more of his name by himself, instead fidgets and plays with his pencil, and looks around the room, until his teacher comes to see him. After a few minutes pass, he calls out to the teacher again while he waits for assistance. His teacher comes over to check on Hona and he makes a comment about the next task on the worksheet and asks…)  

**Hona**  
…Do you draw on these (pointing to the dotted lines on which the letters are written)?

**Teacher**  
(checking what Hona is pointing to…) …Yes
The teacher does not make any reference to the incomplete writing of his name instead becomes drawn to his query about the next activity on the worksheet.

What seems apparent from this observation and similar situations (for eg Wilkinson & Townsend, 2000) is that as some children begin school there are very few clues teachers are able to pick up on what children know and are able to do alone. Their general diversity awareness may be low and their knowledge of a particular child is limited. There are a variety of interpretations that can explain the way children behave if they are unable to understand what the teacher wants. For some children refusing or maintaining a prolonged silence in an activity may indicate to a teacher that they don’t know what is required. On the other hand, refusal and silence can be interpreted by a teacher as being a social signal, perhaps indicating reluctance to engage. Hona was observed throughout this activity and other classroom activities refusing to participate as well as waiting for assistance. It seems likely that refusing or remaining silent for Hona in this activity was an indication that he did not understand the format required by his teacher.

His knowledge about what was required and expected of him may have varied in important ways from the teacher’s expectations. The activity of writing his name in the school varied from that in the kindergarten. Contrary to the way the teacher and Hona constructed this activity at school, Hona was already able to recognise and write his whole name prior to school. At kindergarten each child was provided with their own name tag that was readily available for a child to collect when they wanted to name their products. Hona was observed by his kindergarten teacher at first being able to write his name in capitals and then copying his name from the name tag. His kindergarten teacher confirmed that it was during the last
few months prior to his fifth birthday that writing his name was “self learned, mostly by capitals at first then using the name tags to copy from”. She added that she was unsure where Hona had learned to write his name in capitals and suggested perhaps he learned it either at home or in Te Kohanga Reo. Hona’s grandmother mentioned during earlier discussions that Hona was able to write his name but was unsure where or how he learned to do this.

In part then, his knowledge about how to write his name at kindergarten may have been inconsistent with what Hona was required to do while at school. For example, knowing and being able to identify each letter in his name in the correct sequence by the format and instruction guided by the teacher may have contributed to his confusion of the task. Also, the participation patterns may have been unfamiliar for him. But the result of the teacher not knowing what Hona could do in this particular activity meant subsequent interactions were constrained.

Following Hona’s query about “how” he should continue the next part of the writing task, a fuller explanation as well as physical guidance was provided. These produced a better understanding of the writing process. After tracing his name, the teacher directed his attention to the model letter ‘Q’ from the worksheet. The teacher guided his movements through the activity by tracing over the model and demonstrating using the algorithm modelled with the whole class.

**Teacher**

Like this one (pointing to the letter ‘Q’ on the work sheet, she models the letter explaining…)

…Here, you make the shape … go over the top … here, … hold your pencil … you go over the top … hold your pencil … start at the top (guiding his hand over the model saying an algorithm) … around, down … around, down (tracing over the letter) (Level 3 Model, demonstration & algorithm)

Now you do one, … around and down (Mrs D points where to begin on the dotted line, she says) …where the dots are … good boy.

(She leaves Hona to continue working on the task sheet, while she attends children across the other side of the room. He makes an attempt at writing the letter ‘Q’ by checking with the teacher’s model. When he completes one he calls out to the teacher…)
The teacher’s negotiations enabled Hona to understand how to participate in the writing activity effectively. Part of Hona’s understanding also included making sure that he was able to ‘get it right’ through his attempts to copy from the teacher’s model. He would frequently check his production with the teacher’s model. Copying from a model was similar to having the name tag to copy while at kindergarten however without the explicit guidance. The teacher’s comments during the letter writing activity supported his attempt even when questioned by another child.

Hona (calls out) … I did … I did … Mrs D … (His teacher comes over to check Hona)
Teacher Good boy … that’s very good … good boy … now do another one, that’s very good … just like Mrs D’s one … remember?
(Hona proceeds to produce another capital letter ‘Q’. One of the children sitting opposite Hona comments to the teacher…)
Child 1 Is he doing it right?
Teacher Yes he is. (Checking Hona) Let me see … good boy… now sit up properly or you can’t do it … remember to keep this hand flat (she readjusts his posture) … flat, so the paper doesn’t slide … now keep going … remember to look up at Mrs D’s to help you too (she is pointing to her model. The teacher lets Hona continue with the activity sheet and checks on the other children in the class. Hona attempts two more letters ‘Q’ by himself).

Hona’s success at reproducing the letter ‘Q’ gave him the competence to perform more of the same letter across subsequent lines on the worksheet whereas the activity required a new letter to be practiced. His continuation of writing the letter ‘Q’ also demonstrated his knowledge about the writing process. That is, the movement of his writing in a ‘snake like’ fashion (Clay, 1991) and learning what to attend to next on the activity sheet.

After he had attempted two more letter ‘Q’, he decides scribbling in the corner of the page, he draws a line down the length of his page in the right hand margin before he attempts any more writing. He gets to the end of the line and is unsure what to do next. He tries rubbing out the line he drew earlier, with his finger then begins another row of capital letter ‘Q’ starting from the right hand margin going left. On this line Hona should be reproducing a lower case ‘q’. He continues producing several letter ‘Q’ writing in a ‘snake like’ fashion (left-right-right-left etc) across the next two lines. His teacher comes back to check what Hona is doing and realizes that he’s produced a capital letter ‘Q’ on every line, so stops him immediately. She takes his pencil and traces over a ‘q’ for Hona to copy).
The teacher quickly explained to Hona what letter he should now be copying. Similar to the previous demonstration of the capital letter ‘Q’ she again demonstrated for him by tracing over the model (‘q’) from the worksheet before guiding Hona’s hand back over the same model, tracing the letter while repeating an algorithm. His refusal to follow after the teacher’s demonstration prompted the teacher to scaffold Hona’s movements by explicitly instructing and guiding him closely to reproducing a similar model by himself.

Teacher
Alright, stop, stop … see that one? (Pointing to the model ‘q’ in the margin on the worksheet. She demonstrates over the model saying…) Around, down, flick … around, down, flick … Hold your pencil … (She guides his hand, demonstrating and modeling over the ‘q’ saying) … around, up, down, flick … around, up, down, flick.

Hona
Nah!

Teacher
You try … just like that one (pointing to the model)

Hona
(Begins to do a circle shape, pauses and asks for direction…) …down?

Teacher
Yes. (He begins to put the tail on the wrong side of the ‘q’, his teacher quickly points where it goes). On this side …Like Mrs D, now flick … that was very good … now you can do a tail, flick on that one. (Pointing to a circle that he previously began while producing capital ‘Q’ earlier) … a tail and a flick. Ok, now you see if you can do some more of those.

(She leaves Hona to continue the writing. He reproduces another letter ‘q’ perfectly by himself. His second attempt he produces a circle shape and is unsure what to do next. He checks the teacher’s model. He traces over the teacher’s model with his pencil then attempts to reproduce one. He produces an ‘o’ shape and puts the tail on the wrong side of the ‘o’ shape. He checks his attempt with the teacher’s and notices the mistake, he tries rubbing out the tail with his finger. He puts the tail onto the correct side of the letter ‘q’. He becomes distracted by another peer sitting opposite him and begins talking to her. He produces two more letter ‘q’ by himself. He calls his teacher to come over).

Having the very detailed structured guidance from the teacher was clearly very effective for Hona’s understanding as indicated by his self corrections. Hona was observed throughout the writing activity self correcting. For instance, while writing the letter ‘q’ Hona produced several rows of the letter ‘o’ before realising that he should have produced lower case ‘q’. He traced over the worksheet model ‘q’ checked his own attempts and noticed the difference between his attempt and the model. He then attached ‘tails’ on the left of each letter producing inverted letter ‘q’ s. He then checked with the model from the worksheet again and
promptly corrected each one by erasing the ‘tails’ to make the letter look more like the model ‘q’.

Two things are noticeable from the above incident. The first was Hona’s awareness that letters (and words) are written with a particular orientation and direction, and second was his ability to self-correct his own productions. The model enabled Hona to make regular checks with his own imitated model. Knowing what the end product looked like rather than knowing how to produce the letter may have been more important for him to understand. As well, his ability to compare his own attempts with the model enabled Hona to self-correct so that his example looked more like the model. Because the teacher wasn’t present during this part of the writing she perceived the work Hona completed to be a very close approximation of the given task. During the final segment of the letter writing activity she praised his efforts saying “that’s pretty good isn’t it, that’s pretty clever isn’t it?” without having seen him carry out the task and knowing whether or not any part of the task may have caused him difficulties.

Part of Hona’s success in being able to reproduce similar letters to those modeled on the worksheet was the way in which he communicated his lack of understanding of the task through his refusals (“nah!”) and by requesting guidance through his queries (“do you draw on these?” “how?” “down?”). Through these strategies Hona was able to gain specific guidance from the teacher. A further example of this occurred during the letter writing activity Hona motioned the teacher to his table and pointed to the rows of dotted lines on his work sheet asking:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hona</th>
<th>Do you draw on these?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hona</td>
<td>How?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The final segment to the writing activity involved writing the number 33. The teacher wanted him to complete the final part of the worksheet but he was reluctant to continue. His teacher interpreted his reluctance as not knowing what to do so quickly responded again by demonstrating and then physically guiding his hand tracing over the model. Even under the teacher’s guidance Hona continued to refuse to participate further in the task.

Perhaps in this instance, Hona felt constrained within this particular pedagogy. Or, that possibly he just had enough of the writing activity for that day and that he was more content to observe what the teacher was showing him. Metge and Kinloch (1995) emphasise that learning rather than the teaching is more important for the Maori child especially when put in situations where they can learn more by watching rather than being taught and demonstrating this skill when they are ready.

**Activity Three: Peer collaboration on the worksheet**

The teacher sensed his reluctance therefore assigned another child in the class to help him with the task.
Assigning a peer to help Hona in this task did not result in a productive interaction. The brief exchange of dialogue between Hona and his helper did provide information about what Hona could and could not do in the activity. The child helping Hona felt it was his responsibility to complete the entire task, which involved the full production of the number. The teacher queried the child helper about the construction of the activity asking:

The teacher’s query “did you do those?” and her response “...are you helping?” highlight an important aspect of this task that has cultural and pedagogical significance. The observations indicated that the child’s blank stare was accompanied by a quizzical expression of confusion. Given that this child was also Maori and given his understanding of manaaki (caring, sharing and helping others), perhaps for this child teaching/learning meant doing the work for the other person while they carefully observed. But, just putting children
together doesn’t necessarily have the desirable pedagogical outcome. The teacher may in fact have expected the child to understand what she meant by helping another person. In this case, the helper did what he felt was helping that is, producing the text for Hona. Therefore, realising her mis-understanding about what was required of this task the teacher reiterated to Hona:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>(To Hona) …I think that next time we’ll practice doing our number 33.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hona</td>
<td>Later!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Yes later … and … maybe … you’ve worked so hard for Mrs D. Good boy, where’s your pencil? Put it in the mug (She notices he has rubbed out his worksheet. She commented…) Hona, we don’t need to rub out, we don’t use rubbers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Activity Four: peer collaboration in writing a story**

Hona’s reliance on others for guidance can be interpreted as problematic for him preventing him from actively developing his knowledge about writing in the classroom. During a later story writing occasion for example, the teacher helped Hona construct a story. Due to his reluctance to participate his teacher instead wrote out a story for him to trace over. It read: ‘*The bee is big. The bee is little*’. Hona returned to his table to begin the task. As Hona sat watching the other children, another child sitting opposite him offered to help him with his writing. He remained still as he watched the child complete the writing task for him. She began writing his name and copied the sentence underneath the teacher’s model. She handed the book back to Hona where he produced a drawing and on completion he showed his teacher. She praised him for his work, not knowing that another child played a major role in completing this for him.

This particular incident is similar to the previous peer collaboration. Hona’s willingness to allow another child to complete the task for him demonstrated a familiarity with accepting expert guidance (*tuakana*). The *tuakana-teina* relationship encourages younger or less able
members to share in and be cared for by their older more able providers. What is unclear is which part of the task did Hona not understand and find difficult. Whether or not Hona understood any part of this task or to some extent the previous writing events was irrelevant because completing the task appeared to be a more preferred learning expectation.

**Reading**

**Activity Four: Reading to whole class**

Reading to the whole class was a part of the reading programme. The activity has versatility in that children can enter and engage using their event knowledge, as well their knowledge of structural proprieties. The teacher’s interactions provide opportunities for incidental identification of concepts about print. But clearly a central focus was on the meanings in the text including developing children’s understanding of concepts and aspects of the narrative structure.

**[process outcomes: incorporation of topic**

**process limits: limited contingency**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>This story’s about “Claire’s Dream”…there she is (showing the front cover). She’s dreaming about something…got her eyes open, but she’s (day) dreaming about something. Or it’s called “The girl who wanted to play rugby”.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hona:</td>
<td>(calls out) I play rugby! (She doesn’t hear Hona. Other children call out…. I like rugby…I play rugby.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher:</td>
<td>Good. Hands down. (Begins to read the story).…. I’m going to be an All Black.” (To the class)…Whats an All Black?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hona:</td>
<td>(calls out) I play rugby!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher:</td>
<td>(Doesn’t hear Hona, continues reading to the end of the story)…The end…The beginning. (To the class)…What does that mean?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children:</td>
<td>(Calling out)…The end of the story? Last page? One page left?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher:</td>
<td>I think it means, that’s the end of our story, but this is the beginning of Claire’s rugby.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The text selected by the teacher has a topic and content that was familiar to Hona. What didn’t happen in the exchanges is the feature of contingency, at least for Hona. The lack of a
contingent response to Hona’s attempts to incorporate his knowledge, to have it recognised was presumably a function of the whole class setting. This class had reached its maximum number of 27 children for the year when Hona joined the class. Nevertheless, the activity had ongoing significance as a vehicle for incorporation. It prompted Hona to bring along to class some trophies his team won playing rugby. This happened a few days after the reading when he brought in his trophies to show the class the success of his team.

Hona’s actions at this later point reflect a more general resonance at the level of a family activity. Hona’s grandfather, often told stories when he returned home with tales about his work as a ‘truckie’. He had photos displayed in the lounge of various types of transporting trucks. This series of photos had become a talking point by Hona’s grandfather when he returned from the road. He would add a new photo to the collection. His grandfather used artefacts as a narrative prop to bring his experiences outside of the setting into that setting. So too, Hona brought his artefacts from outside the school setting to act as narrative props.

**Activity Six: waiata (song/poem)**

A parallel example of an opportunity for incorporation provided by a wide curriculum and resonating activities occurred during a class sing-a-long. A *waiata* (song/poem) was introduced while the class waited for morning break. The activity had versatility admitting at least potentially a range of forms of expertise.

[process limits: limited contingency reduced the incorporation of expertise and pedagogy]

**Teacher:** (the teacher leads them into the waiata, she stops them and asks…)
Who knows the actions to “Tena Koutou”?

**Hona:** (Hona waves his hand in the air. He calls out…)
I do….I do Mrs. D.
Teacher:  (She chooses two children to come up to the front of the group to perform the actions.

Hona:  (stands up and follows the children to the front of the class.)

Teacher:  Sit down Hona – it’s not your turn yet.

Hona:  (remains standing where he is imitating and singing the action song).

The *waiata* (song/poem) was a strongly resonating activity for Hona. The activity of singing these songs and this one in particular was familiar from his attendance at Te Kohanga Reo. He had attended Te Kohanga Reo since he was two years old and his close links with his multicultural *whanau* (family) provided him with many opportunities to participate. Typical participation would be for the whole *whanau* (family) group at Te Kohanga Reo to join in rather than individuals alone, although there would be leaders for *waiata* (song/poem). In this case Hona might very well have been more expert than the others. The turn taking and the teacher’s explicit enforcement created a barrier to incorporation, which Hona resisted.

Singing activities featured strongly at home in this and related forms. Hona’s nana said she would emphasise how singing was a ‘natural’ part of her daily life. Included in his everyday life were singing and telling stories together. She gave an example of her daughter (Hona’s aunty) singing a story to Hona “*to make it more interesting, instead of just reading*” She added: “*so that the story can be remembered better.*”

**Outcomes**

Entering school created anxieties for Hona’s nana. She described school as a “*foreign place.*” She discussed how nervous she felt for her grandson on his first day of school. However, she hoped that her grandson would “*fit into school quickly without too much fuss because at kindy he settled in very quickly.*” She mentioned that at home he was always away playing with other children and had no difficulty being with others.
She described her grandson’s first day at school, “…at first he was totally overcome by the foreign look of the classroom and one teacher to all these children. This was a huge step for him.” Part of her anxiety of seeing ‘one teacher’ baffled her because of her association with early childhood centres that had at least two teachers working with the children. As well, it probably did not reflect her experiences connected to belonging to a large whanau where teaching and learning took place with many others, all of which are teachers. For instance, at two years of age her grandson belonged to a Kohanga Reo (Maori language nest) where there were many kaiako (teachers) present. Some of the kaiako were volunteer helpers including a kuia (nana) that came to assist in the teaching/learning of the tamariki (children).

To help prepare her grandson for mainstream school, his nana placed him into a kindergarten at the age of four years. Even in this environment children were in the presence of at least two teachers working with children and occasionally there may be one or two parent helpers present. It is understandable that she reacted with some trepidation seeing one teacher in control of twenty-five children.

She also reflected when her own children went to school and recognised how things have changed. She briefly commented “they no longer have half days, where children finished at 12 o’clock.” For instance, she came to school to collect her grandson for the day only to find out that he had to stay at school the entire day. Part of her anxieties were re-learning and understanding a new school system that was not the same one she had experienced.

She felt that having school rules was good for her grandson because it provided structure and discipline for him, something which she felt he needed. Being at school for her grandson gave him an opportunity to make new friends, something she felt was important in helping
children settle in a new environment. She also commented that he came to understand that there were certain times where playing was appropriate and certain times where learning took place. At kindergarten and at home he would spend a lot of his time playing, which concerned her, hoping that once he started school he would learn the difference. She believed school gave her grandson time to balance both activities.

By 6,0 years Hona had made better than average progress in learning items and concepts. His word recognition (BURT) and writing vocabulary were relatively low, as were his scores in expressive and receptive language (English).

**Summary**

The four case studies contributed to the development of the model outlined in Section One. Processes of enabling incorporation and building awareness were able to be identified in the classrooms. Their presence was attributable to the vehicles of the curriculum, activities (types and immersion), and instructional language, and their properties. The model in Figure Two (p20), summarises these relationships. In general, the case studies could be ordered from the greatest degree of incorporation and awareness detectable in the observation records through to least degree, although across the four children there were many instances of these processes. The outcomes for the children, at least in terms of initial adjustment and progress over the first year reflect this order, although again all four children could be considered to have made average to above average progress. Three of the children were high progress compared with national expectations.
The model provides a useful way of representing effective instructional processes for creating connections over the transition to school, through the two processes of incorporation and awareness.
QUESTION TWO:

Adding to the descriptions of literacy practices in Maori and Pacific Islands communities

The descriptions reported in this section are in addition to those contained in the previous section. That section contains rich accounts of literacy practices in Maori families, both before their children went to school and after their children went to school. In the first part of this, we report on a series of observations of literacy and language practices in Tongan families, before their children went to school. In the second section we describe the practice of story telling in Samoan families.

(a) Literacy and Language practices in Tongan families

Methodology

The nine families were a network sample recruited through a licensed Pasifika Early Childhood Education Centre with whom we were associated. The centre offered its programme in Tongan. It was participating in the professional development programme aimed at increasing children’s development in literacy and language known as the ECPL programme (reported in Phillips, McNaughton & MacDonald, 2001). The data reported here were collected with families using interview formats and diaries filled out by the caregivers. When first contacted the children were aged 4 years and 6 months.
**Families**

*Storytelling / narratives: mothers’ experiences and child records*

All the mothers could recall hearing stories when they were growing up in Tonga. In all but one case these were told by their grandparents and Sunday school teachers, so occurred mostly at home or at Sunday school. The one exception to this pattern was the youngest mother who could also remember stories being read out on the radio which she heard at school as part of the curriculum for studying ‘Tonga’ at primary school.

Each of the mothers remembered two types of narratives. One was myths and legends. The other was bible stories. These stories and their telling were seen as important for two major reasons. They felt that from these narratives they came to understand cultural values and ideas and also that the stories were important sources of moral teaching. They felt that they had learned specific morals knowing right and wrong, including for two mothers, the value of obedience. When reflecting on the significance of narratives for their own learning they also referred to learning to speak Tongan. The mother who could remember the radio stories added that they taught her to use her imagination.

The mothers were asked very generally what the style of these stories might have been. Two patterns emerged from their replies. The dominant pattern was one of hearing the story being told and then after the story the teller would ask questions. People could ask questions during the telling. Two mothers mentioned a chanting style associated with myths and legends.

The diaries revealed that like their mothers, all the children also heard stories. But for these children three rather than two settings were important to this experience; the home, Sunday school and the early childhood centre. In only two cases were grandparents involved. The
typical pattern was for the mother, Sunday school teachers and the teacher at the language nest to be telling stories. One mother added an older sibling as well as the children’s grandmother told stories.

For seven families, the stories were in Tongan, but for two families in English as well. Again, like their mothers, bible stories were a core part of the experience occurring in each family. In addition, family life in Tonga became a general topic and in four families everyday events. Seven families specifically mentioned books (not Sunday school books) as a common source of stories as well.

It appears from these descriptions that a major source of telling stories in the family (grandparents) had been replaced by a different source (early childhood teachers). There are obvious reasons for this. The mothers had moved from Tonga to New Zealand. In the new country over recent years the need to develop cultural amplifiers in a context of language and cultural minority status has been needed (McNaughton, 1996).

Narrative topics had shifted and been augmented also. Despite myths and legends having all but disappeared from the family practices, children now participated in event narratives, and accounts of family in Tonga as well as book-sourced stories. The reasons for this are perhaps less obvious, but again related to being in New Zealand. The mothers indicated there was a need to rehearse and reinvent being Tongan and narratives of life in Tonga contributed to this as has been found occurring in immigrant groups in the United States (Greenfield & Cocking, 1996).
These patterns raise resource issues. Given the significance attributed to telling stories by the mothers themselves, one is access to high quality early childhood education, specifically Tongan early childhood education centres. A second is the availability of appropriate books, especially those written in Tongan, because they have become crucial to the practice.

(b) Story (Legend) Telling: A Traditional Samoan Pedagogy

In the second part of this section we comment on the traditional practice of story telling (specifically legends) and its place in the contemporary socialisation of children. The commentary is drawn from recent observations of communities by Tanielu and uses the example of the legend illustrated in the video produced as a resource which was described in Section Two. Story telling needs to be seen in an historical context, so a brief history of literacy practices is given.

Profound changes in thought processes and in personality and social structure were brought about by the introduction of the print literacy and Christianity in Samoa, a process that began in earnest in 1830, with the arrival of the first missionaries, of the London Missionary Society (LMS) (Rowe, 1930). Formal colonization later on, (1889-1962) not only maintained the status quo in the new forms of education; it also introduced more dramatic changes. The new process of education in Samoa induced a transformation from one stage of consciousness to another, for example from an oral culture to a print tradition. With the introduction of formal schooling, there was also a shift of emphasis in the way Samoans were taught, and who was responsible for their instruction. The missionaries and later the schoolteachers, in assuming the primary role in education impacted on the instructional autonomy at the Samoan family and community level.
As a result of this new form of education, traditional Samoan stories increasingly reduced in significance, as the bible stories and ‘other’ stories were used in the schools. The habitual telling of legends at night, by parents and grandparents especially came to be replaced by bible reading and learning of the ‘new’ stories. The relative ease with which people could move from one place to another, with the development of ‘modern’ transport, encouraged the exodus of people to urban areas and overseas. The resultant more mobile Samoan society increasingly separated the parents and children from grandparents, the legend tellers, and eventually the telling of legends has suffered.

The print literacy has made the documentation of Samoan stories possible so that Samoans can read about them. However, extensive practice of the art of story telling is very much a thing of the past. The present day realities are products of historical constructions. Resurrecting the traditional pedagogy by reinventing legend telling is a cultural and educational imperative.

According to MacGill, (1995), fairy stories, myths and legends provide a very simple way of handing down cultural wisdom and that, even if one generation were to entirely neglect their spiritual wisdom, it could be later retrieved from beneath the sands of time so long as the children still heard these simple stories; the following generations could then live full and rich lives again. MacGill uses the analytical approach to understanding the richness and life of these stories and also wrote about ‘Healing Our Wounded Lives through Fairy Stories, Myths and Legends’.
Legend-Telling/story telling: Its Implications for Education

Bedtime stories are not new to the Samoans. The grandparents played a vital role in the education of their grandchildren, as they were the storytellers. This legend telling served very significant cultural and educational purposes which include: the handing down of cultural, moral, and spiritual knowledge and values, the acquisition of the cognitive skills of comprehension, listening, language, critical thinking, numeracy skills, music skills, geography skills, cultural history and drama skills, (Tanielu in Jones, Herda & Suaalii, 2000).

Of direct relevance to this discussion is the fact that this traditional faa Samoa art is at least continuous with formal school culture. It has parallels with reading to children, by its nurturing role, in the intellectual and affective development of children.

Legend-Telling/Story Telling and Critical Thinking

It has been said that Polynesian societies (Samoa included), ‘are complex and beautiful creations, but none of them developed the analytical tools for their own criticism. In other words, these cultures have not created nor developed a tradition of critical thinking.’ (Helu cited in Twyford, 1988). This supposed lack of a tradition in critical thinking in the faa Samoa has been claimed as a contributing factor to the under-achievement of Samoan children in school where an inquiring and critical mind manifest in the ability of a student to question and to ‘speak out’ his or her mind, is valued highly. Although this presumption may have truth in it, it should not however be taken to mean that there is none whatsoever in the faa Samoa.
It is our argument that this was where story telling was of extreme importance in the *faa Samoa*. The development of critical thinking was nurtured and encouraged during this process. It was an informal time when children could ask questions without having to observe formality. Children learned in ‘spontaneity’ in a relaxed atmosphere. The only formal order was for them to say, *aue*, every now and then in the course of the story, a cue to the teller that they were paying attention. More importantly, it developed critical thinking in the children at an early age. Story telling can be said to be an indispensable practice in the *faa Samoa*, as it developed this thinking early in the children. Legend telling was a necessary pastime for an oral culture that depended on the mental facilities of its members to carry on its heritage. It was a form of socialization practice that developed cognitive and affective skills in Samoan children. It was when they acquired a set of meanings and cultural values with the type of vocabulary developed with the kind of control and discipline they could identify with.

If Samoan children today could be equipped with those skills, the task of adjusting and adapting to the wider world at school should not be as daunting as many Samoan children are experiencing, as the gap between the home culture and the school could have some spans. The equipping of children with those skills is the role that the home culture can play in fostering and nurturing educational goals of literate practices with Samoan frameworks guiding the process. These are educational opportunities that could be fostered in the Samoan home that would provide skills children could transfer into their learning in school. This is participation by parents and family members in the education of their children especially in providing such support in the home. Education begins in the home. The parents are the child’s first teachers.
The Legend: “Tui – ole - tafu’e, the Ogre”

This particular legend which is illustrated in the video prepared in this project was selected to demonstrate how a Samoan legend could be instructional and educational, and entertaining at the same time. It is a legend that many Samoans (especially the older generations) are familiar with because it teaches many Samoan cultural and educational values.

The following is a much-shortened version of the legend. Its inclusion in the discussion is necessary to illustrate the claim about the significance of story telling.

There was once a couple in the island of Savaii. Their names were Tapitofau and Ogafau. One day they had a child; a boy and they named him Tui. The next baby was also a boy. They named him Tui. The next baby again was a boy and they also named him Tui.

(How many boys now? The children would count on their fingers. The couple kept on having babies until there were ten boys. All the while during the telling, the teller would ask the children how many now? The children again would count on their fingers. What are their names? All were called Tui - ten Tuis.)

Then one day, another baby was born. This time it was a girl, and they named her Sina. Sina grew up to be a beautiful girl with long black hair, and the parents and brothers doted on her.

(How many children now? Boys? Girls?)

One day the parents said to their children, “We are going to visit your father’s family. Look after your sister Tui and Tui and Tui…. and do not leave her alone in the house. Look after her and make sure you do what she wants.” Then the parents were gone. One day, while Sina and her brothers were playing outside, Sina saw this beautiful white bird, the seagull flying overhead, and she cried,

“I want that bird, I want that bird. Please go and get that bird for me.”

The ten boys went looking for the bird. They searched far and wide, over the mountains. It became dark and the boys were still looking. Sina became really afraid being all alone in the house. Then she started calling out to the boys.

“Tui and Tui and Tui and Tui and Tui.”
She called out the name Tui ten times. An ogre named Tuioletafu’e, Tui for short heard her. Then she heard a gruff voice say

“O…………..e, what do you want?”

Sina looked up and saw this giant of a man, with long dirty hair and beard. She screamed! The ogre said, “You wait, if you don’t do as I say, something terrible is going to happen to you.”

Sina crying said, “Alright, I will do anything you ask”

“Come and sit down. You are to pick the nits off my hair.”

Sina sat down, and immediately the ogre lay down with his head on Sina’s lap. Soon he slept and started snoring, so loud that Sina was so afraid she could die. The older nine boys came back and saw this huge person sleeping on their sister’s lap, and were so scared so they all ran off to hide. The youngest boy, who was the last to arrive, saw his sister’s predicament and went to her help. They tied long tufts of the ogre’s hair to the posts of the house and then they took off. When the ogre woke up, he could not move his head. With all his might he pulled bringing the house down on him. That was the end of the ogre.

CHANT: Come Lady Sina, Come Lady Sina
The female child of the covenant
You cried for the seagull
You wanted its beautiful feathers
Down the valleys and over the mountains
Here is your bird, I am going
Before I faint and fall

During the telling of the legend the storyteller would often stop to ask or to answer questions. The intermittent reversion to discussion would revolve around the following;

The names: Of the parents for example derive from a very useful tree in Samoa, the fau tree. Tapito-fau and Oga-fau. There would be a clarification of names involved-their origins-their meanings. Tapito means a side or small piece, and oga means a big junk. The concepts of size- big and small.

The skills of numeracy: Counting from 1 to 10/11.
The gender of the children. (Boys and one girl) The boys have the same name, Tui to differentiate them from their one sister.

Geography: The island of Savaii, the biggest island in Samoa, the mountains, and the birds.

The moral: In the faa Samoa (Samoan culture or Samoan way), there is a feagaiga (covenant) between the brother and sister. The brother protects the sister, lays down his life for her. Their brothers always accompany girls wherever they go. They are not to be left alone in the house.

Music: The storyteller sings the chant and the listeners join in.

During legend-telling time, caution to formality was relaxed, as children and adults alike shared views and ideas about the story without paying heed as to who ought to speak first or have the last say. In other words, children were ‘participating’ in a relatively happy atmosphere, one that was conducive to learning.

From ‘oral’ to ‘print’

The documentary-instructional text for the reader of Samoan legends

In her study of the Folklore Text, Elizabeth Fine, (1984), describes what often occurs in the initial task of collecting and transcribing a folk narrative text or any narrative text. She refers to the difficulties encountered by a transcriber in moving from the symbolic system of oral performance to that of print. The primary difficulty, she suggests, is in maintaining the type of perceptual ‘focus’ employed by a participant engaged in an aesthetic transaction. The transcriber is challenged by the obvious task of representing on paper what happens as the
Elizabeth Fine also suggests either a performance-centred text or a content-centred text as a ‘documentary-instructional text’ for the reader of folk narratives. A performance-centred text is the performance; the purpose is to instruct a reader in the aesthetic dimensions of the performance as they relate to the content. According to Fine, a focus could not be effectively conveyed unless the right information necessary for the readers to ‘hear the performance’ (perceive an aesthetic transaction) as they read the text is supplied. The reader then must ‘hear the performance’.

The content-centred text is the linguistic content; the purpose is to instruct the reader in the verbal content of the story perceived as central to the performance. Fine asserts though that instructional texts vary from linguistic transcription augmented by numerous notational symbols, to multiple texts, to hybrid art forms and so on.

Either a performance-centred text or a content-centred one or both may be used respectively for an instructional text for any Samoan legend. Traditional Samoan stories are deeply symbolic. The legend above is a simple one. It has simple language and its more explicit messages can be gleaned ‘at once’ on reading or telling the story and through the interactions. The more implicit cultural values, such as the ‘covenant’ between the Samoan
brother and sister are symbolised by the ready obedience of the brothers in doing their sister’s bidding, and the youngest brother’s courage to save his sister.

Of relevance to this discussion is an interesting point made by Stahl (1989) about personal narratives when committed to print. She claims that personal narratives are not usually perpetuated in tradition much past the lifetime of the stories’ main character, and therefore eventually the stories fade, for much of their colour came from the animating voice of the person who had the experience. The “personal” is a magic ingredient in such stories.

It is inevitable that naturally something has to ‘give’ when any story, orally told, is written down, but the story does not necessarily have to fade. The animating voice may fade from the written story but its diction lives on to inform generations to come.

This is the inevitable fate of many Samoan stories. The main characters and original narrators of those myths and legends have long gone, but their stories still live to inform, entertain and instruct. At least with the print literacy, these stories can be brought back to life. There is a great need though for Samoan stories to be properly documented and analysed. It is a shame that storytelling in many Samoan families may well have been reduced to a piece of history. The reference to it as an old Samoan pedagogy, and that bedtime stories are not new to the Samoans is something that is worth treasuring. Reviving it is a huge project. It was suggested by some people that verbal storytelling was limited, and to maybe explore the use of TV and other media.

The London Missionary Society (LMS) missionaries, who introduced formal education in Samoa, also began the tradition, which enabled Samoan narratives and histories to be
documented and read widely. Even though at first they did not use Samoan stories later on with the teaching of Samoan language, they could not escape from doing it as the language is tied very closely to the faa Samoa. The Samoan creation stories, myths and legends, their genealogies for example came to be printed, a move initiated by the missionaries themselves. The first printing press in Samoa was set up by the LMS.

In referring to this great contribution by the missionaries (especially the LMS missionaries) to the Samoan language, Le Tagaloa (1996) said,

"Ua maua nei la le Pi Faitau o la ta gagana, ma o se maataua tautele lea na foai mai e Europa I la ta gagana. O le Pi Faitau e mafai ai ona tautala mai anamua ma le tala faasolopito, a e le tuu tasi ai le aumai/avatu I le tuutuufofoga. (We now have an alphabet for our language. The Samoan Alphabet (Pi Faitau) was a most valuable treasure given to the Samoan language by the Europeans. The print literacy provided another important means by which people can communicate without the face-to-face communication. More importantly, the print literacy has enabled our prehistory and history to talk to us without depending solely on the handing down of these by word of mouth from generation to generation.) (p34)

The most important ‘ambition’ is the revival of storytelling, and story reading. These open up ‘language skills rooms’ within children, which are most necessary for the accommodation and learning of other knowledge and skills."
## GLOSSARY OF SAMOAN WORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faa Samoa</td>
<td>Samoan culture or the Samoan Way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tui-ole-Tafu’e</td>
<td>Name of the ogre in the legend. The name <em>Tui</em> is a common man’s name. The</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>name <em>Tui</em> also designates royalty and is often used when referring to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kings such as the <em>Tui Fiti</em> – King of Fiji, or the <em>Tui Tonga</em> – King of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tonga, and so on.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feagaiga</td>
<td>Covenant between a brother and sister. The brother swears to protect the</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sina</td>
<td>A common Samoan girl’s name.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Savaii</td>
<td>The biggest island of the Samoan Group. It is supposed to be the place</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>where all Polynesians arrived before they dispersed to other islands.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hawaii, Havaiki, are other names of similar derivatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Tagaloa –Maiai Fanaafi</td>
<td>The first Samoan PhD. (London)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gagana</td>
<td>Language</td>
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REFERENCES


