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Responses to linguistic and cultural diversity in New Zealand state  
secondary schools: A qualitative study

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the degree of

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## **ABSTRACT**

Demand for English language learning (ELL) in New Zealand has intensified since the millennium, alongside marked increases in immigration to cater for businesses such as construction and agriculture, and the impacts of episodic earthquake damage. ELL assistance in state secondary schools in New Zealand is centred on the dynamics surrounding English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) departments. This study seeks to gain an understanding of the layered contexts surrounding and within ESOL Departments by using a conceptual framework of ecology and a qualitative, case study paradigm. It draws on data from interviews, observations, documentation and researcher journaling to examine ESOL Department systems and practices in three state secondary schools with differing locations, deciles and ESOL Department structures. The findings reveal the significant weight of wide-ranging regulatory and ideological interactions connected with ESOL Departments associated with colonial aspirations, 'Tomorrow's Schools' legislation and New Zealand's bicultural status. Findings also highlight the affordances and constraints experienced in ELL by staff and students in the case study schools and explore the costs and benefits as set against the pressures of local, national and international dynamics. The study concludes with implications for personnel responsible for ELL at national and local levels. It calls for more professional development initiatives and specific ELL regulation of resources for educationalists to assist with ELL linguistic, social and cultural integration. Results are intended to enhance ELLs' educational opportunities in schools as well as contribute to efforts for increased social cohesion between people of diverse ethnicities in this rapidly diversifying nation.

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Robyn Shaw (b. 26.3.42 – d. 5.11.18), an engaging, skilled ESOL teacher colleague and valued friend.

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# **CHAPTER ONE: SPOTLIGHT ON ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING IN NEW ZEALAND STATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

## **1.1 Background to the study**

“What are you going to do now?” After the completion of my Master’s thesis in 2015, I encountered several curious questions from acquaintances about my future, imbued with underlying expectations that I might reap the accrued benefits that accompany superannuitant life. However, the mind-searching experiences of my previous study had stoked the flames of a wider curiosity regarding English language learning (ELL). Thought patterns previously focused on the internal influences affecting the educational journeys of adolescent refugee migrant background students turned to face the wider external environments that surrounded them.

For many years in New Zealand secondary schools, I had appreciated the advantages of teaching the subject of English, secure in a department with the political privilege of being one of the eight Key Learning subjects as determined by the New Zealand Curriculum Document (MOE, 2007b). Even amongst these subjects, English embodied an unopposed authority. It was compulsory up to Year 13, so there was little need for English staff to ‘market’ for students. Its literature upheld the traditions of a national cultural inheritance, and its language was the vehicle of expression of most other subjects, as well as spoken and written communication nationally. Consequently, in my experience, its curriculum and syllabus were well resourced and regulated, its staff were usually qualified and respected, and often graced senior management positions.

My relatively short-term involvement in the subject of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) teaching threw me out of the privileged complacency I enjoyed while teaching English. The ESOL Department’s liberating autonomy seemed born of neglect. It had no national syllabus or established assessments (Lewis, 2004a). ESOL assessments consisted of English for Academic Purposes (EAP), and ESOL Unit Standards, which were affiliated with Private Training Establishments (PTEs), not state secondary schools.

Also, ESOL staff also often ‘borrowed’ assessments from other learning areas such as the English National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) and Literacy Unit Standards to cater for their teaching needs.

Further, in the course of my year as a Massey University ESOL advisor, I found ample evidence that ESOL Departments around the country were structured very differently, were frequently reorganised and experienced personnel transience. ESOL staff were predominantly small numbers of older females who had mixed and often limited levels of training, limited job tenure and little influence within the school hierarchy. ESOL classes contained a changeable, complex mix of multicultural ELLs, consisting of international students, migrants and refugee-background migrants (see 2.7.2). These students were present in New Zealand schools for varying time spans and needed extra support with English at different learning levels as well as extensive, varying pastoral care. Overall, ESOL Departments had no distinctive identity within their schools.

What mindsets lay behind the contrasting attitudes and management of ESOL and English Departments? How did this affect the attitudes and experiences of ESOL staff and students towards ELL? What possible avenues could be opened to improve their situations? I was keenly aware that the answers to these questions did not only implicate the attitudes and practices of individual secondary schools or even national educational agencies, but reached further outwards. My reflections and readings eventually inspired me to research how an ecological approach might be helpful in gaining an understanding of the dynamics of ELL provision in state secondary schools in this country.

Before the next sections delineate the current study any further, an explanation of the basic acronyms used in this thesis seems warranted. English Language Learning (ELL) is the general term for English learning for non-natives. English for Speakers of Other languages (ESOL) is the secondary school department area that caters for ELL needs. English Language Learners (ELLs) relates to the students learning English, who may or may not attend ESOL classes. Refugee migrant background (RMB) relates to ELLs who were former refugees, but who are given residency on arrival at New Zealand. L1 relates to first language and L2 to second language or the next dominant language of a speaker. A list of all acronyms can be found in the Glossary in Appendix 1.

## 1.2 The research problem

As a small group of islands at the bottom of the Pacific Ocean, New Zealand's relatively short history has been marked by continuous surges of diverse immigrant groups motivated to leave their homelands to find new and better futures. Although Māori from Hawaiki settled the country during the 800s (Royal, 2015), the gradual influx of European settlers in more recent times culminated in British sovereignty (King, 2003). New Zealand's founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840, established a bicultural partnership between Māori and the British crown, and bestowed rights to the British government to introduce British migrants to the country. Settlers brought their Eurocentric notions of government, education and economy and embedded them in law in the years afterwards (Belich, 2000; May, 2008; Orange, 2004). Although New Zealand's subsequent history has been increasingly marked by decolonisation and independence, its education system is still characterised by the hallmarks of those formative 19th century British influences.

Early secondary school foundations were based on British models of education, and English was implemented as the default language (Parr, 1928; Swarbrick, 2012). Ensuing educational changes driven by economic stringency, political contestation and in the later years of the twentieth century, Māori language resurgence, modified the colonial influence on secondary education (Bird, 1928; Crooks, 2002; Openshaw, Lee, & Lee, 1993). Within ELL, the assimilationist ideologies behind pressure to teach English to the Māori which characterised school policies well into the twentieth century, were later adapted and expanded for use with the new migrant groups. Since the 1970s, within ELL in secondary schools, there have been gradual advances with continuous pedagogical, academic and financial support from government agencies, universities and voluntary groups (Brooker, 1979; Ker, Adams, & Skyrme, 2013; Lewis, 2004a). However, in state secondary schools today, ELL, centred on ESOL Departments, has a compromised existence. The undoubted cultural and financial benefits that ESOL bring to schools can often be overshadowed by accusations of it being viewed as either a weak arm of assimilationist regulation (May, 2014), a centre for ELLs causing resented extra workload for mainstream staff (Edwards, 2012b, 2014; Luxton, 2008), or the focus of marginalised factions encouraging difference (May, 2002; McGee, Haworth, & MacIntyre, 2015).

In spite of this, multicultural demographic escalation has only increased the need for ELL. Since World War II, New Zealand governments have successively accepted or encouraged temporary and permanent migration from a greater variety of countries. The rise of the international student market has expanded the short-term multicultural presence. Numbers of RMB students who have fled their homes because of political or civil unrest (see 2.3, 2.7.2) have also gradually multiplied with the expansion of government quotas (Beehive.govt.nz, 2018). Those obtaining permanent settlement have included multicultural entrepreneurs and labour force migrants. Since the millennium, language and culture diversity have escalated, spurred on, amongst other factors, by the consequences of the economic crisis of 2008 and the Christchurch (2011-12) and Seddon earthquakes (2013 onwards). Today, state secondary schools, ESOL Departments and staff are under pressure to cater for an increasing number of ELLs from all over the world, placing significant strain on the existing systems, particularly in regional and southern secondary schools where numbers of new settlers had previously been modest (Haworth, 2011).

A variety of research initiatives have been developed to improve the quality of ELL in New Zealand. These have been characterised predominantly by comprehensive government contract reports (Franken & McCormish, 2003; Sobrun-Maharaj, Tse, Hoque, & Rossen, 2008), research investigating teaching roles (Fry, 2014; Haworth, 2016; Walker, 2014) and teacher-led solutions to language learning issues (Bruce, 2017; Coxhead, 2011b; Haworth, 2008; Nation, 2013b) (see 2.8). However, while New Zealand tertiary and primary school studies have been proportionally well-researched, there has been a dearth of studies focusing on ELLs at the secondary school level, and in particular studies that capture the combined voices of people at different levels of school hierarchies. In fact, current knowledge about conditions for ELLs in secondary schools lacks investigative depth and is in danger of being perceived as similar to primary and tertiary ELL, when their contexts can involve significant differences. As illuminating as studies resulting from government initiatives might be (Franken & McCormish, 2003; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2008), there is also an urgent need for independent studies that can distance researchers from expectations of managerial answerability (White, 2016) and perhaps illustrate the realities of secondary school ELL dynamics with greater transparency. Another need has emerged from New Zealand applied linguistics research generally. There has been comprehensive recognition of the effect of New Zealand's

colonial inheritance on minority cultures in Māori-Pākehā studies (Belich, 2001; King, 2003; May, 2002, 2008; Salmond, 2017; Walker, 2004), language policy studies (Harvey, 2006), and psychology studies on multicultural students (Sobrun-Maharaj, 2002). But in the field of applied linguistics, in-depth analyses of wider historical and contemporary influences on English language provision have been remarkably limited. There seemed to be a pressing need for an analysis of the ecological factors affecting state secondary ELL. This would best be examined through a qualitative investigation into the actual, lived experiences of multiple people in the field, occupying expansive levels of the ecological interface, and with an overall exploration of its benefits and disquiets.

### **1.3 Research purpose and questions**

The research questions for this study were a consequence of the concerns raised in the previous sections. They were selected, reconsidered and adjusted throughout the research process of data collection and analysis (see Appendix 2). The questions frame a study which seeks to understand the dynamic interactions around English language learning in three New Zealand state secondary schools of different locations, sizes and parental socio-economic levels. The study does not intend to develop a comparative study, but seeks to highlight the distinctive characteristics of ELL systems and practices within each school:

1. What can an ecological perspective bring to an understanding of the dynamics of English language learning provision in three New Zealand state secondary schools?
2. What historical and contemporary circumstances influence management provision for English language learners?
3. What beliefs interact with management systems to influence provision for English language learning?
4. How do participants perceive, explain and respond to the challenges and affordances involved with English language learning practices?

These research questions have been a useful foundation for ongoing research decisions made about methodological and conceptual frameworks. They have been sourced to

structure and expand analysis in the discussion chapter, and their answers are briefly summarised in the conclusion.

## **1.4 Significance of the study**

This study aims to use what Johnson (2013) describes as an “ecology of language” (p. 51) perspective to explore responses to linguistic and cultural diversity in state secondary schools in New Zealand. To this end, the study draws on Spolsky’s educational language policy theory (Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2012, 2017, 2018) to provide a tripartite framework of practice, beliefs and management from which to capture the complexity of interactions within and between overlapping historical and contemporary layers of influence surrounding ELL. In doing so, the study intends to show an understanding of why ELL provision is placed in the situation it presently holds.

The long-term intent of this study is to offer helpful insights contributing to a wider and deeper acknowledgement of learning conditions for ELL within the existing state secondary education system. The objective is to encourage greater awareness and understanding in secondary school staff and elsewhere of the background context of national top-down ELL regulation, to invite a full awareness of historical compromises on ESOL, but also to enable suggestions for ELL advancement that are applicable at each level. A further purpose is to inform ELLs and their families coming into state secondary school ESOL systems, to assist their awareness of the wider ideological and regulatory background canvas, to encourage their resilience to challenges, but also to take full advantage of the opportunities for learning offered within ESOL secondary school contexts.

## **1.5 Overview of chapters**

The first chapter has provided an overview of the thesis, including a personal perspective for embarking on the study, a summary of the research problem, research questions framing the study, and an outline of the research design.

Chapter Two situates the study in the historical New Zealand context as a framework for the subsequent analysis of the development of education and ESOL provision, then examines New Zealand research on ELL, particularly highlighting issues most relevant

to the present study. The chapter content largely suggests that a focus on colonial and post-colonial processes can enrich a greater understanding of the present contexts of ELL provision in this study.

Chapter Three undertakes to situate the study within the corpus of ecological systems theory by focusing on its development, its application to applied linguistics and language policy, then intensifying the focus to Spolsky's language policy and his educational language policy and its domains.

Chapter Four attempts to provide a case for the relevance of the research design and methods to the purpose of the study and explains the ethical requirements. This is followed by an exploration of the data collection, its analysis, and the thesis presentation.

Chapters Five to Seven explore the findings in the three case study contexts. Each of these chapters begins with a general view of the schools by outlining their origins and locations, their general characteristics impacting on ELL, then the dynamics surrounding ESOL systems and practices, and how they are moderated by ESOL staff and students.

Chapter Eight, the discussion chapter, gathers material from the findings chapters to analyse their connection to the research questions, the theoretical frameworks and the wider literature. The investigation gathers understandings and trends about ELL management decisions and their ideological foundations and explores how they are evidenced in ELL staff and student systems and practices in schools.

The closing Chapter Nine reviews and summarises the insights linked to the research questions that steer the enquiry. It highlights the importance of perceiving ELL provision through an ecological lens to gain greater understanding of complex temporal and spatial influences that lie well beyond existing individual school and classrooms. Lastly, the chapter provides a consideration of the study's theoretical and pedagogical implications then identifies its strengths and limitations before closing with final considerations.

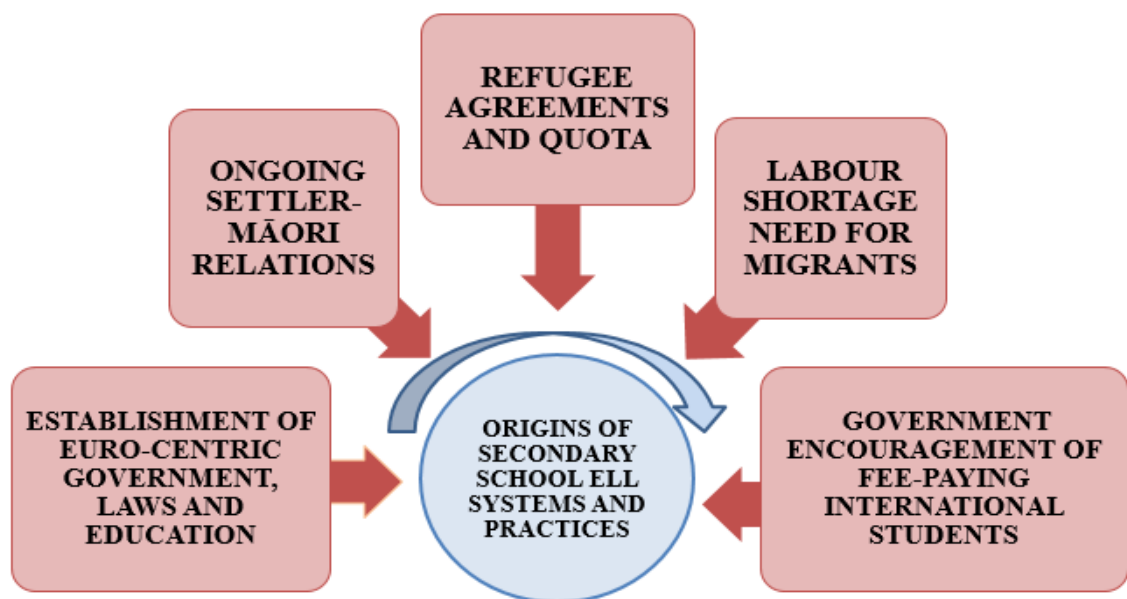




## CHAPTER TWO: THE NEW ZEALAND SECONDARY SCHOOL CONTEXT – WHAT ALL SCHOOLS SHARE

In order to begin to answer the elements identified in the research questions, this chapter provides a synthesis of the background surrounding provision for ELL. The current demand for the subject, ESOL, to cater for the needs of ELLs in New Zealand, has developed to cater for increased numbers of RMB students, migrants and fee-paying international students entering New Zealand secondary schools. The current existence of ESOL in New Zealand, therefore, cannot be understood without an overview of the growth of linguistic and cultural diversity in New Zealand overall, and how this is reflected in its secondary schools.

This chapter presents an historical overview of this growth, beginning with the power struggles between settled Māori and settler British, and the impact of ongoing immigration. Following on, it explains historical government ELL provision in state secondary schools over time, and the rise of ESOL Department systems and practices within them. The wider historical factors influencing the origins of ELL are labelled in Figure 1 below and explained in more detail in the following sections.



**Figure 1: Historical factors affecting origins of ESOL systems and practices**

## **2.1 Māori-British tensions: Birth of an officially bilingual nation**

The isolated islands of New Zealand were one of the last land masses on earth to be permanently settled by human beings, firstly by a series of migrations from Polynesia over 1000 years ago, and more recently by Europeans (King, 2003). In the process of spreading its tentacles to achieve 19th century global dominance through land appropriation and following Cook's discovery in 1769, imperialist Britain won the New Zealand spoils (Belich, 2000; Ward & Liu, 2012). In 1840, Māori and the British Crown signed the Treaty of Waitangi, which became the foundation stone for New Zealand sovereignty (Orange, 2004). This was followed by relentless and often conflicted British appropriation of land and resources bought cheaply or confiscated from Māori tribes to cater for British immigrant settlement, and to provide farms producing wool and sheep meat for the Home Country (Beaglehole, 2013; Belich, 2001). The New Zealand Wars (1870-80), sickness ensuing from new contacts and cultural malaise caused indigenous populations to fall markedly. Spoonley and Peace (2012) identify the Māori population decline from "200,000 at the time of initial contact to 40,000 in 1900" (p. 82). It was widely considered that Māori people and their language were dying (May, 2005). Government attitudes to Māori language encouraged its decline, and its use was banned in schools by 1903 (May, 2002; Spolsky, 2005).

The Māori population began its renaissance during the first half of the 20th century, spearheaded by three students from Te Aute College, Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck and Maui Pomare; Belich (2001) notes that "all three ... became knights and Cabinet ministers" (p. 200). Led by an older politician, James Carrroll, they set up the Young Māori movement to discuss ideas with local Māori communities and "use traditional Māori social structure to promote social and structural reform" (Butterworth, 1972, p. 163). Alongside the lure of employment, money and a modern urban lifestyle in the city, Māori military support of the New Zealand war effort during the World Wars of 1914-18 and 1940-45 gradually encouraged large-scale Māori "rural-urban migration," (Spoonley & Peace, 2012, p. 82) and focused demand for better Māori living standards.

However, by the 1970s, there remained serious Māori dissatisfaction with the situation that had emerged, generating an expectation that the government would begin to take notice. Growing demand for Māori land rights, symbolised by the Whina Cooper-led Land March in 1975, became the harbinger for the New Zealand government accepting

some responsibility for their colonial legacies. In 1976 the Waitangi Tribunal was set up to address Māori claims against the Crown, one of which was “that the English-speaking school system was decimating the Māori language” (Garcia, 2012, p. 94). Grass-root Māori initiatives lay behind the development of Māori immersion Kohanga Reo<sup>1</sup>. Kura Kaupapa<sup>2</sup> were founded to help increase pride in Māori language and culture and enable a new generation to grow up as fluent speakers of Te Reo Māori (Openshaw et al., 1993). In 1987, Te Reo Māori was recognised as an official language of New Zealand along with New Zealand Sign Language. Te Reo Māori and the dominant language, English, now establish New Zealand as a bilingual nation (May, 2005, 2008; Spoonley & Peace, 2012).

## **2.2 19<sup>th</sup> century immigration: Keeping it white and monolingual**

19<sup>th</sup> century European ambitions of colonial expansion beyond their shores were accompanied by homogeneous notions of nationhood from within Europe (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998) and carried political assumptions that colonies needed “tutelage” (Woolard, 1998, p. 25). British aims for New Zealand were part of this wider context. In spite of some recognition of Māori rights in 1840, British “demographic imperialism” demanded that New Zealand was to become a “Britain in the South Seas,” (Phillipson, 2012, p. 207). Successive New Zealand governments largely sought white English-speaking settlers from the Home Counties. Spoonley and Peace (2012) noted that from 1840 to the 1960s, “around 98% of immigrants were British or Irish; most were English, similar in terms of socio-economic status, religion and politics to a degree that was unusual in settler societies” (p. 85-6). Their residence in New Zealand contributed to a strong perception that the society was not only ethnically homogeneous but populist. Beaglehole (1990) observed that “the myth of New Zealand as an egalitarian and classless society has been very persistent” (p. 15). Eldred-Grigg (1990) recalled the plausible belief that “colonial life, as the story went, threw everybody together in neighbourly equality” (p. 79).

However, the situation for non-European Pākehā settlers was very different. The limited number of immigrants from other countries in Europe and Asia were deemed as outsiders, “classified as aliens and subject to strict government agency oversight” (Gray, 2012, p.

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<sup>1</sup> Kohanga Reo are Māori-medium schools for children under five years old

<sup>2</sup> Kura Kaupapa are Māori-medium primary schools

319). Chinese received the harshest treatment. They were originally invited to work in the goldfields, but were consistently discriminated against, with resistance to them culminating in an exorbitant poll tax from 1881 (Beaglehole, 2013; Ip & Pang, 2005). After World War 1, the White New Zealand League continued pressure for whites-only immigration and sanction for its policies were framed nationally in laws which restricted settlement of people deemed unsuitable for New Zealand, through The Undesirable Immigrant Exclusion Act (1919) and Immigration Restriction Amendment Act (1920). In a parliamentary debate in 1920, Prime Minister William Massey (1912-1925) called the latter “the result of deep sentiment on the part of a huge majority of the people of this country that this Dominion shall be what is often called a ‘white’ New Zealand” (cited in Beaglehole, 2015a). In fact, New Zealand leaders were also abiding by demands from British and white American governments, fortified with victory from World War 1, to contribute to the maintenance of international white political and economic supremacy by limiting the migration of non-white ethnicities from Asia to their shores (Atkinson, 2017). Salmond (2019, March 19, p. 17) stated: “White supremacy is a black strand woven through our history as a nation. It was deeply rooted in Europe, even before arriving here in New Zealand. Fortunately, though, it’s not the only legacy we have to draw on.” Alternative legacies were soon to become increasingly visible.

### **2.3 International impacts: Cultural and linguistic diversity on the rise**

New Zealand, like other British settler societies Australia and Canada, increasingly wrestled with the need to solve political issues concerning ethnic diversity (Belich, 2000; Terruhn, 2014). From the 1930s, pressure from multiple international directions very slowly loosened white-leaning refugee and immigration policies. The Chinese poll tax, designed to exclude Chinese from New Zealand from the 1880s, was waived from 1934 as a direct consequence of the Japanese occupation of China, but it was not repealed until 1944, after other countries had abandoned it (Beaglehole, 2013). Initially, from its World War II Allied relationships, New Zealand was obliged to accept international resettlement obligations regarding refugees. In 1944 New Zealand accepted a small number of Holocaust survivors, then Indian and Polish children, and between 1949 and 1952, 4500 European Displaced People were accepted (Beaglehole, 2013; Greif, 1995). Anne Beaglehole, formerly a Hungarian refugee, explained why she was accepted with ease: “Hungarians on the whole had a very good reception because they were white and I had

blue eyes” (cited in Stephens, 2018, p. 78). By 1960, New Zealand had become one of 20 signatories to the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees and in 1973 agreed to the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. Consequently, small groups of war refugees were gradually accepted from Uganda, Somalia, Chile, Vietnam and Cambodia. In 1987 a quota of 800 refugees was set per year, reduced to 750 in 1997 (Mugadza, 2012), increased to 1000 in 2018 and set to increase further to 1500 in 2020 (Beehive.govt.nz, 2018). In recent years, New Zealand has accepted further waves of war refugees from Nepal, Afghanistan, Myanmar and lately Syria (Beaglehole, 2013; Greif, 1995; McCarthy, 2015; Stephens, 2018).

Another factor loosening white-leaning policies was the growth of international education. Post-World War II, New Zealand had become a signatory to the international Colombo Plan, an initiative to improve political, social and economic development in South Asian countries round the Pacific Ocean by providing university-level educational aid to students (Collins, 2006; Lewis, 2004a; Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). By the 1970s, this initiative had morphed from ‘aid to trade,’ as Asian international students became self-funded at domestic rates. This remained until 1990, when full fees became operational (Tarling, 2004). Thus began the creation of a knowledge economy for all levels of the New Zealand education system. Butcher and McGrath (2004) show that from 1993 onwards there were up to 5000 full-fee paying students at both universities and secondary schools in New Zealand, figures which increased threefold for both educational areas from 1999 to its zenith in 2003. Spoonley and Bedford (2012) observe that international students have “provided an important additional income stream for secondary schools” (p. 200) to cater for urgent needs such as the demand for better technology, smaller classes and increased staffing.

Other pressures to allow increased linguistic and cultural diversity came from within. New Zealand required immigrants to overcome labour shortages. Population levels depleted from World War II and increased urbanisation led to major demands for a Pasifika labour force from 1960-70s. Belich (2001) identified Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau residents who, as New Zealand citizens, had “free right of entry” (p. 533); their inhabitants were considered to be distant relatives of the Māori. Even so, most Pasifika migration visas were temporary, a condition not strictly enforced initially. From 1962, a Western Samoan quota began. These and other Pasifika visitors stayed on, but by the 70s, there were targeted raids on over-stayers. Since then, quotas have controlled immigration

for different island nations, and residence has been granted provided applicants have firm job offers in New Zealand, notably in agriculture and building construction (Beaglehole, 2013; Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). The most desirable immigrants were those with plenty of working life. They often brought young families with them, bringing another cohort of ELLs into state secondary schools.

New Zealand's linguistic and cultural diversity was also markedly affected by the unprecedented political and economic changes of post-war Europe. In 1973, when Britain joined the European Economic Community (EEC), New Zealand's privileged access to British markets was reduced. Emphasis was placed on reframing the economy using entrepreneurialism from countries nearer the Pacific Rim. In 1974, Member of Parliament (MP) for Sydenham, Christchurch, Norman Kirk, abandoned an immigration policy that was guided by racial considerations. A new neo-liberal Labour government (1984 to 1990) finally and permanently dented white-leaning immigration by introducing The Immigration Policy Review (1986) which stated that "Any person who met specified educational, business, professional, age or asset requirements was to be admitted, regardless of race or nationality" (Beaglehole, 2015b). Three new classes of permanent migrant were introduced: "economic and occupational, family reunification and humanitarian/refugee" (Gray, 2012, p. 323). The subsequent Immigration Act (1987) enabled entry for youthful Asian migrants from countries such as India, Korea, and China, who settled into larger cities, especially Auckland (Bartley & Spoonley, 2005). Following this, threats from the global financial crisis (1987, 2008), and post-earthquake reconstruction in Christchurch and Wellington (2011, 2013 respectively, and onwards) encouraged successive governments to maintain open doors to continued Asian and Pasifika immigration. Meanwhile, New Zealand's immigration policy still encouraged a significant number of British and Dutch, and increased numbers of white South African immigrants from 1994.

In the last century, New Zealand has undergone a profound transformation from being a small bi-cultural colonial outpost of under a million people, to becoming a de facto multicultural, multilingual society of nearly 5 million (StatsNZ, 2018a). Different ethnicities from the 2013 Census are shown in Table 1 below. Increasingly, immigrants have become embedded in New Zealand's population and economy, substantially expanding its cultural and linguistic diversity. The General Manager of the 2013 National Census stated: "There are more ethnicities in New Zealand than there are countries in the

world” (cited in Turnbull, 2018, p. 73). Hawke et al. (2014) observed that in the last twenty years, ethnic diversity in New Zealand’s has grown from “an increasing proportion of the population born overseas” so that the country now has “multiple cultural identities and values” (p. 6). It is estimated that 51% of New Zealand’s population are likely to be of a Māori, Pacific Island or Asian ethnicity by 2038 (Chen, 2015). The early 19<sup>th</sup> century dominance of monolingual British settlement has been significantly modified (StatsNZ, 2018b).

**Table 1: Population statistics 2006-2013** (StatsNZ, 2013b)

<b>ETHNICITY</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>INCREASE</b>
European	67.6%	74%	14%
Maori	14.6%	15%	6%
Pasifika	6.9%	7%	11%
Asian	9.2%	12%	33%
Middle Eastern, Latin American, African	0.9%	1.2%	35%

## **2.4 Consequences of increased diversity**

Increased acceptance of ethnic diversity, underpinned by international obligations and wealth-creation, has engendered locational challenges (Rashbrooke, 2014). Auckland is the fastest-growing, largest, wealthiest and most diverse city in New Zealand, with a population of 1.42 million in 2013, and a rise of 2.9% in 2015. A high proportion of European Pākehā live in the Auckland region (40.3%) alongside growing percentages of Māori (23.9%), Pasifika (27%), and Asian (43.7%) (StatsNZ, 2013a). In fact, in 2015, over 200 ethnicities lived there; 44% of its residents were not born there (Chen, 2015). Chen observed that Auckland was now “one of the most diverse cities in the world” with one-third of Aucklanders speaking a language other than English (2015, p. 56). Within Auckland, there is an increased tendency for multicultural migrants to intensify the formation of ethnic hubs or ‘ethno-burbs.’ Auckland is also the favourite choice for international students, taking 63% of the nation’s intake in 2016 (Kalafatelis, de Bonnaire, & Alliston, 2018). The next largest concentration of ethnic diversity is found



in other North Island cities, with markedly dwindling diversity in the South Island cities apart from Christchurch. Conversely, regional areas have largely maintained their New Zealand European Pākehā demographic dominance, along with “very high proportions of Māori residents” (Spoonley & Peace, 2012, p. 88). Fleras and Spoonley (1999) defined the country’s settlement pattern as “a largely homogeneous society with nodes of urban cultural diversity” (p. 235). These north-south, urban-rural contrasts still exist, in spite of regional councils being given the autonomy to foster migrant settlement (Spoonley, 2016).

Another challenge has been the rise of social and economic inequality, with splintered Māori, Pasifika, non-European and RMB groups being the most disadvantaged (Ward & Liu, 2012, p. 56). Turnbull (2018) affirms that the lack of relationship between minority groups alongside a largely English monolingual policy environment, has “largely determined the relatively lower levels of acknowledgement” (p. 74) for them. There is a perception by indigenous Māori that new immigrants are undermining their bicultural primacy, particularly the wealth-accumulating practices of Chinese (Benton, 2015; Spoonley & Bedford, 2012; Terruhn, 2014; Waitere-Ang & Adams, 2005; Walker, 1995b). Milne (2002, 2013) argues that policies valuing the Treaty of Waitangi may be easily added to school’s mission statements, but are only enacted into the lived experience of schools with intense struggle. Spoonley and Peace (2012) state that demands for Māori to be at the centre of the immigration debate have been largely ignored: “Māori have never been formally consulted” (p. 96).

The New Zealand government has increasingly acknowledged, through public service protocols and law, the need for a firm commitment to uphold Māori culture. It has also adopted a “soft citizenship” regime which acknowledges the increases and trans-border activities of multicultural migrants (Spoonley, 2017, p. 219). In practice however, biculturalism and multiculturalism seem to be played off continually against each other to allow for default Eurocentric dominance (Spoonley & Peace, 2012). May (2008) contends that governments use multiculturalism “as a useful ideology for containing the conflicts of ethnic groups within social relations rather than as a basis for any real power sharing between Māori and Pākehā” (p. 312). New Zealand European Pākehā have overwhelmingly stated that diversity is good for the country, but are less willing to make the necessary changes to accommodate multiculturalism, confident in their belief that “the state defines what differences are acceptable in society; as a result, Eurocentric

values and beliefs remain the norm” (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999, p. 236). These ethnic hierarchies of inequality seem set to continue, in spite of integrative models presented to alleviate potential civic and social unrest, such as “Complementalism” (Sobrun-Maharaj, 2002, p. 421).

The presence of international languages in secondary schools also reflects growing pressures from the dominant monolingual mainstream. (Unlike Australia, the study of a non-English language is not compulsory in New Zealand secondary schools (Lo Bianco, 2008)). The following Table 2 shows the Language student uptake numbers from 2000-2017.

**Table 2: Changes to New Zealand secondary school language subject usage 2000-2017 (MOE, 2018e)**

<b>LANGUAGE DECREASE</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2017</b>	<b>LANGUAGE INCREASE</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2017</b>
French	22,862	16,634	Chinese	1147	5820
German	7,192	3,222	Cook Is Māori	57	265
Japanese	20,315	11,053	Samoan	895	2,277
Spanish	3,208	969	Tongan	31	619
			Te Reo Māori	18,992	22,924

The moderate increases in Māori and Pasifika languages as additional subjects have risen substantially from government funding and initiatives placing an increasing emphasis on Treaty of Waitangi issues (McLauchlan, 2016). In 2017, Education Counts figures show that fewer than 1 in 5 students studied an international language (MOE, 2017a). East and Tolosa (2014) trace the impact of Language subject decline from the early 1990s with the internationally-led Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) focus on school subjects. Corder, Kawai, and Roskvist (2018) state that the decline in language teaching indicates “an education system that does not value language and intercultural capabilities” (p. 3) of significance for building social cohesion and soft power international networks. McLauchlan (2016) goes further:

The long-term decline in numbers is a damning indictment on our national psyche, school attitudes, peer pressure, government policies, etc., and is

totally at odds with most other countries where second-language ability is valued by society and financially rewarded in the workplace. (p. 5-6)

In spite of these declared advantages, the New Zealand business sector seems to support the decline in international languages. McLauchlan (2016) states: “Apart from at ethnic restaurants, there are very few vacancies advertised in New Zealand requiring a second language” (p. 6). In line with business attitudes, the government has largely encouraged the status quo of dominant English usage, while developing policies which embed a hierarchy of language support with Māori and Pasifika uppermost (de Bres, 2015), and encouraging other ethnic minorities to develop their own language practices through voluntary activities (MOE, 2016d).

Consequently, English language use has become entrenched (Harvey, 2013; Waitere-Ang & Adams, 2005). The 2013 census indicated that English was spoken by 96.14%, with Māori spoken by 3.73%, Hindi spoken by 1.67% and Mandarin Chinese spoken by 1.32% (StatsNZ, 2013b). Ker et al. (2013) state: “There is a massive ongoing language shift to English at the expense of Māori and other languages” (p. 227).

These bilingual/multilingual tensions are to be found expressed in New Zealand’s educational system and its provision for ELLs, as shown below (Walker, 2011).

## **2.5 The development of secondary education in New Zealand**

The pendulum of national regulation of secondary schools in New Zealand, where written and spoken English language has always been the default norm, can be framed around its colonial ties to Britain, its island position, and its low but growing, geographically-divided population (Crooks, 2002). This section outlines the main historical government forces governing secondary school management today, within which ELL systems and practices are situated.

### **2.5.1 Overview of the origins of New Zealand secondary schools**

Early settler colonial secondary schooling was very separatist and unco-ordinated. The few secondary schools that existed were “largely in the hands of the churches or private enterprise” and “established under their own acts of parliament” (DIA, 2018, p. 1). They were based on the elitist British public-school system, and were urban, fee-charging and

highly academic. Swarbrick (2012) observes that “some scholarships were offered, but generally only children from well-off families made it to secondary school, and many more boys did so than girls” (p. 2). Christ’s College, the oldest secondary school (1850), and Nelson College (1857), both for boys, were founded by the New Zealand Company (Parr, 1928). The first New Zealand girls’ secondary school, and “one of the earliest such schools in the world” (Wilson, 2005, p. 9), Otago Girls’ High School, was founded in 1871. Eventually, these schools were managed by separate provincial councils. Meanwhile, Māori education ran along a separate, uneven course (Bird, 1928; Swarbrick, 2012; Walker, 1995a).

Settler desires for greater egalitarianism in education were borne out in practice in 1877, when the Education Act promised to provide free, secular and compulsory education for all children between the ages of seven and thirteen. A central Department of Education replaced provincial council controls to manage schools nationally, assisted by 12 district education Boards and local school committees (Gordon, 2016; Thrupp, 2001). Control of Native Schools was transferred from the Native Department to the Education Department in 1879 (Bird, 1928). The 1878 Standard 6 Proficiency exam became the marker whereby many early adolescents left primary school to enter the work force, while a Matriculation exam tested whether a student could enter university. From this time till 1987, Clark (2005) observes that education in New Zealand “was guided by an official ideology of social equity” (p. 130). Ironically, however, any equity gained was at the cost of diversity – English was clearly prioritised as the language of learning, with the expectation that any speakers of other languages would be quickly assimilated. Brooker (1979) maintained that “any groups retaining their first language could be seen as rejecting or subverting the British hold over the country” (p. 2).

Pressure to develop secondary schooling intensified after 1901, when the leaving age was raised to 14, and a ‘free place’ scheme was introduced whereby those who passed their Standard 6 Proficiency exam were entitled to two years of free secondary schooling, with the chance of scholarships for higher education. These developments led to a marked increase in secondary school rolls: from 2792, in 1900 to 7063 in 1909, including 2,207 in technical schools (Swarbrick, 2012). District high schools were established alongside primary schools in country areas to cater for demand; they grew from 5 in 1878 to 79 in 1928 (Parr, 1928). From 1910, hierarchical divisions intensified between early grammar schools, where more academic subjects including Languages were taught to future

leaders, academics and ‘white-collar’ workers, and the new technical schools, which taught vocational subjects to future ‘blue collar workers’ (Thrupp, 2001).

The international depression (1929-32) instigated cutbacks and delayed educational reforms, but in 1935, the new Labour government turned from British educational models to implement a more localised secondary education system. In 1944, the school leaving age was raised to 15, and the Proficiency exam was abolished, so students only had to complete Standard 6 to qualify for a free place in high school. As well, the Thomas Report (Openshaw, Clark, Hamer, & Waitere-Ang, 2005) rejected earlier social and class-differentiated schooling curriculum models (in grammar, technical, district highs, private religious, or state schools) and introduced a more generalised curriculum which included English language and literature (Lee & Lee, 2008). The new curriculum was established in the new Junior Highs and all other secondary schools. In spite of this egalitarian change, relentless public pressure for good examination results enabled grammar schools to maintain academic precedence and favoured those who aspired to enter university.

From the late 40s on, fuelled by the post-war baby boom, many more secondary schools were established, including co-educational ones. New schools were expected to cater for their surrounding neighbourhoods, and school sites were chosen by Education Department ministers to represent the social and ethnic characteristics of the school (McCulloch, 1992). The 40s were also marked by the introduction of new national examinations which helped streamline curricula: University Entrance replaced Matriculation in 1944 and in 1946 the School Certificate qualification was introduced. Between 1946 and 1967, students sitting the latter increased by 405.9% (Openshaw et al., 1993). In 1969, sixth form certificate was introduced as an alternative to University Entrance (UE) exam, which assisted growing senior student retention already fuelled by the increase of the school leaving age to 16 (Swarbrick, 2012).

Throughout the 90s, there was a major overhaul of qualifications to make them more transparent, relate them closely to Curriculum Document guidelines (MOE, 2007b) and ensure “closer links with industry, employers and business organisations, and provide a bridge between school and work” (Adams & Hamer, 2005, p. 43). All senior secondary subject assessments became standardised, regulated with the introduction of NCEA which replaced norm-referenced School Certificate, sixth Form Certificate and Bursary exams (Crooks, 2002). NCEA used a standards-based method of assessment to cover

Years 11-13, which “measures a learner’s performance against pre-defined standards of achievement or competence” (Shulruf, Hattie, & Tumen, 2010, p. 142). Achievement is indicated with the reward of ‘credits’ for each achievement standard unit and individual student credits are processed for students from each school to NZQA. NCEA tailored assessments towards students’ different cultures and socio-economic backgrounds by using a mix of internal and external assessments. NCEA also allowed students to use Te Reo Māori or English; the choice of different languages that could be studied for NCEA assessment increased to 13 in 2016 (Turnbull, 2018). The NCEA assessment system, and practices surrounding it, are still embedded in the secondary school sector today, and have a significant role to play with ELL provision.

### **2.5.2 A focus on ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’**

During the last quarter of the 20th century, New Zealand reeled from ongoing financial shocks: the quadrupled international oil bill (1973), Britain’s entry into the EEC (1973), the cost of Prime Minister Muldoon’s ‘Think Big’ projects (1979), and the collapse of the world’s share markets (1987) (Belich, 2001). The government began a series of radical innovations, reframing the national economy away from state interventionism (Harvey, 2006). Accordingly, the national educational management experienced a right turn, leading to the adoption of a completely new belief to influence education: that of individual choice. Codd and Openshaw (2005) explain that within the pressures of choice versus equity, “state policy-makers, faced with absolute limitations of resources, could no longer meet public expectations and political demands for further extension and improvement of educational provision” (p. 178). In 1989, the fourth Labour government introduced ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ legislation which “completely reorganised” the management of secondary school systems and practices (Gordon, 2016, p. 177). A review of secondary schools led by businessperson Brian Picot called attention to substantial conflicts between central and local education authorities. Acting on this plausibility, the government replaced Regional Education Boards with a slimmed-down Ministry of Education (MOE) which devolved administrative responsibility to largely voluntary Board of Trustee (BOT) members in individual schools (Openshaw et al., 1993). They in turn provided governance to individual secondary school managements who controlled their own operations and funding. ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ legislation established neo-liberal, competitive, quasi-market conditions between individual secondary schools, and gave them “more autonomy than virtually any other country” (Spence, 2004, p. 393).

Government oversight was retained through the Education Review Office (ERO) and the MOE, while a New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) did likewise with qualifications and assessment (Court & O'Neill, 2011; Crooks, 2002). State secondary school buildings were chosen, built, paid for and maintained by the government, their staff were paid by government funding, and the government set maximum student rolls for schools based on land and building size. These conditions still pertain to secondary state education today.

'Tomorrow's Schools' legislation changes were intended as a way for secondary schooling to improve administrative and educational outcomes through individual competition. Government funding to schools was reorganised through a decile system, introduced in 1995. Samples of income and educational levels of a small number of randomly selected parents at each school were used to estimate each school's decile rank from one to ten, with one being the lowest. However, higher deciles were interpreted by parents as an indicator of educational quality, so school choices were made "on the basis of social rather than academic characteristics" (Gordon, 2016, p. 177). "Already privileged schools were able to benefit from the community and parental resources they could draw on, while impoverished areas had few resources, and few (if any) professionally qualified parents to support and govern schools" (Harvey, 2006, p. 65).

A system of zones was established around popular schools to manage pressured demands for enrolment. The MOE had oversight for zoning, though individual schools could manage regulatory details. Students domiciled within home zones were guaranteed enrolment, while entry for those outside them were filtered through enrolment criteria such as that which gave priority for those with parents or siblings who had previously attended or had been on the staff. However, from 1991 to 1998, zoning was removed, so "students were increasingly at the mercy of the school selection criteria" (Beaven, 2003, p. 116). This meant that highly popular schools could exclude the most "hard-to-teach" students and encourage academically ambitious out-of-zone students through ballots (Lubienski, Lee, & Gordon, 2013, p. 95). By the end of the 1990s, enrolments to high decile schools had significantly increased, while they decreased in low decile schools.

In an attempt to address growing inequalities, school zoning was reintroduced in 2000. However, this only exacerbated "the pattern of social differentiation already apparent in established schools" (Roberts, 2014, p. 4). Using "selection by mortgage" (Gibson, Boe-

Gibson, & Kim, 2005, p. 1), wealthier parents could access more expensive home zone property to ensure their child's entry to a higher decile school, while poorer families had less option to do so. By 2014, "the average decile one school was less than half the size of the average decile 10 school" (Gordon, 2015, p. 11). As well, "Lower decile schools lost many Pākehā students, leaving predominantly Māori and Pacific Island students in the lower decile schools" (Beaven, 2003, p. 116). Woodfield and Gunby (2003) found that "ethnic minorities seem to have found it more difficult to move upwards and may have been forced to move downward if they could no longer gain access to their local school" (p. 866). This ethnic and socio-economic movement amounted to 'white flight' in some areas of Christchurch (Fowler, 1993; Roberts, 2014), Woodfield and Gunby (2003) conclude that "the ability of markets to free ethnic groups from the iron cage of zoning and failure is at best mixed" (p. 871).

Extra government funding support to lower decile schools has gone some way to redressing the inequality between rich and poor schools. In 2017, Franks (2019, January 18) reported that "about \$140 million was delivered to New Zealand schools in 2017, with more than half of the cash going to just 10% of schools" (p. 1). However, fundamental issues remain. Gordon (2015), supported by others (Alexander, Haug, & Jaforullah, 2010; Ladd & Fiske, 2001; Lewis, 2004b; Lubienski et al., 2013; NZI, 2019, April 8th; Thrupp, 2015), recognises that "there is no evidence that choice and competition improve educational performance within schooling systems" (p. 19). The quasi-market commodification of education has been inherently socially and economically inequitable and has indirectly contributed nationwide to a 34% increase in the economic gap between rich and poor from 1982-2013 (Keeley, 2015, p. 34).

In recent years, there have been initiatives to moderate the effects of 'Tomorrow's Schools' legislation. In 2015, Community of Learning (CoL) initiatives (MOE, 2018a) were introduced to encourage interschool expertise to implement the revised New Zealand Curriculum (MOE, 2007b) and to increase more collaborative relationships amongst schools within local communities. Inter-school staff were allocated funding to share resources, planning and expertise. Schools were allowed to belong to more than one CoL, where there are general and specific designations. Implementation of CoL's however, has not been without its challenges. Edwards (2012a) highlights the complexity of introducing CoL changes into school institutions and the importance of flexible community responses for success. However, In 2017 the underlying individual school



competitive framework of ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ remained clearly in place, as yet untouched by 2019 reviews (MOE, 2019).

### **2.5.3 The Curriculum Document**

The New Zealand Curriculum Document, introduced in 1993, and refined in 2003 and 2007 (MOE, 2007b), has become the guiding foundation for curriculum management and practice in state secondary schools today. Indirectly, it reinforces the beliefs of free-market choice from ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ legislation but modifies them by particular support for indigenous Māori and Pasifika students and some support for ELL students. It highlights eight Key Learning Area subjects (KLA)s, including English, the Arts, Health and Physical Education, Languages, Mathematics and Statistics, Science, Social Sciences, and Technology. It reinforces Māori and New Zealand Sign Language as the official languages of New Zealand, with English as the de facto language (p. 14) and allocates Pasifika languages to having a “special place” (p. 24).

For secondary school management decisions relating to diverse students, the Curriculum framework urges schools to be forward-looking and inclusive. Its Values and Principles sections include support for diversity, and Languages are identified as a Key Competency along with Symbol and Text. Its Principle of Cultural Diversity states: “The curriculum reflects New Zealand’s cultural diversity and values the histories and traditions of all its people” (MOE, 2007b, p. 9). This ideological perspective is mitigated, however, by the extent of its potential observance, shown in a later statement:

The New Zealand Curriculum sets the direction for teaching and learning in English-medium New Zealand schools. Nevertheless, it is a framework rather than a detailed plan. This means that while every school curriculum must clearly align with the intent of this document, schools have considerable flexibility when determining the detail. (MOE, 2007b, p. 37)

Further, as Gray (2012) observes, though the Curriculum Document (MOE, 2007b) promises to address any language inequalities in students, there has been no guidance in secondary schools about how to manage the language specialisation required to do this.

## 2.6 New Zealand state secondary schools today

### 2.6.1 Top-down school infrastructures

The research questions 1 and 2 (see 1.3) are focused on the way ecological layers of influence interact with each other in the building of management structures. The Figure 2 diagram below provides a visual understanding of the way top-down layers of national hierarchical regulation and ideologies are positioned to interact with local management and beliefs in and around state secondary schools. The width of the orange arrows indicates the relative impact of external layers on individual schools, which are significantly affected by national deregulation of secondary education. The diagram also situates the role of senior in-school administrators as responsible for transferring advice and regulation from the outside to be implemented within. Below this, the place of ESOL is identified in relation to other subject departments, and the place of ELLs as minority students is also labelled. Educational influences affecting the diagram will now be described in greater detail.

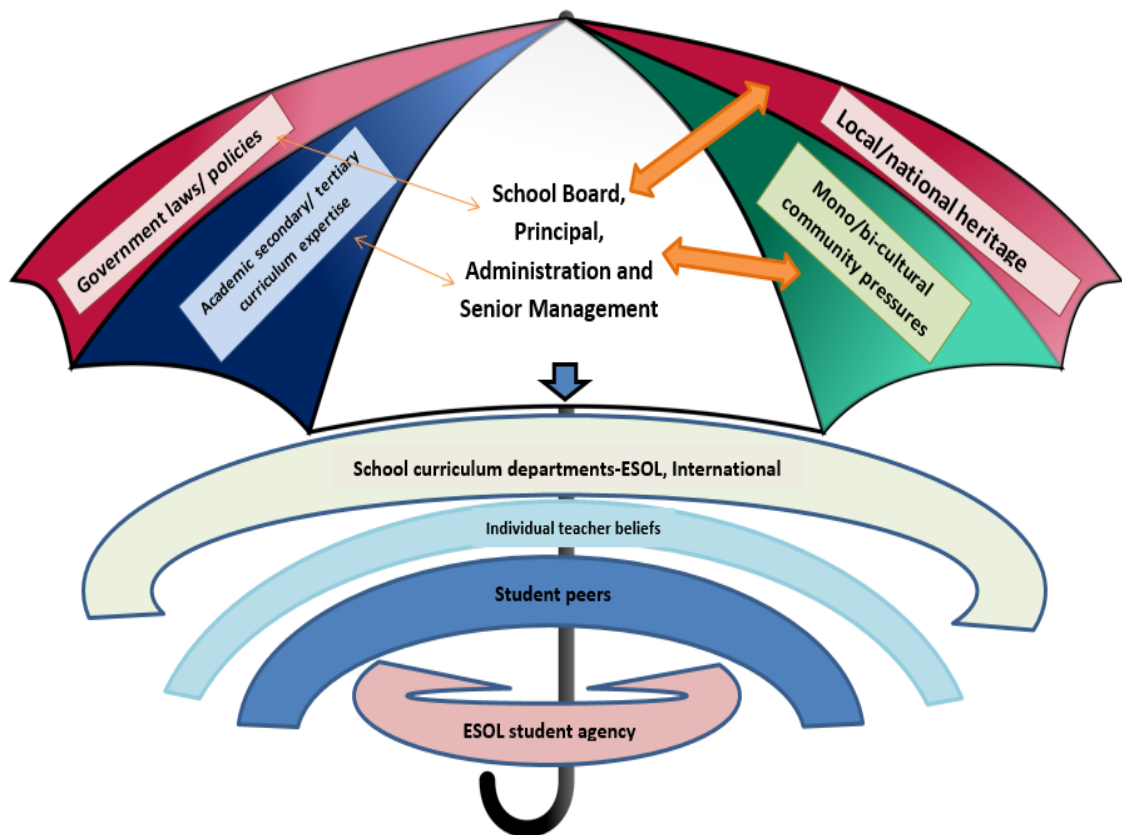


Figure 2: Top-down delineation of secondary school structures

Government regulation of state secondary schools is managed by agencies such as NZQA and ERO (see 2.5.2). Deregulation also sanctions local cultural pressures to wield significant day-to-day influence over school decision-making. These influences can consist of inherited school community traditions linked to location, decile, ethnic or gender priorities, school management attitudes (Slowley, 2013), teacher or student peer groups (Haworth, McGee, & MacIntyre, 2015) or parent groups (Hamilton, 2004). Their presence exists in schools through a hierarchical structure which shall now be explained.

BOTs have a governance role with state secondary schools. They consist of parents voted in by other students' parents to provide the formal communicative conduit of maintaining local values and culture in secondary schools. Within schools, staff are employed in stratified roles. At the top, principals often emerge from senior management and previous teaching expertise in one of the main KLAs. Wylie (2013) notes: "Secondary principals are likely to have substantial classroom teaching experience (a median of 17 years) and a median of 8 years in secondary school senior leadership before becoming a principal" (p. 18). Below the principal, there are senior managers (SMs) who can be deputy principals (DPs), then assistant principals (APs). Curriculum leadership is provided by head of learning area (HOLA), learning area director (LAD), or head of faculty (HOF) roles, from the KLA subjects named in the Curriculum Document (MOE, 2007b). They form a group hierarchy which meets regularly. Individual departments are led by staff in head of department (HOD) roles, who are positioned to be responsible conduits for senior management as well as subject leaders (Cardno & Bassett, 2015; Feist, 2008; O'Neill, 2000). The ESOL HODs can be placed under the leadership of the HOD English or Languages, or can stand alone, or as a lower level Teacher in Charge (TIC). (Alongside the academic middle management level lies a pastoral parallel with deans responsible for class or wider group levels.) Below the HODs and TICs in middle management sit the teachers without specific duties, called associate teachers, who may be permanent or on contract. Of teaching staff generally, associate teachers have closest affiliation with the students, who form the bottom level of the hierarchy.

Pay scales for staff overall are governed by their place in the hierarchy, qualifications and years of experience and whether the BOT and senior managements allocate Position of Responsibility (PR) or Middle Management Allowance (MMA) units for their specific area of responsibility (PPTA, 2017). ESOL leaders, traditionally part-time female, older and from varied international backgrounds, often have one designated PR unit (Haworth,

2016; Lewis, 2004a). This contrasts with larger department leaders who are commonly designated 2-4 PRs.

### **2.6.2 Eurocentric educational provision**

In New Zealand, the local layers of educational governance and management tend to be heavily Eurocentric. In BOTs this is certainly the case, though where possible Māori and Pasifika members can be co-opted. Savant (2011) indicates that in the 2010 elections, 70% of the candidates were New Zealand European Pākehā, of whom 74% were successful, and 40% re-elected (p. 10). Savant's results also reflect the lower impact of minority cultures with candidates standing for election: 19% Māori, 5% Pasifika, 1% Asian and .2% Middle Eastern, Latin American and African (MELAA) (p. 10).

As with BOTs, the ethnicity of New Zealand secondary school teaching staff is dominated by New Zealand European Pākehā, with 70.7% fulltime staff, as against 10.4% Māori, 3.1% Pasifika, 3.8% Asian, and 11.8 % Other/Unknown (MOE, 2017c). Gorinski and Fraser (2006) state that the dominance of an Anglo-European education system “works to disadvantage families from cultures with differing values, beliefs and first languages to the dominant culture, which all too frequently results in a disparity of academic achievement” (p. 1).

There have been some signs that secondary schools are beginning to adapt to wider multicultural demands. Waitere-Ang (2005) asserts that pluralist approaches to education should focus on going beyond “simply ‘respecting’ others; and towards accepting as legitimate the cultures of the students from these diverse social and ethnic groups” (p. 364). In 2004, the Human Rights Commission set up a New Zealand Government Diversity Action programme, to encourage performance-based integration for students in schools, through programmes involving sport and cultural events like Outward Bound Initiatives, soccer tournaments, speech competitions and cultural festivals (HRC, 2004). From 2012 to 2017, initiatives have intensified to encourage Māori student achievement in schools, with some success (Berryman, Kerr, Mcfarlane, Penetito, & Smith, 2012; ERO, 2016). Pasifika initiatives also include the Pasifika Education Plan (PEP) 2009-2017, which has also had some success with improved Pasifika academic results (MOE, 2013a, 2017d).

However, initiatives to improve multicultural levels of achievement in schools is fraught with difficulty within a national education system that is inherently monolingual, but officially obliged to abide by a Curriculum Document which prioritises English-Māori bilingualism (MOE, 2007b). Spoonley and Bedford (2012) assert that targeted assistance for minority cultures outside Māori and Pasifika has been “modest” (p. 271) in contrast to other countries. Billot (2008) observed that though principals in individual secondary schools may introduce initiatives to assist multicultural minorities “within an ethos of justice and equity,” their efforts are “often highly individualistic and context dependent” (p. 96). Further, the ERO’s designation of priority learners as underachievers from low socio-economic backgrounds, including “many Māori and Pasifika learners” without specifically naming ELLs, ensures that in-school support for the latter can remain ambivalent (ERO, 2012, p. 4).

Provision for secondary school staff professional development (PD) in responding to linguistic and cultural diversity amongst their students is presently positioned amongst other demands such as Māori-Pasifika prioritisation, subject development, literacy initiatives and digital education. Within schools, Teacher Only Days (TOD) and allocated PD time may contain presentations on dealing with diversity, but it is up to each school to prepare their own agendas. Government scholarships for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) are available for staff, and uptake is voluntary. Researchers (Barnard, 1997; Corson, 1998; East, Chung, & Arkinstall, 2013; Harvey, 2013; Timperley & Parr, 2009) have long advocated the implementation of a national language policy as a method of addressing multilingual issues in New Zealand schools. White, Watts, and Trlin (2002) advocate “an ethnic relations policy to educate the wider society and to reduce xenophobic, monolingual tendencies so that all may benefit from the increasingly diverse nature of New Zealand society,” but to date this suggestion has been largely ignored by successive governments (p. 160).

## **2.7 ESOL provision in secondary schools**

The following sections situate historical ELL management, practices and research within the wider layers of international, national and local management influence as described above.

### 2.7.1 Origins

English teaching has existed generally in New Zealand since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, used to teach Māori and non-English speaking immigrants, “with the aim until quite recently of total assimilation of all groups into the dominant culture” (Brooker, 1979, p. ii). However, ESOL as a specialist system in state schools was slow-moving. Beaglehole (1990) states that “schools in the thirties, forties and fifties made no provision for children for whom English was a second language” (p. 23). Anne Beaglehole’s personal experience was that primary school ELLs and deaf students obtained remedial instruction together, both regarded as slow learners, which Brooker (1979, p. 37) corroborates, so that potentially capable ELLs could fall behind in their other school subjects. In secondary schools at this time, there were low ELL numbers, with little allowance given to the value of their ‘other’ first languages and their importance to students’ identity (Walker, 2011). Secondary school ESOL support began in the 1960s with the assumption that ELLs were “special needs” (Moore, 2004, p. 101) where remedial work or “extra reading” (Lewis, 2004a, p. 6) gave some skills-based support. Gray (2012) recorded that “EAL (English as an Additional Language) teachers from 1960 to the 1980s developed a more structured approach” (p. 322), influenced by the work of Nation (1974) and Wilkins (1976). In 1975 the Mount Roskill English Teaching Unit very successfully established reception classes to alleviate the English learning needs of selected students from other Auckland schools, who attended courses there for up to a year before returning to their own schools (Brooker, 1979). The MOE developed courses to plan, develop material and retrain teachers in ESOL, and their fruits were published in booklets in 1968, 1973, 1977 and 1978. In 1982, the MOE handbook suggested recruitment of bilingual teachers and TAs for ELLs in mainstream classes in secondary schools. However, “trial and error” or ‘sink or swim’ methods were commonly used by mainstream teachers during this time (Lewis, 2004a, p. 16).

Specialist ESOL improvements were gradually introduced for secondary schools. In 1961, the first specialised qualification for ESOL teachers was offered through Victoria University Of Wellington (the Diploma in English Language Teaching), with 12 New Zealand teachers being offered scholarships for it each year from 1975-1990, with Massey University following suit in 1975 (Brooker, 1979). In M.A. Honours, an individual course on TESL was also established at Victoria University of Wellington, while Teachers Colleges introduced ESOL individual courses and training. From the

1970s, common MOE teacher in-service courses for teachers took place at Lopdell House, (Gray, 2012). Government-funded support for ELLs and the ESOL Assessment Guidelines began in 1993, added to in 1997 with National Education guidelines, which advocated mainstreaming instead of withdrawal of ELLs, and improved government support for specialist teachers, tutors, and home-school programmes (Nicholls, 2007) to link classrooms “to the broader sociocultural and linguistic contexts” (Walker, 2011, p. 168). In 2001, the MOE provided scholarships for full-time teachers to obtain TESSOL qualifications. In 2003, The Refugee Handbook for Schools and a Learning Progression Framework (LPF) was developed (May, Franken, & Barnard, 2005). Ongoing government guideline publications included Pasifika support (MOE, 2018f), the Language Learning Progressions 2008, and the establishment of ESOL Unit Standards and EAP (MOE, 2018d), all of which facilitated the development of ESOL pedagogy, curriculum and assessment in secondary schools. A feature of recent MOE initiatives has been the publication of books for new ELLs in up to 14 different languages, encouraging L1 use to assist L2 English (MOE, 2018d). Support for ESOL teacher training has become steadily more established with national conferences, NZQA workshops, regional cluster groups, ESOL facilitators (2004-2016), and academic post-graduate specialisation. The above initiatives have gradually increased specialised expertise and services for ELL provision in state secondary schools.

## 2.7.2 ELLs

**Table 3: A definition of the three groups that constitute ELLs**

RMB STUDENTS	MIGRANTS	INTERNATIONAL FEE-PAYERS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have often lost everything, are without possessions and essential documents</li> <li>• Mostly forced to flee from conflicted or war-torn countries, unlikely to return, and may be traumatised</li> <li>• Families are sponsored by UNHCR from refugee camps, obtain immediate residency on arrival</li> <li>• Often have different religious and cultural affiliations to NZ majorities</li> <li>• Home locations are decided for them by government, often near other RMB students</li> <li>• Attend local secondary schools at any age till 21years</li> <li>• May have learnt some English. Learn English now for life-long use</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enormous range of socio-economic positions, but can plan to leave home country and freely return</li> <li>• Enter New Zealand at any age to access different work or social environments</li> <li>• Childhoods may have been transient</li> <li>• Families make own choices to buy or rent in range of suburbs and which schools to attend</li> <li>• Increases from the Pacific, Asia and non-white groups</li> <li>• May have learnt some English. Learn English now for life-long use</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• From families with some access to wealth as privately funded for tuition and accommodation</li> <li>• Choose their own school</li> <li>• Childhoods may have been relatively stable</li> <li>• Short or long-stay but not permanent</li> <li>• Individual students without families board in local family homestays</li> <li>• Most from Asia: China, Japan, Korea, Thailand, Vietnam</li> <li>• Learn English as an extra to L1 for social, educational or business opportunities</li> </ul>

ELLs consist of a cohort of RMB students, migrants and international fee-payers. In secondary schools they are united in their need for English language, but they come from a widely contrasting range of socio-economic contexts and cultural backgrounds. Table 3 above shows the features that both unite and separate them.

The following Table 4 shows significant increases of Ministry-funded ELLs numbers for migrant and RMB students since 2000 in regions linked to this study (Gamble, 2016).

**Table 4: Ministry-funded ELLs in New Zealand secondary schools 2000-2016**

<b>Total NZ funded students: 4,264 in 2000; 6,589 in 2016, a 54% increase</b> <b>Total NZ RMB students: 448 in 2000; 640 in 2016, a 42.8% increase</b> <b>Total migrant students: 3,186 in 2000; 5,949 in 2016, a 55.8% increase</b>		
<b>AUCKLAND</b>	<b>MANAWATU</b>	<b>CANTERBURY</b>
<b>TOTALS:</b> 2,946 in 2000 3,776 in 2016 <b>28% increase</b>	<b>TOTALS:</b> 60 in 2000 228 in 2016 <b>280% increase</b>	<b>TOTALS:</b> 444 in 2000 881 in 2016 <b>98.4% increase</b>
<b>RMB students:</b> 233 in 2000 241 in 2016 <b>3.4% increase</b>	<b>RMB students:</b> 1 in 2000 55 in 2016 <b>5400% increase</b>	<b>RMB students:</b> 52 in 2000 71 in 2016 <b>36.5% increase</b>
<b>Migrant students:</b> 2,713 in 2000 3,535 in 2016 <b>30.2% increase</b>	<b>Migrant students:</b> 59 in 2000 173 in 2016 <b>193% increase</b>	<b>Migrant students:</b> 392 in 2000 810 in 2016 <b>106.6% increase</b>

In addition, International students, commonly found in ESOL, provide substantial income for secondary schools. MOE (2016a) indicates that, in 2015, there were 15,400 international secondary school students registered in New Zealand, contributing 27.2% to the 2015-6 income from all international students of “\$NZ 4 billion” (p. 1). Chinese international secondary students were by far the biggest market, and with Japanese, Korean and Thai students, constitute the greatest numbers (p. 7). There were 8,300 international students living in Auckland with 2,090 in the North Island outside Auckland and Wellington, and 1,535 in Canterbury (p. 8).

### 2.7.3 Funding

Funding allocations for ELLs have been devolved to individual school BOTs and management (see 2.5.2) though the MOE provides guidelines for usage (MOE, 1999, 2018g). Funding can derive from four areas. Firstly, ESOL staff can use test results from



RMB and new migrant students to apply for government funding twice a year, which can be boosted by a discretionary amount after July. Schools are also granted funds based on individual students' years in New Zealand and their English expertise (MOE, 2018c). If there are enough RMB students attending a school, extra after-school funding contracts can also be granted from the MOE to pay for a Coordinator, and provide some educational resources for homework times, as long as student progress reports are sent to the Ministry twice a year.

A third income stream for ELLs may come from individual schools' bulk funding, which is allocated for departments based on the numbers of students in each subject area or 'bums on seats.' Although the subject of ESOL has students in its classes, it is not a KLA subject, and it is up to individual school managements to decide whether ESOL should be included with other subject departments for bulk funding allocations. Lastly, funds obtained from international students who attend ESOL classes may be allocated for their ELL needs such as with staffing (Kalafatelis et al., 2018).

#### **2.7.4 Curriculum, assessment, and professional support**

New Zealand schools have "never had a fixed curriculum for teaching ESOL" (Lewis, 2004a, p. 15). However, government publication guidelines have been provided, such as the ESOL English Language Learning Progressions (ELLP) which reinforce Reading, Writing, Speaking and Listening as foundation skills for all ESOL classwork (MOE, 2007a). The implementation of ELLP, EAP for seniors, use of Coxhead's Academic Word List (2000, 2011a) and other resources from Nation (2008, 2018) have strengthened the identity of ESOL as a stand-alone subject (MOE, 2018d). In practice, individual ELLs' needs and desires have often resulted in a wider assessment framework being offered in different schools. English Literacy Unit Standards, Communication Unit Standards, International English Language Testing System material (IELTS) and National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA) English are also taught within ESOL (see 2.5.1).

As well, ESOL classes can still be perceived as general curriculum support areas, fill-in places for catch-up work from other subjects, or with cross-curriculum material. The lack of a single curriculum and assessment framework has granted autonomy to ESOL staff to use whatever material is the most applicable. This is in stark contrast to KLA subject

departments, which have their own NCEA subject curriculums and assessments which carry much greater academic authority.

PD for ESOL staff is provided from local and national sources. ESOL staff cluster groups are run in most urban areas, while groups such as Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages Aotearoa New Zealand (TESOLANZ) and Applied Linguistics Association of New Zealand (ALANZ), and national conferences such as Community Languages and English for Speakers of Other Languages (CLESOL) are a ready source of PD. Although government provision for ESOL advisors to schools was abandoned in 2016, advice can be gained from online support (MOE, 2018d) and NZQA workshops. Without sustained teacher PD, including an increased recognition of the benefits of L1 to enable ELLs to access their existing understanding of languages, ESOL staff are condemned to becoming another arm of New Zealand's monolingual onslaught (Walker, 2001).

In concluding this chapter based on the New Zealand context, the following section moves from an historical overview of education in New Zealand, then ESOL in particular, to describe the range of research linked to secondary school ESOL within New Zealand.

## **2.8 ESOL research on secondary schools in New Zealand**

### **2.8.1 Outline**

ESOL research in New Zealand has traditionally been centred on government-led initiatives such as that by Franken and McCormish (2003), or where an ELL focus has overlapped with government-sponsored Māori, Pasifika, RMB student or international research (Kalafatelis et al., 2018; May, 2014; MOE, 2013b; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2008). University research output on ELLs, often using teacher perspectives in tertiary and primary sites, has been another major source (Ker et al., 2013). Classroom teachers have opportunities for research through post-graduate studies, often emerging from their personal teaching experiences (Davey, 2001; Kitchen, 2011) where student voice is more easily accessible (Lewis, 1998; Starks & Barkhuizen, 2003). However, Erlam (2010) indicates that classroom-based studies have accounted for only 5% of published research in New Zealand.

### 2.8.2 Macro-level research

Research on ESOL matters in New Zealand can be found embedded in nation-wide studies and publications such as those advocating calls for language policy. For over 25 years, New Zealand language research has called for a national language policy, beginning with a report on language use and learning (Waite, 1992). Calls have only intensified since then (Harvey, 2013; Peddie, 1997; Spence, 2004; Timperley & Parr, 2009; White et al., 2002). Gray (2012) observed:

although there have been shifts in the levels of institutional racism in New Zealand migration policy as the country has been transformed into an extremely heterogeneous society, educational provision for a diverse school population has lagged behind. A co-ordinated approach in policy, teacher education, curriculum and research are required where an understanding of education's history is used to plan for the present and future needs of an increasingly linguistically diverse school population. (p. 329)

Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) results highlighting low ethnic-minority achievement in New Zealand secondary schools have added weight to the calls, which at present still remain unanswered (Walker, 2011). Another area of research overlapping with ESOL areas has been that of equity with diversity, which is increasing as pressures build in urban centres to manage wider ethnic groups (Ainscow, 2016; Cardno, Handjani, & Howse, 2018; Handjani, 2014; Howard, 2010; O'Neill, 2016).

An overview of secondary school ESOL has been part of a general recount of early ESOL in New Zealand (Brooker, 1979; Lewis, 2004a). Reviews of research in applied linguistics published in New Zealand follow on from this, reviewed by Ker et al. (2013) from 2006 to 2010, and from 2013 to 2017 (Skyrme & Ker, 2019 in progress). All of these have provided a holistic, in-depth picture of secondary ESOL research alongside other published community research. From another perspective, McLauchlan (2016) traced the decline of language subjects in secondary schools overall and perceived that there has been little attention given to ESOL.

### 2.8.3 Micro-level research

#### 2.8.3.1 Research involving ESOL Departments and teachers

In secondary schools, ESOL Departments have been established as the main repository of ELL linguistic and cultural transmission. Despite this, minimal emphasis has been placed on ESOL as a department, or a clearly-designated role for its leader; in fact the need for the existence of ESOL as a subject area has been questioned as too “othering” (Lewis, 1998) or generating ghettoisation (May, 2005, 2011). However, Nation (2012) has explained the importance for ESOL staff to “plan a good course... organise learning opportunities both in and outside the classroom... train teachers with language strategies... test learners to indicate progress... and teach” the four skills of reading, writing, listening, speaking (p. 7). He has also published a general guide to department leaders (Nation, 2013b).

In New Zealand, ESOL teacher identity has been the subject of considerable research, highlighting the multiple expectations and demands placed on them. Gleeson (2012) calls the ESOL teacher a “Jack of all trades” (p. 1). The research also exposes a wide ideological ambivalence in ESOL staff role expectations as language teachers, socio-cultural bridge builders, and business people. Franken and McCormish (2003) encompass wide-ranging possibilities for ideal ESOL teaching expertise. Fry (2014) advises on the need for teacher flexibility to generate relevant ESOL material for divergent learners. More recently, Haworth (2016) highlights competence, relatedness and autonomy as significant characteristics for building an ESOL career. Other research emphasises the importance of being a language and culture liaison (Haworth, 2008; Tan, 2017; Walker, 2018), exposing the need to cross cultural borders to accommodate L1 and L2 plurality in a variety of forms, and show sensitivity to minority cultures (Howard, 2010; MacIntyre, 2013; Nuhisifa, 2017). Though Conway and Richards (2016) and East (2013) have conducted studies of intercultural patterns in specialist language classes, there have been none completed in secondary ESOL classrooms. There is also further emphasis for ESOL teachers to prioritise the commercial imperatives of ELLs (Walker, 2014) and view ELL education as a business matter with ELLs commodified primarily as a source of revenue to be used for wider school needs.

Perhaps the most complex task for ESOL staff is to manage collaboration with mainstream teachers to provide opportunities for linguistic and cultural diversity

acceptance, when mainstream staff can have limited training or expertise in language learning, and are expected to prioritise their subject content in class (Alcorn & Thrupp, 2012; Doerr, 2008; Smith, 2006; Turner & Rubie-Davies, 2015). In spite of moderate government funding, national Ministry guidelines and extra RMB and Pasifika support (Lautusi, 2016; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2008), research shows that mainstream teachers still struggle to accommodate and accept the learning needs of ELLs in their classes. When subject teachers accepted extra training, teaching transitions could be successful, as in the following study. Feryok and Barkhuizen (2008) found that TESSOL training made teachers much more aware of the difficulties ELLs face, which “in turn led them to reconsider their teaching practices” (p. 50-1).

Other studies expose the limited numbers of mainstream teachers who are willing to become involved in ELL training. Edwards (2012b) illustrates that “secondary mainstream teachers’ knowledge of their ELLs varies, and nearly all of the teachers perceived that knowledge of them is important. They reported that they would like to know more” but did not have the time (p. 115). In a subsequent study, Edwards (2014) also found that mainstream staff “were not aware of and not using, the range of resources and strategies available” to improve ELL mainstream education (p. 1). Luxton (2008) identified that collaboration between mainstream and ESOL teachers was essential for ELL learning, but issues such as power and subject matter discrepancies between specialist subjects and ESOL, or ways to move beyond them, were not analysed in the way primary school research has envisaged solutions (Haworth, 2015; McGee et al., 2015; Newton & Jeurissen, 2013).

Recent research topics are breaking new ground. One emergent issue has been the role of non-native, English-speaking ESOL staff, chosen for their experience in language learning, but possibly lacking the linguistic and cultural expertise of native English teachers (Barkhuizen, 2016; Edwards, 2009; Howard, 2010; Kim & Elder, 2002). Another research area has been about paraprofessionals’ roles with ELLs (including teacher aides or TAs), highlighting the need for more training (Richards, Harvey, & Stacey, 2009; Stacey, Harvey, & Richards, 2013). Siilata and Barkhuizen (2004) called for bilingual support personnel within mainstream classrooms to encourage L1 maintenance and bilingualism.

More commonly, ESOL research on secondary schools has focused on teaching and learning methods in ESOL classrooms. There has been extensive research on academic vocabulary acquisition. The Academic Word Lists and vocabulary acquisition has been a boon for ESOL language teaching (Coxhead, 2000, 2011a; Nation, 2008, 2013a; Nation & Webb, 2011). Vocabulary research has continued with enquiries into specialised word lists and academic vocabulary development in secondary schools (Coxhead, 2014; Dang, Coxhead, & Webb, 2017; Greene & Coxhead, 2015). Omidian, Beliaeva, Todd, and Siyanova-Chanturia (2017) compared the use of word items in a corpus of L2 English essays with L1 essays from the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays, in one New Zealand secondary school. They found that with academic vocabulary, L2 writers used fewer word types and word families. Luxton, Fry, and Coxhead (2017) worked with ESOL staff and other teachers in 35 secondary schools on ELLs' academic vocabulary development. They identified that ELLs "could make rapid strides in learning academic vocabulary with appropriate support" (p. 20). Erlam (2013) investigated form use in the ESOL classroom, and Beaumont (2010) analysed morpheme use with underachieving Pasifika students to assist comprehension understanding. Both Meyer (2005) and Evans (2009) supported the teaching and use of more advanced language learning skills during comprehension analysis by ELLs. These studies have supported the development of vocabulary and syntax learning in ELL and are focused on ELL acquisition largely within classroom environments.

There has been a growing interest in innovative methods to teach ESOL. A range of research has encouraged teachers to use collaborative and interactive literacy strategies so that first culture and language can be integrated into classroom practice (Conway & Richards, 2016; Davey, 2001; Franken, 2005; Gray, 2012; Haddock, 2007; Howard, 2010; Newton, 2009). Most recently, Oranje (2018) found that with intercultural language teaching, there were "tensions between teachers' abstract, theoretical beliefs and their concrete, practical beliefs" (p. 1) and called for more PD in intercultural communicative competence. Finally, with research on technology in ESOL, Wright (2011), and Nia and Davey (2014) encouraged the greater use of media devices.

Assessment research has run parallel with teaching and learning measures but remains slim. Bedford (2003) reviewed the introduction of NCEA assessment in senior ESOL classes, where she found that teaching was in danger of being assessment-driven. Her results found issues of reliability and validity and emphasised the importance of formative

work. Luxton (2013) analysed the development of a diagnostic reading test for ELLs in secondary schools, drawn from texts used across secondary school learning areas. She called for it to be used to supplement existing tests designed for mainstream classroom use. Bruce (2017) evaluated the rising demand for EAP courses and assessment in the senior ESOL curriculum, and expressed concern for the inherent contradictions involved. He positioned the demand for EAP in New Zealand ESOL as “needs-driven” by students to gain ‘pre-experience’ access to tertiary education (p. 2), and highlighted the lack of ESOL teacher specialist preparation to teach it, either as a “support activity or an academic activity in its own right” (p. 1). Bruce called for ongoing ESOL teacher EAP PD through international and national conferences and workshops.

#### 2.8.3.2 Research involving ELLs

Increasingly, research has investigated ELL identity and L1 retention, included not within ESOL research but with wider social group research linked to language and culture. Roberts (2005) and Gray (2012) traced patterns of language shift from L1 to L2 with New Zealand immigrants and exposed the need for greater L1 inclusion in schools. Walker (2011) analysed the impact of multiple ethnicities on language and identity. She also collaborated (Vaccarino & Walker, 2011) to explore ways that “bilingual repertoires” (p. 1) can be maintained in bilingual families so they can cope with monolingual expectations in their lives. Similarly, Zdrenka, Yogeewaran, Stronge, and Sibley (2015) found that with ethnic minorities in New Zealand, “ethnic attachment may not have a unique benefit to wellbeing among minority groups, at least when such groups are incorporated within the national identity” (p. 118). Eyou, Adair, and Dixon (2000) found similar results with international students, and identified that integrated students had much greater self-esteem than marginalised ones. To date, research on the benefits of L1 for ELL in secondary schools, has been barely evident.

Most ELL research has highlighted learning difficulties and need for personal agency for academic success. Studies include investigations into hindrances and limited affordances of RMB adolescents in the mainstream, such as Humpage (2001); McCarthy (2016); Sobrun-Maharaj et al. (2008); van den Bergh (2007) and Warsame, Mortenson, and Janif (2014). Hamilton, Anderson, Frater-Mathieson, Shawn, and Moore (2007) were representative in finding that RMB students often encounter learning difficulties generating from a mismatch between student expectations and New Zealand pedagogical

theory. Smith (1997) explored how the maintenance of L1 networks can act as a barrier to RMB student English acquisition. Bedford and Kitchen (2006) found that ELLs had limited choice with enrolment and subject allocation. Haddock (2007) explored the challenges surrounding academic success for male Pasifika students. Wilkinson (1998) identified that ELLs achieve lower performances in large and composite classes, in spite of small groups used as a method to cater for their specific language needs. As well, several studies have disclosed the need for academic support for international students through more formative assessments in writing (Feng, 2007), in calculus classes (Edwards, 2003) and with first culture art (Smith, 2011).

As ESOL students, international students have had an increasing focus, in examining the divisions between their revenue gathering capacity and their relationships within schools. Much research about them is not from ESOL research literature however, but can be situated within the “Communication strand” in the Learning Languages section of the Curriculum Document (MOE, 2007b, p. 24). Kalafatelis et al. (2018) illustrated the economic impact of international students for the New Zealand economy. They estimated that international students in secondary schools accounted for 14% of the overall international student tuition income of 4.5 billion in 2016, a slight increase from 2015, which created 33,000 jobs. They also observed that Asian students made up over 50% of the international student intake, with Chinese students increasing and Indian students decreasing (p 7).

Continuing studies show that though international students are valued economically, their relationships with local inhabitants in school settings can be disquieting. Collins (2006) found school patterns of behaviour which isolated Auckland international students while school authorities were “grazing” (p. 224) on their financial benefits. Research into Chinese international students in New Zealand indicates that while they enjoy their New Zealand experience, they need more support in pastoral and socio-cultural matters, vital in helping them to succeed (Butcher & McGrath, 2004; Chu, 1997; Zhang & Brunton, 2007). Further studies have stated that New Zealand secondary school classrooms show a reluctance of local students and staff to accept Asian students’ presence in the school, many of whom are international students (Kitchen, 2009; MOE, 2008). Ward (2001) found that though “domestic students hold relatively favourable perceptions of international students; most investigations have concluded that domestic students are largely uninterested in initiating contact with their international peers. Significant



intercultural interaction is unlikely to occur spontaneously to any large extent” (p. 1). Ward and Masgoret (2004) state that

Less than half of the students believed that New Zealanders had positive attitudes toward international students, and one in three believed that international students often experience discrimination in New Zealand. The actual incidence of discrimination was reported to be much less frequent, but New Zealand students were cited as the most common source of unfair treatment. (p. 1)

It seems that the complexities surrounding the business of international students and the social and educational provision for their learning remain contestable.

## **2.9 Summary and conclusion**

This chapter has begun the process of answering the research questions by outlining historical and contemporary elements of New Zealand society and state secondary education that the case study schools all share. The chapter highlights the significant and ongoing impact of New Zealand’s colonial origins on educational structures, settlers’ drive to develop independent education systems within their local contexts, and the struggles to moderate local education management, beliefs and practices within the demands of wider global political and economic pressures. This chapter also scaffolds the growth of minority ELL provision and research within and alongside mainstream state education, the gradually increasing support of ELL government guidance and funding, and the present-day disparities between ELL provision and needs arising from marked increases in ELLs’ numbers and diversity. The following chapter now explores the conceptual frameworks underlying this enquiry.



## CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

The topic of ELL provision in New Zealand secondary schools lends itself to explorations from a wide range of theoretical perspectives, from communities of practice, to hegemonic activity, to teaching and learning specialties, to name but a few. This study into multi-layered perspectives of the dynamic systems and practices used in response to linguistic and cultural diversity is geared towards the presence of local, national and international layers of hierarchies surrounding secondary schools, so it leads favourably into ecological theory. Accordingly, ecological perspectives deserve some exploration to frame their relevance to the present investigation. The first part of this chapter begins thus, with a general analysis, followed by an exploration of the notion of affordance and a useful model for considering this perspective. Nested within these is a survey of the growth of ecological models in relation to language policy, followed by a scrutiny of Spolsky's language policy (2004), then his educational language policy in particular (Spolsky, 2009). In providing these conceptual frameworks, the researcher aims to provide a greater understanding of the depth and complexity of participant responses to linguistic and cultural diversity in this study, gathered with tools described in Chapter Four, and presented in findings from three case study environments which are presented in Chapters Five to Seven.

### 3.1 Ecological perspectives

In the last 60 years, language researchers have sought “to understand in much greater depth the role of space and place” (Blommaert, 2013, p. ix) and their impact on the development of language learning. In 1972, Einar Haugen offered one such model, based on the concept of ecology, borrowed from biology (Eliasson, 2015). Ecology can be defined as “the study of the relationships among elements in an environment or ecosystem, in particular the interactions among such elements” (van Lier, 2010, p. 4). Applied to language learning, ecological perspectives look beyond the individual learners' cognitive interiors, their academic output and the immediate classroom context (Pinnow, 2013). Ecological perspectives capture an holistic interconnectedness of “fractals of patterns from one timescale to another” (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008, p. 666), and the psychological, social and environmental environments experienced during

learning (Kramsch & Steffensen, 2008; Leather & van Dam, 2003). These environments combine to benefit or constrain learning and identify “who are likely to be winners and losers” (Creese & Martin, 2003, p. 4).

Following this wider definition of ecological perspectives in ELL (van Lier, 2010), four characteristics central to ecology theory can be identified: context, relations, diversity and emergence (Peterat, 2008; van Lier, 2010, 2011). The first, context, is described as not just a container for the learner, but a more integral part of the learning process, providing multiple opportunities for learning through non-human and human resources (van Lier, 2011). Ellis and Larsen-Freeman (2006) define a language system as a “dynamic adaptedness to a specific context” (p. 576), and explain that it is an “imperfect relationship between what the context demands and what the system provides” that drives a language system spirally into greater complexity (p. 576-7). Ajayi (2008), for example, researched the institutional contexts of secondary school ESOL teachers in Los Angeles. He used interview and survey methods to identify that the curriculum, textbooks, technology access, class allocations, and teacher PD were contextual limitations for ELL provision.

There is an integral link between context and the second characteristic, relationships. Language is used in relationships to interact with the people involved and their various contextual elements. Relationships can create multi-layered meanings as they “reverberate and resonate across multiple layers that may span many levels and scales” (van Lier, 2011, p. 385). While varied relationships within classrooms have long been established as crucial for learning (Aubrey, 2017), an ecological perspective also encompasses the impact of wider relationships. Rothoni (2018) used case studies and multiple data collection tools to identify the importance of interactive contexts in and outside school sites during the language learning of 15 Greek teenagers, and highlighted the often subtle and tangled flows between school and home site relationships that impacted on their learning.

The third quality, diversity, acknowledges that not all learners are “cut from the same cloth,” (van Lier, 2011, p. 390) and allows educators to be mindful of the “range of complex inter-relating issues around the promotion of multilingualism within educational settings” (Creese & Martin, 2003, p. 2). Garcia and Menken (2015) reported on the educational benefits of diverse linguistic and cultural inclusion. In their study involving 23 New York schools, (including four secondary schools), a series of meetings and on-

site supports were actioned to establish a vision of bilingualism as dynamic and inclusive, and to support the use of translanguaging in ESOL classes. Two non-negotiable practices were established: bilingualism as a resource, and support for a multilingual ecology throughout the whole school. The resulting collaborative vision offered learning opportunities for multilingual learners not previously accessible.

The last characteristic, emergence, encompasses the previous three in its conceptualisation of how learning develops in an environment in non-linear, discontinuous ways. Emergence involves learning coming not from classroom-based syllabi or time-bound assessments, but from semiotic “connections the learner will make from his/her own prior knowledge and experience” (Kramsch, 2008, p. 392). Ellis and Larsen-Freeman (2006) further explain that “language behaviour is said to emerge from the interaction between the agent and the agent’s environment” (p. 577). Larsen-Freeman (2006) clarifies that an emergent perspective provides an alternative to results-driven understanding of language development, that it is:

not discrete and stage-like, but more like the waxing and waning of patterns; that, from a target-language perspective, certain aspects of the behaviour are progressive, others, regressive; that change can be gradual and it can be sudden; and that the latter notably heralds the emergence of a new order qualitatively different and novel from earlier organisations. (p. 590)

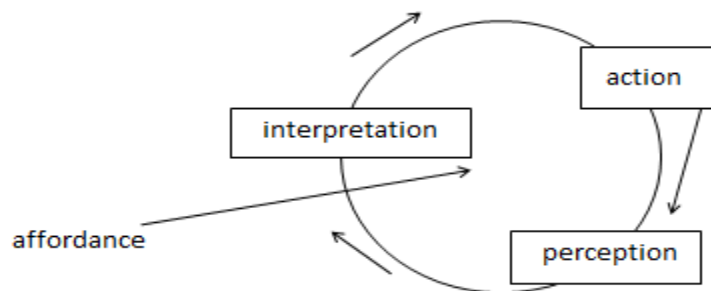
Kang (2005) illustrated the ecological concept of emergence in her qualitative study of four Korean ELLs studying in America. She found that a student’s willingness to communicate “can vary according to interlocutor(s), topic, and conversational context, among other potential situational variables” (p. 290). These situational variables, depending on their prior experiences and culture, shaped the speakers’ levels of security, excitement and responsibility, from which their speaking involvement emerged.

Overall, the strength of an ecological approach lies in its “relativity, reflexivity and decentredness” (Kramsch & Steffensen, 2008, p. 26). The four characteristics above are exemplified in the ESOL secondary school contexts of the present study, and are integral to the opportunities and challenges that ESOL staff and ELLs experience.

### 3.1.1 Affordance

The construct of affordance is a significant aspect of ecological perspectives (van Lier, 2010), and “has been given increasing attention in applied linguistics as a means to conceptualise how language learning is facilitated” (Walker, 2018, p. 1). Along with other theorists such as Chemero (2003), the psychologist Gibson (1979) explored the reciprocal relationship between an entity and its environment, and coined the following definition: “the *affordances* of the environment are what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either for good or ill,” (p. 127). In other words, affordances offer potential action, but do not trigger it. Gibson accords animals’ awareness and perceptions as vital to whether they make use of their environment or not, thus including social and psychological aspects within the environment. Relating this concept to language learning, van Lier (2002a) describes language affordances as “opportunities for meaningful action and interaction” (p. 147). Affordances are not only what is separately embedded in the environment and allowing for action, but also include how a learner is agentic in making “meaningful participation” with that environment (van Lier, 2004, p. 52). Affordances then, “stand for rich semiotic potential inhabiting an environment” (Lankiewicz, 2011, p. 32) that can fuel fresh perceptions and activity in a learner when he/she interacts with it (Kordt, 2018).

When used in practice, affordance theory identifies that, based on their own perceptions of themselves and what they want, learners action their learning needs, and in doing so recognise their learning moments inwardly towards themselves and outwardly towards their environment to take advantage of potential learning opportunities developing out of the activities. Affordance in active learners is thus achieved with the three preconditions illustrated in the Figure 3 below (Huang & Jhuang, 2015).



**Figure 3: Copy of van Lier’s affordance model (from van Lier, 2004, p. 92)**

Three preconditions reinforce and support each other continually until learning is attained. The notion of affordance cuts across the previous notion of input driven by Krashen (1981), by emphasising the learner's personal decisions about what they intend to learn, rather than his/her being viewed as an idealised automaton digesting static high-quality material independent of socialisation (Lankiewicz, 2011; Leather & van Dam, 2003). Menzies (2011) adds: "Affordances beyond the classrooms are essential elements in the processes of language learning. These affordances manifest themselves in written and oral interactions with other individuals in the inner, or in the extended, niches and in experiences with cultural products" (p. 70).

The notion of affordance has important implications for staff responsible for ELLs, and their charges. Their opportunities to learn English may be expanded or reduced by various levels within and around educational systems, and their responses can entail struggles and contestations which can provide varied results (van Lier, 2007).

The following New Zealand studies show how the different ecological levels can interact with each other to provide expansion or restriction of affordances for ELLs in their learning institutions. Kitchen (2014) used the concept of affordance in her study into two Korean-born senior students' perceptions of Korean and English language use in a secondary school setting in Auckland. Data was collected from interviews with students and SMs. The findings of this study indicated that though inclusive language practices were encouraged in MOE rhetoric and East School whanau-building structures, affordances for bilingual use were in practice "characterised by constraints rather than enablements" (p. 566). This enquiry highlights the way staff and local student relationships can erode social affordances for bilingual student academic achievement and identity construction in state secondary school environments.

In another study, ELLs had greater success in opening up spaces for affordances. Walker (2018) explored how three tertiary students, two in Germany one in New Zealand, were given the opportunity to provide meaningful intercultural opportunities for each other. In three rounds, the students used emails and "synchronous voice-enabled meetings" (p. 21) with each other to discuss the planning and processes for collaborative tasks. Using German and English at various stages, they successfully used translanguaging practices like blending and code switching to provide affordances for each other and co-construct

a cohesive learning community. The experience “helped crystallise possibilities and constraints of translanguaging as an expanded affordance in multilingual language learning contexts” (p. 35).

The examples explored above have shown the impacts of student groups, teachers and communities on individual senior students’ navigation of multilingual settings, and the social, linguistic and literary affordances available to them within these settings. They reinforce that the affordance construct views language learning as a dynamic process inside and outside school settings, and mandates learners to be active participants relating to all aspects of their environment to take advantage of learning opportunities that it offers.

### **3.1.2 The ecology of human interaction**

Another framework relevant for this study is the ecology of human interaction (Bronfenbrenner, 1993; 2005). This concept is “activity-based, and focused on a learner’s relationships within and across settings and systems” (van Lier, 2002b, p. 53). It takes into account the total environment of the learner, historical, social and physical, so that learning “becomes more than merely the sum of its parts” (Williams & Burden, 1997, p. 190). This model emphasises not only how an individual responds to his/her environment in the process of learning, but also how he/she dynamically impacts on their environment and reshapes it in consequence over time (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009).

Bronfenbrenner’s concept can be visualised as a set of nested ecosystems that centre on the individual learner, and range “from the proximal to the distal” as shown in Figure 4 below (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 15).

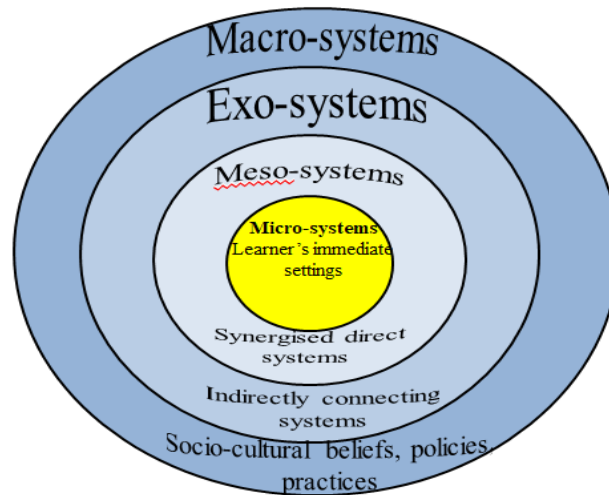
The micro-system at the centre is described as:

a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting, with particular physical, *social and symbolic features that invite, permit, or inhibit, engagement in sustained, progressively more complex interaction with, and activity in, the immediate environment.* (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 15, italics in the original)

The immediate environment of a learner’s micro-system contains the developing child’s more important relationships, such as those with parents, teachers, siblings and peers



(Williams & Burden, 1997). These relationships are expressed within frequent interaction, and the roles adopted by the players may be formative in developing the learner's cognitive development, belief systems and habits.



**Figure 4: Visualisation of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory**

The meso-system is layered around the micro-system. Bronfenbrenner describes the meso-system as:

the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings containing the developing person. *Special attention is focused on the synergistic effects created by the interaction of developmentally instigative or inhibitory features and processes present in each setting.* (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 22 , italics in the original)

The meso-system identifies a new layer when the developing learner synergises a broader, lateral range of connections between different and new micro-systems, such as those between home and school relationships, or home and public libraries (van Lier, 2002b).

The next section further removed, exo-systems, classifies

the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not contain the developing person, but in which events occur that indirectly influence processes within the immediate setting in which the developing person lives. (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 24)

This layer emphasises elements in a maturing learner’s environment that are indirect but still significantly affect his/her immediate setting and development, such as the learner’s peer group associates, his/her teachers’ social circles, parents’ workplaces, or government offices regulating school systems.

The last layer, macro-systems:

consists of the overarching pattern of micro-meso-and exo-systems characteristic of a given culture, subculture, or other extended social structure, *with particular reference to the developmentally instigative belief systems, resources, hazards, lifestyles, opportunity structures, life course options and patterns of social interchange that are embedded in such overarching systems.* (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 25, italics in the original)

This layer may be described as a “societal blueprint for a particular culture, subculture, or other broader social context” (Bronfenbrenner, 2005, p. 150). The breadth of this layer, encompassing the whole culture in which the learner lives, ensures that its effects have a powerful impact on him/her, such as with educational ideologies, political or economic policies and practices.

However, one limitation of the model is that its layers are not interactive enough. Pham (2016) observes that “sociocultural elements are described as the sole attributes of the outermost macro level: in the research conducted, from the outset they seem to permeate all social interactions and relationships from micro to macro levels” (p. 52). A further limitation is that Bronfenbrenner himself “did not provide a clear methodological guide to help in the application of the theory” (Tudge et al., 2009, p. 207), let alone state that every aspect of his model had to be included in studies. However, Bronfenbrenner’s ecological framework offers a stratified holistic perspective on how budding, agentive learners are influenced by proximal processes in their environments and how those processes influence their distal zones. Bronfenbrenner’s model also allows the varying outer forces that advance or mitigate language learning to be traced by teachers and learners and better understood by them in turn.

Saghafi, Adel, and Zareian (2017) successfully used Bronfenbrenner’s systems theory to analyse and expand an understanding of four female adolescent ELLs’ anxieties about writing in a PTE in Iran. Data was gathered from a range of sources: semi-structured

simulated recall interviews, teacher observations and student journals over 10 classroom sessions. Micro-systems level matters were centred on the learners: their self-perceptions of having low ability, their lack of interest in writing topics, and their process-product attitudes towards achievement. At the meso-systems level, past learning experiences in another country, past traumas, and choice of extracurricular activities all affected their writing success. At the exo-systems level, further factors were identified which affected learning: the curriculum design provided less space and attention for writing than speaking, while pressures from University Entrance exam expectations aroused anxiety. At the macro-systems level, anxieties about possible unemployment and a consequent necessity to emigrate overrode “any other concerns” (p. 434).

For ELL staff and students, this theoretical focus can highlight particularly the exo-system level economic and psychological impacts on new settlement or family loss that New Zealand ELL migrants and RMB students may suffer. For ELLs who may not feel able to, or do not want to, communicate these issues, staff are beholden to exercise careful pastoral care to encourage readiness for learning. The study also highlights the constraints on staff who are obliged to comply with curriculum obligations which may not optimise their students’ learning needs, but which bind them to walk a narrow line to accommodate both requirements. Finally, the study recognises that students themselves need to be agentic with their learning, and work with all available tools within and around their educational systems, for their own advancement.

A wider study, set in Boston, USA, also used Bronfenbrenner’s concept. Leonard (2011) examined the value of school-community partnerships, and reasons for their success or failure with one multiethnic “troubled high school” (p. 988) named Dunbar. Leonard used the case study to co-ordinate data covering the past 60 years from student attendance and graduations records, year books, accreditation reports, and interviews with former students, teachers and partners. One meso-system success factor was to involve selected students who became exposed to multiple new settings with supportive mentors, creating a “pocket of excellence” (p. 998) which could radiate out into whole school improvement.

Exo-system practices to turn Dunbar around emerged during the 1980s, when leaders in the business community approached state legislature to replace the elected school committee with a mayorally appointed body to govern the school, which produced school then city-wide student development. When efforts were made to develop school

partnerships within the exo-system level, by aligning the curriculum and using better forms of assessment data analysis, attempts failed because implemental relationships “never reached the students” (p. 996-7). Negative macro-systems developments were exposed from 1968 when racially-motivated “white-flight” was politically generated to protect the rolls of “White schools” (p. 1004). On an even wider macro-scale, the collapse of US economies from 1988-1992, caused educational finance cuts from sponsored partnerships, which generated outbreaks of violence, disrupting schooling for many at Dunbar, and contributing to their status of having the “highest drop-out rate of any comprehensive high school in the Commonwealth” (p. 994). For both learners and staff at Dunbar, increased awareness resulting from this ecological investigation could be leveraged to establish quality learning opportunities through positive interactive relationships centred around the students, rather than depending on “curricular and structural reform models” (p. 1007).

This enquiry is of particular relevance to the present study in that it parallels the issues that low-decile New Zealand secondary schools face with influxes of ELL migrant students “into the traditional, white, lower-middle-class population” (Leonard, 2011, p. 993), with the consequent possibility of the latter’s flight to more socially acceptable schools. The study also shows the continued and varied challenges of schools to access available resource opportunities to improve the academic results of low-income multicultural students, so that the school’s educational and social reputation may be perceived by the public to be more acceptable, and lead to healthier future rolls.

The application of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems in the aforementioned studies illustrated the considerable layers of challenge on learners to achieve, including wider historical trauma and social perceptions around ethnicity well outside micro-levels. Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems are similarly used in the present study to widen an understanding of ecologies at play beyond the classroom, so that their influence on ESOL staff and students can be fully explored.

### **3.2 The development of an ecological framework for language policy**

Theory of language planning that developed “with the collapse of colonialism after the Second World War” has dominated academic discussion ever since Jernudd and Nekvapil (2012, pp. 35-36). Language policy origins lie in attempts by optimistic planning experts

to solve the language problems of newly independent states in Africa, Asia and the Middle East (Kaplan, 2011; Ricento, 2000; Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2012). Notions at this time were focused on language policies of the nation state, adopted for official bureaucracy and education, so that countries could use language to encourage societies to integrate, generate a national identity, and modernise to keep abreast of international economies (Johnson, 2013). This perspective promoted a top-down approach to language policy, called ‘classic language planning’ (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012, p. 36), which prioritised the nation state’s place inside a world context of international historical and global activity (McGroarty, 2013). As a result, state single or dominant language varieties (usually English or French) were chosen as official languages while indigenous languages could be used to serve other functions. Nation state language policy implementation “abstracted languages from their socio-historical and ecological contexts” (Ricento, 2000, p. 13) and removed language choice from individual learners and their varying language communities. While encouraging “social mobility, higher earnings and integration into the dominant culture” (Ricento, 2006b), it created national language power hierarchies, “glorified the winning languages as civilised, while denigrating minority languages as barbaric” (Reaume & Pinto, 2012, p. 37), and forced language minorities into state language compliance, economic and social marginalisation.

However, since the 1970s, nation states have been unable to respond effectively to rapidly increasing world economic inequality and the growing power of globalised multi-corporates. Wright (2012) found that there were two consequences of weakening nation state emphasis: languages previously eclipsed by nation-building experienced a renaissance, and people frequently crossing borders had greater need for “more than their national language in their linguistic repertoire” (p. 78). Kaplan (2011) also observed that “with ten million refugees worldwide, more than twenty million people displaced within their own countries, and countless millions of economic migrants, language teaching programmes have been dramatically affected throughout the world” (p. 926) and these numbers have only increased since 2011.

Beginning in the 1980s, an ecological paradigm of language policy and planning began to form (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012). Language planners expanded their awareness from Einar Haugen’s ecological metaphor (Eliasson, 2015) to include an understanding that language exists in “highly complex, interacting and dynamic contexts, the modification of any part of which may have correlated effects (and causes) on any other part” (Spolsky,

2004, p. 6). This metaphor enabled researchers to conceptualise language contexts “where nature and nurture are no longer artificially divided” (Spolsky, 2004, p. 7). Mufwene (2001) named language as “parasitic” (p. 17) as its existence depends on the behaviour of its host society. When applied to a developing language policy framework, the ecological metaphor affirms the resource value of all languages, their place in the ecosystem, and how they interact with the various layers of that ecosystem.

Since the 1980s, ecological language policy research has expanded in applied linguistics. Some leading notions have been the “Reversing Language Shift” model (Fishman, 1991), ethnographic language policy emphasising everyday interactions (Hornberger & Johnson, 2011; McCarty, 2011), critical language policy focusing on the power of top-down hegemonies (Ricento, 2006a; Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson, 1991, 2013), language rights (May, 2005, 2008, 2015b), theories of language management with macro-micro clarifications (Baldauf Jr, 2005; Kaplan, 2011; Spolsky, 2009) and the struggle between efficiency and identity in education (Lo Bianco, 2009). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2008) contend that aiming to preserve a balance of linguistic ecologies can be a force for good, “for the long-term survival of mankind” (p. 4) even if it means that the perceived order of language is contested or diffused. This ecological perception of language policy thus includes humanitarian elements of advocacy and social justice within it.

In the drive for a satisfactory framework to account for human behaviour, researchers began to look at language policy within contexts wider than political ones. Spolsky (2004) identified the family, schools, religious organisations, the workplace, as well as local, national, and supra-national governments as ecological domains with complex separate components which can be separately identified and analysed, but which also co-join and dynamically interact with each other. He argued that “failure to recognise that language policy can exist in these domains, at levels other than the nation-state, ranging from the family to international organisations, was one of the reasons for the ineffectiveness of state planning efforts” (Spolsky, 2018, p. 1).

Despite the benefits of an ecological perspective for applied linguistics research, researchers have cautioned that it should not be over-extended (Johnson, 2013; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Ricento, 2006a; Williams & Jukes, 2017). Groff (2017) observed that there are multiple differences between linguistic and biological diversity, and that language survival depends not on “intrinsic superiority but multiple social,

economic, and political factors influencing the choices of human agents” (p. 4). Despite these misgivings, in this study the existing ecology of language perspective can highlight the complexity of overlapping layers of influence affecting language learning in New Zealand state secondary schools. It is an appropriate model for the researcher to accurately explore the impact of international, national and local processes which shape ELL practices. A language ecology framework is also broad enough to enable this study to examine the bottom-up, authentic and sometimes life-changing experiences of ESOL staff and students as they grapple with opportunities to blend or moderate default national policies experienced in schools. The following section explores one ecological language policy in depth.

### **3.3 Spolsky’s definition of language policy**

Spolsky (2004, 2009) categorises the language policy field into three interrelated but independent components, practices, beliefs, and management measures, as shown below:

- (1) Language practices – the regular and predictable pattern of how language is actually used in a language environment
- (2) Language beliefs – convictions held to be true about the value of languages, their varieties and features
- (3) Language management – any explicit efforts by authority figure(s) to modify or influence language practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management. (adapted from Spolsky, 2004, 2009)

Language practices (1) incorporate what people normally do, and are observed to do using sounds, words and grammar. Practices also include the different levels of formality, register and use of different languages. When people practise language, listeners can deduce not only the meaning, but also identify contextual material about the speaker’s attitudes and background. Language beliefs (2) incorporate what people think should be done: a speech community’s accord on the value of language, language varieties or variables, the extent of support they are given and the hierarchies in which they are placed. Spolsky (2009) notes that “the status of a variant or variety derives from how many people use it and the importance of the user, and the social and economic benefits a speaker can expect by using it” (p. 4). Language beliefs are usually exhibited in

language practice and largely formed by it. They may or may not follow the official language management measures set up for a people to follow. Language management (3) applies to explicit and observable efforts by those in authority to modify others' language practices. Policy management can occur in a very large number of contexts, from international, to national to local and individual. Spolsky (2009) identified 10 different domains of language management, including schools, the military, media, law and health, which may intersect, influence each other, and manipulate language (Walsh, 2012).

Further delineation can be added to an understanding of Spolsky's categories. Spolsky (2004) sometimes aligns beliefs with ideologies. He observes that a system of beliefs about language can sometimes form "a consensual ideology, assigning values and prestige to various aspects of the language varieties used in it" (p. 14). At other times he makes beliefs synonymous with ideologies (Spolsky, 2004, 2017, 2018). Spolsky (2017) describes five of the most common language "ideologies and beliefs" (p. 7) as those associated with the language of the family and linked to their values, the communicative potential of the language, the links between language and personal and national identity, and language and religious beliefs. In using the term 'ideologies,' Spolsky's theory can be linked to other language policy theorists who variably interpret ideologies within the context of the global spread of English (Canagarajah, 2007; May, 2015a; Norton, 2000, 2009, 2012); Pennycook (2000); (Tollefson, 2002, 2013; Woolard, 1998). However, Spolsky's use of ideologies does not so much align with one or other of the definitions of the aforesaid researchers, which concentrate on the interplay of critical language policy and language rights. Instead, Spolsky situates his understanding of ideologies within a wider, more holistic appreciation of language as dynamically evolving and interacting in layered contexts. In adopting Spolsky's language policy, this researcher also adopts his ecological definition of ideologies and its close connection to beliefs.

In 2018, Spolsky refined his definition of the management category (2018). The first addition consists of advocates, "individuals or groups who lack the authority of managers but still wish to change its practices" such as language activists, but who "until they obtain power, remain ineffective" (p. 4). As well, he added self-management, which accounts for those who individually resist "national management goals" (p. 4) in spite of the fact that they may be blocked by non-linguistic forces such as indigenous genocide, corruption and disease.



Spolsky (2004) emphasises the crucial importance of the interaction amongst the three main categories of his theory:

In any social group, there may or may not be explicit and observable efforts at language management, but there will be generally one or more ideological views of appropriate language use or behaviour, and certainly there will be observable, if irregular and not consistent, patterns of language practice. To study one component of language policy while ignoring the other two will provide a very incomplete and biased view. (p. 39-40)

In making this emphasis, Spolsky accepts the ecological balance of a deterministic historical-structural approach to language policy, which often favours monolingual hegemony. But, rather than only focusing on its hegemonic properties, Spolsky incorporates it into one level of his three-pronged model as language management. Consequently, this model provides a wider perspective to view the top-down public/private face of policy examined by critical policy or language rights enthusiasts (Blackledge, 2008; Egginton, 2002; May, 2004; Shohamy, 2006). Spolsky (2004) warns that “even when there is a formal, written language policy, its effect on language practices is neither guaranteed nor consistent” (p. 8) because its practitioners may not interpret it as intended. He adds in (2009) that “to talk, as some do, about language policy victimising minorities ignores the fact that language differences account for only a tiny part of prejudice, injustice and suffering” (p. 9). By encompassing three elements, of practices, beliefs and management, Spolsky’s definition can allow researchers to trace how “grassroots language policy ... is positioned against or informed by state policy” (Albury, 2012, pp. 168-169). While highlighting both the separateness and interconnectedness of his three elements, Spolsky recognises that the first one, practices, is linked to the more optimistic ‘public sphere’ and emphasises the power and agency of individuals and their communities. Johnson (2013) observes that practices, instead of being the result of policy, lie “*in and of themselves*” (p. 6 italics in the original). In fact, Spolsky (2012) names language practices as “the ‘real’ policy of a community” (p. 5), thus firmly identifying where he believes the real democratic power in language making and maintenance lies. In doing so, he softens the tainted stance that language policy is a tool to promote top-down monolingualism (Ricento, 2006b), and promotes a more positive outlook on its potential use, as well as encouraging us to holistically enrich our understanding of the multifaceted reasons why people make the linguistic choices that they do.

The interconnection of three main elements has laid Spolsky's framework open to accusations of vagueness. Johnson (2013) asks "whether all modes of human interaction – i.e. language practices – constitute actual policies?" (p. 7). However, Spolsky (2004) advises that "it is unwise to expect that the processes and structures of the social world can be described with the precision and purity that mathematics offers to the natural sciences" and suggests that interactive situations produce not specifics but "stronger or weaker probabilities" (p. 41).

The strengths of Spolsky's model are that it provides a flexible analytical tool, an abstract paradigm clarifying three separate ecological elements of language policy that allow for any or all internal and external forces affecting language to be recognised and accounted for in a speech community of any size, such as different educational institutions (Spolsky, 2007). It has relevance for my study in that its framework is simplified enough to allow all the nebulous, complex layers of decisional power in educational institutions to be broken down into manageable, analysable chunks. The model also makes considerable inroads into allowing for an exploration of why and how the three separate elements interconnect with each other.

In the absence of formal language policy documents in each of the case study schools, and well as nationally, Spolsky's model allows for a default structure to reveal reasons for the management decisions made in each case study. As well, while allowing for language power struggles, the theory does not take sides, demonise or ignore any macro-meso-micro elements that make up the language policy struggle; it views communities within an organic whole. In my study, it is important to see the interrelationships between language practices, beliefs, and management, and the struggles emanating from complex and often incongruent perspectives from individuals and groups, which form an integral part of how decisions about language play out in real-life practices in schools. The following component shows how language policy is expressed in educational contexts.

### **3.4 Spolsky's language education policy theory**

Spolsky's language policy theory, when used in school contexts, takes on the identity of education language policy. School settings, with their own managements, beliefs and practices, provide an excellent though very complex focus for language policy theory. Schools "take over from the family the task of socialisation, a central feature of which is

developing the language competence of young people” (Spolsky, 2004, p. 46). Schools also reflect the community. Tollefson (2002) explains that the link between home, school and community “is critical for understanding language policies in education” (p. 328). At every level of a complex educational system such as that which encompasses the schools at the centre of this study, there are different and contestable policies that are unique to each layer and institution. Spolsky’s language education policy theory provides a useful lens for the present investigation, because it refers to the decisions made in schools not just about language, but also around language and beyond it, the choices made by educators at different levels, and the actions of educators to interpret and redefine language policies in their everyday practice.

Spolsky (2009) uses Fishman’s terminology of social spaces as ‘domains’ to identify three key elements within schools: participants, identified by their “social roles and relationships”; location, which connects “social and physical reality”; and topic, or appropriate subjects within the domain and their “communicative function” (p. 3). The relevance of Spolsky’s three elements within education policy will now be explained in relation to secondary schools as specific sociolinguistic domains. In order to illustrate this for the current study, both local and international examples will be used.

### **3.4.1 Participants**

#### **3.4.1.1 Outside the school domain**

Participants that lie outside school domains exert powerful holistic influence over schools. Government-based participants are crucial contributors to language policy as they have overarching responsibility for national language practice.

Government decisions about language use in state schools are markedly affected by international historical and global movements, a multiplicity of forces such as economic, political, cultural, and social factors (McGroarty, 2013). Some of these forces are the financial status accorded countries by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, economic activities from international trade and monetary exchange, traditional or locational political alliances, migration caused by local conflicts and selective resource depletion (Kaplan, 2011; Phillipson, 2012). Other international influences such as conceptions of public and private rights, notions of hard and soft power (e.g. use of the

military versus media persuasion) and advances in technology all play their part (Corder et al., 2018; McGroarty, 2013).

Government attitudes to education in secondary schools are also influenced by factors within a country. A significant factor is the government structure. Democratically elected governments face the threat of being voted out, so their attitudes to education constantly reflect an awareness of their voting public. Other national factors are the extent of profits from government-owned resources and taxes, inherited national beliefs from a past such as with colonisation, population movement, patterns of employment, disaster-relief, minority rights, and the extent of professional and lay involvement in education.

Democratic government decisions about education are usually processed through agencies such as ministries and curriculum departments, which provide state secondary schools with guidelines and support with funding, curriculum and assessment. Sometimes, government agency participants can become a political tool of national or regional lobbyists and their educational decisions can ignore the “educational arguments” (Spolsky, 2009, p. 102) because of funding, ideological conflicts or the sheer effort needed to bring about change. Another complication is that government agencies experiencing financial constraints depend on the use of delegated, time-bound contractors to investigate and implement their policies. Contractors may complete the tasks but are not expected to be committed to the educational commitments that may lie behind them. Harvey (2018) identifies New Zealand’s disjointed “‘contracting culture’ as partly to blame for the long-term communication breakdown and slow uptake of an intercultural approach amongst New Zealand language teachers” (p. 1).

Agencies offering initial teacher education (ITE), tasked to process government beliefs and requirements for pre-service teachers, bridge the gap between teaching theory and authentic practice. They are often expected to improve the negative bias of trainee teachers towards ELLs (Causey, Thomas, & Armento, 2000; Fan, 2014; Zhang & Said, 2014). Causey et al. (2000) suggest that a diversity programme with structured discourse, reflection and self-analysis over several semesters “offers the best hope for moving pre-service teachers toward greater cultural sensitivity and knowledge and towards strength and effectiveness in culturally diverse classrooms” (p. 43). New Zealand studies portray pre-service education centres as also needing support in this area. Ramsay (1985) contends that ITE is for “the political domestication of teachers” (p. 103). In a more recent

study, Morton and Gordon (2006) explain that instructions about the competing diversities “form a jumble of pieces out of which the student (and their teacher) is supposed to assemble the complete picture” (p. 12). In recent years, funding and support for ITE in assisting secondary schools has narrowed. Alcorn (2014) notes that teacher PD has been targeted towards performance compliance and encouragement of digitisation. She calls for a greater link between academic performance and education for life, a “balance between narrowly defined achievement and the wider role of education and its purpose” (p. 458). Tatebe (2013) calls for service-learning projects to be included in ITE training for diversity inclusion, as “access to experiences in unfamiliar settings that may otherwise not be available to pre-service teachers as ethnic and cultural outsiders is likely instrumental in fostering a sense of sustained community involvement” (p. 247). These findings indicate that ITE delivery generally manages a conservative perspective towards teacher training for ELLs.

Another significant group of participants outside the direct school domain is that of the students’ parents, who may have different beliefs about language use according to their family histories, ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic status. Spolsky (2009) advised that “recognising parents as significant participants in developing the language policy of schools helps account for many of the patterns” in reinforcing the home language or accepting some form of linguistic diversity (p. 96). Parents can exercise significant influence on school educational decisions in New Zealand through the filter of an elected Board of Trustees (BOT). BOT members have a large part to play, in providing school language policy, governance and support for principals and with the recruitment of staff. As individuals or factions, parents can also influence school educational policy through their financial, social or political status, and filter their views through a presence during voluntary support with fundraising, parent-teacher associations, and sporting and cultural events during school life.

Overall, these external participants usually represent their existing group beliefs about language use, but at an individual level, they “may have different roles in different domains” (Spolsky, 2009, p. 6), so also may have reason to favour the values of one domain when they are in another, if they so desire.

#### 3.4.1.2 Inside the school domain

Within the school domain, a hierarchy of participants led by principals, manage and process educational matters. Even when there is an absence of explicit language policy, the practices of school leaders usually reflect traditional top-down policies to reify social reproduction (Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Johnson, 2013; Shannon, 1999). Riley (2013) shows some empathy in describing the role principals have as school leaders, as they navigate a tightrope between “taking into account the national policy agenda, as well as the impact of those policies on the day to day practices of schools” (p. 281). In the state school self-management in New Zealand, Slowley (2013) highlights that principals have often lacked leadership independence, “were generally non-educational in their leadership foci, and their leadership activity largely consisted of various elements of management or contextualised problem-solving” (p. 3).

Principals are a crucial determinant of school culture, particularly about language and culture diversity, as school staff generally adopt a principal’s values and norms (Reyes, 2005; Stanovich & Jordan, 1998; Wrigley, 2000). Suttmiller and Gonzalez (2006) emphasise that the key to supportive ELL in schools is “through the principal’s understanding” (p. 185). Recruitment of principals who can comply with government and community ideological demands but are also supportive of language and culture diversity, is a difficult task, and requires moral stewardship as well as education and community building (Fitzgerald, 2003; Reyes, 2005). Alternatively, school leaders can produce a traditionally homogeneous leadership that can “stymie intercultural understanding and perpetuate social and demographic divides” (Wilkinson, 2018, p. 55). Billot, Goddard, and Cranston (2007) found that it was a challenge for ethnoculturally diverse schools in New Zealand to appoint principals and leaders with “special capabilities and strongly articulated notions of social justice” (p. 18), so that staff could be united behind them and be “paddling in the same direction” (p. 11). Billot (2008) advised that cohesive communities can be supported in ethnically diverse New Zealand secondary schools by “matching leadership to the needs of school members” (p. 95).

Under the principal and supporting him/her lie a small group of SM participants who are professional administrators, namely DPs and APs. Because of their position in the school hierarchy, SMs, like principals, are expected to have closer links to external administration groups than student learning needs, even though they are usually drawn

from the ranks of associate staff. When SMs are brought in from other regions or are expatriates because of employment priorities or shortages, there may be “markedly different language practices and beliefs” (Spolsky, 2009, p. 93) between them and local staff, unless they adapt to the local culture. Individually and collectively, SMs have a significant influence on the attitudes and practices of their subordinates, as they network and deputise with them (Johnson, 2000). Consequently, their roles demand extensive interpersonal skills, and an emphasis on operational and management matters rather than “strategic or curriculum leadership” (Cranston, 2007, p. 17). With ELL, the support of at least one senior administrator is essential. Tollefson (2002) states that to be successful, “innovative language programs require ongoing support by school principals and other local administrators in the form of concrete measures that directly improve conditions for teachers in classrooms” (p. 334). In an Auckland study, Cardno et al. (2018) found that school leaders need “to widen the meaning of diversity and inclusiveness beyond the current focus on Māori and Pasifika initiatives” (p. 1), widen staff PD on ethnic inclusion, and engage minority groups in dialogue.

Below the senior administrators lies a layer of middle management staff participants who have pastoral responsibility through a deans’ system, or curriculum leadership through HOF and HOD roles. These participants work more closely with senior management than non-leaders and represent associate teachers in their departments through various policy-making channels. HOFs and HODs shoulder competing “managerial and professional demands” involving social, political and subject features (Feist, 2008, p. 60). They incur an increased bureaucratic workload, added pressure to comply with their superiors, as well as harmonise their department staff to reduce any sub-culture cliques or fiefdoms, while also encouraging effective teaching methods to improve learning (Dewar, Kennedy, Staig, & Cox, 2003; Grossman & Stodolsky, 1995; Leithwood, 2016; Siskin, 1994). As well, HOFs and HODs have a pivotal responsibility to strengthen the academic success rate within their subject area, to enhance the department and thus the school’s reputation overall (Harris & Jamieson, 1995; Leithwood, 2016). New Zealand studies concur with the above international research. O’Neill (2000) identified nine categories in HOD’s roles, which were achieved with enthusiasm in his study, but at a personal cost “of stress and health” (p. 70). Cardno and Bassett (2015), echoing Fitzgerald (2000), found that “middle-level leaders are currently experiencing role expansion that has been bequeathed to them from leaders in the tier above without recognition of the associated

challenges” (p. 1). They also found that there were “strong differences in the perceptions held by those in executive level positions ... and those in middle-level positions” (p. 1) and concluded that these differences needed to be ameliorated.

Research on ESOL staff leadership shows that HOD ESOLs are often propelled into the role without training or knowledge (Anderson, 2008; Christison & Murray, 2008; McGee et al., 2015). Carnuccio, Huffman, O’Loughlin, and Rosenthal (2008) found that there is a scarcity of literature to help ESOL leaders in schools with small numbers of ELLs, and discern that in these schools, ESL teachers are often new to the existing school staff and usually have no formal status in the administrative leadership hierarchy” (p. 206). If ESOL leaders do not gain the support of the school administration, ESOL leaders within the institution cannot build capacity or be able to spread understanding about ELLs to wider staff. ESOL leadership can be developed through non-threatening communication-building with counsellors, pivotal staff, administration and parents, and by responding positively to cultural or linguistic queries when they arise. Critically, Carnuccio et al. (2008) caution that ESOL leaders should also offer whole-staff PD in “cultural sensitivity, respecting differences, creating community for all students in non-instructional settings” so that they can ultimately enhance congruent learning environments for ELL achievement (p. 208).

At the next level down are teachers without extra paid responsibilities, called associate teachers in New Zealand, central agents of language learning because of their direct exposure to students. Teacher participants bring to the school domain their own individual set of beliefs about the value of languages. Further, their particular academic subject and teacher training will have “predisposed them to believing in the essential worth of the school variety and the official language” (Spolsky, 2009, p. 92). However, Spolsky (2009) records that the social groups from where teachers are commonly selected are upwardly mobile, lower middle-class females “particularly liable to accept establishment standards of accuracy and purism reinforcing the standard language” (p. 110). Windle and Miller (2013) state: “For teachers, a job in a high-status school, professional autonomy, prizes for teaching, standing in professional associations, and the academic performance of one’s students are types of capital defining dominant positions” (p. 199). Overall, teachers are usually viewed as tools of language management “under a great deal of pressure from those in authority over them” (Spolsky, 2009, p. 114).



Teachers who share similar social and socio-linguistic values with those of their students and school community are more easily accepted in the school system (Cruickshank, 2015; Moloney & Giles, 2015). Consequently, non-native teachers can face discrimination in their search for legitimacy (Braine, 2004; Farrell, 2012; Holliday & Aboshiha, 2009; Kamhi-Stein, 2009; Miller, 2009). Han and Singh (2007) show that in Australia, obtaining Asian-Pasifika staff is an issue, and Asian-Pasifika teacher trainees can fail to integrate their past backgrounds into their new school contexts, with negative consequences for their careers: “WES [world English-speaking] student teachers experienced pedagogical disengagement from their teacher education programs as contradictions in them becoming “Australian teachers” (p. 291). Stewart (2010) similarly comments that in New Zealand, immigrant teachers’ professional capital is not regarded highly by their colleagues, and they are expected to “completely assimilate and conform to New Zealand’s values and norms” (p. 49). She outlines that New Zealand’s colonial history, emphasis on Māoritanga and “culture of high egalitarianism, individualism and tolerance for ambiguity” (p. 49) present challenges to immigrant teachers.

However, research about teachers with overseas training is recorded as having “growing importance” (Cruickshank, 2004). Howard (2010) supported by Windle (2012), explores the benefits of “race-matched teaching” (p. 13) for minority ELL students. She identifies the abilities of non-native teachers to use L1 resources to underscore learning opportunities, provide visible role-models, link with parents and become minority student advocates. “Race-matched” teacher staffroom presence can also potentially disarm negative attitudes from other staff regarding minority student expectations or stereotyping. Cardno et al. (2018) also report that in New Zealand, “many mainstream teachers have lower expectations of some ethnic minority students,” so this ‘deficit theorising’ can more likely be reversed through better representation of ethnic differences amongst teachers themselves (p. 107).

Minority language support by ESOL teacher participants in secondary schools is a contested area between micro and macro forces. Johnson (2013) remarks on “the agency that educators have in the interpretation and appropriation of top-down language policies” (p. 53), such as those shown in the following studies: Cincotta-Segi (2011); Coyle, Halbach, Meyer, and Schuck (2018); Freeman (2000); McCarty (2011). However, traditional forces often combine to limit their effect. Teachers may be pressured to

accommodate institutional demands in various ways, using “strategies of marginal integration” (Windle & Miller, 2013, p. 199) with ELLs, which can involve reducing curriculum demands, emphasising socialisation rather than academic progress, or shifting expectations so that students can experience “some success and pleasure at school” (p. 200). Miller (2011) records that ESOL teachers can be further isolated and disempowered by a “spectrum of conflicts” with excessive daily workloads, time constraints and institutionally inequitable social and cultural practices (p. 451). Craig and Haworth (2016) assert that if ESOL staff become very pastorally involved with their students’ needs, they may reach a “liminal space” (p. 240) between the first and second cultural worlds in the school. This may reduce their first culture alliances with peer group staff and challenge perceived collaborative beliefs about acceptance of language and culture diversity. Whatever the response, Boone, Cutri, and Pinnegar (2016) caution that teacher priorities to support ELL in the USA are often “not acknowledged or encouraged” (p. 46) by higher authorities. In New Zealand, McGee et al. (2015) observe that ESOL teachers are marginalised, isolated and have low status in schools so their efforts to spread intercultural and academic understanding of ELLs’ needs are also compromised. Haworth (2018) observes that “in reflecting on the road ahead for EL [English language] teachers in schools, it is clear that there needs to be more visible recognition for the leadership role that these teachers inevitably assume in their schools” (p. 299). TAs, as ELL supports, are positioned similarly.

The last level at school is that of student participants, who, whatever age, gender, ethnicity or family socio-economic status, bring with them home-based practices and beliefs. The older the students are, the more likely they will have experienced the various language practices of their homes and neighbourhoods, and they will have become aware of attempts to modify these practices in and out of class (Davey & French, 2018). Students also have preferences in language practice, which they can use to build power-blocks within student peer or leadership groups within schools. Spolsky (2009) cautions that student practices and beliefs “should provide a basis on which school language management must build” (p. 91).

One way of managing student participants and their language preferences is to regulate the school intake. Spolsky affirms:

unless there is an established program to provide assimilation for unqualified students, such as a special programme to teach immigrants the school language, schools will be tempted to exclude those prospective students who are not already proficient in the school language. (2009, p. 112)

In New Zealand schools, BOTs can define the maximum entry number for international students, but they are obliged under government requirements to accept migrants and RMB students who are living within their zone or catchment area. Once in a secondary school, ELLs have more hurdles to overcome than local mainstream students, in both their learning, and social legitimation (Gearon, Miller, & Kostogriz, 2009). ELL students with disrupted learning or limited literacy often “lack the topic-specific vocabularies of academic subjects, understandings of text types, cultural and conceptual knowledge, and learning strategies to process content” (Windle & Miller, 2013, p. 198). The lack of English language teacher expertise to help ELLs can marginalise their academic development which has far-reaching effects in later life (Harper & de Jong, 2009). Sometimes ELLs can be placed in subject and class categories which fail to capture their “cultural, ethnic and linguistic affiliations” (King & Rambow, 2012, p. 405) due to peer influence from staff or powerful mainstream students (Wentzel & Ramani, 2016). Ultimately, it is up to individual ELLs’ efforts to waylay and navigate learning disadvantages by using available social and academic supports (McCarthy, 2015).

Spolsky’s tripartite language policy model components of management, beliefs and practices can encompass the wide range of participants inside and outside schools as shown above, and help explain the multiplicity of language education patterns found in practice. Spolsky (2007) asserts that the school domain is the one most likely to be influenced externally, whether from below or above, and to be most often the target of activist intervention in support of one variety or another” (p. 11). Participant practices are actioned in the physical and social domain described below.

### **3.4.2 Location**

The second characteristic of the school domain is its location, which includes the country in which it is placed, its province, urban/rural position, adjacent neighbourhood and socio-economic status. New Zealand’s status is as a small ex-colonial set of islands at the bottom of the Pacific Ocean still living with the ambivalent legacies of British rule. Regional differences are magnified by geographical barriers within its elongated main

islands. As with Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom, ELL settlement in New Zealand has been mainly in urban areas, exacerbating differences with rural areas with their aging and declining populations of limited cultural diversity, fewer resources and less understanding about ELL needs (Haworth, 2008; McGee et al., 2015; Spoonley, 2016; Wainer, 2004; Wrigley, 2000).

With school sites, Spolsky (2009) states that “it is the social meaning and interpretation of the location that is most pertinent to language choice” (p. 3). In New Zealand (see 2.5.1) successive governments chose to build state schools in locations where the educational needs of their local area could be met, so secondary schools usually reflect the wealth, status and ethnic affiliations of their surrounding suburbs (McCulloch, 1992). In Australia and New Zealand, international students can commonly be found in higher deciles schools in more affluent suburbs, while RMB students are often located in under-resourced public schools in poorer areas, their government housing nearby (Kalafatelis et al., 2018; Windle, 2017). The quality of the school building and extent of its resources also characterises its educational opportunities.

Within schools, the locations of different buildings or parts of buildings housing curriculum subject departments, the quality and location of these building, the character of their neighbouring departments and proximity to the central administration block, all affect the schools’ participants. Siskin (1994) states that “physical placement can reflect political differences among subjects” (p. 120). It is within curriculum subject departments that staff relate to their closest associates for professional and emotional support, united by their professional training in the same subject and teaching. The subject departments perceived as more important are often placed nearer the centre of school administration and have more time and opportunity to network with the central decision-makers of the school. Subject departments that are allocated to peripheral or low-quality areas are seen as isolated because it takes more time to connect to the main group, and the site marks their participants as symbolically less influential in the school hierarchy (Siskin, 1991). In New Zealand secondary schools, KLA subject staff and student participants such as English, Science and Mathematics traditionally have better locations, room sizes and resource status than non-KLA ones like ESOL (MOE, 2007b).

### 3.4.3 Topics

The third quality of the school domain is the topic, which includes a school's communicative function, "the reason for speaking or writing" (Spolsky, 2009, p. 3). Spolsky identifies three features that are typical topics of language education policy. A further topic of mainstreaming, of particular relevance to the present study, will also be included.

#### 3.4.3.1 What language or language variety?

The first topic, the choice of language and language variety to be used as the medium of instruction, is usually an educational decision that is closely related to social, political and economic issues and determines "what social and linguistic groups have access to political and economic opportunities and which groups are disenfranchised" (Baldauf Jr, Minglin, & Zhao, 2008, p. 234). Spolsky (2009) explains that, as conservative institutions, schools usually work towards "uniformity and monolingualism in the approved variety associated with literacy" (p. 91), such as with pronunciation and language register. Obviously, education is most efficient when both teachers and students are competent speakers of the same language, but in working towards catering for the majority, minority ELL speakers can easily be disadvantaged. Ultimately, for school staff and students, the decision about what language to use is geared towards clear and orthodox communication within the school, and the academic proficiency required to achieve national written and spoken assessments for future work-readiness.

Recently, some countries have been able to marry the language of instruction with their students' home languages. One of India's common patterns is to use a three-language formula, a national language, a state language and a local language (Khubchandani, 1997). In Israel at independence, each secondary school could choose the language of the majority of its students, so Hebrew or Arabic were used (Spolsky, 2004). Language revivalism in Wales has meant that up to 18-year-olds can learn subjects in Welsh-medium streams, or in Welsh-medium schools, and have the right to sit public examination papers in Welsh (Morgan, 2001). Other countries like Belgium and Canada maintain a system of bilingualism, while most European countries advocate the practice of two or more languages (Galante, 2018). In New Zealand, though English is the dominant default language, Māori and Sign Language are the official languages. The

diminished uptake of non-compulsory Language subjects in recent years has been explained elsewhere (see 2.4).

#### 3.4.3.2 How early?

Another language education policy topic is concerned with how early language learning should begin “and how early to begin teaching in it” (Spolsky, 2009, p. 47). Researchers tend to support the belief that children learn languages more easily than adults, and primary and secondary school are considered very favourable times for learning another language (Cenoz & Gorter, 2012).

By the time most New Zealand students enter state secondary school at aged 12-13 years, they have had primary school exposure to English, a process which secondary school ELLs may not have experienced. At the secondary level, there are other time-bound issues for ELLs, which of course they may not have control of: whether to maintain L1 by only using it within the home, which possibly slows down students’ English language development at school and at what time ELLs should either immigrate or visit an English-speaking country overseas. From a school’s perspective, the earlier ELLs can be exposed to English, the easier it is for them to meet the academic demands of the senior curriculum, but ELLs and their families are faced with increased financial and emotional complexities if they act on this aspiration.

#### 3.4.3.3 What other languages should be taught?

A third topic is whether to teach other language varieties in addition to the school language, how many, and when, within educational contexts which often term extra languages as ‘additional’, ‘second’ or ‘foreign’ or ‘other’ as in ESOL, reflecting their outsider status. Once the language(s) to be taught are chosen, decisions need to be made about how much time, money and effort should be given to teach them, and whether qualified staff are available.

Spolsky asserts that initial teaching should if possible, be conducted in the home language of the students (Spolsky, 2009). He describes any difference in the language used between home and school as a means whereby other differences are created. Differences may be between family language freedom compared to public regulation of language, a difference of emphasis between spoken and written language, a difference of accent, dialects, or

vocabulary register, and ultimately a difference of what language is to be used. Where a language difference occurs between school and home

the effect is enormous: first when teacher and child do not understand each other's speech, teaching and learning are severely impeded. Second, a child whose home language is denied, ignored or punished by the school teacher is persuaded of his or her deficiencies and of his or her parents' disadvantaged status. (Spolsky, 2009, p. 90)

Walter and Benson (2012) concur, in spite of the extra trouble and expense of home language cultivation, and potential difficulty of incorporating a written or academic component. They affirm that while high achievers achieve no matter what, "average children benefit more from first language education" (p. 298).

Traditionally, in the Western world, classical European languages were considered to be an integral sign of a person's advanced education, but this belief is not the case in New Zealand. Today, a limited number of foreign languages are taught in the nation's secondary schools, chosen for their political importance, links to trade or neighbouring proximity. The rise of China as a major trading partner has increased pressure for Mandarin language teaching to be accelerated.

The recent growing recognition of pluralism internationally and the arguments attributed to its benefits has given diverse languages a better chance of survival. Reaume and Pinto (2012) asserts that pluralism can be viewed as "a public good of complex aesthetic, intellectual, cultural and even scientific value" making the world a much richer and more colourful place (p. 40). Academically, multiple language learning has been established as instrumental in improving cognitive flexibility and for enhancing creative thinking (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Haworth, 2008; Viorica & Shook, 2012). Pluralism can be used to increase communication between different cultures, encourage and maintain cultural sensitivity, and promote social and political understanding between cultures (Reaume & Pinto, 2012). A knowledge of other languages can encourage people to understand how language is learnt, and how it affects individual human consciousness and identity; this can be particularly helpful for teachers of ELLs (Sallabank, 2012). Further, pluralism can be of particular value for career-seekers in the present globalised world, creating access to transnational job markets (Blommaert & Backus, 2013).

Languages also contain scientific knowledge that “may not be known outside the linguistic community” (Robichaud & de Schutter, 2012, p. 136). Tollefson (2002) observes that “despite the widely held belief that monolingual states are more efficient than multilingual ones, in fact all political units throughout the world are multilingual” making policies seeking to reduce language diversity unrealistic (p. 5).

Alongside pluralism an interest in plurilingualism, or integrated intercultural competence, has developed (Canagarajah, 2009). In spite of academic recognition of its educational benefits (Barkhuizen, 2010; Ellis, 2013), in New Zealand, plurilingualism has limited use in written planned curriculum or assessment material in ESOL or the mainstream. Davey and French (2018) highlighted that in Auckland and Adelaide “the monolingual mindset stifles effective use of plurilingual resources” (p. 167), which is reinforced by both institutional approaches and teachers’ attitudes. However, informally, ELL students use various L1-L2 cross-over strategies (Davey & French, 2018; French, 2016; Siilata & Barkhuizen, 2004). As ELL specialists, ESOL staff have an important role to play in activating their students’ prior learning to support their language advancement, by integrating plurilingual approaches (French & de Courcy, 2016).

#### 3.4.3.4 Mainstreaming or withdrawal?

In Westernised communities since the 70s, decisions whether to mainstream or withdraw ELLs for separate language learning, have largely favoured the former (Duff, 2001; Edwards, 2014). Most ELLs, even those with limited direct language support such as pull-out reception, ESOL classes, sheltered content classes or after-school support, spend the majority of their school day in mainstream classrooms. Enthusiasts of mainstreaming have emphasised the cognitive and socio-cultural benefits of interacting at the same authentic academic and social level as a large group of proficient English-speaking students and having a teacher with academic specialisation who manages standardised curriculum activities and assessments (Wang, Many, & Krumenaker, 2008). Mainstreaming also allows ELLs to learn the social language and culture of the classroom, which in turn encourages whole-school cohesion.

Since the 1970s, however, mainstreaming practices for ELLs have launched a raft of complexities. While Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) may take two years to achieve, Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALPS) takes from 7-10 years (Collier, 1989; Cummins, 1989). However, it has been assumed that if ELLs had



exposure to English through the mainstream, they would automatically learn the language more quickly. Though colloquial and verbal cues are often quickly adopted during mainstream group interaction, exposure to the target language is insufficient to develop conceptual and academic language proficiency, especially for senior students. This development requires direct, explicit and ongoing opportunities to process a spiralled understanding of grammar, syntax and register, which is not usually prioritised in mainstream subject classrooms (Harper & de Jong, 2004).

Classroom material also, usually arranged at one uniform curriculum level, and sequenced from earlier material, might be only partly decipherable by ELLs lacking linguistic, geographical, historic or contemporary knowledge that is assumed to be present. Their variable language needs, with different levels of vocabulary acquisition, and understanding of syntax and semantics, can be difficult for mainstream teachers to identify and correct. Teacher efforts to differentiate lessons, or explain material in different ways, means that time is being taken away from the main student group needs, so their learning is compromised (Wang et al., 2008). Mainstream teachers, often specialised in non-language areas, have variable linguistic understanding about the way L1 affects L2 learning, so they might misinterpret L2 language errors as cognitive ones, when they could be bound up with L1 language and culture practices. Further, highly trained and specialised mainstream teachers may resent being expected to extend their learning into another subject area, language, when their priority is to respond to pressure to provide academic success within their own subject (Edwards, 2012b).

A further difficulty with mainstreaming is based around exposure and interaction. The mainstream classroom culture is fraught with complications for ELLs (Harklau, 1994). Personal, ethnic or peer group hostility or language insufficiency can limit interaction to only brief exchanges, even when all students are selected for working together in small or large groups. ELLs can be too anxious about their accent and language insufficiencies to ask for help. ELL first culture might have bred a sense of hierarchical distance from teachers, so they might ask another ELL student for help rather than the teacher, and obtain ambivalent feedback (McCarthy, 2016). ELLs might not be used to certain elements at work within the classroom, such as the teachers' accent or speed of talking, informal relationships with class members, or pedagogical behaviours such as using indirect feedback, questions rather than directives, using student intuition to gauge writing registers or critical thinking. Additional support from teachers or TAs in class

may be of cognitive benefit, but their presence around ELLs may incur mainstream student hostility for taking up too much student-shared time or generate teasing of ELLs for needing support (Wang et al., 2008). Generalised interventions, geared at helping all students learning decoding skills, such as literacy strategies, may be inappropriate for ELLs following a different developmental trajectory (Harper & de Jong, 2004). ELLs who have had schooling need targeted instruction building on their existing language knowledge, rather than having a generalised set of techniques imposed on their learning endeavours unrelated to their past learning experiences. ELLs may also be treated with a “benevolent conspiracy” (Harper & de Jong, 2004, p. 160) by mainstream teachers, where lowered expectations of ELLs cause them to miss out on the challenge to achieve and succeed using their own motivation.

Mainstream teacher PD has generated inclusive approaches to manage ELLs. Researchers emphasise the need to know that language learning is a process, and to develop mindfulness about the language they use to teach (Edwards, 2014). Integration of language awareness into content material allows ELLs to compound their learning, so L2 acceleration may occur as well as content acquisition. Strategies such as online support, board and paper vocabulary lists for topics, brainstorming about reading material pre-reading, using visuals such as graphic organisers, kinaesthetic and role play approaches, verbal and written macro and micro scaffolding, can be successfully used to break down the negative mentality surrounding ELL mainstreaming (Gibbons, 2014). In recent years, the use of code-switching and translanguaging in L1/L2 use has gained support to allow for the intercultural benefits of learning languages in multilingual settings (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Wei, 2013; Hornberger & Link, 2012).

ELL withdrawal enthusiasts allow that the above mainstream practices may be beneficial, but also affirm that ELLs require temporary targeted social and cognitive support in small classes, particularly on entry to a school. Clegg (1996) and Harklau (1994) observe that ESOL classes act as a buffer to culture shock and are a quiet haven away from the noise of large classes. They can also provide a verbal language environment which is more comprehensible. It is in ESOL classes where ELLs often learn to branch out socially with non-family friends from different backgrounds, practice L1 and L2 with them, compare experiences and collaborate with them in mainstream classes and elsewhere (McCarthy, 2015). May (2014) notes that ESOL classes can have “bilingual assistants who can encourage the use of L1 as a basis/scaffold for learning” (p. 21). Overall, in contrast to

mainstream classes, withdrawal classes and the ESOL programmes that accompany them provide more targeted language and pastoral assistance to adjust to life and society, especially in the initial stages.

However, the social impact of ESOL class withdrawal can cause reduced legitimacy in the wider school. Students in these classes may feel stigmatised or ostracised for their language deficiency and possible visible difference (Miller, 2003). ESOL Departments can be accused of tending to “ghettoise both ESL teachers and their students” by isolating ELLs from mainstream classes (May, 2002, p. 20).

In New Zealand and Australia over the last 30 years, researchers have encouraged collaborative partnerships between mainstream and ESOL teachers to enhance ELL (Creese, 2002, 2010; Dellicarpini, 2008; Leung, 2007; Mittica, 2003). ESOL programmes now support teaching in mainstream classes (Davison, 2006; Early, 2001; Haworth, 2009). In spite of this, research results show that although government guidelines and funding are in place, progress towards a collaborative approach is muted and often compromised by other priorities, with only some glimmers of success when there is wholehearted commitment from both mainstream and ESOL personnel. In the drive for economic rationalisation, both countries’ governments have pursued a policy of PD emphasising literacy acquisition and benchmarking minimum literacy grades not related to L2 acquisition theories (Hammond, 2001; Hill & Allan, 2004; Leung, 2007; Miller, 2003; Scarino, 2008; Timperley & Parr, 2009). PISA results for Australia and New Zealand indicate that both countries suffer the consequences of low grades for ELLs (though Australia has a greater gap than New Zealand) which is attributed to greater inequality in school resourcing for this group (Song, Perry, & McConney, 2014). Several Australian studies attest to the inadequacies of ELL student mainstreaming, with RMB students and migrants (Arkoudis, 2003, 2006; Brown, Miller, & Mitchell, 2006; Dooley, 2009; Naidoo, 2013) as well as international students who position themselves as academically competent but who have marked gaps in their English acquisition (Filipi & Keary, 2018).

Several studies point the way for improved ELL educational outcomes. In her survey of Australian ELL standards, McKay (2000) states:

There has been too much evidence to date and too much invested in ESL instruction in schools over the English-speaking world to ignore the fact that the education of ESL learners needs specialist understanding and teaching. This includes attention to second language development and cultural understandings in the mainstream context, and also provision for cultural and social inclusivity in the curriculum and in the life of the school. (p. 188)

Arkoudis (2007) recognises two major hurdles that need to be overcome before successful collaboration between mainstream and ESOL staff collaboration is achieved: first, a reconceptualising of their professional relationship prioritising pedagogic not academic relations, and secondly to mitigate the impact of prescriptive top-down “outcomes-based education and state mandated standards” (p. 376). Hammond (2009) calls for mainstream and ESOL teachers in schools to meet their moral obligations to ensure that ELLs achieve academically by having access to courses that are generated from ELL needs, that are scaffolded sufficiently, challenge and engage. Windle (2009) asserts that “folk theories” (p. 92) or shared assumptions and misunderstandings by staff about ELL disturb teachers’ ability to respond to the actual linguistic needs of ELLs. Whole school inclusion, PD and significant ESOL teacher involvement with their mainstream counterparts are seen as solutions to the problems of mainstreaming Australian ELLs (Wilkinson & Langat, 2012). New Zealand research on mainstreaming is less fruitful, but mirrors Australian concerns perhaps only partly mitigated by a smaller demographic (Haworth, 2009, 2010).

### **3.5 Education language policy research**

The following studies contain material showing the relevance of Spolsky’s ecological model of language policy to the present investigation, as they explore the way educational language policy management, beliefs and/or practice are evidenced at different educational levels of the educational hierarchy.

A Canadian inquiry by Winer (2007) reflects the way language choice is deregulated by national management, decided by regional management, then contested within individual schools. In Canada, Quebec has responded to delegated language decisions by naming French as the official language policy, in contrast to other English-dominant Canadian states. English in Quebec is an additional language, taught in ESOL, where the bilingual teacher may be the only English speaker in the school.

Winer's study used questionnaires and reflective writing by 16 student teachers to illustrate the ideological conflicts around ESOL teachers who need to be proficient in English to teach it in the classroom, but who are often employed for "how well they fit in with the Francophone milieu and on their ability to teach other subjects in French" (p. 496). Although the MOE expects ESOL teachers to teach English in English, many of them use French to do so. Further, many schools outside the Quebec metropolitan area find it difficult to obtain qualified ESOL staff, which has markedly reduced the quality of English-teaching but allows for more harmonious "school environments and the community milieu as a whole" (p. 497). If teachers and student teachers do accept ESOL positions, they might face difficult relationships in the school from Francophone students in ESOL or other staff who see them as traitors, while they are simultaneously encouraged by their university lecturers to become a cultural bridge to persuade others why English is useful.

Winer's study highlights the national predominance of a politically and commercially driven demand for one language over another, which can contradict the realities of language beliefs and practices in local areas. It also clarifies the ambivalent, even contradictory role of ESOL staff. They are assigned to championing the academic learning needs of their students, while also encouraged by their tertiary trainers to maintain affiliations with their school community and act as cultural and academic liaisons between L1 and L2 cultures. Ambivalent ESOL staff roles are also typical of ESOL staff in this case study research.

Gandara, Maxwell-Jolly, and Driscoll (2005) also examined top-down, bottom-up ideological contestations in California, USA through the eyes of ESOL staff concerned with the day-to-day academic learning demands of ELLs. Gandara et al. (2005) conducted a comprehensive survey of elementary and secondary teachers from 22 different districts to elicit ESOL teacher self-perceptions of effectiveness and satisfaction within educational bureaucracy at state and federal levels. Almost 5,300 educators responded to the survey, 4000 who were teachers of regular ELLs. Of these educators, 78% were female.

The survey drew attention to a number of ESOL teacher challenges, which were most felt in "small and rural districts" (p. 11). Secondary teachers identified the most important as the "language and culture barrier" (p. 7) which limited their ability to give academic, but

also social and pastoral support. This barrier was reinforced by ELLs' parents lack of homework and communication support. Another challenge was the prioritisation of academic achievement in secondary school systems which did not sufficiently cater for difference. The over-weaning, bureaucratic organisation of schools was geared towards large, age-related, mainstreamed classes with subject learning for up to an hour at a time, so ESOL staff "routinely see 150 or more students per day" (p. 6). Resources and time were not allocated to train teachers to communicate with families or collaborate with colleagues and supportive others, or gear classroom material to student needs. Trained ESOL staff particularly felt the need for "additional support from the principal for their work" (p. 16). Other academic issues were the difficulty of ESOL differentiation in classes, and insufficient time to assist students to achieve expected grades within allocated timeframes. A final issue was the lack of state school entry testing material which adequately diagnosed student language proficiency, so that interventions could be applied to identified learning issues.

In the Gandara et al. (2005) study, secondary teachers working comprehensively with ELLs were the most aware of the "lack of adequate support from local, state and federal policies" (p. 11). They compensated by taking on extra duties which involved "calling parents for the non-bilingual colleagues and translating," and being on call for ELLs on their campus; in short, "these teachers had a 'bigger job' than many of their colleagues" (p. 11). ESOL staff also felt that with PD, school and district administrators treated adaptation of curriculum matters for ELLs as an afterthought and considered that administrators needed more training about the needs of ELLs. For PD that administrators did appreciate, courses which provided cultural insights and ELL development were the most useful.

This study illustrates the challenges of being ESOL teachers as they exert bottom-up agency to cater for the academic needs of ELL within a system established for one dominant language. Their intensive concerns to accelerate academic achievement, manage testing, complete entrance/exit assessments, and glean greater cultural and pastoral understanding of their students' backgrounds, all link, albeit in a less extreme fashion, to work and ideological conflicts in the present case study schools between ESOL staff and the systems they work in.

While the previous studies emphasise the significant challenges in ELL provision, the next study illuminates how individual teachers and students can positively challenge and reshape dominant language practice to incorporate improved affordances for ELLs.

Hornberger and Johnson (2007) illustrate how affordances for ELLs can be improved when committed upper-level educational leadership is involved. They used ethnographic methodology to investigate the changes generated in the School District of Philadelphia (SDP) affected by 'No Child Left Behind' policy. Emily, a former principal, head of the Office of Language, Culture and the Arts (OLCA) and grant writer, "injected pragmatism" (p. 517) into local language policies by promoting "additive bilingual education and planning initiatives" (p. 518) with the increased funding available. Results show that leader commitment can negotiate "at each institutional level" (p. 527) to bring about changes that support multilingual educational acceptance and growth. This study aligns with the present research in that it displays how language policy management can be reframed to enhance ELL when leaders have the confidence and commitment to respond to ELL needs within competing school demands.

The above studies illustrate the fragmented and often contested interplay of national language policies within different post-colonial institutional contexts principally catering for a dominant monolingual majority. The studies align with Spolsky's ecological theory as they identify the complicated layering of decision-making as regulations work down and across through educational ecologies in practice.

### **3.6 Summary and conclusion**

Recently, applied linguistics research has moved towards an examination of sociocultural approaches that can explore the temporal and spatial elements within which language learning occurs. An ecological perspective can encompass holistic explorations of the dynamic, interactive layers of influence that surround ELL and can account for the complexity of proximal and distal factors, which inform, persuade or contest each other during language learning. The chapter presents a case for the use of ecological perspectives and explores the role of ecology in language policy development from which different useful theoretical concepts have resulted. Finally, by closely appraising Spolsky's language policy theory and his tripartite categories, the study proposes that ELL in secondary schools can most favourably be examined using this model. The

following chapter turns to an analysis of how this examination can occur, by discussing the methodology and methods used to gather, analyse and present the data.



## **CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY**

This chapter presents an account of the ontological and epistemological foundations chosen to support the process of methodology, methods and analysis. It begins with an explanation of why this enquiry into responses to secondary school linguistic and cultural diversity has ultimately chosen a qualitative approach incorporating an ethnographic case study perspective. Data instruments are then described, followed by an explanation of the implementation of the data collection. An account of data analysis procedures, presentation of material, and validity measures conclude this chapter.

### **4.1 The research design**

#### **4.1.1 Selection of a qualitative approach**

In the search for meaning, research into language learning has traditionally chosen between qualitative or quantitative approaches. Recently, mixed method approaches have incorporated elements from both of the above designs (Creswell, 2015; Dörnyei, 2007; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In order to understand these different approaches for this research, it is helpful to provide an explanation of the philosophical notions underpinning them, namely their ontology (belief in the nature of reality), and epistemology (ways of knowing and learning about the world) (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Ormston, Spenser, Banard, & Snape, 2014). It is a pivotal decision for the researcher to align with one or other aspects of these philosophies, as the choice leads to affiliation with a particular methodology directing the choice of methods and techniques to be used for data collection and later analysis (Scotland, 2012).

Firstly, quantitative ontology believes in realism, asserts that an external reality exists quite separately from human beliefs, is “observable, stable and measurable” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 9). A theory can be established to search for a singular universal truth, a hypothesis can be built from it, then applied to research using wide-ranging statistics and standardisation to identify generalisable variables, which can then be confirmed or rejected (Coffey, 2014; Cohen et al., 2011; Flick, 2014). Alternatively, qualitative ontology, believes in idealism, or that no external reality exists independent of the human mind. In other words, there is only shared or individual consciousness (Ormston et al.,

2014). Followers of the qualitative approach believe that it can best be understood from inductive logic, which builds knowledge through human observations and interpretations of the world. The qualitative approach then has two essential elements – subjective, *human, emic perceptions* of experience [researcher’s italics] which are regarded as the truth (Savin-Baden & Howell-Major, 2013), and a *social context* [researcher’s italics] in time and space (Dörnyei, 2007; Scotland, 2012). Mixed method philosophy incorporates elements of both of these paradigms.

While recognising the manifold research benefits, economies of scale and long-established reputation of the quantitative method, Dörnyei (2007) detected that its difficulty in “uncovering the reasons for particular observations, or the dynamics underlying the examined situation” (p. 35) has gradually been exposed. Since the 1990s, there has been a substantial swing to qualitative design in applied linguistics with the understanding that it best captures insights into the contextual influences which shape the social, cultural and situational processes of language growth (Merriam, 2009).

Early in the research process, I attended a series of workshops on mixed-method design and was persuaded of the benefits of a mixed method approach because of its potentially wider comprehensiveness (see Appendix 3). However, after further enquiry, I sought to understand the interdependence of micro, meso and macro-structures and practices “normalising, producing, and reproducing” (King & Mackey, 2016, p. 214) ELL environments in selected state secondary schools. In making this choice, I adopted a sociocultural approach which views meaning as “co-constructed through the dynamic processes of interacting with others and with the wider social, material and symbolic world” (Duff, 2014, p. 236). As participants undergo different life journeys, their responses can uncover a web of complex sociocultural variables such as age, gender, culture, and institutional roles which govern interactions. These variables are subject to further personal interpretations which express different subjectivities. Sociocultural approaches have thus become increasingly popular with qualitative researchers (Corbin & Morse, 2003; Rossman & Rallis, 2012; Ruane, 2005; Talmy & Richards, 2011).

Consequently, my search for meaning moved away from a mixed method design. Instead, the study committed to a purely qualitative design, and aligned with an ontological realism that would use inductive logic and interpretive methods to capture meaning (Patton, 2015). In fact, Wendt (2003) asserts that “research attempting to document

contexts as interpreted realities cannot refrain from qualitative methods” (p. 98). The current study then, situates itself firmly in the qualitative approach through its conceptual framework and the concerns being studied, so the research methods chosen and described below also affiliate with this paradigm.

This study follows other qualitative studies which have integrated case study design and ethnographic perspectives (Benson, Chik, Gao, Huang, & Wang, 2009; Chapelle & Duff, 2003; Friedman, 2012). Case study is celebrated for its flexibility to access multiple data sources (Chadderton & Torrance, 2011; Yin, 2014). As well, case study leans towards the use of interview and observation methods (Richards, Ross, & Seedhouse, 2012). Hood (2009) explains that it is “a good choice for language teacher-researchers” (p. 71) dealing with factors that mould student, teacher, manager and parent attitudes to cultural and linguistic diversity in educational communities, “to represent the meanings that individual social actors bring to those settings and manufacture in them” (Somekh & Lewin, 2011, p. 53). Further, case study allows for opportunities for researcher theory development and ELL practice advancement (van Lier, 2005). Its greatest strength is that it can “exemplify larger processes or situations in a very accessible, concrete, immediate and personal manner” (Duff, 2012, p. 96) from particular insights which stem from small-scale, in-depth studies such as this one (Savin-Baden & Howell-Major, 2013).

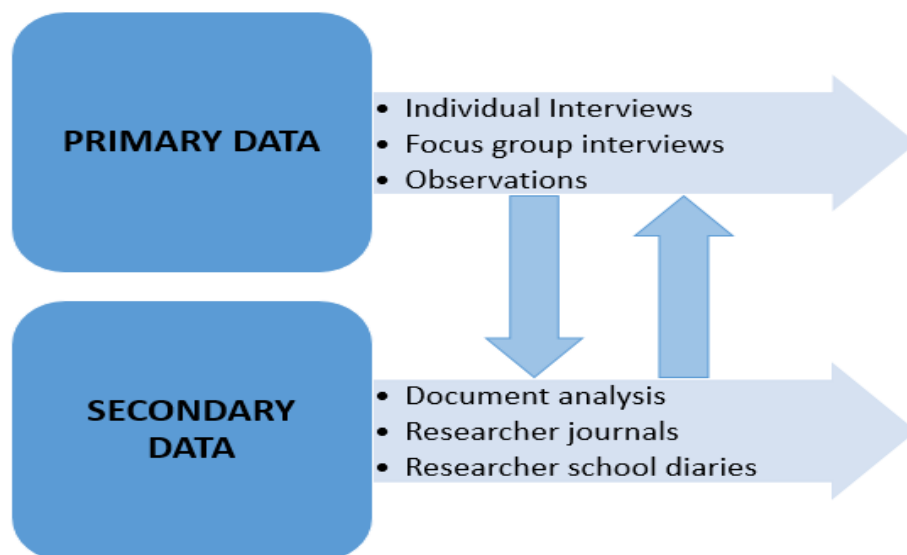
In spite of these undoubted advantages, Flyvbjerg (2011) argues that single case studies can be accused of not providing a comprehensive enough portrayal of the phenomenon. However, by being “multiple” (Hood, 2009, p. 70), i.e. utilizing three case study contexts of different location, decile, and size within one country, the present study can add a greater degree of “confidence or certainty” in the findings (Yin, 2012, p. 9). In choosing multiple sites, I also followed the advice of Stake (2005) and Platt (2007) who explain that making comparisons between cases can reduce the rigour and depth of analysis within each case and weaken links with the theoretical frameworks. My purpose then, was to examine each case for intrinsic interest and particularity.

The ethnographic perspective provides a complementary framework for qualitative case studies because it supports researchers “getting off the veranda” (Harrison, 2014, p. 232) to immerse themselves in secondary school contexts. Cohen et al. (2011) observe that doing this “gives voice to participants and probes issues that lie beneath the surface of presenting behaviours and actions” (p. 219). Gobo (2008) perceives that an ethnographic

perspective shows different participants' views of how "macro-level political discourse and organisational knowledge translate into micro practices" (p. 65). In attempting to achieve "a detailed and profound understanding of a given culture" (Heigham & Sakui, 2009, p. 95), researchers also need to keep a balance between insiders' emic views, and the views of etic outsiders looking in (Richards et al., 2012).

An ethnographic perspective also aligns with case studies in concerns with the centrality of time. Ortega and Iberri-Shea (2005) emphasise that "many questions concerning second language learning are fundamentally questions of time and timing" (p. 27). Through a visceral immersion in three settings during the course of the central time frame of the institutions, an academic year, this researcher could investigate data collected at different points in time, to identify flexible shifts or "trends" (Ruane, 2005, p. 96). Thus, initial and emergent changes of perception towards cultural and linguistic diversity, the transitions between them, and the dynamics creating these changes, might be captured (Cohen et al., 2011). Consequently, even with possible liability of participant false memory, or over-sensitisation through repeated scrutiny, a range of rich variables could be identified. From this, intended and unintended material could be used for analysis, to add to existing theory on language learning and encourage future research.

## 4.2 Instruments



**Figure 5: Data collection methods and instruments**

### **4.2.1 Overview**

Qualitative researchers (Dörnyei, 2007; Duff, 2008; Patton, 2015) have encouraged wide-ranging qualitative methods to generate description and interpretation. In following their advice, the selection of varied methods to build breadth and depth for this study, as shown in Figure 5 above, can be justified. These methods can be combined for triangulation purposes (Denzin, 2012; Li & Barnard, 2009; Stake, 1995) and when they are added to other verification methods such as member-checking and considerations of trajectories of time, place and participants, findings can be substantively corroborated and give rich, “thick description” (Geertz, 1973, p. 7).

### **4.2.2 Primary data methods**

#### **4.2.2.1 Preparing for entry**

In planning for the data collection via the two main complementary methods, interviews and observations, two particular factors were significant (Kasper, 2015). These were to recognise the need for mutually trusting relationships between interviewers and interviewees and to maintain researcher unobtrusiveness. To develop these components in this research, self-referencing reflexive measures were planned (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2013; Atkinson & Coffey, 2003; Kirkham & Mackay, 2016; Savin-Baden & Howell-Major, 2013). Reflexivity encourages an “understanding what the view of the research object owes to the researchers’ past and present position in social space” (Salö, 2018, p. 24). Reflexivity “disturbs, disrupts and opens up new possibilities” (Fox & Allan, 2014, p. 111) as the researcher repeatedly ponders on role and relationships bias during data collection, and especially their cost in emotional labour (Lillrank, 2012; May & Perry, 2014). In New Zealand, researcher entry into the field also contains an expectation of reciprocity for greater power symmetry between researcher and participants. This can consist of clerical services, PD, duty, marking, or even just a non-judgemental ear (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003; Berg & Lune, 2012; Corbin & Morse, 2003). Researcher rewards for reciprocity can be manifested in the depth and range of data and the experience of collaborating with significant others to examine responses to diversity in secondary schools.

Preparation for entry also focused on the requirements around participants for individual and focus group interviews. I planned to ask for focus group interviews with Board members, mainstream staff, ESOL staff and ESOL students. For individual interviews, I

planned to ask for responses from SMs, the Dean of International Students, the HOD ESOL and be open to offers of interviews from further participants if made. Details of interview preparation now follows.

#### 4.2.2.2 Individual interviews

The sociocultural perspective adopted for this study has informed the design of interviews. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) call the interview “necessarily and unavoidably active” (p. 4), as participants generate meaning collaboratively, providing an environment conducive to expressing multiple meanings (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003) to recognise how and where respondents position themselves to reveal “what they mean by what they choose to say” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2011, p. 157). In reconceptualising the interview as “accounts,” Talmy (2010, p. 132) highlights the significance of contextualised meaning. Rossman and Rallis (2012) caution that interview contexts can be “fraught with issues of power” (p. 180), indicated by the “institutional status, age, language expertise, social class” of participants (Talmy, 2010, p. 137). In particular, I estimated that the educational roles and responsibilities of participants in this study would influence the way they author their answerability “in relationships with others ... at different, related points in time” (White, 2016, p. 3). Consequently, I planned to conduct individual interviews before focus groups as it would help me develop an understanding of individual’s responses more clearly than focus group responses complicated by group dynamics. Also, formal and informal observations were planned around individual interviews to enable researcher opportunities for further understanding and interpretation.

To begin the planning of semi-structured interviews, “the gold-standard of qualitative research” (Richards, 2009a, p. 183), I created a small range of pre-specified questions and topics for three staged visits to three schools. This ensured that I covered the same material and avoided puzzling over what Gomm (2008) explains as “whether what was missing from an interview was unimportant to the interviewee, or important but just didn’t come up in the interview” (p. 248), but which did not prescribe “question order, formulation and interviewer’s uptake” (Kasper, 2015, p. 210). I was also mindful of the possibility of differences between interviewees in different schools, so prepared material that could be discussed in all schools, whether present in each or not, to further elaborate findings, particularly in the second and retrospective interviews. I ascertained that the resulting flexibility would allow me to respond in situ to what Richards (2003) calls

“nuance and opportunity” (p. 64-5), by encouraging increasing elaborations that “spill beyond the structure” (Brinkmann, 2014, p. 285) of existing questions and omitting those already addressed.

I drew on several lines of enquiry to establish a safe environment for meaningful rapport (Rapley, 2004; Richards et al., 2012; Wolgemuth et al., 2015), through attempting to build trust and discretion so the respondent could become “animated” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2011, p. 156). Patton (2015) asserts that questioning type, pace and transitions are crucial skills for interview success. Rowley (2012) encourages reading and ranking scenario cards to settle, focus and “rest the voice” (Skyrme, 2008, p. 61) for openers. After “breaking the ice” discussion (Witzel & Reiter, 2012, p. 67), the general mapping, checking and reflecting on elicitations can draw out interviewee’s curiosity. From here, enlarging prompt questions, and in-depth probe questions “using participants’ own words” (Roulston, 2010, p. 13), can effectively stimulate quality responses. Richards (2009b) supports the use of minimal interviewer responses to encourage respondent voice, but where relevant, Foley (2012) and Rapley (2004) suggest that the interviewer can offer limited reciprocal self-disclosure. Garton and Copland (2010) assert that as the relationship develops, sometimes over multiple interviews, the researcher is beholden to respect and nurture the respondent’s deepening involvement. A personal danger during data collection lay in becoming involved with ESOL staff as a comrade, supporter or advisor, as I had known some of them for many years, so the professional challenge of maintaining a “friendly stranger” persona (Cotterill, 1992, p. 595) with all participants was a crucial consideration.

In individual interviews, there are risks inherent in respondent choices concerning the role “expert” insider within their institution (Foley, 2012, p. 307). They may be preoccupied, bored or threatened by the questions, “portray a certain identity to influence the image of themselves” (Carter & Bolden, 2012, p. 263) or attempt to develop ‘false’ friendships (Rylance, 2012; Talmy, 2010). Accordingly, their responses can expand, challenge or diminish pivotal questions. Consequently, Hiller and DiLuzio (2004) observe that there is a danger that the interviewer may emphasise data expectations and be distracted by the fact that “the centre of the interview is still the interviewee” (p. 5) on who the interviewer is entirely dependent for present and future assignments.

#### 4.2.2.3 Focus group interviews

In using focus groups, I aligned with researchers who portray individual and focus group interviews as complementary research methods (Dörnyei, 2007; Fontana & Frey, 2005; Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005; Kasper, 2015; Pierce, 2015). They advocate that the former can elicit in-depth investigations, while the latter can more safely expose social dynamics through dialogic interaction (Brinkmann, 2014; Liljestrom & Rouston, 2010), and saturate key ideas understated elsewhere in the data, that may also be under-researched (Ho, 2006; Moloney, 2011).

Focus groups have multiple additional benefits. I perceived focus groups as essential tools to explore different levels of educational hierarchies situated around ELLs and ESOL staff, as they could disclose complexities and contradictions residing in respondents' power roles or collective memories (Liljestrom & Rouston, 2010; Morgan, 2012). For this, I needed to take careful consideration of logistics. I planned to ask gatekeepers for an interview room that was "relatively nondescript" (Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook, 2007, p. 32), quiet, private, and familiar to the participants (Finch, Lewis, & Turley, 2014). When choosing participants, I would depend on the joint decisions of stakeholders and ask for a practical group size of around five to nine people (Savin-Baden & Howell-Major, 2013). Stewart et al. (2007) affirm that "a major issue in group dynamics research is the influence of group members' demographics, personality, and physical characteristics" (p. 10); along with (Pierce, 2015), they suggest that homogeneous groups are more productive. This approach was adopted for the present study.

For the interview itself I created six to eight questions, sequenced in a "funnel-style" framework (Morgan, 2012, p. 20) using vocabulary suited to the literacy levels of respondents. I began with "grand tour" questions (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 202) aimed to motivate involvement, so that participants could then cascade into small group interactions where they construct their own power dynamics (Dörnyei, 2007; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Madriz, 2003). I intended to develop trust by using supportive leadership, playing both "an expressive and an instrumental role" (Ruane, 2005, p. 158), using "gentle nudging without bias" (Rapley, 2004, p. 20) and what Flick (2014) calls "steering" (p. 210) through the different stages of the interview. In this way I hoped to modify any potential group communication issues, such the use of silence, verbal domination, different personas or side conversations (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Rodriguez,



Schwartz, Lahman, & Geist, 2011; Roulston, 2011) and avoid being “construed as other” (Belzile & Oberg, 2012, p. 466). I also calculated that prompt and probing questions needed to be gauged carefully around sensitivity levels and participant comfort. Finally, I followed the advice of Lindlof and Taylor (2011) by preparing space for concluding “loose-end” questions and a summing-up check, prior to interview closure (p. 210).

#### 4.2.2.4 Observations

In this study, first-hand naturally-occurring observation methods were a complementary support for other qualitative research methods, to embed an ethnographic perspective into data collection, and triangulate data with authentic experiences in schools (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003; Cowie, 2009; Frankham & Macrae, 2011). Patton (2015) records that observations are a first-hand opportunity to describe in particularity and depth, test assumptions and “see the unseen” (p. 335). Observations could also allow me to witness unexpected events or shifts in focus which could lead to deeper analysis (Baker & Lee, 2011). With “prolonged engagement in the field” (Savin-Baden & Howell-Major, 2013, p. 399), I hoped to build inductive, holistic and multi-layered understandings which would build my overall appreciation of the whole school context (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). For the purpose, I bought three different coloured notebooks for the three site schools, naming them A pink, B green, C blue, and recorded essential communication details, maps, timetables and calendars in the front pages. I planned to use field notes, diagrams and quotes to record the moment accurately, to take advantage of my classroom presence to collect information on classroom layouts and lesson structures and to obtain class handouts and assessments.

Out of respect and to comply with ethics regulations, I intended to obtain permission to observe classroom systems and practices from the different senior managements and teaching staff before I arrived in their classrooms. By doing this, I hoped to limit unusual behaviour from participants, such as the “observer’s paradox” (Gordon, 2013) or the “Hawthorne effect” (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007), though of course my pre-planning also gave staff or students the chance to prepare staged material. In any case, with this qualitative, socio-cultural research, any artificial behaviour is included as part of the overall context (Friedman, 2012; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I favoured a line between what Gobo (2008) describes as an overt “estranged” onlooker and partial participant (p. 149). I presumed that at times, depending on the teacher, I would join in class activities

and become a silent spectator at others. I estimated that these positions would be to be flexible enough to gain understanding of both emic and etic perspectives, and lead me to understand divergence in the views given (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2013).

#### **4.2.3 Secondary data methods**

The following sources were planned to increase accuracy, provide background, and offer what Patton (2015) calls “stimulus for paths of enquiry” for other methods (p. 377).

##### **4.2.3.1 Document analysis**

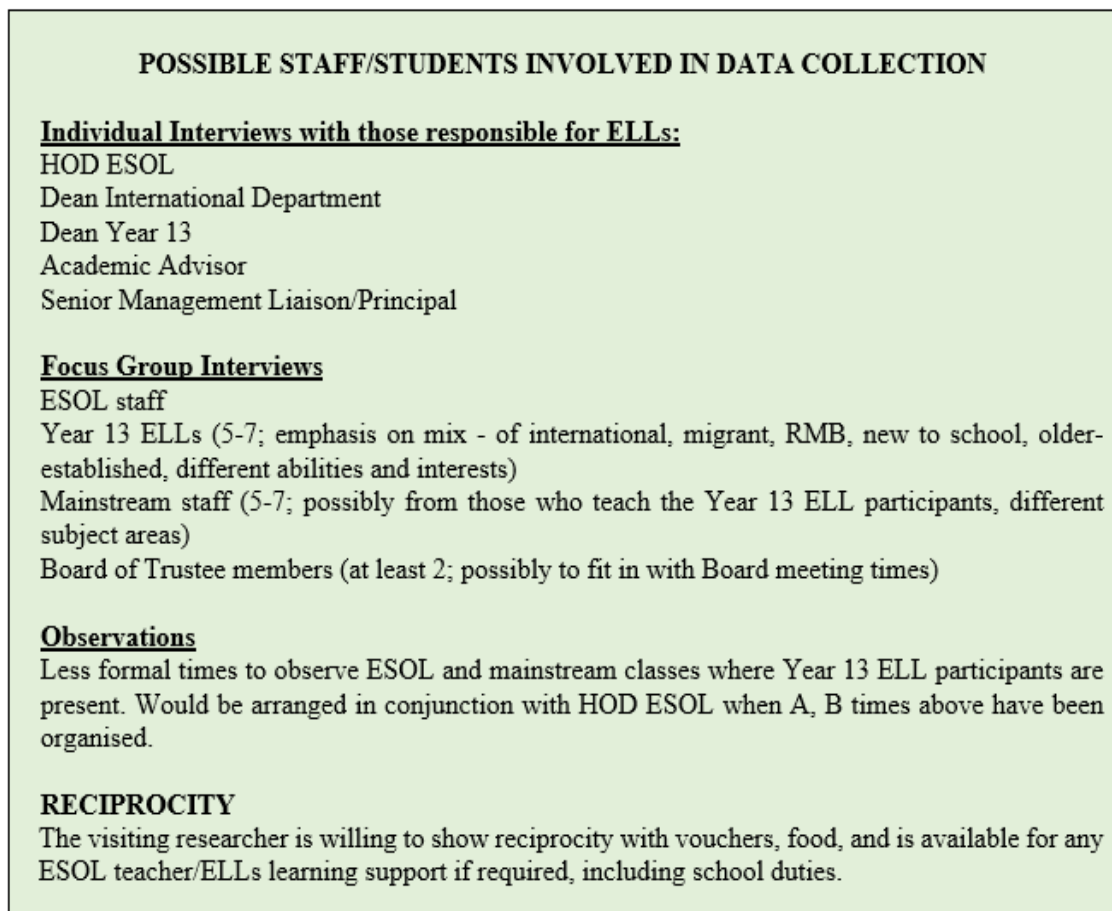
I envisaged that the role of documents, as secondary data, would be to support primary data material not only by what can be learnt directly from them, but as a stimulus for further enquiry (Coffey, 2014); Yin (2014). Much documentation is free and easily accessible, and can contain material that can be difficult to obtain elsewhere, such as with government websites on secondary schools. Documents provide a reactive, stable resource unaffected by the researcher and “grounded in the real world” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 183). Documentation can be also analysed for direct and indirect content. Information and the status positioning and in official school documentation, classroom material, media reports and email correspondence can be “text-mined” (Prior, 2011, p. 97) and contextualised for what they contain or omit, such as with school magazines, used for publicising school events and marketing. In this study, government and school documents using the school name in their titles have been omitted from the referencing, to maintain anonymity and confidentiality.

##### **4.2.3.2 Researcher journaling and individual school diaries**

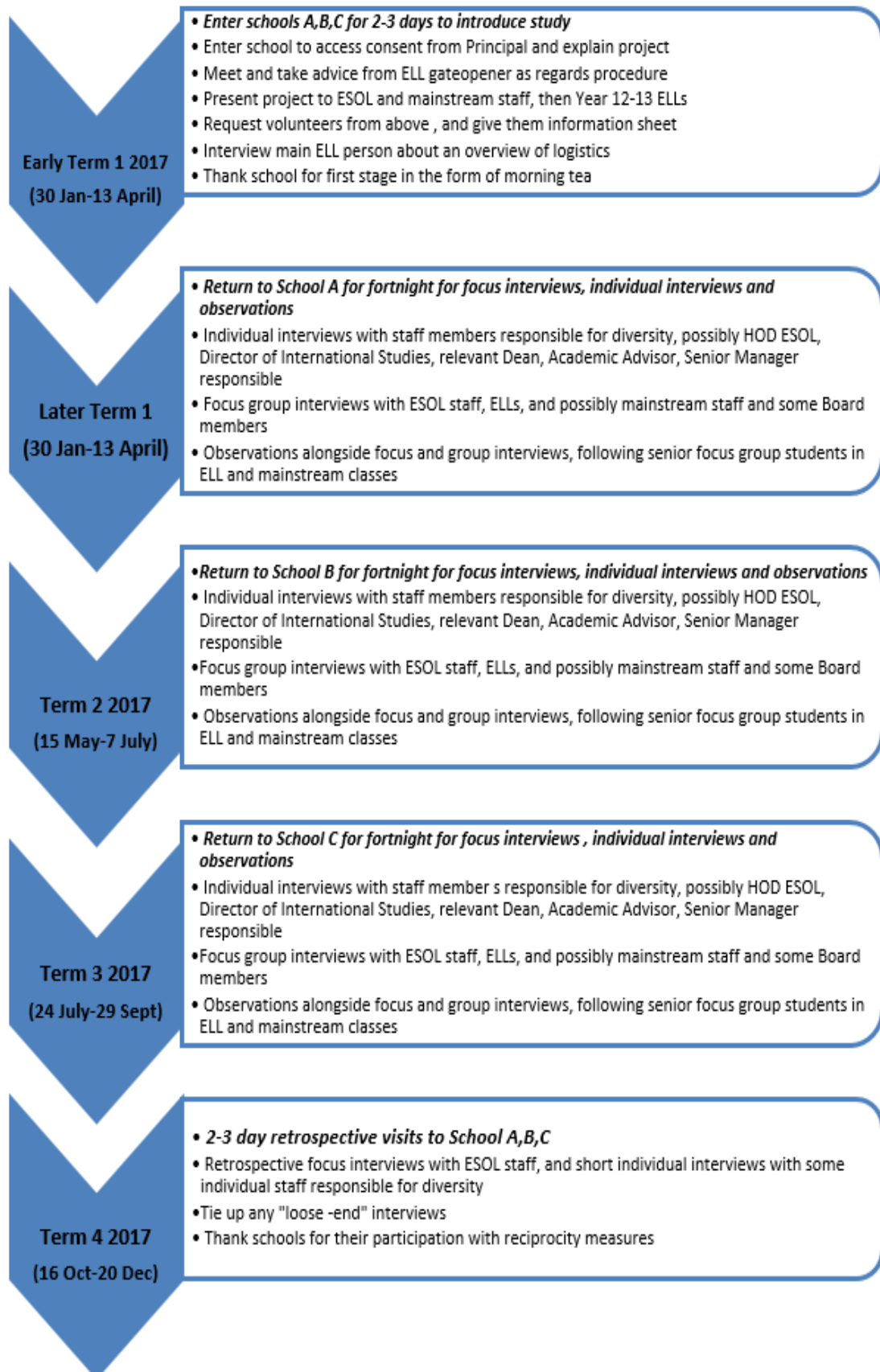
From the beginning of the study, I planned to record all my research activities in a researcher log, as an emotional outlet, for containing factual and conceptual material, and for self-analysis. During my times collecting data in school sites, I planned to use diaries to plan logistical material, express responses to field activity during the evenings, keep track of timing, minute my initial thoughts as fully as possible and plan for the following days. I planned to end each site visit with summary diary reflections to deepen my understanding of prior events and help renew my focus for the following research stages. Ultimately, I estimated that journal log trails and diaries would assist in developing my reflective thinking processes and fend off possible challenges to authenticity in my research (Dörnyei, 2007).

### 4.3 The research schedules

Once the data-collection instruments were decided, I planned a year's framework for thick data collection, aimed at cyclical points of time to collect durable and non-durable data and capture "antecedent and consequent relations" (Ortega & Iberri-Shea, 2005, p. 41). First of all, I prepared correspondence for approaching BOT members, principals and HOD ESOL staff, for permission to visit their sites (see Appendices 3,4,5,6). I created a plan of possible participant involvement, as shown below (see Figure 6), which attempted to gather perspectives from all areas of the school spectrum. I anticipated a schedule of events for the year, with short visits to schools at the beginning and end of 2017, separated by a longer visit mid-year of about a fortnight, when the main body of data could be collected as shown below in Figure 7. Both plans were presented to school gatekeepers as possible wish-lists. Decisions about interviewees and exact times were negotiated with them after researcher entry permission was granted.



**Figure 6: Possible school personnel involved in data collection**



**Figure 7: Wish-list of researcher times and activities in case study schools**

## 4.4 Ethical considerations

Ruane (2005) reminds us that researchers have “a fundamental ethical obligation to safeguard the physical, psychological and emotional well-being of participants” (p. 18). I was concerned to erase potential participant “damage to reputation or status, or to relations with significant others” (Traianou, 2014, p. 63) in the educational hierarchy. For this purpose, the methodological procedures for this study followed Massey University’s Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching, and Evaluation involving Human Participants. The project was peer reviewed and judged to be low risk (see Appendix 7).

I undertook a variety of measures to establish ethical safeguards. My paperwork planning for data collection site introductions was focused on developing trustworthiness and mutual respect by exercising “sensitivity to ethical issues” (Rallis & Rossman, 2009, p. 265). I considered that it was more fitting to approach the HOD ESOL by email initially (see Appendix 5), with an information sheet attached (see Appendix 6), and either wait for the HOD to approach the principal for permission to enter the school, or undertake to do so after instruction by the HOD ESOL (see Appendices 3,4). The letters explained the study, its ethical considerations, and emphasised that data collection, storage and writing would be “transparent, rigorous and informed” (de Costa, 2015, p. 250). Once acceptance was obtained, further information letters sought volunteers for staff and student participation (see Appendices 8, 9), explained the use of consent forms, and clarified participant rights to ask questions about the research process, or withdraw from the research at any stage. As the ESOL students interviewed would be over 16, there was no need to ask their families, but I encouraged them to share the information with them before they decided to be involved. I organised small gifts or *koha* for the principal and was mindful to remain open to providing offers of practical support to the staff and students as forms of reciprocity (see 4.2.2.1).

To ensure further protection for participant personnel and sites, I asked for private interview rooms, alternative names for the school sites and participant pseudonyms. I rearranged the gender of pseudonyms so that male and female names were more evenly indicated. I avoided giving exact dates that indicated school’s beginnings, or their 2017 school rolls. Bar principals, I avoided using the exact designations of SMs. When observing, I clarified that classroom systems and practices were the focus of my attention, not individual students or the teacher. When citing government or school documents

using school names as titles, I avoided exposing the schools' names, and at times gave generalised references. I was the only person with access to the recorded interviews in my password-protected computers. I transcribed all the data personally, and once it was completed, it was stored in my private home.

Overall, I planned to uphold ethical standards with constant reflexive journaling of my researcher behaviour (Schostalk, 2001), and respectful, "friendly-stranger" relationships (Lyons & Chipperfiels, 2000, p. 2) of equal status and trust with participants. Ultimately, I anticipated that participants may benefit from the research results in personal, educational or social ways, not the least in the analysis of their own educational sites, for their and others' edification.

## **4.5 Implementation**

### **4.5.1 Gaining entry**

For a previous study that I conducted for a Master's degree, the BOT had given me immediate entry to the school research site as I had previously been a long-serving staff member there. My experience then had led me to expect the same responses to entry requests in this study. I focused on three schools of mixed decile, location and ESOL Department structures, and entered negotiations with HOD ESOLs by using ethics-approved email letters. However, I underestimated the concerns schools had about the impact of researcher activity inside their communities. After further extensive reading on entering the field, I realised that expectation of highly-sensitised trust and maintenance of reputation were significant priorities for schools (Berg & Lune, 2012; Gobo, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Rossman & Rallis, 2012). Savin-Baden and Howell-Major (2013) noted: "Having access to a gatekeeper who can facilitate entry to a site is critical" (p. 313). Duff (2008) reinforces:

The challenge of negotiating and gaining entry to the research context and access to the case for any length of time ... cannot be underestimated. Being familiar with the site and participants, having an 'insider' status or having an ally on the inside, being clear about the research objectives and procedures, not placing unreasonable demands on one's research participants, and offering some form of reciprocity all help a great deal when negotiating access and permissions." (p. 126)

Consequently, during several approaches over the next few months, I continued the “delicate and subtle process” (Rossman & Rallis, 2012, p. 146) of approaching ESOL teacher friends and associates in secondary schools, so there would be a greater sense of insider trust (Candlin, 2003). Over three months of searching, six schools granted researcher acceptance, which I eventually reduced to three based on their location, decile and ESOL systems. School A, henceforth called Wordsworth, was an Auckland school (decile rank 9); School B, henceforth called Patton, was a school in a provincial city (decile rank 5); School C, henceforth called Mountfort, was a school in a South Island urban area (decile rank 3). (Given the unique recent history which has had a deep impact on its current situation Mountfort’s city location, Christchurch, cannot be kept confidential, though the specific school can). My knowledge of the schools, and previous relationships with teachers within all of them, also convinced me that they would be good examples for research. My final ‘gate openers’ were an ESOL teacher and acquaintance, an ESOL teacher and old friend, and an HOD ESOL I had recently met at a CLESOL conference. My established links within the ELL community, personal friendships and key supervisor advice, were pivotal to my ability to gain access to the final school sites chosen.

With my wish-list schedules (see Figures 6,7), I used email and phone negotiations to arrange optimal access times with my school contacts, the HOD ESOL in Mountfort, the international teacher in Patton, and a deputy principal in Wordsworth. Very busy school times were avoided, like the first month of the school year, Term 3 and senior assessment times. Prearranged staff absences were also considered. I factored in my travelling times to give space between visits. Eventually, after some modifications, visiting timetables were completed, as shown in Table 5 below:

**Table 5: Summary of year 2017 dates**

<b>SUMMARY OF YEAR’S DATES (Wordsworth; Patton; Mountfort)</b>		
<b>Term 1:</b>	<b>Term 2:</b>	<b>Term 4:</b>
1. <b>Mountfort 1:</b> 2-3 MARCH 2. <b>Wordsworth 1:</b> 7-9 MARCH 3. <b>Patton 1:</b> 11-13 APRIL 4. <b>Mountfort 2:</b> 20 MARCH-7 APRIL	5. <b>Patton 2:</b> 29 MAY-9 JUNE 6. <b>Wordsworth 2:</b> 19-3 JUNE	7. <b>Mountfort 3:</b> 20-23 NOV 8. <b>Patton 3:</b> 10-30 NOV 9. <b>Wordsworth 3:</b> 4-7 DEC

#### **4.5.2 Entry and recruitment**

Before my entry to sites, I reflected on my complete dependence on the goodwill and time of school staff, and the need to adopt a quiet, appreciative persona. Berg and Lune (2012) emphasise that:

The researcher's frame of mind when entering a natural setting is crucial to the eventual results of the study. If you strike the wrong attitude, you might well destroy the possibility of ever learning about the observed participants and their perceptions. One must enter appreciating the situations rather than intending to correct them. (p. 207).

My initial act of gift-giving to principals indicated markedly different stratification practices in each school. At Mountfort, my introduction was timed to observe a Festival of Nations day, including an Olympic-style parade, international meal, and cultural workshops. Here the very welcoming principal, once an English teacher acquaintance of mine, introduced me to the Chairman of the BOT, who generously agreed to be interviewed, then delegated me to the HOD ESOL who was managing festive proceedings. I observed these during the remainder of the visit. At Patton, the principal's secretary accepted the gift on his behalf due to his absence. The delegated International Department teacher contact took care to introduce me to members of the International Department, then to mainstream staff, senior international students, the HOD ESOL, and her AP. The AP named a BOT member, also a city councillor, to approach for interviews, who in turn co-opted another member for the interview off site. The rest of my initial visit included multiple observations of international students in various classes. At Wordsworth, I incurred a long wait for a formal meeting time with the principal, followed by an introduction to the SM in charge of the ESOL Department, who introduced me to the International Dean, and then delegated me further to a very new HOD ESOL. Eventually, I was welcomed by members of the ESOL Department, and observed their classes during the first visit.

In all cases, recruitment of participants for interviews was begun in the initial visit, then processed and modified dynamically between and during the ensuing visits (Merriam, 1998). Enquiries for staff participants were geared to their school roles, the level of their involvement with ELLs, and their willingness to spend their precious time on an interview. Once I knew of potential participant adult names, and verified them with my



school contact, I sought them out personally or emailed them the relevant information letters to invite them to be interviewed. As I learnt of other potential participants, I approached them. I also had the pleasure of some participants offering their services.

The logistics of obtaining senior ELLs for focus group interviews were more complicated than obtaining individual interviewees and subject to some institutional bias (Shenton & Dixon, 2004). I was obliged to rely on my ESOL teacher contact in each school to decide on students, while considering my criteria. This consisted of involving students who were over 16, of different ethnicities and backgrounds whether RMB student, migrant or international fee-payer, with a range of subject options and personal communicative ability. Once student participants were chosen, their names were put on the relevant ESOL classroom whiteboards, with the time and place chosen for the interview, then my contact explained to the students what their role was. Overall, all students bar two participated, perhaps because of the use of a lunchtime for interviews (see Appendices 10,11).

#### **4.5.3 Planning interviews**

Interview questions were arranged to relate to the early research questions (see Appendix 2), which had emerged from my earlier analysis of theory. I was enlivened by educational language policy theory views of schools as ecologies, with dynamic interactions between top-down and bottom-up interactions. For me this theory seemed to be the path towards a much greater understanding of ESOL Departments from multifaceted perspectives, and I hoped that it would clarify aspects of secondary education which had previously greatly concerned me (Cummins, 2009; Johnson, 2013; McCarty, 2011; Spolsky, 2004; Tollefson, 2013). I used the “micro, meso and macro” (Baldauf Jr, 2006, p. 1) layers of educational language policy to focus questions on influences inside and outside each school. Using information outlined in 4.2.2.2, I decided that the best way to elicit data in all interviews would be through fewer than 10 semi-structured, open-ended questions or headings. This ensured that everyone obtained the opportunity to reflect and give their own perspective on the original research questions, but in different ways at different stages. With all questions, initial wording was closely framed to include initial markers like, “Could we start by ... ?” “Please talk me through ... ?” and “Can we share some thoughts about ... ?”. Interviews ended with a request to fill in profiles. My own aligned interview question/answer sheets contained pre-arranged topics tailored to different

information that could be introduced where relevant, during different interviewee responses.

The initial individual interview questions with the HOD ESOL were focused on logistics (see Appendix 12a, b, c). These included details of ESOL practices and systems in schools (Qu 1-4), personal respondent perspectives on influences on ESOL learning (Qu 5-6), and advice on how I should conduct myself in their contexts (Qu 7-9).

Second-round interaction was boosted by using institutional material from the first stage to garner deeper insights. For the individual interviews with a wider range of staff, I personalised open-ended questions to avoid repetition from the first interview responses. I reintroduced skimmed earlier material for greater recall or analysis, or invited reflection on any relevant changes that had occurred in the interval between interviews (Bitchener, 2010).

For this round, two visual stimuli were included to minimise self-consciousness and generate opening discussion. The first was a set of tableaux entitled “Comments I Have Heard” as shown in Figure 8 below.



**Figure 8: Example of visual stimuli**

These illustrated five imaginary diverse-culture personalities using colloquial language to express a range of attitudes towards ELL personnel in schools. They were generated from previous experiences I had encountered. The tableaux with a comments section beside them were emailed to interviewees the day before their interview, to provoke both an emotional and a cognitive response to ELL issues. A second visual stimulus took the

form of individualised charts of the ESOL Department systems (see Appendix 13), its links to the school hierarchy, and outside, created from the first interviews (Skyrme, 2008). With these, I planned to ask the interviewees for verification and embellishment. Following these two stimuli, I used the interview sheet with seven pre-arranged questions including a consent form (see Appendix 14 a,b,c). These centred on the nature of ESOL provision in the school from their perspective (Qu 1), the influence of in-school and wider community groups on ESOL provision (Qu 2-4), benefits and concerns (Qu 5), a wish-list (Qu 6) and past-future changes (Qu 7). During this stage, as I learnt more about school practices, I used prompt and probe questioning more frequently to engage depth.

The four focus group interview question sets proved to be different from each other because of the different participant roles. The ELLs' focus group material consisted of a consent form, question sheet, and profile (see Appendix 15a, b, c). At the beginning of these interviews, I used a successful initial strategy from previous research by asking students to share a favourite school photo they had (Qu 1). From here I moved to their positive and negative experiences of ELL in the school (Qu 2-4), relations between older and newer ELL communities (Qu 5), then links between ELL and the wider community (Qu 6-7). Mainstream teacher questions focused on their roles with ELLs and ESOL (Qu 1-2), their success and managed issues (Qu 3-4), a wish list for ELL provision in the school (Qu 5), outside influences (Qu 6), and future possibilities with ELL (Qu 7). I focused ESOL staff interview questions on international, national and local influences on ESOL students (Qu 1), then cultural influences on ELL learning (Qu 2-3), hierarchical school influences (Qu 4) and finished with a wish-list question (Qu 5). Overall, I slightly modified the ESOL staff focus group interviews in line with what I had obtained in previous interviews with the HOD ESOL or International Department teacher. For the focus group interviews planned for BOT members, I asked about the realities of ELLs in secondary schools (Qu 1), decisions around BOT maximums of ELLs (Qu 2), wider influences on the BOT surrounding ELLs (Qu 3-4), and past and future ELL possibilities (Qu 5).

Retrospective individual interview questions were constructed between the second and third round, to obtain a summary of the year's experiences with ELL and to fine-tune issues raised during the year (see Appendix 16). They were concerned with: areas of success or concern (Qu 1-2), ESOL changes (Qu 3), staff and student agency (Qu 4-5),

school guidelines for intercultural interaction (Qu 6), the role of umbrella departments for ESOL (Qu 7), zoning and enrolment regulations (Qu 7), international students (Qu 6).

#### **4.5.4 Data collection in the field**

The choice of case studies in different locations incurred some effort with logistics. I had to book plane trips and find motels adjacent to the schools, which reduced the opportunity to be flexible with rearranging cancelled interview times. I was unfamiliar with all sites, so needed time to adjust to different personnel, timetables and building arrangements. I carried an interview recorder and an alternative in case of problems, previously photocopied interview material, and *koha* for principals and my gatekeepers.

Interview experiences were characterised by a variety of people, time lengths and locations. I began each interview with indications of appreciation, reinforced interviewee confidentiality and ethical freedoms, and requested that the consent form was signed. I bought food to share for all mainstream and ESOL teacher focus groups and provided movie or supermarket vouchers for ELLs focus group members. Further reciprocity in the form of food was provided for ESOL Department members, sometimes via café or restaurant visits.

Each evening, I filled out my diary, copied recent interviews into my laptop for later transcription, and spent time transcribing previous interviews. Between site visits, I organised materials and checked my previous interview answer sheets for future relevance. Between the second and third rounds, I completed the transcription of all existing interviews, and the first thematic analysis across schools, which then enabled me to focus on retrospective questions and material. During retrospective rounds, schools were very busy with end-of-year activities, and I concluded my role with some sadness, marked by small gifts, and reassurances of future email correspondence if needed (Berg & Lune, 2012). Ultimately, I obtained a reliable set of 55 interviews from 78 participants (see Appendix 10), which provided opportunity for depth, variety and cross-checking for further analysis. An account of my experiences collecting the data now ensues.

##### **4.5.4.1 An added presence**

Gobo (2008) observes that, “In overt research, the ethnographer’s presence is almost always obtrusive because it produces embarrassment, unease, stress and alarm in the community of participants” (p. 123). In each school, I was very aware of the initial

heightened intensity of staff reactions to my presence, especially during staffroom visits. When approached or introduced, I made a concerted effort to explain “why the site was chosen and how it is important to the work, and what the research will accomplish and specifically how it will benefit them” (Savin-Baden & Howell-Major, 2013, p. 347). I gave a clear outline of my purpose, my reasons for the involvement in the study and clear, repeated statements that I was not looking for employment. In all cases, aided by reciprocal measures, ELL support and mid-round reports titled ‘Summaries so Far’, participant-researcher relationships increased levels of trust as time went on.

#### 4.5.4.2 Individual interviews

The use of face-to-face, semi-structured interviews very much reinforced the qualitative nature of the study, in capturing the lived experience of people in contexts (Patton, 2015). From the beginning, this entailed delays to the proposed research timetables with the need to overcome early suspicion and positioning interviews between whole-school events. My first visits set up networks for future communication and established some forms of reciprocity through food and ELL support. Between the first and second rounds, I frequently corresponded with site schools by email or phone to set individual interview times for my next visit. My efforts were rewarded by a slew of individual interviews in the first few days of the second rounds and gave me time to arrange observations and focus group volunteers. I was increasingly invited to give my views on ESOL teacher practices, and sometimes it became difficult to maintain a researcher reserve, but I reciprocated by sharing several documents from my time as HOD ESOL. During this time, I also encountered some previous teaching acquaintances in the schools, which augmented my sense of inclusion. The third round was invaluable in documenting changes that had previously occurred and highlighting initiatives for the year ahead. In all schools, ESOL staff had left, so I was able to interview temporary or permanent replacements who explained their perspectives on ESOL and their future plans within the school.

#### 4.5.4.3 Focus group interviews

All the focus groups were much more difficult to prepare and manage than individual interviews and were subject to much greater compromise with personnel choice and contributions, steering and content (Flick, 2014).

ESOL staff focus groups were perhaps the most successful of the focus groups, perhaps because members associated with the researcher background in ESOL and saw the research as supporting their roles. In all schools ESOL staff roundly discussed the advantages and concerns experienced during ELL teaching and, in Patton, teachers and TAs gave welcome, fulsome accounts of student interactions.

In all schools, student focus group members were arranged by the ESOL TIC. Although in all cases also, focus group ESOL students had seen me as an observer in their classes, I had no prior knowledge of them. They were all guarded in their responses and expressed fulsome support for school life. Their explorations of school practices were limited, though they generously shared personal learning experiences linked to friendships and family.

In choosing mainstream teachers to participate in the focus groups, I was advised by SMs or ESOL staff, but I also approached staff I had observed till I had approximately seven. Timing these interviews was extremely difficult, and overlaps caused unfortunate withdrawals. In all cases, times before school or after were decided, but even these were a challenge, and enabled only by taking advantage of adjustments in school routines, like a shortened teaching day for parent interviews, or the term ending. Mainstream teacher interviews were excellent for disclosing teacher issues with cultural and linguistic diversity and methods to alleviate them.

My efforts to interview BOT members proved variable. Two Patton BOTs agreed to my request, and the BOT Chairman at Mountfort responded generously, but BOT interviews were not available at Wordsworth.

#### 4.5.4.4 Observations

All classroom observations began with offering the teacher a consent form and ended with its collection and a sign of appreciation. In my first rounds at Patton and Wordsworth, I was directed to ESOL classes for observation. In Patton, the International Department teacher monitored my observation visits closely, and sent me to each observation with a TA to be introduced to the classroom teacher. In the second rounds at Mountfort and Wordsworth, I was given responsibility for identifying my own observation classes using the timetables of ELLs whose names had been given to me by the ESOL teacher contact. After I made a list of over 20 classes, I emailed it to the relevant

SM and ESOL contact for approval, then emailed the relevant teachers with the information sheet to request my presence. Only a few declined. In all sites, I followed the line between onlooker and participant, (See 4.2.2.4) and was rewarded with a bank of rich experiential material viewing how ELL participants “create their social worlds” (Marvasti, 2014, p. 361), and how local cohorts respond to them.

#### 4.5.4.5 Documents

Government websites such as Education Counts and school websites provided initial material on New Zealand schools when I was choosing locations to approach. Later, these websites provided historical and current material that could support other data. I printed paper copies of government and school website material as it was updated. On-site, staff were generous in offering me classroom and assessment resources so that I was fully aware of classroom activities. During the retrospective round, I requested further documentation from SMs, and obtained school magazines and newsletters to help verify personnel roles and school practices. I was unable to obtain language policies from all three case study schools, as they were either absent or unfinished. As I collected documents over the year, they were added to my material to undergo content analysis using descriptive coding (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Appendix 17 itemises the documentation used in the study.

#### 4.5.4.6 The researcher’s roles

As an ethnographic researcher, I was aware that I needed to enter the field with an open mind in my search to seek understanding of the factors which “support or constrain participation” ELL systems and practices over time (Green & Bloome, 2005, p. 189). Dörnyei (2007) explains that in ethnography, surface tensions from the insider/outsider role are particularly acute in research by “minority researchers in their own communities” (p. 133). My passage to build “meaningful and productive collaboration” (Candlin, 2003, p. 393) was advantaged in that I had a “deep familiarity” (Lofland, 1995, p. 44) with New Zealand teaching systems, having taught in that country for 37 years full time. I had either lived in, or frequented, the cities of the chosen schools, so had experience of the cultural differences between urban and rural areas, and North and South Islands. In the last 15 years, I had formed close relationships with various ELL personnel by working and advising in the field, and attending ELL local, regional and national engagements. I was particularly fortunate in having existing relationships with two eventual ‘gate openers’.

Lastly, I had recently completed an award-winning Master's thesis in Applied Linguistics, which supported some community perceptions that my research efforts might be worthy. All of these factors facilitated the entry of my research persona into data-gathering contexts.

Despite these compensations, other forces could thwart my research progress, and I was aware that the way I responded to them would be significant for the study. New Zealand secondary schools are committed to producing both well-qualified employees and well-rounded citizens of the future. Their reputations rise or fall on community's perceptions of their students' behaviour and academic KLA subject grades. Because of my interest in the ESOL non-KLAs, my relative status was reduced for some mainstream staff. In Patton, though the principal had given me written permission to enter, and delegated responsibility for me to the International Department teacher, my presence there became jeopardised by a SM interrogating her at the last minute about my authorisation. I endeavoured to alleviate his concerns by formalising an appointment with him, responding to the issues raised about ethics, and sending him a copy of my low-risk ethics approval letter (see Appendix 7). This was followed by an emailed apology from the SM.

My researcher role was also affected by the different participant groups in the individual case study sites which were not equally helpful in terms of their numbers (see Appendix 17), or perspectives they brought to the research. Individual interviews were undoubtedly the best tool. The scenarios (see Figure 8) and school charts (see Appendix 12) were a useful way to engage staff with the research. However, within the interviews, participants were sometimes understandably self-protective or eager to present a very positive picture of the school, so the perceptions that they shared might not have covered the full range of attitudes that they actually held. As well, the views sought were sometimes not considered appropriate; in any case, some interviews produced much more detailed data than others. The finest insights came from generous outpourings of experienced individuals who had confidence in the significance of their real-life experiences and trust in the research.

Conversely, I was disappointed in being unable to interview more staff, often because of timing or sensitivity issues. At Wordsworth, parent interviews occurred just before the mainstream focus group meeting and reduced previously agreed staff involvement. At Patton, despite my efforts, one busy staff member withdrew from the last data collection



round, and another withdrew permission to use the retrospective interview two months after giving it.

Focus groups and observations provided less specific data but provided support for individual interviews. I had not placed sufficient time and effort building relationships with specific senior students in each school, so a close sense of trust and inclusion had not developed between us. Also, senior ESOL students would not be expected to have an understanding of some wider school issues, like staffing priorities. Possibly individual interviews with students would have provided better material. With mainstream and ESOL staff focus groups, lower ranked personnel were very careful of their superiors. Overall, however, focus groups proved invaluable as reinforcement for individual interviews, and for triangulation. As well, the solid number of observations in each site (over 23 each), helped familiarise and embed researcher attitudes about the wider ecologies surrounding schools, and generated hunches to be aired later in interviews (Nicholls, Mills, & Kotecha, 2014).

The varied interview sites also affected outcomes. In Wordsworth, I was directed to the Board room in the Administration block which provided privacy, but because it was not frequented by students or associate teachers, respondents in these two interviews were not as relaxed as they would be in more familiar territory. The use of ESOL classrooms and reception rooms proved much more favourable, in spite of some temporary interruptions, which did occur during interviews in each site. Overall, the complementary nature of data-gathering tools proved fruitful within highly protected school contexts, and I would reinforce recommendations that they be used in other qualitative school case studies (Arthur, Mitchell, Lewis, & Nicholls, 2014; Patton, 2015).

Lastly, perhaps the most difficult researcher role issue was the need to maintain researcher stance. A variety of methods helped manage this. By far the most important was the ongoing and concerted use of reflective journals on a daily basis, as shown in my computer log and school dairies. Another method was the organisation of time within and between schools as shown in my planning schedules, which allowed me to prepare my researcher persona for each meeting or interview, reflect on previous interactions, and repeat successful behaviours from relevant encounters. The decision to digitally transcribe data myself also supported researcher stance, as I could relive the interview experiences in depth and reflect on the reasons for participants' attitudes. Further along

the research journey, the analysis and coding of interviews also generated researcher reflection on different participant perspectives in context. Finally, in writing up, the continual process over a year of editing my written language made me increasingly aware of how others might see my explanations. Revisiting my text helped me to reflect, use hedging word like “seem,” introduce different perspectives with an explanatory paragraph (see 7.5) or use other researchers’ quotes to frame an issue (see 7.5.1).

As a previous ESOL HOD, I was particularly aware of my propensity to develop warmer relationships with my gatekeepers, especially as I had known two of them for some time. It was also easy to become involved with other ESOL staff and their issues, and I needed to remind myself constantly of the need for researcher distance without seeming to be unsupportive, in order for the enquiry to succeed. The long gap between Mountfort second and third visits was perhaps fortuitous for the research in that the ESOL leadership conflict was well over before my last visit. My last visits to Patton and Wordsworth were immersed in very busy end-of-year school activities, which increased the need for quiet persistence to arrange data collection, but made farewells less complicated. Perhaps the most difficult researcher relationship was with the senior students, who I realised from previous research needed embedded trust before they were willing to share their thoughts. I did not arrange enough time with senior ESOL students either as a tutor or class support for them to develop confidence in me, and their responses in the one planned focus group interview illustrated their respect for their teachers and school rather than developing deeper ideas in the research. Lastly, the absence of planning for Ministry participants, who could have widened my perspectives of the complexities of their roles with ELL, caused me to depend on indirect, in-school participant views about them. Overall, however, the use of a concerted “endogenous and referential reflexivity” (May & Perry, 2014, p. 111) kept me constantly alive to the impact my presence made on others, and assisted with a concerted need for a disciplined and sometimes quite uncomfortable acknowledgement of my “tweener” (Lin, 2015, p. 30) position when gathering and interpreting collaborative knowledge in social contexts.

## 4.6 Analysing and presenting the data

### 4.6.1 Data analysis procedures

Overall, my decisions with coding, and selection of data were governed by an awareness of the study’s qualitative design and the ecological macro-meso-micro theoretical framework. Saldana (2011) described the research process and its links to analysis in the following: “Since qualitative research’s design, fieldwork and data collection are most often provisional, emergent, and evolutionary processes, you reflect on and analyse the data as you gather them and proceed through the project” (p. 90). The data analysis process is outlined below in Figure 9 and explained in detail in the following paragraphs.

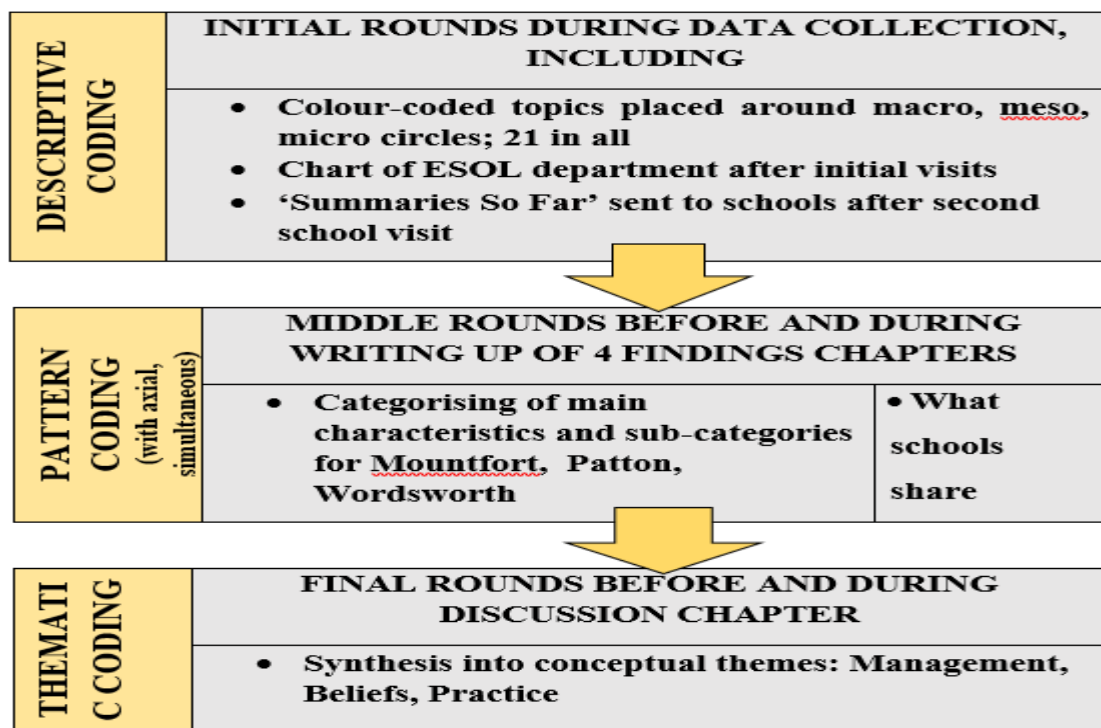


Figure 9: Data analysis process

For this cyclical and revisionist process, I adopted a method typical of case studies: content analysis. Berg and Lune (2012) describe this method as “a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases and meanings” (p. 349). Each round of data analysis

extended the depth of the material and assisted with the emergence of new and enlightening paths of inquiry. For transcribing during each round, I had evolved my own process of indicating volume change, emotional intensity, and pausing, to help highlight the interview context during later analysis (see Appendix 18). The whole process was time-dependent on the sequence of data collection, my availability to transcribe digitally between and after data collection, collect documentation, to analyse from then.

Before site visits, for data collection, I had prepared source material on interview guides, scenarios, documents, my reflective journal and individual school diaries. After the first site visits, in line with analysis research in qualitative studies, I familiarised myself with the data by using a system of descriptive codes. Saldana (2013) describes coding as a system that “symbolizes and thus attributes interpreted meaning to each individual datum for later purposes of pattern detection, categorization, theory building, and other analytic processes” (p. 4). I began with jotting down comments beside printed versions of the transcripts and documents, then developed a system of colour highlighting of descriptive or ‘topic’ codes to summarise segments of data and identify both tangible and abstract topics, such as ‘Hierarchy and Networks’ and ‘Ideal and Reality’ (Saldana, 2016). The codes built in number and size as the three rounds of transcriptions emerged. I placed the descriptive code colours around circles of macro, meso and micro circles so that the descriptive items could link to the wider ecological context (see Appendix 19). After the first round of school visits, I also used the descriptive code material to build charts of each ESOL Department context, so that I could corroborate their validity during interviews in the second round (see Appendix 12).

Between the second and third data collection rounds, I completed all transcriptions to date and completed colour coding, including 21 topics in all. At this stage, I used the descriptive coding analysis to complete reports titled ‘Summaries so Far’ to send to schools before the retrospective interviews so that I could member check (Harvey, 2015). This stage of analysis gave me an opportunity to increase conceptualisation, compare participant values and attitudes, and generate questions for the last round of data collection. After the third site visits, I separated all descriptive code data into three separate school headings so that I had a folder of easily accessible data for future individual school analysis.

Once all data was collected and transcriptions were completed, a second, more abstract level of analysis within each case study school began, linking more directly to my research questions and keeping within the macro-meso-micro design. This stage of analysis can be called ‘pattern’ coding, which categorises descriptive data into a smaller number of “explanatory or inferential” sections (Saldana, 2016, p. 236). I began this process with a brainstorm analysis of five main characteristics of each school, such as ‘Nature at Large’, ‘A Reputation for Excellence’, and ‘Confounding the Myth of Egalitarianism.’ At this stage I was particularly looking for features that highlighted differences between the schools. Alvesson and Kärreman (2011) explain that “incoherencies, paradoxes, ambiguities, processes, and the like are certainly key aspects of social reality and worth exploring – both as topics in their own right and as a way of getting beyond premature pattern-fixing and the reproduction of taken-for-granted assumptions about specific patterns” (p. 42). (An explanation of the coding rationale for pattern, axial, simultaneous and thematic coding can be found in Appendix 20). During pattern coding I separated each school’s data into three groups to align with their three site visits, to ascertain any stage-by-stage differences in each group of data, as well as comparing repeated interviewees’ material. I repeated this approach until all three time stages were completed (Dörnyei, 2007).

As individual categories grew in depth and conceptual congruence, repetition of material common to a national context led into ‘simultaneous’ coding (Merriam, 1998; Saldana, 2016). As I read through material on each school, I compiled headings of features that they all had in common, such as ‘Zoning’ and ‘Positions of Responsibility.’ This allowed me to gain a more holistic sense of the idiosyncratic behaviours of participants in set times and places and to link them with national secondary school exigencies. I used the gathered material from this section to structure the introductory background chapter, Chapter 2, also using the same macro-meso-micro rationale (see Appendix 20).

My summative rounds of data analysis began after the writing of the findings chapters was complete, as I turned my mindset towards a wider understanding of the combined data. After more intense scrutiny of the data over some weeks, codes previously layered into ecological micro, meso, macro headings gradually morphed into a rough pattern of how Spolsky had framed their ecological differentiation: from macro to management, from micro to practice. So Spolsky’s categories became a clear hook on which to hang the final themes: ‘Management,’ ‘Beliefs,’ and ‘Practice,’ which aligned well with the

chosen theoretical framework, helped me design a baseline structure for the discussion chapter and refine my original research questions (see 1.3, Appendix 2, 20). The ‘Belief’ theme was the most difficult to ascertain and provided the most satisfying moments of recognition. It was not until this last, most intense and difficult stage of analysis had completed that a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the research topic was reached. In completing all these rounds of analysis to saturation, I achieved, to some degree, my original aspiration, to “seek to understand” (Rossman & Rallis, 2012, p. 103).

#### **4.6.2 Presenting the data**

My written presentation began with an introduction outlining the research problem, questions and chapter sequence. Next, my research into three case studies suggested to me that they should be contextualised within an analysis of the wider context of New Zealand schools. In this way, the three case studies selectively described in the following chapters could be understood in terms of other contexts, with their own constraints and autonomies which they had to navigate. Following on, I elucidated an in-depth examination of ecological theory generally culminating with Spolsky’s educational language theory, with a detailed description of the methodology and data collection process succeeding it. Separate chapters on each case study followed. I presented each chapter as a recollection of how I became immersed in each school culture so my lived research experience could be authentically recreated (Patton, 2015; Spenser, Ritchie, O’Connor, Morrell, & Ormston, 2014). While writing up material about each case site’s data, I emphasised factors which made each site distinctive. In quoting transcriptions, I amended small details when necessary to allow for clear content communication.

Following the three findings chapters, the discussion chapter concentrated on a deeper analysis of my findings against a backdrop of educational policy theory, exploring the roles of the conceptual layers of influence inside and outside schools, and their interactional relationships during that year. In doing so, I generated ideas which were conveyed, along with associated suggestions for further research, in the concluding chapter.

#### **4.7 Issues of generalisability, validity, reliability**

The practice of imposing quantitative validity measures on qualitative research has been gradually discounted, in recognition of a fundamental difference in focus in their

ontologies and epistemologies (Hammersley, 2007; Lazaraton, 2003; Thorne, 2014). In the search for meaning, qualitative investigation seeks to understand the way individuals describe and interpret their own lived experiences (Patton, 2015; Richards, 2003). Cohen et al. (2011) state that “in qualitative data, the subjectivity of respondents, their opinions, attitudes and perspectives together contribute to a degree of bias” (p. 179), shown in participant selection, attitude and personal agendas, and researcher’s own positionality and perspectives. Further, within qualitative design, multiple case studies such as in this study reinforce the in-depth inquiry into small-scale, particularised contexts (Duff, 2012). Hence qualitative researchers have generated multiple alternative criteria, in attempts to exhibit other forms of researcher accuracy (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Hammersley, 2007; Paltridge & Phakiti, 2015; Shenton, 2004).

Qualitative case study offers researchers a variety of methods to substantiate validity. Through methodological, respondent, theoretical and time triangulation, a powerful rigour can be achieved (Cohen et al., 2011). This study uses complementary methods (interviews, observation, document analysis, journals) to solicit data from different sources (students, teachers, managers and parents) to substantiate participant responses to diversity in secondary schools. Data was collected from the same participants in the same sites at different points in time over the year, providing a built-in potential to increase trustworthiness by contextualisation, layering and uncovering changes in perception (Duff, 2006). Tensions arising with constant researcher reflexivity and awareness of participant answerability were reduced by writing reflections and using a wide range of informants (Shenton & Dixon, 2004). Gomm (2008) explains that accounts of the same findings are connected to a range of “theoretical understandings” (p. 318) to suggest possible explanations for phenomena at different levels to different degrees, and to highlight divergences for further exploration. Checks to verify accounts consisted of retrospective interviews, respondent validation, member checking (Harvey, 2015), reflective journals (Fox & Allan, 2014) and a detailed, transparent audit trail of the research process shown in the final document. As Richards (2003) affirms, “what matters most is the researcher’s commitment to producing an account that will bear close and critical scrutiny” (p. 287).

## **4.8 Summary and conclusion**

The decision to frame this socio-cultural study within a qualitative design, aided by case study with an ethnographic slant, informed consequent choices about methods. Data collection was primarily based around individual and focus group interviews and observation, supported by the secondary methods of documentation, researcher logs and journals. Standards of reflexivity and reciprocity were utilised at all stages of data collection to display the researcher's appreciation of the schools' permissions for access to their sites. The use of reflective journals contributed to the processes of day-by-day records and maintenance of researcher stance. Researcher coding and presentation of data followed the principles of macro-meso-micro design in keeping with the research questions and the ecological theoretical framework. Finally, the validity of this study was reinforced with the use of triangulation, a carefully-timed audit trail of data collection, journals and member checks.



## CHAPTER FIVE: MOUNTFORT

This chapter is the first of three, which present the findings from individual case study schools in this enquiry. They all begin by giving a broad historical overview of the site school until 2017, when data collection began. Following this is a description of each school’s characteristics as recorded that year, culminating in a closer account of their ESOL systems and practices for ELLs.

In this chapter, data is derived from material in interviews with participants, as shown in Table 6 below. Further interview details can be found in Appendices 10, 11 and 21a. Mountfort documentation can be identified in Appendix 17. As well, observation notes in researcher journals and a Mountfort diary have been used.

**Table 6: List of Mountfort participants**

<b>INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS</b>	<b>PARTICIPANTS</b>
Board Chairperson	<b>Rupert</b>
Principal	<b>Joseph</b>
HOD ESOL Terms 1,2	<b>Cynthia</b>
Acting Dean of International Students, Acting HOD ESOL Terms 3,4	<b>Bill</b>
HOD English	<b>Jane</b>
Year 13 Dean	<b>Dysart</b>
HOD Technology	<b>Nugget</b>
Reliever	<b>Felix</b>
<b>FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS</b>	<b>PARTICIPANTS</b>
With mainstream staff	<b>Eric, Emma</b> (Mathematics); <b>Laura</b> (Year 10 Dean and Social Science);
With ESOL staff	<b>Cynthia, Bill</b> teachers; <b>Roy</b> teacher and TA; <b>Pene</b> TA
With ESOL students	<b>Leah</b> (from Samoa); <b>Sub</b> and <b>Bok</b> (from the Philippines); <b>Herb</b> (from Fiji) all migrants; <b>Nishan</b> (from Nepal) RMB

## **5.1 Modern, aspirational origins**

Mountfort was one of “scores of secondary schools” built in New Zealand from 1945 onwards (Beeby, 1956, p. 403). Its formation was a result of major national activity during the 1940s. A burgeoning population of mainly monolingual New Zealand European Pākehā baby boomers pressured the MOE to plan for more and larger schools to accommodate their future adolescents. At this time, New Zealand’s relatively small society prided itself in the egalitarian nature of its schools. Planning for new schools, partly “determined by geography” (Beeby, 1956, p. 396) meant that they were positioned within the country’s growing neighbourhoods, but also where they could have a chance to develop beside established schools, mostly in urban areas (Thrupp, 2007). Mountfort was established as an aspirational, co-educational school, catering for working families and built in a low-lying, developing area of Christchurch (JosephM1).

Although Mountfort’s early curriculum was highly academic, by the 1960s the needs of its increasing local intake also required wide-ranging vocational training, and “facilities for the teaching of engineering, woodwork and home economics” (school website). By the 1970s, Mountfort became one of the larger schools in New Zealand, with a respected reputation (RupertM1) and a roll of over 1600 students. Over time, it became well known for producing skilled sportspeople and performing artists. Student growth continued into the 1980s as school catchment housing intensified to incorporate some of the city’s poorest and most expensive real estate. Students there consisted of mainly New Zealand European Pākehā with a liberal mix of social levels (JosephM1). These early successes, however, were not to last. In the following years, Mountfort was to experience the effects of social and geological adversity.

## **5.2 Student movement**

The introduction of a self-managing model with ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ legislation in 1989 (see 2.5.2), ironically to maintain New Zealand’s national belief in egalitarianism, instead fostered the latter’s decline (Lubienski et al., 2013; Thrupp, 2007). In the 1990s, Mountfort became one of New Zealand’s “sink schools” (Thrupp, 1997, p. 53) as its more affluent student families, mostly New Zealand European Pākehā, gained the right to “choose up” (Gordon, 2015, p. 18) or send their children to schools with better academic and social reputations in more homogeneous suburbs. Ladd and Fiske (2001) indicate that

from 1991-1995, in Christchurch, “students appear to have fled from the low-decile schools, to those in a higher category evident among, but not limited to, European families” (p. 48). The movement has been termed “white flight” (Ladd & Fiske, 2001, p. 60). It can be viewed within the context of its city-wide acquiescence for white supremacist behaviour in the 1990s, as Spoonley (2012) has observed.

The ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ legislation and student flight left Mountfort with a reduced roll of poorer families, with reduced revenue, and with a greater concentration of ethnic minorities (Beaven, 2003; Ladd & Fiske, 2001). Apart from initiatives from a very effective principal from 2000-2010 (RupertM1), the school roll reduced steadily. From 2010-2016, the school has been “in a bad way” (JosephM1), marked by staff-management conflict, high staff turnover, rolling statutory managers, and relieving or short-term principals (RupertM1).

### **5.3 Nature at large**

From 2011 onwards, two momentous earthquakes and thousands of aftershocks generated major upheaval and distress for Mountfort and its catchment (Mutch, 2015). For two terms the school closed because of building issues, and students were bused to a neighbouring school. After some demolition and refurbishment, Mountfort reopened with a significant and uneven roll reduction exacerbated by ongoing problems with housing, transport and flooding. Student Herb explained: “Parents were scared to let their kids go to school, just in case something happened along the way” (ELLSFGM1). Insurance payouts and the creation of new housing developments encouraged families to move to safer areas (NuggetM1). International fee-payers, still present after the Global Financial Crisis in 2008, left for safer cities, depleting the school of an important extra income (DysartM1). Roll drops caused extensive staff redundancies: 16 teachers left at the end of 2011 (BillM1), 13 in 2015 (RupertM1).

As older-established families left the Mountfort catchment, they were replaced by mainly migrant families, often on fixed term employment contracts in reconstruction, attracted to the area by cheaper housing and short-term rental tenancies. Filipino workers formed the largest part of the temporary workforce in the wider area (Hart & Davidson, 2016). Their numbers, plus those of mainly Fiji Indians and Samoans, were added to the local families at Mountfort (BillM2; CynthiaM1). This meant that there was a significant

increase in cultural and linguistic diversity in the Mountfort catchment, within a province that was “less diverse than the national average” (Hart & Davidson, 2016, p. 161). Another wave of white flight ensued, as Rupert explained:

Yeah, there was white flight here, definitely. No one, none of these people that has left here, would admit to that, I’m sure. They’ll say they left because their kids weren’t getting the right education, the principal didn’t understand them, and so on. But there is no doubt in my mind that there is something to do with white flight. It really is a pity, because, coming back to what we were talking about before, the richness of the relationships amongst kids here. What can you learn? Marvellous learning for kids. Whereas you go across town to some of the schools where the kids may have gone to, you’ve got to have a good hard look around to see a brown face! (RupertM1)

Alongside their usual teaching duties, staff at Mountfort were pressured with additional duties. They had to manage the balance of a destabilised school infrastructure, building and employment insecurities, greater cultural and linguistic requirements in their classes, and their own increased post-earthquake issues alongside those of their students. More than seven years after the events, Dysart explained that the Mountfort catchment

did suffer more damage. I was talking to the mother of a student of mine, and it didn’t take long before I was just getting all of this, how difficult it had been, pouring out of the mother. They still need that kind of release valve, and if the parents are needing it, it’s no wonder that the students are also finding that stuff traumatic, ‘cos they don’t have the sort of resources or skills to cope with it as well as the parents do. So, it’s been hard on this side. (DysartM2)

The Mountfort school infrastructure had destabilised so much that by 2015, the Chairperson explained that

I was very close to actually recommending the school should just be simply be closed, close it down, start it six months later again, get rid of the entire staff, everything, and start clean again. It was at that point. (RupertM1)

In 2016, the appointment of a new principal gave Mountfort another opportunity to revitalise, and the steady path to recoup losses began.

#### **5.4 Spotlight on a reconstruction**

By 2017, when data collection began, Mountfort was an unzoned school in transition, emerging from a sustained period of unease. To initiate my visits, I was invited to attend a two-day multicultural festival. On arrival, I was greeted by a bustling riot of colour and intercultural activity, surrounded by the mellifluous sounds of different languages that I could not understand. Principal Joseph welcomed me cordially and led me out to the sports field where I met BOT Chairperson Rupert who generously stated his willingness to engage with the research. Subsequently, I watched the field parade of students which presented as a mini-United Nations (see Figure 10 below). Students and staff who represented 47 nationalities within the school, slowly circled the sports field in their national costumes, and sang their national anthems as they reached the podium. At the end of the parade, all nationalities spontaneously merged as a united body behind the New Zealand flag to form the finale (CynthiaM1). It was an impressive spectacle to herald my immersion in the site.

What follows is an account of my findings over three visits to the school, including an identification of the distinctive characteristics of the school as a whole, and its diverse linguistic and cultural systems and practices in particular.



**Figure 10: Festival of Nations flags**

#### **5.4.1 New faces, new initiatives**

Principal Joseph, who arrived in 2016, accepted the challenge of leading Mountfort's reconstruction, supported by "a strong social conscience," an incentive contract, and past experience in senior management in other local schools (RupertM1). He inherited a backlog of staff resentment towards his role, so he consciously maintained a consistently positive response to staff interpersonal issues, and was very aware that this needed to continue: "We are working hard to keep a unified staff, 'cos there's a lot on, and so we are having to work hard to keep everybody feeling [positive]. There's more required, more required" (JosephM2). With the community, his tenure began with a BOT-related project, funded by the Ministry of Social Development, to present Mountfort positively at local fairs and events at local sites. Chairperson Rupert backgrounded Joseph's exertions:

Every weekend he was out at farmers' markets, with kids, with literature on the school, talking to people. He'd go to the supermarket till four in the afternoon and be there till seven o'clock at night on a cold winter's night. He really went to the community. He went to scores of events. He puts the community links as probably the very top part of his job. (RupertM1)

His leadership in strengthening school partnership networks was observed in the school's 2017 ERO report (ERO, 2017).

Principal Joseph was closely supported by the BOT Chairperson and a small BOT composed entirely of New Zealand European Pākehā. Joseph's senior leadership team were largely new to their positions, one in a new Māori leadership role (NuggetM1), and there were several new placements in the staff, including middle management roles (RupertM2).

In 2017, the senior management were in process of strengthening systems that were identified as challenges in previous ERO reports, such as with curriculum achievement and moderation, particularly for Māori and Pasifika. By November 2017, the pastoral and school discipline systems had been restructured, and appraisal procedures established with staff. By November 2017, Joseph was pleased that the school had improved its place on the ERO review cycle: "We've been on a 1-2-year ERO review cycle ... and we are

back on the three. What that means is that ERO believe we have the capability to do the things. So, I take that as a tick” (JosephM2). The school has made a concerted effort to improve senior academic results by calling students into the school to complete work in their own time, particularly during external exams. Dysart explains that:

Some of them are great and others you have to go down and lasso them, and bring them in, sort of thing. They are a mix. Of course, the ones who are easiest to get in are generally the ones who are already higher up in the credit count, ‘cos you get this far, and it seems a crime, not to get the last credits. (DysartM2)

At the end of 2017, Principal Joseph explained that it was time to move on from prescriptive learning methods to introduce a more open-ended research enquiry programme:

We know that we are ‘pile-driving’ as well as human beings can physically do that, and we were very happy to get that surface learning drive ‘cos before that there wasn’t any, there was nothing. Achievement was terrible, formal achievement. So, if it’s “pile-drive” learning we’ll take it, but that’s step one. We can’t stop there. We are now at the stage in the school where we are saying, ‘Now how do we get kids learning for themselves?’ So that’s what the enquiry is about. (JosephM2)

In December 2017, Mountfort adopted a pilot programme to introduce a teaching-as-enquiry approach to engage younger learners to improve achievement, which would give students “some agency in their learning” (DysartM2).

Another focus was on student attendance. In the past there had been some acquiescence about irregular attendance, partly caused by earthquake disruptions, long parental work hours and student family duties. Chairperson Rupert noticed that there had been a

sharpening up, like kids get to class on time, and teachers get to class on time as well. There is a very clear black and white discipline system and there is the expectation that kids and staff follow that system. The interesting thing is the numbers of suspensions are dramatically down on last year. (RupertM2)

His comments were supported by 2018 MOE report material (MOE, 2018b).

Recent government initiatives have also affected Mountfort's fortunes. The school had suffered what Bill characterised as "nine years of National party under-funding" (BillM2), and the government had recently increased its decile to 3 from 2, thus causing a loss of \$100,000, "not because we are suddenly richer" (BillM1). However, an opportunity for possibly increasing the student intake had been supported by a government initiative, the Community of Learning (CoL) (see 2.5.2) which sought to unite local primary and secondary schools to support the learning pathways of their students (MOE, 2018a). Mountfort had accepted the invitation to join not one but two CoLs, thus increasing visibility to a bigger range of families with a more variable socio-economic status. Joseph affirms: "We are starting to move away from that fiefdom" of schools in isolation competing for students, caused by 'Tomorrow's Schools' policies (JosephM1). There has also been substantial government rationalisation of secondary school enrolment in Christchurch, to avoid the wastage of empty classrooms in some schools while others were bursting at the seams. A process still in negotiation but "well down the track" is "to establish school zones for all secondary schools" so that interzone flight and enrolment selection could be diminished, and local school populations could increasingly represent their communities (RupertM2). These two national initiatives to oversee educational demographics can only benefit schools like Mountfort which have previously been on the receiving end of competitive, quasi-market forces (Gordon, 1996).

The most significant government initiative for Mountfort has been the planning for a new school. It is estimated to cost \$40 million "as a starting point" (RupertM2), to be built on the same site with construction estimates beginning mid-2018 and finishing in 2021. From Term 2 2019, staff and students will move to an abandoned school site locally, which is estimated to take a year off the building timeline and save a million dollars. The estimated master plan for the build was to be for 1800 students. Joseph explained: "I won't see 1800, but I will certainly see 1200 over the next five years" (JosephM2). Though the planning for the build is an ongoing and exhausting enterprise, the results will very likely re-establish Mountfort as a significant presence amongst New Zealand's larger co-educational institutions for the long-term. Gordon (2015) reflects that "a new school might be adequately disruptive to change patterns of choice" of catchment parents when determining school use (p. 18). The new school will also provide a strong community focus. Rupert stated:



The new buildings are absolutely critical. I have a really high degree of confidence in where the school's going to be in say even five years' time. We are building more than just a school. We do want the school to be seen to be part of the community, as a welcoming place for the community, and for school resources to be used by the community. This will be central for planning. (RupertM1)

The next section focuses on the ESOL Department and its activities, as the hub of ELL in the school.

## **5.5 The ESOL Department: A transitional identity**

### **5.5.1 A new, multicultural staff**

ESOL staff had experienced multiple changes since 2011. From 2015 to 2017, six ESOL teachers came and went, three in 2015. The 2017 ESOL staff were typical of staff generally in that they were recent arrivals to Mountfort, and none of them were long-standing domiciles in Christchurch. The full-time, permanent HOD Cynthia was the longest-serving member who had begun in 2015, after arriving from a non-teaching career overseas. She subsequently helped employ the contract ESOL TA Indian migrant Pene, and contract ESOL part-teacher/TA migrant Filipino Roy. TA time was allocated only with ESOL classes, not with mainstream ones, as Cynthia explained, "We haven't got the funding for that" (CynthiaM2). In 2016, a Kiwi ex-HOD English, Bill, a long associate of the principal, completed the group, teaching part-time. Cynthia, Pene and Bill had graduate degrees, while Roy was primary-trained. Cynthia and Roy had both completed an English Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (CELTA) language qualification for ESOL teaching.

Mountfort ELLs were fortunate to have teachers who had significant experience with international languages and cultures, who could speak to them in their L1, and who felt confident enough to encourage them to speak their L1 and L2 in class. Cynthia explained: "We encourage them to talk amongst themselves in their own language so the understanding's there, and if they really can't come to some sort of agreement, one of the group will ask the teacher" (ESOLTFGM1). Student responses showed their appreciation of the language diversity encouraged. "Cynthia loves us speaking our own languages, and she asks us how we would say a certain word, which is really good 'cos sometimes you

start losing how to speak your own language” (ELLSFGM1). The HOD spoke Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi. The TA, Pene, could do likewise. Roy spoke fluent Tagalog, while Bill had previously worked in China teaching English. Cynthia commented: “I wanted our staff to actually represent the cultures that they are serving” (CynthiaM2). Her desire for increased plurilingualism in the wider mainstream school as well, was reflected in her 2014 end of year ESOL report (Maple, 2014).

## **5.5.2 Systems and practices: Working from need**

### 5.5.2.1 ESOL facilities

Three ESOL rooms were placed back-to-back in an upper floor of the school and were visibly typical of the rest of the school. Since the earthquakes, and with the likelihood of new construction, little had been done to update the rooms. However, the department was well supplied with 35 computers, and files were efficiently maintained in pull-out drawers beside classroom desks. There were very few resource books in use. Some distance away downstairs, an office was available for the HOD, but it was used for storage rather than everyday use (ObservationM1).

### 5.5.2.2 ESOL links with wider school networks

In 2017, the ESOL Department was represented directly and indirectly within wider school systems. The HOD ESOL Cynthia was a member of the HOLA leadership group which helped senior management make decisions about planning in the school. The ESOL Department did not work under the umbrella of a larger department; in Term 1 and 2, Cynthia was directly responsible only to the principal. Cynthia had strong links to the class level deans, as she was responsible for the placement of ELLs in their ESOL classes, which determined which mainstream classes they could join. Links between ESOL staff and leaders of Samoan and Māori departments were maintained informally, based on the need to connect with specific students. Further, Cynthia had recently made two presentations to the mainstream staff to assist improvement with student academic vocabulary skills. She also gave a presentation on academic vocabulary at the local branch of TESOLANZ, of which she was Chairperson at the start of 2017.

### 5.5.2.3 Classroom credits and cultural support

Class configurations and timetable placements were “designed on the basis of our needs; our kids have huge needs here” (CynthiaM1). The HOD ESOL had permission from a

previous principal in 2015 to demand priority rights for students to go to ESOL classes if their test results indicated the need. Students could be placed in one of seven ESOL classes, three junior and four senior, some of which could reach over a total of 30 students at times (CynthiaM3). On arrival, ELLs sat an English-language-based Oxford placement test to test their vocabulary. ESOL student vocabulary was later tested biannually to decide on ELLs continuation or departure from ESOL classes. Junior ESOL classes were timetabled alongside Option subject classes with the juniors, and senior ESOL was timetabled alongside academic subject classes.

Curriculum resources were limited. There was no class programme documentation available (CynthiaM3, Bill M2). Where present, curriculum planning was based on individual teacher choice (see 2.7.4). There seemed to be a particular emphasis on academic vocabulary development, and “pick(ing) up credits” (BillM2) using ELLP Unit Standards assessments, bought commercially. Literacy Unit Standards and NCEA were other assessments used in the senior school (BillM2). While Cynthia was HOD ESOL, she was unhappy with the emphasis on teaching to the test and the drive to gain credits. She expected ESOL staff to “go back to the basics and teach these students properly. We should be focusing on the skill-set and not the grades” (CynthiaM3). Later in 2017, Bill continued the practice of individual teacher choice: “I just give Roy scope to do his own thing in the classroom, particularly with juniors” (BillM2). He explained his own choices: “Because I had a combined class of Year 10-11, I couldn’t see myself doing NCEA with Year 11s, so I did it with the whole lot. So, our Year 10s have now got 32 credits which they can take into next year, so it set them up very nicely” (BillM2). There was strong emphasis on students attaining Level 2 NCEA or Literacy, and an expectation that they might later attend polytechnic institutes: “They wouldn’t go to university simply because they are here on work permits; they are not permanent residents so they have to pay international student fees which they can’t afford” (CynthiaM1).

The ESOL staff built up a sense of empathy with ELLs by helping them with their subjects, with counselling and family issues. Cynthia had six hours a week for pastoral care, and explained:

When we are enrolling these kids, we are not educating the child. We are educating the whole family. These people have no understanding of how our education system works. What is NCEA, how that works? Why don’t we have

textbooks? That's a question they always ask. I think we have a responsibility and a role in making these people feel that their children have the same opportunities to grow both on a personal level and academically as well as their peers. (CynthiaM1)

She was often asked to write letters, help fill in immigration forms and give references for job applications for parents with little English, or for those who stayed largely within their L1 communities. Cynthia also used her journalism skills to spearhead a very successful ESOL magazine (Mountfort ESOL Department, 2016) put out term by term for two years, each one themed and containing brief reports by multiple ELLs. It proved very helpful in raising the profile of the ESOL Department in the school and the wider community and gave the students a chance to upskill in report writing and have their work appreciated by a community audience.

The Term One 2017 multicultural festival was also Cynthia's idea, supported by community grants and involving significant co-ordination with other staff, local multicultural groups, local and national media and politicians (Mountfort College, 2017b). Some of the dignitaries present were city council members, Migrant and Refugee Council representatives, Community Law staff, local MPs and the 2017 Race Relations Commissioner. ELLs were encouraged to lead with workshops and presentations on their birth countries, perform at the concert, or produce first-culture foods. Parents were invited to attend during these two school weekdays, so that they could become more familiar with the school community. As with the magazines, the festival was an outstanding example of planning, multicultural participation and display.

Other ESOL staff too, were involved in extra-curricular events supporting their students. The 2017 school newsletters displayed information about the Pasifika Polyfest, and ongoing food and concert presentations throughout the year. The June newsletter is representative (Mountfort College, 2017a). Towards the end of 2017, Pene integrated food, dance and workshop classroom activities around Diwali and Indian Independence Day (Mountfort College, 2017d). She linked with local speech competitions for speakers of Samoan, Filipino and Tagalog, helping prepare ESOL students to participate in them (Mountfort College, 2017a). She also created an informal "Friends' Club" for Fiji-Indian mothers of students to practise English (PeneM1). Bill commented also that Roy had increased his liaison between Filipino students and the school (BillM2).

#### 5.5.2.4 ELLs: Mostly migrants

In 2017, there were “150 students in the ESOL Department, representing 25 ethnicities” (CynthiaM1). Most of the present ELLs were migrants. Cynthia overviewed the migrant family social status: “We are not getting many families who are professionals” (CynthiaM2). She later added “We know that when they have come here they have pretty much burnt their bridges. They’ve sold everything to come here. There is no going back for them” (ESOLTFGM1). The main ELL ethnicities of Samoan, Fiji Indian and Filipino families also reflected wider socio-ethnic positioning around the Mountfort location, although some other districts were “swelling with British, South African and Scottish migrants” who could access more expensive housing and were ethnically akin to Christchurch’s more traditional settlers (Hart & Davidson, 2016, p. 170). Dysart explained that once migrant families were settled in the Mountfort area, others of their same ethnicity tended to be “drawn to this side of the city as well, where they had the potential for community networks” (DysartM1), as Humpage (2000) recorded with Somali refugees in the late 1990s. Student Herb concurred: “If you live in the same community like other people that are from the same religion, you can celebrate your traditions together, and keep up your heritage from your countries” (ELLSFGM1).

The rest of the student cohort consisted of five RMB students and three short-term international student fee payers from Thailand. Dysart was representative in supporting RMB students in secondary schools: “I think we have a social responsibility as one of the wealthier world countries to take in refugees, apart from the fact that if we don’t, we are actually setting up social issues down the track” (DysartM1). ESOL staff attributed the low numbers of present refugee ELL numbers at Mountfort to the government refugee services designation of responsibility for them to another city school. The low numbers of international ELL fee-payer students, drastically reduced since the earthquakes, was seen as a disappointing but inevitable fact of life. Staff acknowledged that other factors might reduce Mountfort as an international student attraction: “They certainly will learn the language of the local common people here, some of it perhaps not quite so nice” (BillM1). Teacher Emma also noted that a lack of academic stringency and moderate work ethic in some classes might be an issue: “I talk to some students. They come and look in Year 12. They go to the class, then say, ‘Miss, if this is the kind of behaviour, we learn nothing’” (MSFGM1). Although revenue from fee-payers was recognised by the BOT as an important potential source of income for the school, there were few systems

in place to encourage them in 2017, and planning was “not far down that track” (RupertM2). As the Acting International Director Bill explained, “It is not a priority for us” (BillM2).

Within ESOL, Filipino students were particularly appreciated because of their motivation to succeed academically. Bill explained:

One of the biggest factors affecting their motivation is the need for them to do well in a New Zealand environment. Their parents have obviously come to this country, making a new life, even if only for a short period, and they want their kids to succeed. The kids have, by and large, taken that on pretty well; they’ve absorbed that idea that they need to work hard. (ESOLSFGM1)

Cynthia agreed: “Almost every single one would say, ‘I want to do well, and pay back and return some of the sacrifices my parents have made for me. I want to do it for my family’” (ELLSFGM1). Their academic diligence had raised the bar for local students as well, so much so that they were represented out of proportion to their numbers in the 2016 Prizegiving (RupertM2). Conversely, Bill made the value judgement that Samoan and Tongan ELLs “pretty largely fit into the same socio-economic group as the Māori. We just strive to give them the best possible education regardless of ethnic background and culture” (BillM1).

ESOL staff explained that ELLs overall suffered from multiple mismatches with the school culture. The migration process had generated complex blended families, among which step-child conflict could be present. The stress spilled over into school time and was identified by ESOL staff as a learning issue. Another issue discussed was the loss of extended family members like grandparents to help raise the children. Further, Samoan students in particular were often committed time-wise and finance-wise to their family and religious communities, so students might lack homework time during the week and weekends. A constant concern was ELLs’ lateness to class or for assessments, sometimes because they “have to take their brothers or sisters to school” (ELLSFGM1). “They just walk in, 10, 15, 20 minutes late. It’s no big deal. And they will do it consistently no matter how many times you tell them” (ESOLTFGM1).

Within classes, ELLs needed to navigate learning values differences. Dysart explained that “They are used to more of a kind of rote learning system” (DysartM1), a style which Bill termed “blotting paper” (ESOLTFGM1). Cynthia expanded:

In many of the cultures we are dealing with, it is culturally not polite to demand help or ask for help; even to ask a question is not polite. The teacher is the authority here. They know everything; just get on with what you have been told to do. (ESOLTFGM1)

Student Herb expanded: “When I came here, one time some students answering back the teacher. At first, it’s like, I’m confused, because how, why they different, they don’t have respect, but it’s New Zealand so it’s different, so I’m just silent” (ELLSFGM1).

Student Leah added:

I think most of the class I went to, I notice some Kiwi students, like whenever the teacher talking to us, they do whatever they want, but not listening to the teachers. I sit back and just think like, “I don’t know if they are learning anything from their parents.” (ELLSFGM1)

Values differences about the authority of the teacher could limit ELLs’ interaction with the teacher, if he/she didn’t have the intercultural competence (Carbaugh, 2007) to manage ELL factors displayed in class such as assertions of work progress to avoid feeling shamed: “They don’t like admitting that they don’t understand” (NuggetM1). Values differences could also limit ELLs sitting with local students in class. Herb explained: “Normal Kiwi students are amazing, but like sometimes don’t go well together ‘cos of the multicultural background, and plus multi-language barrier sometimes comes into play. So that’s why usually ELLs sit with their own.” In their own ELL groups, they could use L1 and L2 with each other to assist content understanding and work quietly with each other (ObservationM2, 3).

ELLs faced other cultural difficulties stemming from their parents’ situations. Some of these were their own struggles to learn English, transient employment conditions affording their children only short-term student visas, lack of understanding of New Zealand school systems and limited networking opportunities with locals (NuggetM1). Herb explained:

Our parents they didn't really learn that much about English, or how to actually communicate, so the whole time, language barrier sometimes blocks them from coming to like actually get involved in our school things like PTAs, going to meetings, or coming to see teachers sometimes. 'Cos when they talk to teachers, they don't sometimes understand what they are saying, which sometimes leads to parents not really being involved in the kids' school lives. (ELLSFGM1)

Bok supplemented: "Normal Kiwi parents sometimes get Saturdays and Sundays off, and sometimes my parents don't, so you don't have that time with them, which kinda sucks but you just have to make do with it" (ELLSFGP1). Cynthia exposed a deeper language issue:

We have to remember that many of our parents are illiterate in their own language, in their own language as well as English, a very limited English. So how do we support these people if we don't have their language? Sometimes they can't even read! (ESOLTFGM1)

ELLs generally were bolstered with strong external motivation from their parents for them to achieve, complementing their personal desire to achieve. However, Dean Dysart explained a common issue with ELLs when they arrive.

We find this particularly with some of the Pasifika families. They very much see that there's two choices when you leave school; you get a job or go to university. But there are all kinds of alternatives other than university ... and that's not exclusive to ELLs, but we do find it's particularly an issue especially for some of these kids who are not ready for university. The students haven't gained the maturity yet or just simply clarified what they want to do. They can actually be almost resistant and can start to drift. (Dysart M1)

He added:

I've had kids enrol this year, just arrived from overseas. They want to go to university next year. It's completely unrealistic, because they don't have the English. They want to be put in a Level 3 English class or whatever to get



their literacy credits. And they just cannot do it. That's really sad for them, but they need more time. (DysartM1)

Students interviewed affirmed the benefits of being at multicultural Mountfort. Herb very much appreciated that “the college is really accepting of a lot of cultures” and that made it easier for ELLs (ELLSFGM1). He stated: “The school feels like a community, and the bonds that students have with the teacher's really good, ‘cos our teachers are more ethnic than other schools” (ELLSFGM1). ELLs also appreciated the opportunity to become involved in a variety of school sports groups and clubs, such as the Fiji Indian, Samoan, Filipino clubs. They also joined the Kapa Haka and Pasifika Festival groups. He particularly enjoyed the leadership opportunities and displays of cultural pride that the Festival of Nations afforded them.

### **5.5.3 ESOL Department: Finding a face**

Traditionally, Christchurch has been described as ‘the most English of New Zealand cities’ (Hart & Davidson, 2016, p. 167). Dysart appraised it as a “white sanctuary” (M1). ESOL staff recalled Rupert stating that “in the 1960s when he went to school there was only one Chinese student in the whole school” (ESOLTFGM1). Dysart concurred: “When was in Year 13 [at Mountfort] there was one Pacific Island kid – that was in 1980s. There was one” (DysartM1). The earthquakes from 2011 onwards changed the level of cultural diversity in Christchurch “probably for ever” (Dysart M1) and in the Mountfort intake in particular.

From 2015, by developing the process of testing new students for ELL eligibility, Cynthia rejuvenated the ESOL Department just when ELLs were increasing their presence at Mountfort. From 2015 to 2017, ELL numbers increased from 18 to 150 students. By 2017, Mountfort's student intake of nearly 700 had been compounded by migrant numbers so that over 50% of the school was made up of minority groups, many attending ESOL classes: “We are 37% Pākehā at this school, 30% Māori, 12-13% Asian, about 8% Pasifika” (DysartM2). Cynthia explained:

I think before I arrived here, there wasn't really any awareness about the needs of this group of students. Now I think over the years as our numbers have grown, our department has grown. We have more staff, than we had.

When I started I was the only one, no TAs, no staff, suddenly we've grown. And I think with that comes a little bit more awareness. (ESOLTFGM1)

SM perspectives of what the ESOL Department should be were conflated with Ministry requirements as well as their past experiences of ESOL. Because ESOL was a non-Key Learning subject, recognised only since the 1990s as an addition to the MOE's requirements for schools (see 2.7), it was often viewed as existing to support mainstream classes instead of having a stand-alone identity. BOT Chairman Rupert viewed its members as "resource people" for other teachers, or "working one on one with their kids, to support them with vocabulary lists rather than take classes, pretty basic sort of things" (RupertM1). Principal Joseph acknowledged that ESOL's recent situation had developed from "an add-on type place and often ESOL's somewhere over there, in the prefab down there, and rightly or wrongly that's a practical response because of some schools with small numbers of children" (JosephM1). He continued:

But that's not the case now in a number of schools, and this school's a prime example of that. And it's coming back to the moral imperative, human being to human being, and also New Zealand's social cohesion, absolutely essential that people who are here feel part of being here. (JosephM1)

Cynthia reinforced the priority of ESOL Departments and multicultural learning needs:

ESOL Departments are growing and they are going to continue growing in New Zealand. New Zealand is becoming very, very global in terms of its population mix. But the teaching capacity isn't growing alongside the growth in student numbers. The schools still have that old-fashioned thinking that ESOL is something additional, something on top of everything else, and that's not true. Thankfully there is now a little recognition of Samoan and Pasifika student needs. But there are so many other nationalities, multi-student population who still do not have their needs appreciated or addressed. (CynthiaM3)

By 2017 the ESOL Department had become clearly visible through its staff and students in the school, but its collaborative ties with the wider school were less evident. It was vulnerable to isolation and resentment through its separate MOE funding and school timetable complications (see 2.7.3). Dysart noted: "I think it's one area that could easily

become ghettoised. They could very easily be a little pocket over there, which people then grumble about” (Dysart M2). Rupert explained that in Mountfort, the ESOL Department had no curriculum ties to a larger department: “They’ve been over there, almost out of sight. They’ve been running themselves. I would like to see it become more part of the school” (RupertM2). Bill concurred that as a department, ESOL’s identity was wide-ranging but marginalised: “It’s on the edge of just about everything in the school” (BillM2).

Principal Joseph was also aware that the practice of ESOL staff encouraging ELLs to befriend each other reduced whole-school cohesion, which was his priority:

We have had a relatively sudden influx of greater than usual number of ELL children, and these kids, not surprisingly, stick together, by and large. So the more that we can have kids playing sport together, the more those opportunities like Festival of Nations we have, the more opportunities we have to promote togetherness, recognising differences under one common values flag. (JosephM1)

An added complication was that for some time, Mountfort had suffered from an unstable roll. Rupert commented: “The school’s not going to become secure for a couple of years yet; still pretty tenuous, the roll numbers” (RupertM1). This created competition between the ESOL Department and other subject areas for ELLs in their classes, as explained below.

#### **5.5.4 Mainstream/ESOL staff competition**

Overall, senior mainstream staff responded to increased student diversity in their classes in two ambivalent ways: they appreciated ELL student presence but resented the increased workload from their language difficulties. The mainstream staff interviewed perceived ESOL Department practices as the cause of these difficulties (MTFGM1).

Senior mainstream staff viewpoints about ESOL could be understood from the context of a school history of staff/management conflict stemming from past school disruptions, which loosened staff expectations of compliance. Mainstream staff also showed little awareness of the benefits of an ESOL presence in the school, perhaps because the legitimacy of the ESOL Department had been so disjointed in the school in previous

years. There was also no use of ESOL TAs to assist mainstream staff with ELLs and liaise with them.

In 2017 there were 60 staff, some on contracts or in part-time positions (Mountfort College, 2017c). There had been significant staff reduction in previous years (see 5.3). In Christchurch, several schools had closed after the earthquakes and existing ones were “competing with each other for student numbers” (CynthiaP3). The arrival of students with ethnically diverse backgrounds allowed more staff to be employed and strengthened the tenure of permanent staff already there. Rupert explained that Mountfort teachers were “aware that further roll drops could lead to their jobs going, so I think teachers here were keen to take just about anyone in their subject areas who would help boost numbers” (RupertM1). Cynthia concurred, albeit more cynically: “The reason the schools appear to be encouraging diversity is simply because otherwise parents are not going to send their kids there” (CynthiaP3).

During the first half of 2017, the HOD ESOL still had permission to demand priority rights for students to go to ESOL classes if their test results indicated the need. There were several time-based repercussions from this that affected students’ placement in ESOL. The ESOL timetable was set only after all other subjects were finalised early each year. While existing ELLs were tested and prepared for their ESOL classes in November the previous year, new ESOL student test results were sometimes concluded during the first term. The above two contingencies meant that sometimes potential ESOL students were placed in mainstream classes first, then needed to be taken out of them for ESOL ones.

Timetabling students for ESOL classes created tensions with class level deans, who were in charge of overall level timetabling. Year 13 Dean Dysart observed the way ELLs lost subject time or had to spend extra terms at school to complete subject requirements because of ESOL classes and considered that subject conflicts could be remedied more flexibly. He stated:

I definitely feel that the way that ESOL got to just go in and say, “No that timetable’s not going to happen,” without any real room for discussion, was not the best approach. A more collaborative thing where you have actually

discussed with the student what their requirements are and to work out whether or not we are actually doing the right thing. (DysartM2)

During my second visit, I observed the HOD ESOL eliciting senior management support because another dean constantly considered that she could override the ESOL test list results if, to her, an ELLs' spoken English was sufficient to avoid ESOL class (ObservationM2). Cynthia perceived the issue was lack of understanding about the difference between written and spoken language: "It's the academic language that we're concerned about" (CynthiaM1a). Bill concurred: "It's fair to say that we have had some difficulty with the deans. I don't think they are totally aware of the needs of some of the migrant kids who have not got strong English" (ESOLTFGM1).

Mainstream teachers did not consider that ESOL classes should be given priority with subject choice, in spite of the evidence of ESOL test results. Senior subject teachers of KLAs were concerned that if ELLs could not attend their class, the financial and collegial benefits of that extra person would be lost. Cynthia explained:

Cynthia: They don't like that because they have to sacrifice their students who are going to ESOL ... because their numbers are reduced they cannot have so many teachers in their departments or the money. I don't think all departments get separate funding like ESOL does. They only get operational funding for that school.

Researcher: Based on bums on seats.

Cynthia: That's right. (CynthiaP3)

Also, if ELLs achieved assessment credits in a KLAs, their success was reflected in increased subject department status. Senior subject teachers also knew that in the curriculum hierarchy, their KLA subjects were more important for the school's academic reputation than non-KLA ESOL. Another complication was that students could be in ESOL class for a percentage of time per week and go to a mainstream class for the rest of that subject time slot, but this seemed to create even greater conflict for everyone. Mainstream teacher Eric stated:

I do find that being removed from subject classes is a massive disadvantage for a lot of students, especially in the senior area where missing three-quarters of class would have a massively negative impact. I have taught senior students

who are missing 50% of their classes, because of ESOL, which is really unfair on them. (MTFGM1)

ELL class tenure in ESOL was also transient; ELLs were there until they could pass the assessment used for exit permission, which could be a term or longer, not necessarily for the year.

Mainstream teacher issues with ESOL timetabling could be further complicated with the involvement of parents. Technology teacher Nugget explained that one of his students “was going great guns, then he was taken out into ESOL. His mum emailed the school and said no, he’s not happy with this. So, he’s back in my class” (Nugget M1). The right of parents to uphold student subject choice in this case overrode ESOL language test results, and further complicated the power conflicts about the relevance of ESOL classes within the wider school.

Another mainstream teacher and Dean, Laura, championed her case with students’ perspectives. Laura considered that the practice of students going to ESOL classes was “disruptive to their social development” by “forming bonds with ELL kids,” and not mixing with mainstream students to learn social norms, with which Eric concurred (MTFGM1). She also explained that some senior ELLs feel shame in being taken out of their academic classes:

It feels like a punishment for them, because they are being taken out, especially if they are a bit better in the English than the other ones. Last year, my class missed two Science lessons a week, because of ESOL. They like Science, but two lessons means they are behind permanently. (MTFGM1)

She perceived her best success with ELLs was in persuading a student to achieve better in ESOL class until he was considered good enough to go into her class instead. Her views were supported by some students themselves, particularly higher-achieving ones, who voiced their dislike of the way their future career goals could be compromised by attending ESOL classes. Herb explained: This year I really badly wanted to take Physics, but I couldn’t ‘cos of my ESOL classes. Sometimes ESOL classes do get in the way of subjects that you wanted to take since they’re in the same lines (ELLSFGM1).

Finally, mainstream staff were also very aware that at Mountfort, ELLs were often at the same literacy level as locally born English-speaking students: “It doesn’t matter if they are ESOL or not, they should be joining an English language programme to upskill” (MTFGM1). To them, the presence of ESOL was subversive, it upset the natural academic and social order. Laura voiced some alternative ways of accommodating ELLs’ language needs: “If we are fully supporting them, we would fully support them to not have to miss out on academic time. We would provide the need for the language somehow as well” (MTFGM1).

Even though mainstream staff wanted ESOL students in their classes, they felt resentment about the extra effort it took to teach them. Laura explained: “Diversity means more work for us, and that’s the resistance more than the diversity. It’s the ‘What’s that going to do to my workload, to deal with this?’” (MTFGM1). Dysart expanded:

I think they are frustrated ‘cos they want to get on and teach their stuff. The ELL kids are a disproportionate amount of their time if they want to get them through. That’s a reality that they just have to live with. (DysartM1)

Senior subject teachers were trained primarily in subject areas and may not have the confidence or flexibility to deal with ELL situations. Dysart used his own experience to explain:

I can work with this kid who’s struggling, because I know how to work with a kid who is struggling; I don’t know quite how to work with a kid whose language simply isn’t there yet. Generally, people love ELL kids ... but they don’t feel equipped to deal with their specific needs sometimes. I put myself in that category too. I’ve done CELTA, so I’ve got some background in ESOL teaching. But I still sometimes feel that I have to switch into a different mode to teach these three kids, compared to what I’m doing with the rest of the class, and it’s not always easy to do that. (DysartM1)

Mainstream staff also had difficulty addressing ESOL cultural differences with students and their parents. Laura explained that most ELLs’ parents had little to do with the school, and being a female dealing with them could be difficult: “I find certain cultures have their own cultural beliefs, and females are lower in the pecking order, and they speak to you

like that” (MTFGP1). Eric perceived that when he phoned home to let them know about a student’s success, the parents automatically thought that their child was in trouble.

If ELLs’ linguistic or cultural differences become overbearing for mainstream staff, the latter would sometimes channel their difficulties onto ESOL staff. Cynthia recalled: Other curriculum teachers would come to us, and say: “Can you get your students to do this assignment for me, Social Studies or Science or English assignments, because I’m not trained to teach them” (CynthiaM3).

In doing so, mainstream staff indicated that they thought they had the right to relegate ESOL staff to being their inferiors, or “ESOL teachers to TAs” (CynthiaM3), and use ESOL class time for completing work from other subject areas. Mainstream subject teachers could thus discharge responsibility for both their own subject assessment conditions and their need to upskill for ELLs. When asked about whether ESOL PD would be useful, mainstream staff saw it as an added workload issue. Cynthia’s in-school vocabulary training during a Teacher Only Day was appreciated (NuggetM1), but mainstream staff interviewed were not aware of national scholarships for ELL qualifications to be completed in out-of-school time. Cynthia explained the intercultural training that mainstream teachers needed:

The culture within the classroom is not what it was 50 years ago. Students’ cultures, understanding of that culturally responsive pedagogy is really the key. Cultures cannot enter the classroom until they enter the psychology or the consciousness of the teacher. Teachers really have to be open to other cultures. (CynthiaM3)

Overall, mainstream staff expressed the tension between the belief that ESOL was not needed and a reluctance to be fully involved with the ELL development required for the success of their subject teaching. Mainstream staff suggested that solutions to ELL language issues could be through teacher-organised buddying in class, pre-teaching assessment language, using Google Classroom for ELL work catch-up and having student language “boot camps” out of class time or in the holidays (MTFGM1).

The competition between mainstream and ESOL staff for ELL students limited ESOL members’ attempts to expand an understanding of multicultural language and culture. The



path to ESOL-mainstream staff agreement about ESOL class provision within the wider school needed support from ELLs themselves.

### **5.5.5 ELLs helping change the balance**

The large numbers ELLs at Mountfort highlighted their unusual position in relation to its local and national demographic contexts. Even accounting for the time adjustments, the following statistics can give some indication of this. The 2017 Mountfort roll shows that New Zealand European Pākehā were 37% of the school (MOE, 2017a) (Dysart M2), in contrast to 2013 when the census figures for the same ethnic group were 78% in Christchurch city, 87% in Canterbury (one of the least diverse provinces nationally) and 74% nationally. Māori students were 30% of Mountfort students in 2017, while the same ethnic group identified as 8.1% in Canterbury and 15% of the national population in 2013 (StatsNZ, 2013b). In 2017, Education Counts figures show that the Mountfort student cohort consisted of 33% Asian, Pasifika or Other (MOE, 2017a); over 23% of the school took ESOL (Cynthia M1,M3). These figures show that Mountfort had a higher proportion of ethnically diverse students than the same ethnic groups in Canterbury and New Zealand as a whole. These statistics help explain the linguistic and cultural differences between Mountfort students and their regional and national school systems networks, and underpin the complex juggling act that Mountfort senior management experienced to maintain a cohesive balance between monocultural, bicultural and multicultural values in the school.

Although state schools in New Zealand like Mountfort had statutory autonomy to make local decisions, their funding and guidelines come from the government, so schools were beholden to abide by their direction. Rupert explained that even if there were conflicts of interest between a school and an increasingly bureaucratic government, “it’s quite hard to opt out of things in schools now” and “there’s no real reason in being constantly on the radar” (RupertM2). This means that individual school leadership systems in New Zealand are engineered towards dominant language values under the management of a government elected by a majority New Zealand European Pākehā vote.

At Mountfort, this top-down New Zealand European Pākehā bias was evident in the nature of the Mountfort BOT responsible for school governance. BOT Chairperson Rupert explained: “Low decile schools struggle to get nominations” for BOTs:

Our Board is white, middle-class. Do we fully reflect our community? No. We are mostly on the outskirts of the community. We're from the more affluent areas, so we're not reflecting our community. (RupertM1)

He also recalled the Ministry prioritisation of Māori, then Pasifika students, and the school's responsibility to represent and support them (RupertM1). At Mountfort, the BOT had no representation of ELLs' parents. However, BOT Chairperson Rupert explained that Principal Joseph was an asset to the school in that he could accommodate different ethnicities as he combined "two extremes" (RupertM1). He had a personal background within the affluent New Zealand European Pākehā middle-class of Christchurch but had a very strong moral imperative: "All our children are all our children" (JosephM1). While accepting that the school drew a roll of underprivileged and diverse students including ELLs from the local area, "children who don't have the social or economic capital to go elsewhere" (JosephM2), he was also very conscious of the need to improve ties with the wider community, to attract more affluent New Zealand European Pākehā students. He was further aware of the need to provide an education for both New Zealand European Pākehā students with low literacy levels: "Many of our kiwi kids are language-poor," and the growing numbers of ELLs "providing people come into the country want to buy into our values too" (JosephM1, M2).

Mountfort mainstream teaching staff contained a high proportion of migrant teachers who might be expected to accept the migrant students they taught, with both groups being newcomers to New Zealand (ESOLTFGM1). Bill also considered that the wider Mountfort school context pressurised staff to be accepting of all students:

I think all of our staff we are such a diverse, multi-ethnic school, that they could not possibly survive in the place if they held any particularly negative views of any particular ethnic, or if they favoured a particular ethnic group. They are just neutral. They treat the kids as just kids. (ESOLTFGM1)

Even though staff might support diverse language and culture in their personal attitudes towards students, they were bound by Eurocentric national academic systems within which it was easier for traditional New Zealand European Pākehā students to thrive.

It was the students themselves that challenged the traditional monolingual, monocultural fit the most, mainly through their numbers. With such a large degree of linguistic and

cultural student diversity in 2017, it is understandable that there was more collaboration between the ELL minority group and the wider school than previously. Joseph had recalled that in the 1990s, “the school was very visible out on the field, ethnically separate, at least they were in classes together” (JosephM2). Dysart commented on the increased integration:

The students tend to mix really comfortably. They have friends of different ethnicities and cultural backgrounds. All the time I see kids going, “I’ve just been learning how to say some stuff from somebody or other.” They never end up learning the language, but they are just wanting to know a few things, even if it’s how to swear laugh and say hello. That’s great. All that learning is great learning. We have got a more culturally aware and accepting community going forward. (DysartM2)

Rupert attributed some of the students’ intercultural acceptance to the earthquakes:

I think it’s significantly better this side of town. The earthquakes have had a positive impact on relationships between people. Some deep sea ... I’m no psychologist or anything like that, but in a weird way, there is a positive impact from them. (RupertM1)

He also attributed it to the lower socio-economic status of their families: “I think there’s a degree of naivety in our local kids in this area of Christchurch. They’re relatively uncomplicated. They’re from lower socio-economic backgrounds” (Rupert M1).

Cultural diversity was represented well in student leadership in the school, as Mathematics teacher Eric asserted:

I do think the school goes to quite an effort. We’re not a huge school, so sometimes the pool could be quite small to try and find good, solid leaders. Sometimes we haven’t had good, solid leaders and sometimes we have, and they’ve come from wherever we have found them, sometimes from white Kiwis and sometimes from there. (MTFGM1)

Cynthia added: “The deputy head girl is Samoan, and the BOT representative is Samoan. Last year the head girl was Fijian. The senior student leadership team reflects the school, is multicultural” (ESOLTFGM1). This was supported by the photograph of school

prefects in the 2017 June school newsletter (Mountfort College, 2017a, p. 3). So, the larger cohort of diverse students at Mountfort which used ESOL Department systems, gradually improved social intercultural relations within the school, but they had a very limited capacity to influence systemic changes in education, both regionally and nationally.

## **5.5.6 Multiculturalism modified**

### **5.5.6.1 An ESOL leadership crisis**

During my second and third visits to Mountfort, events transpired to pressure Cynthia to resign from her position as HOD ESOL. During her three years of tenure, she had emerged as a strong advocate for multiculturalism: “The school-wide culture has to change, it has to be encouraged to change” (CynthiaM2). Rupert noted that “She has an utter, total commitment to it” (RupertM1). She had managed to obtain a PR3 salary designation (see 2.6.1), with subsequent increase of income and non-contact time, from a previous principal, which raised the practical status of her ESOL HOD position to the same as a Key Learning subject leader. Under her energetic influence, ESOL classes had been increased from one to seven:

Before I came here, kids didn't want to come to ESOL 'cos that was for dumb students. It took me three years to really show, no, it is the clever kids that come to ESOL. It takes a while to change the culture. (CynthiaM1)

Cynthia perceived that an important strategy to moderate ESOL learning difficulties was through networking with the students and their families outside the classroom (ESOLTFGM1). Dysart noted that her journalism skills were put to excellent use with the ESOL magazine “which is sent out to everybody and it's gone out beyond the school as well and had an impact so that's really great” (DysartM1). The Festival of Nations was also a wonderful way to unite local community enthusiasm for language and culture diversity. Overall, Bill noted: “It's fair to say [Cynthia's] raised the profile of the ESOL Department.” (ETFGM1) with which Dysart agreed: “I think, in terms of visibility, I think [Cynthia] does a pretty good job of making sure that it's visible. She is full-on” (DysartM1).

Cynthia's status as a recent New Zealander precluded her from having in-depth experience of local cultural customs and practices in secondary schools and appreciation

of the expectations of being a middle manager within the educational hierarchy. She assumed that ESOL staff needed to maintain their own curriculum designs and class practices, without written foundations from her. As well, Rupert observed that she “got it in her head that she was a Learning Area” (RupertM1); she seemed unaware of the national significance of the Curriculum Document (MOE, 2007b) and the non-KLA status of ESOL. Cynthia gave her view:

The principal very clearly told me: ‘You are not one of the Learning Areas in the curriculum so you can’t have the same status.’ I think no that’s not right. We are not in the curriculum because we are an overarching umbrella. We are really there to help with all departments. It’s our role. (CynthiaM1)

She seemed to understand that specifically, ELLs were “priority learners” and used this idea to insist on ESOL class precedence (CynthiaM1). The ERO explains priority learners as a much wider group: “Priority learners are groups of students who have been identified as historically not experiencing success in the New Zealand schooling system. These include many Māori and Pasifika learners, those from low socio-economic backgrounds, and students with special needs” (ERO, 2012, p. 4). She also seemed unaware of the limited role of the MOE in guiding schools about ESOL funding use, and the statutory right of school management to be legally autonomous in what they did with their “wise stewardship” (JosephM1) of both ESOL funds and bulk school funds (see 2.7.3). She stated that Ministry ESOL funding was for resources, not staff salaries, and was concerned to obtain an allocation of funds from the main school grant, just as the KLA departments did:

This funding is actually not for teacher’s salaries; this funding really is for anything additional. I’m saying, treat us like any other learning area, Science or Maths, there is a quota; it’s bums on seats principle. You have that many seats; this is the number of teaching hours you get. But it doesn’t work like that with us. (ESOLTFGM1)

She was uneasy that the BOT had refused to carry over ESOL funds from year to year. Rupert stated that “I don’t like carrying money over, because what it does of course it increases the debt, in the next year. I wanted to put an absolute stop to that” (Rupert M1). By maintaining an intensive ESOL Department focus, Cynthia strengthened its identity,

but it seemed that she could have possibly filtered out an understanding of the wider implications of whole school decisions about funding, other staff needs, and whole school student learning needs. Rupert commented that “She had an inability to see or unwillingness to see other points of view” (RupertM1).

When parents complained about an ESOL staff member continually being absent from class (ObservationM2), she believed the principal would solve the issue, though she had a PR3 to manage the department: “I went to the principal. Perhaps a word from you, just tell [the staff member] to pull up his socks and get on with the work. But he just wouldn’t do that” (CynthiaM3). ESOL teacher Bill, who had a long-standing links to the principal, did not support her either, and aligned with the staff member in question to the extent that she felt betrayed (CynthiaM3). A climate of mutual resentment evolved until, as the BOT Chairman explained: “There was an employment issue and then the matter was resolved. So, Cynthia’s not here. Maybe we’ve lost some particular talent or expertise there, but it has been balanced by a high degree of calmness that has followed” (RupertM2). A leadership vacuum was created.

#### 5.5.6.2 The consequences

For the next six months, existing ESOL staff managed Cynthia’s classes. Bill became the acting HOD. The practice of prioritising senior students into ESOL based on test grades, was softened. Bill explained: “We are not going to dragoon the senior kids into ESOL classes, we are going to encourage them into it. We may insist on some. If they can cope we will let them cope” (BillM2). After she had left, Cynthia explained that the criteria for having students in ESOL classes had changed from monitoring language tests results, to whether students still received funding from the Ministry, and she estimated that Mountfort ESOL class numbers would most likely drop (CynthiaP3). Possibly this would mean that relationships would improve between ESOL teachers and the mainstream staff because there was no longer such intense competition for students, but it might also reduce the opportunity for specialist ESOL language teaching, opportunities for ELLs to bond in ESOL classes, and reduce respect for ESOL as a department within the school.

Towards the end of 2017, Bill began aligning more closely with the English Department. He switched some senior student Level 3 ESOL assessments to Level 2 NCEA ones, to ensure students had sufficient credits to obtain Literacy qualifications: “We bent the rules a little bit” (BillM2). He depended on English staff to mark NCEA material completed in

ESOL classes. He also began attending English Department meetings. For 2018, the English Department HOD was given an umbrella role to support the ESOL Department. Rupert explained:

I think there is a major benefit for staff rather than being in an isolated community on their own, they have the benefit of being part of a larger group of people whose focus is still language. I think the real benefit would be for English teachers learning a bit more about overseas kids which then might be able to transfer to their own. That must surely be of considerable value. It's teacher advocacy, a bigger group, a stronger group, status as well. (Rupert M2)

The new HOD English was a local New Zealand European Pākehā who had previously taught English and Te Reo Māori at a private school. The HOD English used Te Reo Māori knowledge as a means of displaying cross-cultural understanding (JaneM1). As a new Mountfort staff member, she understood that the ESOL Department had previously had very little communication with the English Department, had focused only on language mechanics and vocabulary and had no clear transition points to enter and exit ESOL classes (JaneM1). Parallel with the mainstream staff interviewed in the focus group (MTFGM1), she considered that “there has to be a very strong value-added programme in ESOL in order to justify coming out of a class and losing class time” (JaneM1). These considerations showed a strong sense of allegiance with existing staff attitudes, but limited understanding of the value of ESOL linguistic and cultural pedagogy as supported by Ministry-led ESOL initiatives and ESOL qualifications systems (Murray, 2009) (see Section 8.3.4.2, for the full quote).

The new ESOL leader was a British-born female and linguist of French and Chinese, pleased to be working in a school that “is rich in different languages and has many stories to tell from all over the world” (Mountfort College, 2018, p. 3). To assist her entry, the ESOL Department office was to be moved into the old Careers suite for better access and workspaces.

Finally, the Festival of Nations celebrations were set to continue in 2018, but in a more moderate form, and with a smaller range of invitations. Joseph commented:

We are doing another International Day next year, but a much-reduced day. It damn near killed us actually. Period 3 and 4. Periods 1 and 2 normal classes, Period 5 the ELLs kids are helping to pack down, tidy up. We are suggesting Week 2, to set up an inclusive culture in the school. (JosephM3)

Bill agreed:

It was a great event, but parts of it perhaps didn't function as well as they should have. The parade itself was superb, and the cultural evening on the Friday night was great, and the cultural lunch on Thursday. The workshops we took out completely; it was a bit too loose. It's very hard to engage all the kids all the time anyway, it just doesn't happen. (BillM2)

The above changes to the ESOL Department could be perceived as methods used to realign it with national status quo expectations of non-Key Learning departments and to moderate the promotion of multiculturalism. The changes also reflected the desire of Mountfort leaders to lean more towards being representative of the values of the wider Christchurch area and MOE guidelines, while still encouraging a more 'acceptable' version of cultural diversity, shown in the continuation of a reduced Festival of Nations, Polyfest, Fiafia and other sporting and cultural events (Wood & Homolja, 2019, March 12). If Mountfort was to increase its roll to capture students living in both of the very different socio-economic CoL locations as planned, it needed to emphasise elements that bound locals and migrants together. Then ideally, all might combine under one renewed school roof with some form of educational cohesion. As Rupert stated: "Schools are here for maintaining and enhancing the caring nature of our society" emphasising that the existing social frameworks need to be supported as well as any newer developments (RupertP1).

## **5.6 Summary and conclusion**

This chapter has described the first of three case studies that show ELL systems and practices in individual secondary school contexts. The Mountfort example highlights the ideological conflicts between an HOD ESOL promoting multilingual and multicultural visibility to support the significant number of ELLs within this school, and the growing rejection of her beliefs by two other school groups. The first, the mainstream staff,



perceived the ESOL department as competing with their personal employment status and subject responsibilities. They resisted the encroachment of ESOL systems and practices upon their opportunities for academic success without accepting that ELL was essential for subject advancement. The second group, senior management, perceived that in openly advocating for multilingualism and multiculturalism, the HOD was overstepping the local and national requirements for ELL as established in ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ legislation, Curriculum Document and other MOE management obligations. In other words, she needed to align more closely with internal and external school management networks, rather than attempting to persuade those in her educational context about the validity of her beliefs about ELL. Her departure meant that the school lost a talented ELL practitioner with an integral understanding of the benefits of plurilingualism and an ability for display through print and performance. The introduction of a new HOD ESOL settled ideological and curriculum conflicts within ESOL, reduced ESOL-staff tensions, and placed Mountfort’s ESOL visibility in line with other state secondary schools locally and nationally.



## CHAPTER SIX: PATTON

This chapter on Patton is split into three parts. Part A discusses its wider context and its innovative responses to the needs of cultural and linguistic diversity. Part B discusses its International Department systems and practices, and Part C follows with an exploration of the New Kiwi Department.

In this chapter, data was generated from material in interviews with participants, as shown in Table 7 below. Further interview details can be found in Appendices 10, 11 and 21b. Patton documentation can be identified in Appendix 17. As well, observation notes in researcher journals and a Patton diary have been used.

**Table 7: List of Patton participants**

<b>INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS</b>	<b>PARTICIPANTS</b>
Board members	<b>David</b> Board Chairman, <b>Joy</b>
SMs	<b>Charlie</b> , <b>Albert</b>
International Department Academic Dean	<b>Head Gardener</b> or <b>HG</b>
HOF Languages	<b>Vida</b>
International Department teachers	<b>Curly</b> , <b>Ada</b>
HOD New Kiwi Department	<b>Rosie</b>
<b>FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS</b>	<b>PARTICIPANTS</b>
With mainstream staff	<b>Lee</b> (HOD Art); <b>RB</b> (Physics); <b>Bob</b> (HOD Technology); <b>Walker</b> (HOD Biology)
With International Department staff	<b>Curly</b> ; <b>Jenny</b> , <b>Joanne</b> Counsellors; <b>Claire</b> , <b>Cindy</b> TAs
With New Kiwi Department TA staff	<b>Rhea</b> , <b>Kirawa</b> , <b>Paul</b> , <b>Leila</b>
With International Department students	<b>Yuu</b> (from Japan); <b>Vynie</b> (from Vietnam); <b>Ding Shu Rai</b> , <b>Helen</b> (from China); <b>Allen Naz</b> (from Afghanistan)
With New Kiwi Department students	<b>Lah Kee</b> , <b>Loko</b> (from Myanmar); <b>Zahra</b> (from Afghanistan); <b>Zan</b> (from Bhutan) (all RMBs)

## PART A

### 6.1 Local context: Steady, unhindered growth

Patton’s regional site was originally an isolated Māori village surrounded by native forest, first seen by Europeans in the mid-19th century and chosen as a suitable area for British settlement. Once land was bought from Māori and transport systems established, New Zealand European Pākehā largely populated the area, engaged in de-afforestation, sawmilling and public works and establishing pastoral farms on cleared land. The local population grew steadily from the 1880s to form a small city status, with a gradual increase of businesses amongst a range of educational institutions (Patton High School, 2018) .

Patton was created within this environment to cater for post-World War II demographic, political and educational changes. It added a second co-educational option to a city which had much earlier-established academic single-sex schools. Patton was built on a flat land block that had previously been sold to the government for state housing. It was intended to cater primarily for New Zealand European Pākehā working families newly settled into recent surrounding subdivisions. Patton’s catchment grew to include a mix of commercial and refugee hubs, while later zoning regulations allowed boundary creep into the central township, “shifting in our direction” (HGP1) to overlap with more centrally-located schools. Albert stated:

We draw students from, covering perhaps older, more impoverished areas being very handy, but also new growth, so I guess there you can find a place for refugee migrant, plus enough homestay potential for the international students. And if you are accepted into the school and you are out of zone, it’s not really all that far to travel. (AlbertP1)

Patton’s history has been marked by continual steady progress, with a range of facilities gradually added to accommodate growing rolls (CharlieP1). In 2017, Patton was zoned, with a student roll of over 1000 (MOE, 2017a), and a staff of over 200.

### **6.1.1 Time-honoured networks**

Since its inception, Patton has steadily established strong networks with other educational groups and it was intent on maintaining them for its reputation and success as a large, vibrant, co-educational school. It had a leading role in carrying out MOE initiatives locally, rewarded by contract funding. Charlie explained that, “the Ministry (MOE) comes to ask us to monitor or pick up the contracts. Computers in Homes, or Homework Centre, we are often approached” (CharlieP1). The school led the Resource Teachers’ Learning and Behaviour (RTLB) cluster for the region. It accessed funds from local government quangos to develop international student markets and offered employment to students through informal links to local recruitment companies (HGP1).

As a result of good management of government contracts and international student funds, Head Gardener observed:

Patton is becoming a very secure school financially. So, I think it is important that we actually are involved with those businesses, and that we run them well, and that we are running them for a profit because the return is for the community. (HGP1)

He was mindful that future government policy changes could “wipe away some of our businesses overnight” but concluded that “if you are producing a good product, and look after your clients, policy change is not going to hit you that much” (HGP1).

Patton also had “strong contacts” through parents and staff with local educational and civic institutions. These contacts enabled Patton students to negotiate access to opportunities available at university and with private providers (HGP1). The BOT Chair was a member of the city council. Patton’s principal led the local CoL (see 2.5.2). Past pupils also often returned to Patton to access their “support services; they know who to talk to adult-wise to get help when they need it” (HGP1). An unfortunate consequence of strong contacts was that Patton staff could be headhunted, as had happened recently with a new Mandarin teacher and past Māori department leaders (HGP1).

## **6.2 A wide framework of diversity inclusion**

The above facilities established Patton as a large, socially diverse school within a regional area that was slowly “shifting” to becoming more culturally diverse (MTFGP1). International Dean, Head Gardener, stated: “We have been the liberal secondary school of town for a very long time” (HGP2). Associate Principal Charlie added, “We try to be an inclusive and diverse school and encourage students to be the best they can in what areas they can” and noted that the Special Needs Unit is “the heart of the school and makes it far more caring” (CharlieP1). Language Academy leader Vida attributed the school’s regional location and acceptance of difference to the fact that motivated migrants could succeed: “Perhaps because we are isolated, we don’t have to deal with the residues of negativity that might happen up in Auckland” (VidaP1).

Patton’s roll growth has been moderated by the zoned limits of other available local secondary schools (HGP2), and some public perceptions of their possibly better discipline, academic or social aspirations (CurlyP3). Two secondary Māori schools locally “funnel off students” (CurlyP2), while others have attracted Pasifika students more readily. The Patton student community contained a mix of ethnicities, with approximately 27% Māori, 3% Pasifika, 59% New Zealand European Pākehā, 7% Asians and Other (MOE, 2017a). In 2017, the BOT had some ethnic diversity, with the recent bereavement of a Māori Chairperson leading to replacement by a person of Cook Islands heritage (CharlieP1).

### **6.2.1 Intensified systems for academic success**

Another feature of Patton was the variety of practices created to improve academic achievement. The publication of ranked secondary school academic results in the New Zealand media could be very influential in helping families decide where their adolescents would be taught. Patton’s NCEA Level 1 academic achievement rates were just above the national average at 90.1%; NCEA Level 2 results were just under local and national averages at 71.7%; the NCEA Level 3 results declined further at 32.5% (MOE, 2016c).

The academic advisor explained that Patton’s diversity “screws around our public perception” of academic success (HGP1), particularly with its Special Needs and ELL students, who might have results that do not equate with norms. The academic advisor

has had to “make it very clear to the BOT that results should be able to be flagged” for short-term international students” (HGP1). He exposed the gulf in perception with Special Needs achievement in contrast to mainstream student results: “Families will get the most incredible buzz because Jill got five credits this year. That family deserves that buzz!” (HGP1). The Year 13 Academic Advisor Albert bridled:

I know every year when we get the leaver data, often it looks bad. Every year the principal has to go back to the Ministry and say, “Hey, we are a school which values diversity, so we do accept all these students. However, if you are going to try and match a student who has been in a traditional single sex boys’ school, accelerated through the year, with our student who has been in a refugee camp, had no formal education, and then you expect us to get them to get Level 2, what are you thinking? That’s just stupid. (AlbertP1)

He also observed that migrants also should have separate academic coding as they were “just treated as regular students” (AlbertP1).

Patton had in-depth systems in place to encourage optimal opportunities for academic success. A network of academic deans was established alongside the pastoral deans’ system, where students’ progress was followed through their five years at school. In a weekly time slot, academic coaches taught skills associated with academic progress such as time management, studying and career paths; they met students and their parents individually once a term. At each class level, academic coaches were monitored by an academic manager from senior management, with overall responsibility of tracking identified students about subjects, grades or work levels. As well, senior subject teachers held after-school student coaching lessons on a weekly basis throughout the year, not just before exams. International students had after-school homework time on Wednesdays, while the New Kiwi students had after-school homework twice a week, supported by afternoon tea. In addition, the literacy coordinator had been specifically directed to “make sure that they all get their Level 1s and 2s” (RosieP2). These academic systems were a response to the complications of being a liberal, diverse school.

### 6.3 Confounding the myth of egalitarianism: The split

Since the 1990s an ESOL Department had existed in Patton, catering for ELLs delineated as general migrants, RMB and international students. The expertise sitting behind the growth of Patton's International Department "juggernaut" (HGP1) was largely due to a committed principal "taking over its management, high enough up the tree to make things happen, to pull strings at the BOT level, and being given enough freedom to actually do the development" (HGP1). In 2002, Charlie was delegated to take over the principal's role in this regard. She explained:

We had a large number of ELLs here and they were being taken out to class without support, and teachers were screaming. I was sitting in the senior Prizegiving, and the principal rattled off my roles, and in amongst that was ESOL. "Jeepers, he's going a bit senile" said I. The next morning, he said, "You will notice your responsibilities are growing. I said, 'I don't do ESOL.'" He said, 'No but you are going to.' So, I got thrown in the deep end. I had to pick this whole thing up and get my head around it. (CharlieP1)

International students were perceived by the BOT as a "revenue stream" (BFGP1). By 2006, she was told to "grow the department" (CharlieP1). By 2012, she realised that she needed to act on an international student review, which highlighted the complete lack of "cultural connection" between international and RMB students (HGP1). Charlie explained: "What we had was international students feeling very resentful, expressing that they had paid for their education ... they thought that ... to be lumped in with refugees who are getting the same benefits ... it caused some friction" (CharlieP1). She added: "They have the language learning similarities, but that's where it stops" (CharlieP1). Most international students at Patton were over 15, old enough to cope with academic challenges and the emotional stress of overseas living in Homestays, and "have come from the equivalent of high decile schools" (RosieP2). "Most of them come from pretty wealthy families" (CharlieP2). In contrast, general migrants and RMB students arrive for good, and live with their families within local catchments, the latter as government placements. Mountfort migrants have the right to attend their local state secondary school as in-zone adolescents. The socio-economic and cultural differences between the three ELL student cohorts have been explained in detail elsewhere (see 2.7.2).



The review results persuaded Charlie to split the ESOL Department into two, one for international students and one for RMB and other migrant students, named the New Kiwi Department. She recalled: “When we did the split it took a lot of gearing up to do ... so oh, I found that really difficult ... but in the end you know you just say that it has to happen” (CharlieP1).

Once the decision was made, senior management had the responsibility of repositioning the two departments separately within the school site. Siskin (1994) observes that: “Membership in the department is more than location.” It is “a social group with a distinct and distinctive set of values and norms” (p. 97). His study reveals that teachers who were scattered to distant classrooms felt isolated. Charlie commented that: “We thought long and hard about a suitable place” (CharlieP2). For the New Kiwi students, Charlie looked towards the Languages Department area, rather than Special Education or Learning Support areas, or at the back of the school. An older ex-English classroom was vacated for them, an office area was built into the classroom “at a fraction of a new-build” and New Kiwi staff were given all existing resources (CharlieP1). The nearby Languages Academy leader Vida was requested to incorporate them within the Languages Academy. She explained why she agreed:

At the time, the Languages area had grown into the Academy, so I saw a need for those kids to be based here. I saw that these are our at-risk students, and they were going to be put on top of the library or somewhere at the back of the school. It was more than the building. Apart from the heart empathy, it was also about strengthening the department. (VidaP1)

Alternatively, the International Department was positioned in a comfortable new-build block behind the library, some distance away from the New Kiwi Department. Their area incorporated two classrooms, four offices, a reception room and a kitchen area. The academic advisor chuckled: “I came over here, yes access to money, the nature of the facilities. I think the rest of the school probably does look at and go, ‘Ohhh you lucky so and so’s over there!’” (HGP1).

There were “ripples” (AlbertP1) from the school community in reaction to the split of ELL students into two departments, ripples which impacted on the ESOL staff. From 2012 to 2017, two teachers switched between them then left, and two more came and

went (RosieP1). Those who disliked the arrangement felt that the traditional Kiwi values of fair play and equality were being ignored: class and wealth hierarchies were being encouraged. Albert commented that Kiwis “just lump ELLs all together, which is not the best thing” (AlbertP1). Migrant teacher Bob went further: “It’s a Kiwi thing to think, ‘Oh you are from another country. Let’s get on with it, you are a Kiwi now’” (MTFGP1). RMB teacher Vida took another perspective: “I understand the rationale: it’s just that in practice I find it rotten. Personally, my biggest memories were not being targeted to be a refugee.” She felt that the New Kiwi Department identified its students as underprivileged and in the “no money category” (VidaP1). Conversely, Rosie explained the benefits of being separate:

I can see how they [New Kiwis] could actually feel quite overwhelmed by some of these rather wealthy, outgoing people who have chosen to come and study here and have all the bells and whistles and all the technology. So, I think it just gives them a space where they can be themselves. We are a whanau<sup>3</sup> and look after each other. (RosieP1)

As well, she emphasised the need for specialised New Kiwi student support to redress an educational balance. Rosie recorded a conversation with some of her friends:

They were like, “Our son’s a high achiever. What are they doing to help him?” I said, “He doesn’t need any help.” They got really upset about that. “He deserves as much help as anybody else.” To be equitable, you need to have inequality. To get people up to where they need to be, you need to be unequal in the way you treat people. It’s not about inequality, it’s about equity. (Rosie 2).

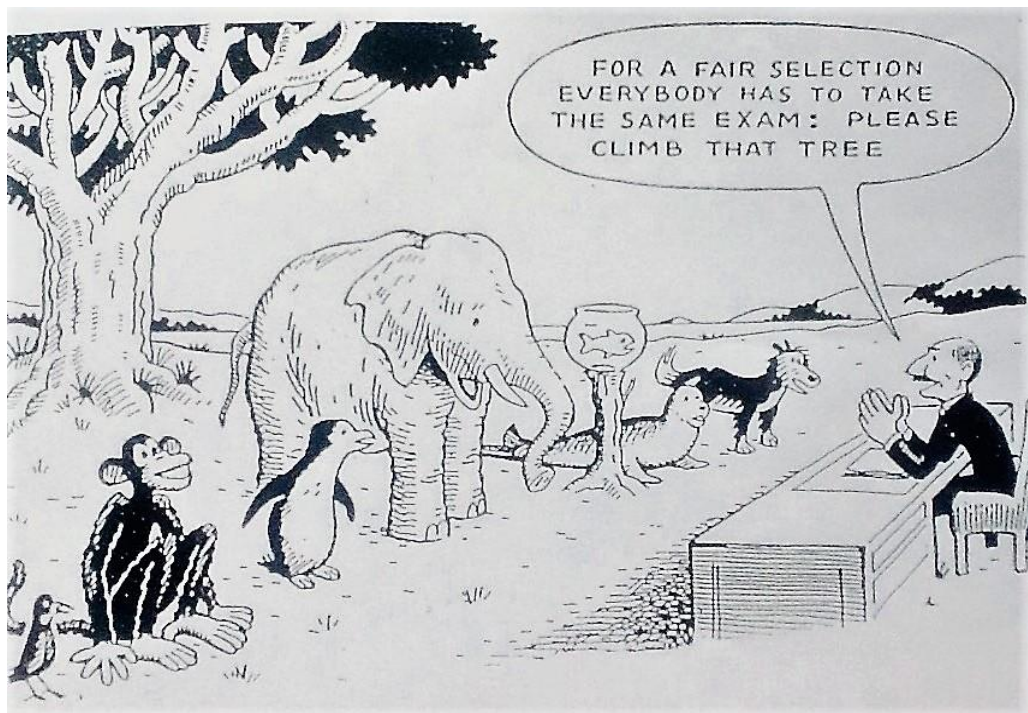
Charlie agreed, pointing out the need for more ESOL funding and excellent staff:

I think that schools should treat New Kiwi students the same as other departments, but, because of the need, they need to put some of their dollars in, and we need qualified teachers, we don’t need leftover teachers. That’s all part of the diversity; you have to put extra resources in. (CharlieP1)

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<sup>3</sup> Whanau means Māori for family.

The cartoon below (see Figure 11) on Charlie's wall expressed the contradictions and ironies of treating all students as the same.



**Figure 11: Cartoon on Charlie's wall**

However, Charlie showed some reservations about which RMB students would be acceptable into the school New Kiwi Department. She showed gratitude that they were already filtered by the The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), then the government: "You know that New Zealand has screened them so that you have your absolute genuinely needy families coming here" (CharlieP1).

TA Rhea explained that the New Kiwi Department, consisting of mainly junior-level students, was "lower" but thought that the separate environment was better for the bilingual TAs: "This is their world, and it is for us too, it has helped. From that our relationship, our bonds have become stronger" (NKTFGP1). There was some effort to overlap students between departments, with those who needed junior or senior level work, but basically few relationships developed between the two groups (ISFGP1). Charlie explained: "I probably need to be a little bit more proactive and make sure that overlap is definitely there" (CharlieP1).

Another consequence of the split was the reaction of mainstream staff and students to the existing members of each ESOL Department. Charlie noted that Rosie and the New Kiwi students had an easier journey to mainstream acceptance because they “tug at everybody’s heartstrings, whereas the international students are the other extreme” (CharlieP1). Rosie commented that the international students “are quite demanding because they want to do well, and there are more of the New Zealand kids that really don’t care quite as much, and that can be quite irritating” (RosieP2). International student competition for top assessment places and scholarships could cause further resentment with long-term residents (HGP1). Curly commented that the prosperity that international students have brought to the school was “quite overlooked sometimes” (CurlyP2). Her comments were endorsed by Head Gardener who stated that a common response to his placement of an international student in a mainstream class was, “Those bloody internationals again!” (HGP2).

Further, Curly stated that there was a “giant cleft” in mainstream staff perceptions of the two departments during staffroom meetings, as mainstream resentment of international students overflowed into resentment of International Department staff.

I know if I am in the staffroom and Rosie is standing up talking about her migrants and refugees, I know that anything that Rosie would say about them would be more warmly received than what I might say about the international students, because they are perceived as being slightly elitist and more privileged than these other kids. (CurlyP2)

The next section analyses the International Department in greater depth.

## **PART B**

### **6.4 The International Department: A niche market**

#### **6.4.1 An awkward start**

The Patton principal had been the first school principal to accept my request for entry, based on the acceptance of my gatekeeper, the International Department teacher, with whom I had been acquainted for some time. The awkward matter that arose when a SM objected to my entry (see 4.5.4.6) highlighted for me the pivotal importance of careful relationship-building, and the vulnerability of my researcher role within the field (ObservationP1).

#### **6.4.2 The members and their focus**

Within the International Department block, I was cordially welcomed, and soon met a cheerful team of eight staff, immersed in the business of caring for international students. They consisted of the overall manager, the outdoor activities coordinator, two homestay coordinators, the academic advisor, a full-time teacher, three TAs, a counsellor and recruiter, a marketer and a tester. The number and roles of staff emphasised the wide range of skills used to run this department, indicated the streamlined process of international student care and highlighted the relative importance of actually teaching ELLs.

During my first visit, there were 64 students, with the largest groups from China, Vietnam and Japan, and smaller numbers from Europe and South America (CurlyP1) (Patton High, 2017, p. 56). At the start of 2017, the BOT was “supportive of up to 100 internationals” (HGP1).

Head Gardener reflected that the International Department was “essentially a business. It’s a business with a different set of rules to the general school. An awful lot of what we have here goes into the marketing budget and eventually back into the school” (HGP1). International money paid for school tiger turf courts, approximately a dozen overseas trips for staff and prefects, staff morning teas on Fridays, and the school vans (CurlyP1).

#### 6.4.2.1 Committed, hands-on care

The overall International Department manager was Charlie. Her background was as an English teacher who had transferred to the MOE, became involved in Special Needs and subsequently moved into secondary school senior management. She developed a very good understanding of wider educational bureaucracies, had “the knowledge and learning how to play the game, and going off on Ministry contracts, it all leads to what we now have” (HGPI). Charlie commented on her ability to balance the needs of various groups:

There are so many people to keep happy. You’ve gotta keep the student happy; you’ve gotta keep the parents happy; you’ve gotta keep the agent happy; you’ve gotta keep your International staff happy; you gotta keep the classroom teachers happy. You are always walking a very fine, fine line. ‘Cos if your teachers are not happy, you are not going to get your results with your students. If your students are not happy they are gonna walk, and if your parents are not happy they are gonna walk. If you don’t have the team on the ground to help support, then you will not be going to get any further. (CharlieP1)

Charlie also maintained an empathy for those who were more vulnerable within the education system. She understood that this perspective was not shared by many SMs in New Zealand schools:

Principals come from the key curriculum areas, most often, your English, your Maths, your Science. It’s rare to find a principal who comes from an ESOL, Special Ed or a Counselling background. I mean, if you could find half a dozen in the country, I would say, “Ohh.” So they are hugely focused on getting good NCEA results. (CharlieP1)

By 2017, Charlie was adept at managing most International Department issues “because she has got a good relationship and what she has done has proven to be successful, so I guess they just leave it in her hands” (CurlyP3). She spent 15 years “developing intensive marketing, and establishing those links and bonds with people, agents both here and overseas” (CurlyP2). With student recruitment, Charlie emphasised different attractions for different ethnicities. For European and South American students, “we really promote that central location” close to ski and water, so the outdoor education teacher could

encourage outdoor pursuits (CharlieP1). For Asian families, “what we sell is smaller city, very safe. Then once we’ve got a student, then of course if you look after the student well, you get more” (CharlieP1). Sister school relationships have been developed with three Asian countries. Bilingual migrant teachers have been employed to help Patton recruit further afield. Charlie acknowledged that Patton was competing with other countries that had more favourable attractions than New Zealand (CharlieP1). However, she had learnt to negotiate for well-behaved students and sent difficult ones home when required (CharlieP1). Cindy, with 19 years’ teacher-aiding at Patton, observed:

When I first started, we had a lot of students who are here because they were having problems at home. Their parents think it’s a good idea to send them out of the country. But now, our students are mainly here because they want to achieve. (ITFGP1)

This has meant that mainstream teachers’ time was not drained unnecessarily with extra teaching of ELLs, and academic results could even be boosted, as in 2016 when an international student became Dux Litteratum<sup>4</sup>. The principal reported: “We surprised her by inviting her mother to the ceremony, who came all the way from China to present her with flowers on stage. That brought the whole house down” (Patton International Department, 2016, p. 1).

Charlie’s values, experience and status enabled her to link opportunities within and between school departments if the student need required. When an international Special Needs student was rejected from a southern New Zealand school, local educational networks suggested that the student approach Patton. The student was accepted, and parents paid for TA time (CharlieP1).

Charlie managed a fine balance negotiating between regulation and autonomy with staff roles. She emphasised that maintaining “a really good strong base” of about 70 local homestays was an important aspect of the business, with a priority on keeping students settled, and often requiring extensive work outside normal teaching hours. Her role had been supported by two Homestay Coordinators who are “absolutely the right people for the job” and necessarily so, as “the homestay thing is two-thirds of the kid’s time” (HGP1). Charlie had also been careful to delegate curricular and extra-curricular

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<sup>4</sup> Dux Litteratum means the highest-ranking academic student.

involvements to Curly: “The Code of Practice guides me far more than the Curriculum area. That’s Curly’s area” (CharlieP1). Though she has delegated the management of the New Kiwi Department to Rosie and Vida, she played a pivotal role for them when negotiations with senior managers were involved (see 6.5).

#### 6.4.2.2 A game of passion

The other long-serving member of the International Department was Head Gardener. He was previously a Patton SM, now academic advisor for international students. His experience of wider school networks within the school and the timetable gave him an excellent background for negotiating student academic progress: “I am working hard at not being seen as being part of just one camp. If you followed me for a day, you would find that I can literally breeze in and out of every part of the school” (HGP1)

Although his wife has accused him of “people-trading,” his enthusiastic, proactive involvements with international students also supported the mantra of “education, a game of passion” (HGP1). He stated that “I believe really strongly that there are two things you can show when selling your product. One is enthusiasm for your product, and arohanui<sup>5</sup>. Both are universal languages.” (HGP1). Curly remarked: “He does everything with absolutely the best of intentions” (P1). He jovially described two different cultural groups that commonly arrived, and how he dealt with them:

We have two culturally different groups of kids coming to us: the academic long-term student group, who clearly have worked out the game of education. It’s a hurdle race. They can see the big picture. And once they get over that initial six months, they are up and flying. But we have another group. It appears as though their parents have got to a sense of frustration with their children, and they’ve said, ‘You go and deal with them.’ So, what those kids need from me as the academic mentor is quite a lot of gentle pushing, shoving. Having been told what to do for so long, the vast majority of these kids start to work out that I’m trying to give them the power to make some decisions. (HGP1)

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<sup>5</sup> Arohanui means ‘big love’ in Māori.



He endeavoured to give international students an authentic Patton experience. He was aware that, because of their previous learning, they could easily adjust to Music, Mathematics and Science classes, which were less English-heavy than others like Economics and Business. Despite some parental bias towards more business-oriented subjects, his initial timetable placements included some traditionally non-academic classes like Woodwork, Art, Dance or Drama where he considered international students' socio-cultural horizons would be widened and they could become used to inquiry-based and experiential learning methods. Language options were selective with Japanese, Spanish, Correspondence Mandarin and Te Reo Māori available, though Head Gardener found it difficult to interest international students in the last subject. He also placed expectations on international students to become involved with "some out-of-class activity" such as sport, cultural or community involvements, and to impress on them their future benefits when used for entry to local or overseas universities. He commented that in 2017 "it was not 100% successful, but we did make progress. I'm the person responsible for writing the Year 13 final report!" (HGP2). He avoided using mainstream English classes as the place for obtaining English credits for NCEA or Literacy, preferring to use International Department ESOL classes, or alternative subjects like Sport and Recreation (a subject which explores sports coaching, health promotion and physical exercise).

As an ex-timetabler, Head Gardener was well-aware of the pressures Albert experienced when accommodating international students and the compromises for their subject choices that might result. Albert explained the timetabling difficulties:

It's always that balancing act. A lot of students come in late after the Chinese New Year, and they choose subjects after the timetable has been constructed. So over lots of years I have tried to work with the teachers and get all the students' options in the previous year, so that they can be factored into the timetable. (AlbertP1)

In 2017, Head Gardener managed overcrowding in Level 1 Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry by delivering international student lunchtime classes himself and established Mandarin classes then Mandarin Correspondence so Chinese students could access academic credits for their L1. He planned to minimise future overstocking of international students in senior Mathematics and Science classes by holding "zinkle ghost students" or

unidentified international student places at the end of class lists. This meant that sufficient staff could be planned for and filled easily later on (HGP2). He also planned to tackle international student literacy issues by including a teaching segment on literacy strategies such as mind-maps and precis in the International Department orientation programme.

On a more pastoral level, Head Gardener had been proud to monitor individual international students who had faced difficulties in other schools and nurture them to some success. He commented on one student: “I could have let him just swan off to the exams and he would have actually finished with nothing, but we picked him up, we put him in a programme, and I heard this morning that he had succeeded” (HGP2). He has advised individual students on their future prospects, advocating the initial use of cheaper and more accessible New Zealand universities to get foundation tertiary grades, before applying for Australian or Chinese universities later (HGP2).

He attributed his personal successes with student issues to the streamlined communication structures within the International Department: “Simply, if there is a problem, we will all start looking at a solution. If you are open in communication, you can get away with anything. Simple rule of management” (HGP2). He explained:

We had a student last year who had a major long-term mental health issue, and the homestay picked up on it, and the communication structure within our school between me in academic, Charlie in management, the homestay managers, we had that kid in a doctor’s surgery that day. I believe he left us much healthier, much stronger. Academically, on the surface it looked terrible, but what did he get out of being with us? I think he got his life. (HGP2)

Without the personal commitment, experience and expertise of both Charlie and Head Gardener, the business of international student recruitment at Patton would be much less successful than it was.

### **6.4.3 The teaching component**

#### **6.4.3.1 A well-appointed pad**

The International Department ESOL classroom faced a courtyard and was surrounded by a wide veranda. Curly explained the changes on her arrival in 2015:

The furniture when I got there was terrible. The desks were bigger, we couldn't fit as many desks in the room, and they didn't interlock. So, I said, "Can we have more furniture please?" I was also given pretty much carte blanche to purchase whatever materials I needed when I first got there, so I spent about \$5000 buying resources. (CurlyP1)

It now received plentiful natural and artificial light, had ergonomic seating and up-to-date resources, digital and print. She also arranged for the reception area to be refurbished so that international visitors could be better received. She noted with some pleasure: "I have a really good set-up" (CurlyP2). She encouraged the students to come to the classroom at morning tea and lunchtimes and managed their after-school homework time once a week.

#### 6.4.3.2 ESOL classes and curriculum – the teacher's perspective

The ESOL segment of the International Department was organised and implemented semi-autonomously by Curly. She had previously trained as a primary school teacher, worked in two local secondary schools teaching English and ESOL, then became a director of international students. At Patton she taught five classes of ESOL, with 12-16 international students per class, working from students' English levels to deliver twelve or thirteen programmes. A Special Needs student and an IELTS learner were accommodated within these classes. In ESOL, students were taught four times within a six-day cycle. Curly explained the curriculum: "We have got two lines which are EAP classes. We have two lines which we call English for Literacy classes, and we have English for Beginners using Communication Standards" (CurlyP1). She did not use English NCEA units (HGP2).

In the past, she had tried to timetable students according to their English proficiency, but this had complicated the timetabler's ability to integrate her classes with the rest of the school. She had ended up with students with different year levels in the same ESOL classes and was resigned to teaching different proficiency levels. Albert explained:

The timetable works by trying to do the best fit for the most people. That works if you have a big group and they are all doing Year 11 English say, then they drive the timetable, but if they are a small group, like ELLs, statistically they won't. (AlbertP1)

Curly developed very positive relationships with her students, and encouraged their agentive responses through a mix of individual and small group work: “I think a lot of our kids would probably sit back and wait for stuff to happen some of the time in our classes, but it’s not in my room, I don’t operate that way” (ITFGP1). She commented that her “most successful thing is how I build relationships with students, and seeing that the kids feel more confident, connected, able to approach me” (CurlyP3). This has sometimes been difficult, considering that “in Asian countries, teachers are not your friends” (ITFGP1). I observed an international student assembly farewell for Brazilian students where she was invited to dance on stage with them, and where they showed obvious gratitude for her care during their temporary visit (ObservationP2).

Curly was very aware of the “cocooned” (HGP1) experience of the international students’ worlds. She sought ways to counteract this, illustrated by her choice of the topic ‘Refugees’ for EAP reading and writing standards which she created herself and using TED Talk examples to illustrate refugee journeys. She found that the Virtual Learning Network (VLN) and Breda Mathew’s support on ‘ESOLonline’ (MOE, 2018d) were the most helpful government curriculum supports, as they both responded pragmatically to immediate case-by-case needs.

Curly regularly met with Charlie to arrange TA times. Curly directed TAs to mainstream classes rather than her own ones partly because she was able to manage, and because mainstream demand was intense. She was the TAs’ “first port of call” (ITFGP1). Cindy noted that Curly had very much improved the academic achievement rate of international students since she began (ITFGP1).

#### 6.4.3.3 Minding the boundaries

Patton employed two TAs with responsibility to the International Department but who worked in the mainstream classes with international students. They were “superbly skilled” (HGP2) bilingual migrants themselves who empathised with the process of cultural adaption. TA Claire explained:

For so many years, you were brought up in that situation, you can’t just change overnight. With staying here a couple of years, maybe they will change and start to adapt to a new environment, a new culture, a new perception of life. (ITFGP1)

The TAs were also subject specialists. Charlie stated: “One of our TAs speaks Mandarin, is also a Maths and a Science specialist. So absolutely invaluable. Another has got skills in the Business Studies areas, Economics and Business Studies” (CharlieP1). Both were long-serving staff and had built up a wealth of experience in supporting students.

The TAs clarified the limits of their personal relationships to students. Clare explained: “I find that because we are asked to help one student, when we are getting along, they start to share their personal problem as well, so you are sort of like listening and giving them advice or seek help for them” (ITFGP1). Cindy added: “We do help, but that’s not our role. We are not counsellors” (ITFGP1). They were not expected to assume any affiliation or friendship with the students. Most of the time they would relate any student need back to the one Chinese, or two Vietnamese counsellors, then feedback could be provided. TAs were aware of the way students responded to the newfound freedoms of homestay accommodation and spare time: “A lot of them don’t use it very well, while with others you try to encourage to have more breaks” from studying, though they were aware that the homestay environment was not their responsibility (ITFGP1).

The TAs also needed to maintain boundaries in their classroom roles with students. Claire stated:

We treat them like one of the students, let them have the opportunity to ask questions, learn how to be themselves, and we are here just to guide them, ‘cos if our schedule changes, we will have to go to another student. (ITFGP1)

She added: “Our role is a fine balance. We want to help them, but we don’t want them to become too dependent on us. Sometimes it’s quite a juggle” (ITFGP1). Sometimes the TA simplified teacher directions in whatever language was needed and reminded international students what homework had to be done. They encouraged students to ask for help but did not speak for them. However, if there was a problem with the student’s work and the teacher was accommodating:

I talk to the teacher and I suggest ways that I think might help the students. It depends on the teacher. Some are more receptive than others. They are the ones running the class. All we can do is make suggestions. (ITFGP1)

The TAs helped international students through a variety of communication problems such as learning to understand teacher accents, copy or precis at the teacher's vocal pace, or understand teachers' writing on the whiteboard: "I encourage them to try to listen, copy, then correct it if they make a mistake, so slowly guide them that way" (ITFGP1). International students often felt swamped by large classes, and preferred "one to one, the most ideal" (ITFGP1), especially in the early stages. They found large class discussion difficult, had to learn to approach teachers verbally, and most of all, had to cope with failing often for the first time in their lives (ITFGP1).

Mainstream teachers could be disappointed if TA time in their classes was limited and could demand that their schedule manager allocated them more TA time than there was available. Curly had to contend with this resentment: "There is one particular teacher I get emails from every week" (CurlyP2). Mainstream teachers perceived that TAs might have limited ability to speak English, as well as limited knowledge of English and other specialist subjects. If TAs do have specialised knowledge in a subject, they might override the teacher's direction in that subject. They might interfere too much with student work input, particularly with creative work or long-term internal assessments (HGP2).

The TAs explained that their relationships with mainstream teachers varied. Some mainstream teachers thought TAs were in the classroom to help staff, not specific students. Sometimes "teachers do not ask us for our input," at other times "they will go the extra mile and print out special resources for them" (ITFGP1). They felt that international students could be helped better by mainstream teachers' use of more digital resources like the One Notebook website, more handouts and smaller, quieter classes.

Overall, the training, expertise and socio-cultural understanding of the TAs made them a valued part of the International Department team at Patton, in their specialised role as primarily academic 'learner shadowers' rather than pastoral or social supports.

#### **6.4.4 Systems for forging student links**

##### **6.4.4.1 Within the school**

The links between international students and mainstream students was a sensitive area that the school was concerned to manage successfully. Head Gardener explained the ideal process of international student integration:

We have students initially who, if you want to find them, all you have to do is walk 30 metres from the ESOL rooms. And then there will come a day in which you can't. To me, that is magic day, because it says that that kid has actually transferred clubs. You will survive. (HGP1)

There were minimal overt signs of hostility: Charlie commented that there were only minor incidents of racial teasing, like a recent international student who was taunted with “ching-chong” in a changing room fight (CharlieP1). However, Head Gardener called mainstream student-international student integration “our Achilles heel” (HGP1), while Curly stated: “I don't think our kids mix that well” (CurlyP3).

One visible sign of lack of integration was the lines of international students filling the veranda outside their rooms. Their congregation here was perceived by the wider school community as a method of creating cliques and avoiding contact with local students. Curly reflected:

Ever since I have been at Patton, there has been a drive to get the kids off the veranda. It works for a while but if you walked round the school, you will find them in the same groups as they were on the veranda. They are round the corner, somewhere else. (CurlyP2)

Cindy commented: “Getting together with their friends is part of their culture, speaking the same language. They get quite angry when you try to chase them away!” (ITFGP1). Curly reflected with some compassion: “I don't think you can keep pushing them over and over again. They should be able to speak their own language, because that's identity and retaining your own culture. They do struggle” (CurlyP2).

Nevertheless, efforts to move international students off the veranda involved placing ‘No Access’ ribbons around it and encouraging students into free time activities (ObservationP1). Curly was the main instigator of this, which Head Gardener appreciated: “She actually is very good at forcing the mix. It's just her nature” (HGP2). She managed activities within the international student group such as a Quiz night, student-run digital assemblies, shared Friday lunch, club buddies and concerts. She also encouraged their involvement in wider school activities such as the Duke of Edinburgh award, chess club, the musical, and whole-school concerts, and an in-school Festival of Cultures (Patton High, 2017, p. 199). In 2016 the Japanese students conducted two tea

ceremonies to which they invited school members and in 2017 Curly planned to have a cultural exchange with Te Wananga o Aotearoa, a Māori educational institution, where she was learning Māori. Cindy remarked that some international student groups such as “Europeans and the South Americans really enjoy the culture, the sports, the freedom part ... they are into everything, they join in” (ITFGP1). However, Curly found that Asian international students were not particularly enamoured of a common New Zealand pastime: “They are involved in sport, but not as much as we would like them to be” (CurlyP1). Overall, Curly’s efforts to encourage international student integration involved mixing amongst themselves more than mixing with the mainstream students.

#### 6.4.4.2 Outside the school

The International Department activities officer provided a wide-ranging schedule of events for international students, to challenge them, develop survival skills and broaden their knowledge of themselves and New Zealand. International students paid for these extras themselves; they chose from horse riding, cave exploration, kayaking, mountain biking, tramping, and ski trips. The events bonded international students together and provided experiences many of them had not encountered before. These activities meant that international students mixed amongst themselves and supported each other’s social, emotional and academic needs. Other outside activities were linked to what socio-cultural and academic help was provided by homestay parents within the home and beyond it.

#### 6.4.5 Mainstream adjustment to international ELLs

Senior mainstream teachers’ expectations of academic classroom learning were based on their subject expertise and teacher training. In the classroom, mainstream staff anticipated that their classes would consist of up to approximately 30 students of similar ages and English language ability. They also presumed that their students would adhere to the norms of arriving at set times, have the subject pre-entry requisites and a likelihood of subject achievement. However, senior international ELLs could disrupt these expectations. International students did not always arrive at the start of the year, they had varied ages and English language proficiency levels and they did not necessarily pass assessments. Mainstream staff could perceive international student arrival in their classes as very disruptive. Curly commented: “Our students are very well looked after pastorally” but believed that there were high expectations from international students’ parents and



the school that students were going to achieve, expectations that could not always be met: “It puts pressure on teachers. There’s a tension” (CurlyP1).

International Department leaders were assiduous in trying to mitigate the challenges that their students brought to mainstream classes. Head Gardener explained that they had almost eliminated the “dribble in” by accentuating to agents the importance of starting on Day I, “because we have warm fuzzy activities at the beginning for the wind-up. We encourage them to be there for that, for an international kid to get in with the locals, great” (HGP1). Charlie commented that there were now only four times during the year that international students gained entry, and if they didn’t, she had made arrangements with a local PTE to accommodate them until a more appropriate time. In recent years, Patton’s popularity was such that Head Gardener had been surprised after Christmas when “the number of confirmed enrolments doubled” which put extra pressure on staffing, class sizes and the timetable (HGP1). He had to load essential classes up to the limit, place international students slightly above or below their level in a subject, or place them in a subject principally for social integration, or (as shown in 6.3.2.2) take extra classes himself at lunchtimes. In extreme cases, he handed the issue to Charlie: “You might have sold this to this kid, but I’m not doing it. You want to put him in there, go and talk to the HOD” (HGP1). He considered the 2017 year, timetable-wise, as “my year from hell” (HGP2) because he found it very difficult to provide international students with all the subjects they wanted.

The process of integrating international students into the school system was streamlined. Once students were granted entry, they were tested by an experienced ex-teacher using a comprehension assessment system traditionally used in New Zealand schools for any language learner, then converted it to ELLP grades. Test results were then placed on the computerised student management system with some personal international student details. Once students’ timetables were confirmed they were added to the computer system for mainstream staff access. Staff were emailed by Head Gardener before a new international student entered a class and referred to the student management system for details. However, staff might not open their emails or view the international student details in time then might feel affronted when a student arrived. Head Gardener commented: “They are teachers, they are incredibly pressured there is so much going on around them” (HGP2).

HODs had the uncomfortable role of accepting international students into their departments and also persuading their subject staff to do the same. HOD Biology Walker explained:

We don't get a say. I have tried to refuse students from 13 Biology because they don't have 12 Biology and I am told that they are very capable, because they've done this in Physics, Maths, Chemistry. But Biology is English-based, and over and over again they have done very poorly. So very bright students may be achieving nothing, all year. I have found that extremely frustrating. (MTFGP1)

HOD Technology Bob agreed, citing other complications:

We had a recent situation where I had to turn around and say: "This student needs to go to a different class" because we are setting them up to fail, we are demoralising them. To breach that gap, is the willingness to do it; some of them can be quite stubborn. (MTFGP1)

Another complication was that mainstream teachers could avoid putting negative assessment results from international students on the student management system. Head Gardener explained his need to negotiate for International Department requirements:

We do have a hesitance in staff, if they have got a weak international student, saying, "I don't want to tick this" and I'm saying, 'How come there's no results?' because that way I get to see what's happening. We get all sorts of pressure for that. You know that if you didn't, the kid would just pack their bags and go to another school. And so ... their names have gotta be put on the system, and they have to live with the failures. (HGP1)

Conversely, mainstream staff may experience delight in finding talent, as HOD Art Lee expressed:

The experiences with these students can be quite varied, ranging from students who are quite unmotivated, a bit overwhelmed or don't understand, don't have any prior experience, or have a language barrier, through to students who just run with it, are incredibly talented. It just bursts out of nowhere. (MTFGP1)

As well, Bob enjoyed the varied cultural perceptions international students brought to his Technology class: “With Chinese children, their whole approach to design is a lot more compact, a narrow focus; they don’t think about space the same way as New Zealanders do. The Germans are very precise” (MTFGP1).

When they were available, Walker found TAs provided a very helpful support. She recalled her 2016-7 experiences with them:

They decided to put the ELLs in one class so they could have a TA with them all the time. That was extremely helpful. This year I’ve got six ELLs in my Year 10 class, and I didn’t have a TA to begin with, so they put a TA in. Those kids are doing much better now. It was the biggest Year 10 class of 27, and a lot of needy kids in there as well. (MTFGP1)

She also wished that Patton leaders would “give us some PD so we have more skills” (MTFGP1).

In November 2017, growing staff concern with rapidly rising international student numbers generated a complaint to the BOT: “We don’t like the way these kids just turn up” (HGP2). The BOT response was to make the international student maximum 75 rather than the previously specified 100. Head Gardener commented: “We are not far off it” (HGP2). Albert conceded: “You want some sort of integration between the internationals, RMB students and the rest of the school, to reflect the real New Zealand, I suppose, proportion wise” (AlbertP1). By November 2017, it seemed that some mainstream staff felt that the workload cost of accepting international students was too high. Curly reflected: “You will get better buy-in from the staff if they feel like there are people over here who are supporting them better than what they perceive us to be doing” (CurlyP2).

#### **6.4.6 Becoming encased**

In December 2017, for personal, health and family accommodation reasons, Curly resigned from her three-year tenure as International Department teacher at Patton. She was pleased with the value-added factors she had introduced for international students, with facilities, resources, curricular and extra-curricular activities: “I think I have made them more Kiwi in a way” (CurlyP2). She had concerns with her role during her tenure. The first was an increasing workload. “I instantly became dean with no training”

(CurlyP1) and by 2017 had given this role up because of the pressure of increased expectations, but she was still “flat out” with increasing student numbers, and extra-curricular commitments (CurlyP1). “Last year I did a lot of activities, but I haven’t had the time to do that this year, so it has dropped back a bit, that awareness, that willingness to do a bit more” (CurlyP3). Charlie noted: “Her main focus is teaching the kids, but then she gets drawn into other bits. I was saying to her: ‘Look, just focus on what you have to do.’ She does get stressed easily, and the numbers are growing” (CharlieP1). Curly was concerned that the school’s good reputation might decline if numbers kept increasing.

As a consequence of work-load pressures plus “personalities and physical separation” (HGP2), Curly had become quite isolated. Head Gardener stated that this was typical of teachers in small departments. Curly had not been a Patton staff member when she accepted the role as International Department teacher, so did not have a network of pre-existing support amongst mainstream staff. Although Curly was encouraged to go to Languages Academy meetings, she did not attend regularly. With marking and moderation, her New Kiwi equivalent did not have EAP training and did not want to become involved with moderating it, so Curly had to use outside school networks (CurlyP3). What free time she had during school hours was spent in the International Department rooms with its staff or with international students rather than the mainstream staffroom (Observations1,2,3). She became increasingly confined to the International block. Curly readily admitted that her isolation was “my fault” for not taking opportunities (CurlyP3).

Curly’s last concern was with the “sink or swim” (CurlyP3), mantra towards international students going to mainstream classes without TA support: “People that I work with say, ‘Put them in there and see how they go!’” (CurlyP1). She would rather they were in ESOL classes initially, then gradually move them out with close TA support.

Curly’s tenure over three years led to her increasing prioritisation of student commitments, and she gradually associated her work identity specifically as support for them, rather than as a mainstream Patton staff member. Her opportunities to strengthen links with deans and language teachers were gradually depleted because of episodic friction over dean’s procedures, EAP marking or her lack of desire to be included (Curly P3). Her journey was typical of ESOL staff who became very involved with student needs without balancing the fact that they were also beholden to wider school community

expectations. Curly's replacement Ada was a long-serving staff member at Patton who had previously worked with the New Kiwi ESOL teacher, so she was perhaps not so susceptible to Curly's predicament.

## PART C

### 6.5 The New Kiwi Department

In contrast to the International Department, the New Kiwi Department catered specifically for general migrants and RMB students and was located within the Languages Academy area of the school (see 6.3). By 2017, Charlie had delegated the management of this department to the Head of Languages faculty Vida (see 6.5.1.1), but Charlie was still used as a mentor “because I’ve got my head around all the funding and staffing stuff” (CharlieP1). Charlie considered that the New Kiwi Department members in recent years had become a “more welcoming community” as a separate group (CharlieP1). In 2017, there were 31 RMB students, mainly from Myanmar, Nepal, Afghanistan, and 30 general migrants, mainly from India, Thailand, Philippines, Samoa, Tonga and China (Patton High, 2017, p. 58). Forty-five students from these two groups attended New Kiwi classes. Included in the classes were two students from the International Department with lower proficiency, and two Special Needs students not ready for mainstreaming, with full-time, parent-funded TAs.

#### 6.5.1 Proactive guidance

##### 6.5.1.1 Languages Academy oversight

As HOF Languages, Vida had leadership of Japanese, Spanish and Correspondence Mandarin. She was pleased with the opportunity to include the New Kiwi Department into the Languages Academy in 2006: “I’ve been here 20 years. I’ve been teaching Classics and Spanish for a long time, and I wanted to get my feet wet into other things” (VidaP1). Vida role-modelled values that would be helpful for New Kiwi students: she was once an RMB student herself. She had arrived in New Zealand as a child of political RMB parents from Chile and had been successful in navigating the New Zealand educational system. She reflected that the timing of her arrival in New Zealand as a six-year-old advantaged her acquisition of English in primary school, so she could achieve in secondary school subjects before entering ITE: “That made a huge difference” (VidaP1). She attributed her educational successes to her parents, who impressed their values on her by saying:

‘We need to be thankful. You come into the country. You start from the bottom. Whatever degree, whatever you had back home, forget it. Learn your History, learn to adapt, and most importantly, learn English, because we have sacrificed so much to come to New Zealand.’ Education was always part of our upbringing. I owed it to them [my parents] – ‘study, study, study.’ (VidaP1)

She was aware that she was advantaged by the beliefs and practical support of her family and mentors, in ways some New Kiwi students did not have:

We have a lot of kids who don’t understand that they need to work three times as hard as the Kiwi kids. The Ministry, the higher beings that they are, there’s funding for after-school homework programmes, there’s funding for being able to have TAs so that they can link with families. We don’t still understand the trauma that comes with it all, and some of our kids will never, ever be successful the way we want to see success happen. They don’t have a chance unless they have a good family, good sponsors. (VidaP1)

She also understood the social and emotional cost New Kiwi students pay for outstripping their RMB friends educationally, as she did:

I worked hard. My peers, my friends who were two or three years older, have rationalised it. They were off to parties when I was studying, and then I went to university and I then I became something that they didn’t want, didn’t have a lot in common. I got a lot of flak for it and my parents too, because they didn’t allow me to go out. (VidaP1)

Vida also modelled a strong, energetic motivation to achieve: “You see a lot of migrants, like me, and I have seen it in some of the girls and boys in my classrooms over the years, they want more” (VidaP1). This desire was partly behind her acceptance of the New Kiwi Department under the Languages umbrella and was also reflected in her future ambitions within the teaching profession: “Interestingly enough, being in senior management, is a recognition” (VidaP1). She was keen to encourage New Kiwi students who showed the same drive: “I think what we need to do better, is actually make sure that we grab the kid who does have the confidence, who we see has got the potential to sort of be leaders in our own environment” (VidaP1).

Vida's love of cooking was another factor that linked her to the New Kiwi students: "We used to have a restaurant in town, my family and me, a Spanish Mexican restaurant. I was working there when I was young. We have lots of connections with food" (VidaP1). Her cooking enthusiasm led the impetus to set up a cooking area in the Languages Academy area, and unite New Kiwi and international students with local students to sample various national food lunches twice a term. It has been "a fundraiser" and "it's getting them involved, 'cos we found that the kids weren't coming to this area, the Kiwi kids. We got kids coming here, with music" (VidaP1).

Vida was still learning about the way New Kiwi Department systems worked but was a "sounding board" about the funding and TAs for the new HOD New Kiwi Rosie (VidaP1). However, Vida had a depth of experience networking with other staff groups, which she used to support the New Kiwi Department. Within Patton, the principal had given her the role as Human Rights Coordinator with Amnesty International responsibility "till it was canned" (VidaP1). Sometimes Vida collaborated with other staff to support New Kiwi students, under the Languages Academy role: "This is where Rosie's very good. Both together we buddy up well" (VidaP1). Together they encouraged the Gifted and Talented and Duke of Edinburgh coordinators to include New Kiwi students, and engineered systems to allow a talented New Kiwi student to access the Sports Academy:

One student was great at running. He was also great at football. His dad told me: "Get him into football, get him into the Academy." I talked to the Sports Academy Coordinator. "Can he come tomorrow?" He did, he came. I didn't think he would. He got into the Sports Academy. Since then we have asked for money from the Ministry so that we can have at least two kids get into the groups, because they are football mad, the boys that is. (VidaP1)

Vida has increased ties between the New Kiwi and International Departments, and developed "an economic buy-in," by working with Charlie to support international student recruitment in South America, during her Spanish students' trip to Chile: "I can buddy up with her. Spanish is spoken in 19 different countries. I was able to link with her for Colombia, Mexico and Chile. We have got connections" (VidaP1).



Outside school, Vida used her local networks to help New Kiwi students by linking them with one of her relatives with leadership responsibility in a local intermediate school. Together the two teachers canvassed the migrant intermediate school students and advertised Patton's New Kiwi Department: "We've got an induction programme. Whoever's gonna come here, we had nine last year, we give them two hours of our time, and they see the school and meet the teachers" (VidaP1). Vida has also had an active role in local government and had been a city council candidate: "I aspire to be doing community work outside, but ultimately I am bound by what I know here" (VidaP1). She used her ties with city council organisers to encourage New Kiwi student involvement in city-wide multicultural events such as the Festival of Nations. She also commented: "We have got to work more closely with the city council for job opportunities, and career advisors. It's a huge area" (VidaP1). She arranged for New Kiwi boys to be involved with a city council-sponsored three-day soccer tournament played locally, which has teams from migrant ethnicities. Vida laughed:

They don't have to be Latino to play. So, I've put them in the Latino soccer team 'cos they've got young legs. And it's about the social links. I saw them last time, the family bringing food, the Muslim family sitting there, to see their kids play. That's what it is about. (VidaP1)

She used her local networks with Language Departments in universities to create opportunities for Languages Academy students and included New Kiwi Department students with their trips. She recalled: "I was taken on all these trips. It opened my eyes and that's what I want with those kids as well" (VidaP1). She also encouraged collaboration with a dance project:

We're doing a project at the moment with all the kids in the Languages Academy, which is a dance project, linked with Canterbury University, so it's about New Kiwi students getting involved in the wider school. It's a Latin American dance and it's worked its magic to do something fun to promote Languages. (VidaP1)

Her life experiences have given her a profound understanding of New Kiwi students that born and bred New Zealand residents might lack in the ESOL field. In future, Vida would like more New Kiwi parent involvement in the school, more teachers "that speak the

language” and “more specialised teachers going into classrooms to support the kids” (VidaP1). However, she was very pleased with the Languages Academy practices that have been developed to support New Kiwi students: “The kids are doing well, we have a great teacher in there. We’re getting the best from the Ministry, in terms of what they can give, so we are taking it slowly” (VidaP1). Although mainstream staff were already empathetic to New Kiwi student backgrounds and there was less fuel for resentment about their socio-economic status, Vida’s overarching support and understanding of New Kiwi students went a long way to increasing their integration within the rest of the school.

#### 6.5.1.2 A new ESOL leader: Growing into the frame

Vida understood that Charlie had delegated oversight of the New Kiwi Department to the Languages Academy partly to avoid ESOL teacher isolation, but up to 2017 supporting this aspect of her role had “not been easy” (VidaP1). Vida appreciated the arrival of Rosie late in 2016 as the New Kiwi HOD: “This is the third teacher since I took it up three years ago” (VidaP1). Rosie’s experience as an English teacher for 30 years with subject and management specialisation, and experience with Graduate Certificate in Teaching English as an Additional Language (GradCertTEAL) papers, gave her advantages in her new HOS ESOL role, which included the ESOL homework coordinator role. The principal added funds to her homework coordinator time and funding to give her a PR 1 funding equivalent as New Kiwi HOD: “I’m quite happy with that” (RosieP1). Meanwhile Rosie continued as the school literacy coordinator, for which she had a PR1 (see 2.6.1). Vida explained why Rosie had chosen the HOD New Kiwi role: “She was not that 100% happy with what she was doing before. So, it fitted her. She has told me she is very happy here. She likes the autonomy” (VidaP1). Vida added that Rosie had up to 10 years left of her teaching career, implying that she was not looking for further promotion.

In the process of reframing the New Kiwi Department, Rosie had become a strong advocate for the students, which Vida observed: “I just look at the passion that Rosie brings to the job” (VidaP1); Curly concurred (CurlyP2). Rosie was pleased to step into a pre-established support system within the Languages Academy: “We all work together, which I think is really good” (P1). She buddied up with Vida to support New Kiwi student integration into mainstream school life, such as with obtaining places for New Kiwi students in the Sports Academy and linking with the Gifted and Talented group. She looked forward to obtaining New Kiwi students from local primary schools as a result of

Vida's Intermediate school connections: "We're going to extend that next year and see if we can't get them all coming in, so we're gonna make much more of a connection with them" (RosieP2).

Though Vida was Rosie's nearest supervisor, Charlie still had a significant role in supporting her. Rosie gratefully recognised her debt: "I am very lucky to have Charlie. She has a real passion for this area" (RosieP1). Rosie took advice from Charlie when learning about Ministry funding applications and use: "It pays for my bilingual tutors. I'm very strict about that" (RosieP1), Charlie also supported Rosie when seeking more non-contact time to complete funding applications: "I said, 'Go through another avenue, and just put it in place'" (CharlieP1). Rosie negotiated with Charlie and the Finance Officer for the ESOL Department to obtain a share, like other departments, of government bulk funding:

For every student you have in a seat in your classroom, for how many classes you've got, then you get funded on that person, I don't know how much money it is, \$4, but you do get an amount. I should be getting that amount for my guys. (RosieP1)

Charlie commented:

The ESOL Department, that's a department, like every other department, you need to provide a school budget for it. Rosie picked up on it. I said, 'Rosie, I totally support you.' The Finance Officer raised it with me last week. I said, 'Yep, she's absolutely right. I have harped on about this for years.' (CharlieP1)

Rosie generally depended on Charlie to negotiate with the principal for any increased New Kiwi staffing:

Knowing the limits of my authority, I know that if there is funding available, and then we can employ or initiate the process, whereas Rose and Vida can't. If more is needed, I would go to the principal, but I know what the answer would be! (CharleP1)

At the end of 2016, Charlie's understanding of Special Needs funding roll-overs was invaluable in negotiating with the finance officer for New Kiwi Department roll-over of funds, so that Rosie would have some extra money for another TA:

Because of people jumping up and down about it, now the Ministry makes schools roll over any unused funding. They haven't done it with ESOL funding. So, and I keep saying to Vida and Rosie: 'Look, ask me. I'm not going to poke my nose in unless you want me there.' There was a little bit of money that didn't roll over, so this year when the principal asked me to come in, I said: 'Let's make that a start.' As a result, we have employed another person. (CharlieP1)

Charlie and Vida supported Rosie in managing TA timetables and supervision. Rosie negotiated TA timetables each week with TAs and signed the timesheets, while Vida checked them then they were taken to Charlie (VidaP1).

Rosie's long-term links with mainstream staff helped her to position her new role within the wider school. She negotiated with the academic deans to arrange new student timetables after testing. Her pastoral care of New Kiwi students in practice led to mainstream staff unofficially treating her like a dean:

I'm not a dean. People treat me like a dean. They always ask me to sort him out and do this and sort this out and sort that out. I'm happy to do it. I look after my kids 'cos I care about my kids. (RosieP1)

Unfortunately, Rosie was not given the hours or remuneration of a dean (RosieP2). She joined up with the Automotive Department staff for teacher appraisal planning, and, in return for helping them with their written expression in appraisal documentation, used the association to help New Kiwi students in their classes by providing extra resources (RosieP2). She used her previous Social Studies teaching involvement to add her Year 10 New Kiwi students to a mainstream Year 10 group visit to a marae (RosieP2). Rosie established a hardship fund with monies gained from selling food to teacher-trainee visitors and used the money to negotiate with teachers and New Kiwi parents to access more costly class trips for her students: "Our kids always go on the budget ones" (RosieP1).

Rosie was beginning to overlap New Kiwi support within her literacy role. She was instructed by the principal to link with classroom teachers to ensure that the Year 12 and 13 students in the school “all get their Level 1 and 2s” and selected students used the New Kiwi room to complete their work (ObservationP2). She planned to help induct new teachers into Patton by teaching literacy strategies, which include “some strategies for dealing with ELL, some basic things” (RosieP2). To date she had not been involved in whole-staff presentations about New Kiwi students, but in the past, she had explained diverse sociocultural practices as Pasifika coordinator: “As a school, we are onto diversity. We are actually onto the differences, and I don’t think it’s a big problem in this school” (Rosie).

Rosie’s relationship with the ESOL teacher in the International Department was limited, because their teaching rooms were quite separate physically and both ESOL teachers did not share marking decisions (CurlyP3). Sometimes international students with lower proficiency came into New Kiwi classes, and vice versa, but not as a rule, so there was limited bonding between ESOL staff about ELLs’ learning needs. The two departments celebrated concerts and festivities separately. Rosie vigorously stated: “We don’t get invited to go in with that concert and I don’t want to go in with that concert” (RosieP1). There were some curriculum parallels, and Rosie shared material with Curly at the start of her tenure (CurlyP3), though Curly’s students were mainly seniors, and Rosie’s mainly juniors.

Vida noted that the relationship gap between the two ESOL teachers made it difficult for Rosie professionally: “What she does find is, not working with the International teacher. That’s difficult ‘cos at the end they are both doing the same units, the ESOL curriculum. That’s where I can’t actually help her” (VidaP1). By December 2017, a long-serving Patton teacher who had previously worked with Rosie, was employed as the 2018 International teacher, after Curly resigned (AdaP1). By February 2018, Charlie indicated satisfaction with newly-strengthened ESOL staff associations, indicated by both teachers attending Language Academy meetings under Vida’s umbrella (Email 18.2.2018). 6.5.2

## 6.5.2 The whanau<sup>6</sup>

### 6.5.2.1 New Kiwi students' room

The senior management chose the New Kiwi room (see 6.3) as typical of the school as a whole. Rosie observed: "This is a normal Kiwi classroom apart from what they carved off for our office/resource room" (RosieP1). Desks and facilities, typical of the rest of the school, also filled it. Curly observed that the New Kiwi Department facilities were "not that good." (CurlyP2).

There was a range of 18-21 students in most New Kiwi classes, unlike the 14-15 average sized ESOL class for international students. Rosie was given five computers from a dismantled computer laboratory, and six laptops. She noted that the lack "shouldn't be an issue in a few years, because the students have got to bring their own devices now in Years 9 and 10" (RosieP1).

Rosie did not allow the students to use the New Kiwi room "like a little ghetto, a nice, comfortable, safe place" at break times (RosieP2). She added:

The last teacher let them when it was a rainy day. And I said, 'No, I want them to go and be like other kids.' Last week when I was on library duty, when it was raining, there was a whole lot of them across there. They are actually integrating more. I saw them talking to Kiwi Kiwis. I think through the Option classes, and also sports, they are actually making a few more friends and getting to know people. (RosieP2)

The back walls of the New Kiwi classroom were covered with a large, colourful map of the world, with photos of the New Kiwi students linked to their birth country by string, and posters advertised the "whanau" delineation of the room. Students had access to a kettle and microwave at the back of the room to heat their drinks and food and could be given permission to use the Language Academy kitchen next door for festivities.

### 6.5.2.2 ESOL teacher curriculum, and resources

Rosie explained that the old materials filling the office belonged to the last three teachers, who concentrated on different aspects of the ESOL programme: vocabulary, grammar,

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<sup>6</sup> Māori for extended family.

folktales and journals. Rosie had brought some resources from her previous English teaching which could be used for New Kiwi classes, but as yet had not bought new resources for the department: “I haven’t got into buying” (RosieP1). She was only just beginning to use the office to store her resources. Rosie liked to use “[topic] units” and planned to develop an ESOL curriculum “when I’ve got time” (RosieP1).

Rosie’s classes, each with four hours over six days, were timetabled in Year Levels after the main timetable was set and consisted of students of varying language proficiency and age levels. There was one class each at Year 11, 12 and 13, and two classes of Year 9-10 students; one period of the latter had seven Year 10 students.

The seniors are fine. We run a six-day timetable. There are six lines in that time, so they just slot into different lines. But you come over to Year 10 – they are here, there and everywhere and it becomes an absolute nightmare.  
(RosieP1)

She saw her teaching role as multi-pronged: “Teaching English language, getting the seniors qualifications, preparing juniors to be able to be successful to get the senior qualifications, preparing them for life in New Zealand, and I support their other subjects around the place” (RosieP1). This year, Rosie very much enjoyed the autonomy to design her own material: “I don’t have to follow the strict little guidelines of what some department wants me to do. This is wonderful” (RosieP1). Material was geared to developing everyday English language skills:

I don’t see the point of learning to read a novel. I’d much rather they were doing practical, literacy-based preparing for life. That’s kind of my big philosophy with the language required for less able kids. We do touch on reading and fiction and stuff, but basically, I do a lot more practical stuff.  
(RosieP2)

Assessments were managed flexibly from Literacy, Communications and ESOL Unit Standards. She explained how she managed classes:

I group them according to their abilities and what they are doing, and I try and have a similar thing happening, like at the moment we are all doing

recount writing. Everybody is doing recount writing; they are just doing it for different purposes. (RosieP1)

Her class role was usually as a facilitator, managing small groups, advising TAs, obtaining feedback on previous lessons and checking progress: “I’m used to tearing around the room doing things” (RosieP1). TAs appreciated Rosie’s wider literacy knowledge, class preparation and readiness to care for the students with diverse needs (NKIGFP1). Rosie accepted a deaf Filipino student and prided herself on making progress with a student expelled from another school: “He was just so withdrawn, when he came here. Now he is feeling a bit happier” (RosieP1).

L1 use was initially an issue for monolingual Rosie within the classroom, even though she understood that the students needed to keep a balance between their first and second cultures. She compared it to the same process when Māori urbanised:

It’s a real balance between having them understanding how to live in our society, but to keep their own identity as well, because we know what happens with Māori students who lose their own identity. People who get disenfranchised from their own culture and own way of life, they tend to be the ones that go off the rails. If you take people’s cultures away from them, they have no sense of belonging any longer. (RosieP1)

She showed a growing interest in language complexities: “You begin to realise that language is multifaceted; I’ve learnt a lot being here, it’s been fascinating” (RosieP1).

TA Rhea, explained:

Initially when Rosie started, I think she was getting overwhelmed because we speak in our own languages to the students, like if you don’t understand, you are new, you don’t know whether we are talking against you, and it was like, ‘No other languages!’ (NKTFGP1)

Rosie eventually decided:

I like to use language [L1] a bridge to English language. The only thing I don’t allow them to talk casually in the class in their own languages. I say that to them, ‘This is a safe place to practise your English, where you can be



well-assured that no-one's going to laugh at you. That's what we do here, we practise speaking English.' (RosieP2)

Within her first six months of tenure, Rosie was philosophical about the needs of her department:

We are supporting them in the school and doing the stuff in here, we are quite happy with the way we are tracking. I am the sort of person who is alert to whatever is going on. We see a need, or someone tells a need, and we just work with it, respond to need. (RosieP1)

### **6.5.3 Bountiful pastoral care**

In 2017, the New Kiwi Department was advantaged substantially by having six migrant TAs with a range of languages, which largely corresponded to the L1 of the New Kiwi students. New Kiwi student increases had allowed the school to link more easily with local ethnic communities to employ people as TAs from them: "We have just employed two more from the community last week" (CharlieP1). Overall, the languages the TAs spoke were Hindi and Urdu, Dzongkha and Nepalese, Karen and Thai, and Farsi (see Appendix 11). They had a substantial role in maintaining cohesive department systems, and in supporting Rosie when she arrived by explaining procedures. Rhea laughed: "We help Rosie. This is how we do things" (NKTFGP1).

In classes, New Kiwi TAs played a significant pastoral role in supporting New Kiwi student academic progress, explaining English language complexities, and working through cultural difficulties. Rhea explained that some issues were the over-familiarity of New Zealand teachers, 'Indian-stretchable-time' with lateness to class and assessment deadlines, uncompleted homework, or religious priorities (NKTFGP1). She commented: "When I started, the refugee and migrant students were not doing that well, and now we have got students that are getting their 'Excellences' in the class. I feel like we have made the difference for them" (NKTFGP1). Student Loko supported her claim: "When I first came here, I had difficulties in my subjects, and they gave us a TA to help in classes. That helped me a lot, and I got better grades in Science" (NKSFGP1). TAs were particularly important for discussion with parents during parent-teacher meetings: "We do coaching conferences, they've been a huge part of that, 'cos a lot of these parents don't speak English" (RosieP1). There has been an excellent response from New Kiwi parents

attending these conferences, perhaps partly because of the knowledge that their L1 could be used.

TAs were an invaluable language link to New Kiwi parents for other needs as well, as in smoothing their unfamiliarity with, or misconceptions about, the New Zealand education system. Parents shouldered unemployment (Rhea: “Most our guys not work here” NKTFGP1), the need to learn English, and stressful or dysfunctional family environments during first-generation resettlement. The New Kiwi Department had encouraged parent-school integration with a community garden from the Science department, shared meals, and an end-of-year concert, but the TAs uniformly chorused that there was “really a big gap between the parents and the school” (NKTFGP1). Kirawa commented: “We need to educate the parents that it’s not only the teachers who make the student a great person for the future” (NKFGP1).

Unlike the international student TAs, their New Kiwi equivalents had a major role to play with emotional and cultural support of New Kiwi students. Rhea explained: “I think the main pastoral care comes from us first, because we sense it” (NKTFGP1). She added: “It’s a complete turnaround, from a European setting and an Asian setting. We try to teach our students to use that wisdom sort of thing” (NKTFGP1). They were particularly important for passing on information to the mainstream staff for processing. Rhea gave an example of when a Year 10 New Kiwi boy was accused of a sexual misdemeanour by a local girl, which escalated into a police matter. Because of their support, the boy “felt safe to come and tell us, linked between home and him, speak the truth” (NKTFGP1). Other New Kiwi Department members undoubtedly benefitted through the employment of multilingual migrant TAs at Patton.

#### **6.5.4 Where New Kiwi students fit in**

Generally, New Kiwi students were liberally welcomed at Patton. ESOL staff emphasised the crucial need for migrants to support the New Zealand economy: “It’s often noted that migrants will do the jobs that Kiwis won’t do. They bring a lot of skills to the country that we don’t always have. They are very motivated to work and make a good life” (CurlyP1). On the other hand, long-settled migrant teachers highlighted the opportunities New Zealand’s relatively close location on the outer Pacific Rim provided for others nearby: for employment, better educational opportunities, and a healthier lifestyle:

TA Joanne: A lot of Asian countries have a huge population, but they don't have enough jobs. Because they are third world countries, they can't afford to employ as many people as they have, and so a lot of people come here for a better education and hopefully a better career and life.

TA Claire: Well, New Zealand is a beautiful place, and it's the environment. When you come from a big country there is so much pollution. They are looking for that sort of healthy living, that's why. (ITFGP1).

However, once here, the New Kiwi students were very vulnerable to psychological, economic, social and time factors which all combined to stereotype them as less advantaged. Students also positioned themselves by their level of willingness to become involved with their new environment. They enjoyed being in the separate New Kiwi Department and found friends amongst students there, not the International Department area, as student Zan stated: "Cos they're not my friend. I don't talk with them a lot 'cos they are so different from us" (NKSFGP1), echoed by student Zahra "Just keep away from them" (NKSFGP1).

Both Rosie and Vida were eager to involve the boys in sport: "They can excel at sport from fairly early on, so the first practical mainstream class I put them into is sport, because they will do well at it, it gives them confidence" (RosieP2). She observed that it also linked their new life to their old, and their "obsession with soccer" enabled them to meet up with lots of other boys (RosieP1). The TAs commented that soccer was loved by the girls and the whole community as well (NKTFGP1). Sport was a major channel for New Kiwi student integration with the mainstream student community.

New Kiwi students were also very much positioned by what classes they were placed in. It was not a matter of which mainstream teacher would accept them or not. Vida established that mainstream teachers were less resentful about New Kiwi students than previously:

I like to think that in the past, people were very sceptical about new kids coming into their classroom, as a teacher having to deal with all the differences in the classroom plus ELLs. So, I like to think that the emphasis in this school, is not that you are being one of those teachers. In fact, I have had a teacher just come to me and said, "I wouldn't mind having a New Kiwi

in class, because they want the reward that says, ‘They are gonna pass NCEA Level 1.’” (VidaP1)

Rosie was responsible for determining New Kiwi student subjects. She responded to the fact that limited English reduced academic progress, and that few New Kiwi students had time or money to achieve at the highest academic levels. Rosie believed that the best option was to involve her students in practical subject classes, as some of them had little English proficiency (RosieP1). She also pushed New Kiwi students to succeed in Science and Mathematics to help them obtain Level 1 Literacy, while she catered for their English: “They’re in here and they can get their Literacy [qualifications] through me, then go to EAP classes in the International Department for level 2 Literacy” (RosieP1). She continued: “Most of them want to be in the caring professions, and most of them need Science for this. So, we have been really pushing Science” (RosieP1). TA time had been emphasised for these subjects, with positive results. Rhea “has been helping them revise for their tests. They have been doing really, really well” (RosieP1).

During visits to her father in a rest home, Rosie had added to her perceptions about her New Kiwi students:

Most of the people who work in the care unit are migrants. I look at my kids, the girls they are so caring, they are lovely they are really respectful of these older people; our New Zealand-born people aren’t respectful of our old age. Dad said, ‘There’s all these foreigners.’ I said, “They are really lovely people.” He said, “They are nice.” I said, “That’s right. I would want my kids looking after you if you needed it.” (RosieP2)

Another subject that was often timetabled for female New Kiwi students soon after their arrival was Food and Nutrition. Rosie commented that they really enjoyed it and “as long as there are other ELLs in there who can understand their difficulties and help them with what they’re doing, they can go straight into there and enjoy what they are doing” (RosieP2). She was less enthusiastic about other subjects: “We don’t want to be putting them into Business Studies and things where there is a lot of Literacy needed, “cos it’s meant to be something that they can do and enjoy” (RosieP2). She admired some of them who “choose to do another language, which is pretty impressive” and understood that they might enjoy performance subjects but were not necessarily good at them (RosieP2).

Rosie was uneasy when students chose subjects that she perceived as above their ability, such as high-level Computing, and Physical Education studies, which were more language-based than Recreation Studies:

One of the boys, he's a migrant, that wanted to go into the top computer class, and he didn't want to do physical full-on Recreation Studies, he wanted to do Physical Education Studies, and now he's struggling ... I told him he would be better off with the others. He just insisted that he wanted to do these things.  
(RosieP2)

There seemed to be little concern that exclusion from some prerequisite classes could deprive New Kiwi students from entering other academic classes later.

From the New Kiwi students' perspectives, they were very grateful to have escaped their punitive and disorganised schooling systems. They reported about camp schools which featured 40-50 students to a class, frequent caning, school cleaning duties, L2 English teachers, and very narrow opportunities to progress (NKFGP1). Loko outlined the danger and corruption in his Myanmar refugee camp:

When I lived there, that place is not safe, my country is not safe, even in the camps, not really because sometimes ... when you go to work, when you come back, you get caught by police. They will find you. All the money that you got from work, they just take it. (NKFGP1)

They struggled psychologically and academically with their new school location, the process of restarting their lives, and growing their sense of belonging in another culture. Loko stated: "When I came here, I was upside down. The light was upside down" (NKFGP1). However, he was appreciative of the help New Kiwi students obtained from staff to achieve: "When I moved to Patton, mostly I got a lot of 'Achieved'. The teacher explain really well, and I just listen and focus" (NKSFGP1). New Kiwi students noted six times during their interview that bilingual TA help was very helpful. They also found the New Kiwi after-school homework times useful for classwork support, as their parents could not often assist them.

Without extra assistance from TAs, after-school help, longer assessment timeframes and staff support to learn more academic subjects, ambitious ELL students might lose what

agency they have, and withdraw from their attempts to achieve. Gearon et al. (2009) analysed the inherent disadvantages of ELLs competing in an educational environment where “successful social integration, inclusion and cohesion depend largely on academic success,” where educational attention is focused on educational achievement, and where local students are accelerating their language proficiency much more quickly than ELLs are (p. 7). For some New Kiwi students, the gap between desire for educational success and actual educational achievement could be too wide.

## **6.6 Summary and conclusion**

This chapter has provided a reading of the overlapping ecological layers of influence at play in relation to one state secondary school and its ELL provision during 2017. Patton’s regional location and desire to develop the business of international students incentivised an idiosyncratic arrangement of systems and practices available for its ELLs. By separating the ELL facilities of international students from RMB students and other migrants, Patton succeeding in catering for the specific educational requirements of both groups, while allowing socio-economic divisions to exist and build resentment. The achievements of separate ELL systems, which include a difficult blend of commercial, educational and humanitarian features, were dependent on the concerted and ingenious management of senior staff responsible, and their ability to guide and foster new ESOL staff into cohesive practices with each other, their ESOL departments and the wider school.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: WORDSWORTH

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter is the last of three which explore researcher findings from the case studies focused on linguistic and cultural diversity in New Zealand secondary schools. ESOL Department identity contestations, which were prevalent in the previous two chapters, were even more intensified at Wordsworth. Its high decile, highly competitive environment was influenced by whole-school initiatives linked to building and curriculum changes which, combined with the results of a 2015 ESOL review, generated ESOL Department reconfigurations that were being actioned during my visits in 2017.

In this chapter, data was generated from material in interviews with participants, as shown in Table 8 below. Further interview details can be found in Appendices 10, 11 and 21c. Wordsworth documentation can be identified in Appendix 17. As well, observation notes in researcher journals and a Wordsworth diary have been used.

**Table 8: List of Wordsworth participants**

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS	PARTICIPANTS
SMs	<b>Betty and Sarah</b>
HOF Languages	<b>Sandy</b>
International Department Dean	<b>Sam</b>
Literacy Coordinator	<b>Tara</b>
Senior Dean	<b>Alex</b>
HOD ESOL Terms 1,2	<b>Jasmine</b>
Acting HOD ESOL Terms 3,4	<b>Zara</b>
Associate ESOL teachers	<b>Cameron, Millie, Carol</b>
FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS	PARTICIPANTS
With ESOL Department staff	<b>Jasmine, Millie, Carol, Ronald</b>
With mainstream staff	<b>Mario</b> (Physics); <b>Jane</b> (Technology)
With ESOL students	<b>Alice</b> (from Japan) and <b>Stacey</b> (from Korea) migrants; <b>Rowling</b> and <b>Cristin</b> (from China) international students.

## 7.2 Favoured location and designation

Wordsworth opened after World War 1, in New Zealand's largest and most diverse city, Auckland (see 2.4). Wordsworth's location can be contextualised within Auckland's very marked differences in suburban "areal differentiation" (McCulloch, 1992, p. 143). Wordsworth's original school was situated in a traditionally middle-class, family suburb, deemed suitable "both in terms of numbers and in its social characteristics" (p. 146), and its presence there reinforced assumptions that "academic pupils were to be found in middle-class residential areas" (p. 147). The neighbourhood's social standing and house prices in turn have been enhanced by an academic school in their vicinity (Gibson et al., 2005; McCulloch, 1992). 'Tomorrow's Schools' zoning restrictions have further strengthened Wordsworth's location by allowing it to lock in its wealthier neighbourhood as zoned (see 2.5.2.), while the presence of a school hostel has allowed for entry of selected students from elsewhere.

Wordsworth's site enjoys close proximity to other high-decile educational institutions, granting resident families easy access for children of either gender. New Zealand's highest-ranking university, with its internationally competitive fees, is also nearby, and Wordsworth was perceived to be "a feeder school for that institution" (JasmineW1).

Along with the city generally, Wordsworth's zone demography has undergone change. Since the 1990's, earlier established Eurocentric families have become interspersed with affluent migrant families from a wide range of countries, particularly Asians, prepared to pay premium prices to access superior education by renting or owning a home in Wordsworth's zone. The zone has also experienced in-fill by Housing New Zealand, allowing for less-traditional families to access new, more affordable apartments. Jasmine explained:

With the Unitary Plan [a city council town planning initiative] change, more buildings that perhaps were protected could be removed, and low-rise apartment blocks be put up, and every one of those might have a family in it, with children that legally could come here. Our projection is yes we will grow in number. (JasmineW2)

Betty stated: "Obviously our roll has gone from primarily 'European' to bits of 'Other', and now it is almost half and half" (BettyW1). She added: "The community itself has a



demographic based on Census, and our school community pretty much represents that demographic” (BettyW2). Amongst these local students were new migrants of various ethnicities requiring ELL support.

Wordsworth’s 2017 student roll contained well over 50% non-New Zealand European Pākehā students, increased from 2016 (MOE, 2017a), and covered 82 nationalities (JasmineW1). HOD ESOL, Jasmine, observed that her students were drawn to Auckland’s warm climate, diverse settler hubs, educational opportunities and post-university employment that was less available in the regions (JasmineW1, 2). ESOL teacher Millie explained the importance of the international exchange rate for international students choosing Auckland, New Zealand:

We are in competition with countries like Britain, Canada, USA, Canada, and while our education system is seen as a very good education system, there is a feeling out there that we are not at the top of the list. So possibly the dollar value would have an impact there that would influence the number of students coming. (ETFGW1)

The above locational and economic factors have ensured that in 2017 Wordsworth maintained a sizeable roll with over 2000 students. Classroom space was increasingly becoming a premium. Sam noted: “We are chock-a-block; we don’t have much space at all. It’s very hard to find a free classroom” (SamW1). Betty concurred: “Our home zone is quite under pressure for size – we’ve got loads of domestic students beating down our doors” (BettyW1).

### **7.3 A heritage of excellence in a modern context**

SM Betty explained: “In this school, everybody aspires to something, and works really hard to get there” (BettyW1). Wordsworth staff were proud of their determination to sit easily “at the cutting edge of learning innovation” (Wordsworth School, 2017, p. 2). The MOE recognises Wordsworth’s excellence through making ERO visits every five years, not more frequently (ERO, 2016) (see 2.5.2).

### 7.3.1 A reputation for excellence

Wordsworth has a historical and contemporary role in helping create leaders who later influence New Zealand's professional and political life. In 2017 their alumni celebrations displayed Wordsworth as one of New Zealand's finest schools, where 100 very successful past students were showcased: "We did 100, could have done 300 actually" (BettyW1).

The school maintains a reputation of outstanding academic results. In 2017, Education Counts figures showed 98.8% passes in NCEA Level 1, 96.7% for Level 2, and 83.1% for Level 3, well over other decile 9 schools in New Zealand (MOE, 2017a). Sarah reflected: "Our students typically have parents, and even grandparents and great-grandparents that are university-educated; we know that we benefit from that. It's part of their world, possible. It's right there. It's not an abstract concept" (SarahW1). Jasmine remarked: "I feel like it is contagious, the good expectations, in a good way" (JasmineW2).

Academic expectations are also displayed in high levels of student concentration in class, which the researcher consistently noticed (Observations1, 2, 3). Jasmine commented: "I never have behaviour problems. Everyone is very motivated; that's one of the joys of working here. All teachers would say that; it's how wonderful the learners are, they are so happy to be here" (JasmineW2). Physics teacher Mario stated: "I have no behavioural ... really there is very little at this school" (MTFGW1). These attitudes are supported by school data from Education Counts (MOE, 2016c) showing very high retention rates 2014-16 with over 96% of students staying at school till 17 years old, extremely low stand-down and suspension rates, and zero expulsion rates for 2015-16. Along with high expectations from senior management, existing students within the school modelled clear expectations of good behaviour and academic success for each other and new students, creating very successful results.

The maintenance of these traditional expectations was largely achieved by a tightly-woven, efficient stratification of staff designations, and the efforts of a hard-working, focused staff. Millie explained that there was a "very clear line of management" which kept its rigour with the expectation of compliance: "You would be gently guided into the right way if you were heading off onto your own branch-out" (ETFGW1). LAD Sandy explained the hierarchy after the BOT and principal: "The next layer down is five DPs. Underneath them are the eight LADs. All the LADs meet together as the Leaders' Forum;

they are the curriculum leaders of the school. Underneath the LADs you have the HODs” (SandyW1). The HODs communicate any needs to their department members from the LADs, and vice versa (ETFGW1). Although Cameron perspicaciously noted that good communication between different levels was about the people who had “got the jobs” (CameronW2), HOD ESOL Jasmine was more accepting: “You do need to have a sense of order when you have got this many people. The hierarchy might be in place, but I don’t get a sense of anyone not being approachable” (JasmineW1).

### **7.3.2 Incorporating the modern**

Wordsworth staff were well aware of the need to integrate modern educational initiatives that could maintain and enhance the school’s status. Jasmine commented: “Although it has that history, I think it has moved with the times” (ETFGW1). These initiatives could be seen in school systems responses to ongoing community and government connections.

For staff PD, the school maintained compulsory staff professional learning groups, appraisal initiatives, and Teacher Only Days (TODs) where speakers with contemporary educational theories were presented for staff edification, such as Chrissie Butler presenting the Universal Design for Living initiative in 2016, and Nathan Wallis explaining about brainwaves in 2017 (JasmineW1). The TODs also included voluntary workshops run by specialist staff to assist with understanding of department and inter-department issues including four ESOL-related presentations.

Staff highlighted that the school culture advocates a contemporary focus on students as “whole learners” and sending out “good citizens into the workforce” supported by the official school values (JasmineW1). Millie observed that “here the emphasis is on building [youth] who take responsibility for their learning, and do so in quite a mature way, instead of being spoon-fed” (ETFGW1), views that were reinforced by the principal’s emphasis on “high-level, critical thinking” (Wordsworth School, 2016, p. 2). Students are encouraged to use agency to develop co-curricular and extra-curricular strengths, with sports, culture, and social initiatives such as the Shakti initiative against domestic violence led by a student taking ESOL classes. Involvement and leadership are modelled regularly through assembly presentations, such as with speeches from alumni achievers from different countries: “We do get people to come back and talk in assembly, to remind students of what’s possible” (JasmineW2). Wordsworth has also welcomed

student accountability with a restorative approach to potential discipline matters, which advocates negotiation and consensus for contentious parties (SarahW1).

Wordsworth has taken a leading role in responding to government-led educational initiatives. In 2016 it was part of two MOE efforts to formally establish collegial cross-sector relations amongst school neighbourhood communities, through CoLs for their local schools, and a specifically Asian Language Learning one (see 2.5.2). Tara and Jasmine led the local CoL groups of interschool staff in areas of Literacy and ESOL subjects respectively. One result from enquiries in the local CoL was a 2017 Learning Symposium at Wordsworth for its Year 13 seniors to learn about readiness for university and promote critical thinking about post-school attainment (JasmineW2). Another educational initiative has been the staff and student focus on e-Learning. The school infrastructure manages up to 3000 laptops in addition to a range of other devices, encouraged in the school through the Bring Your Own Device Ministry initiative since 2012. In 2015-2016, the school was one of 12 schools taking a lead nationally to pilot and trial a number of NCEA Level 1 subjects for digital examinations (Wordsworth School, 2016). In 2017, this was extended to Level 2 (NZQA, 2018).

Wordsworth has habitually used reviews and surveys to elicit its community's responses and to monitor and update progress. In 2015-16 a department review dealt with ESOL issues (examined in more detail in 7.8). A 2016 survey on "what learning ... will look like in the 21<sup>st</sup> century" at Wordsworth formed the basis of focus group discussion during 2017 (Wordsworth School, 2017, p. 2). Implementation was to be facilitated with the redevelopment of a collaborative learning space round the library later in 2018. This would continue ongoing upgrades of school buildings after the completion of the sports complex in 2017, paid for by school, sponsor and parental donations. In 2017, results of a smaller Communications and Uniform Survey were also being used to make decisions about adapting whole-school material and uniforms to multi-cultural needs. The uniform review extended uniform adaptations for Muslim students "all in response to the needs of the community" (BettyW2). Reviews ensure that Wordsworth BOT and management maintain a current perspective on school intake expectations to which they can respond by continually upgrading facilities and systems.

## **7.4 Accommodating linguistic and cultural diversity**

Wordsworth staff perceived that whole-school systems accommodated linguistic and cultural diversity. Alex noted: “The perception of this school is very inclusive. You have to be like that in Auckland” (AlexW1). SM Betty outlined: “Mostly, the values of the different ethnicities that are represented in the school, are tied in with the school. Having said that, there are certain occasions in the school that are very European in origin. But there are other functions and activities during the year that would represent other nationalities” (BettyW1).

### **7.4.1 Cultural diversity inclusion: A hierarchy**

de Bres (2015) observes that a cultural and linguistic hierarchy is well-established in New Zealand (see 2.4). As senior leaders in a state educational institution, Wordsworth management were required to follow the national guidelines on linguistic and cultural diversity in the Curriculum Document (MOE, 2007b) (see 2.5.3), which prioritises Māori as indigenous peoples and Pasifika as close neighbours, before other cultures. Betty explained that Wordsworth dealt with moral and technical imperatives of being culturally inclusive by following curriculum priorities, but also by having different systems to deal with different groups:

We have a responsibility to Māori and Pasifika students, primarily because they are dependent on us providing that. I guess we don't have quite the same level of responsibility for international students. But we have the International Code of Conduct for Pastoral Care and those sorts of things. (BettyW2)

SM Sarah explained traditional Wordsworth integration of linguistic and cultural diversity by recognising school responsibilities for Māori and Pasifika. She recalled a recent Founders' Assembly:

We had five previous principals presenting how the school was in their time, and its values and where they sit now celebrating diversity. It made way for Māori, Pasifika, and Pākehā to come together and to all feel welcome and all entitled to a quality education. That has been one of the traditions of the school, accepting and celebrating diversity. (SarahW1)

Alex was more direct: “Actually, in New Zealand, the focus is on Māori and Pasifika achievement, which is not your [ESOL] group” (AlexW1). Tara proffered her view: “Māori and Pasifika are priority learners. I think a lot of effort goes into raising their achievement because that has been a national problem for a long time” (TaraW1).

Although the school provided an elaborate system of curricular and extra-curricular care for Māori and Pasifika students, those cohorts formed only a small part of the roll, with 7% Māori, and 8% Pasifika (MOE, 2017a). Betty outlined: “Most Māori who live here are established in the community,” otherwise they board in the in-zone hostel run by a separate association (BettyW1). Sarah managed the administrative team that monitored Māori in the school, consisting of a leader, the CoL Māori leader for the catchment, and a family group whose Chairperson was also one of the two Māori representatives on the BOT. One class provided Te Reo Māori, but Betty remarked that there needed to be a higher class (BettyW1). Student co-curricular activities included the Kapa Haka group’s activities at Polyfest, an overnight educational seminar and Mātāriki<sup>7</sup> celebrations.

Pasifika students also were visibly supported. In 2017, the majority of Pasifika students were children of past pupils utilising the hostel, so very few required ESOL classes. Betty, who had responsibility for Pasifika students in the school, explained that there was a dichotomy between the parental aspirations of out-of-zone Pasifika students who didn’t use the hostel, and Pasifika students’ sense of belonging to their home community:

Commuting in Auckland is not fun, and where people are putting their kids on a bus at 7am in the morning, they are getting to school, it’s a very long day, plus sport practices after school. We have had a couple leave, ‘cos they don’t like it and they have gone back to their local school. (BettyW1)

An active Pasifika alumni group kept their ethnicity visible in school assembly presentations (BettyW1), and two Pasifika representatives were co-opted onto the BOT, even though Betty felt they were not fully comfortable in the role (BettyW1). Samoan and Tongan languages were taught by tutors as after-school subjects in the Learning Centre, using NCEA external assessments. The Learning Centre also hosted twice-weekly, after-school Pasifika homework support. Extra-curricular Samoan, Tongan and

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<sup>7</sup> Mātāriki means Māori New Year.

Cook Island clubs joined with other groups to participate in Languages Week activities, Fiafia and Polyfest festival activities.

There was less targeted pastoral and academic support for other cultures and for those in ESOL in particular. Tara outlined what she thought was a common staff belief: “I don’t think that much effort goes towards the ELLs” (TaraW1). There were no ESOL after-school homework supports, TAs or influential parent groups on the BOT to ensure student care. Cameron reflected that she would like more generalised adaptation classes for ELLs after they have settled in: “That initial excitement of being here, and then the sudden drop. I have wondered if there’s enough support at that point” (Cameron W2). There was some ELL provision through a Year 13 student buddy group who supported all new students with integration (SamW1), and international students within ESOL classes had targeted provision from staff in the International Department, but new migrant ELLs had no such support.

However, a wide range of multicultural performance activities was encouraged. Betty explained: “We basically have a cultural group if there’s enough students who want to be a cultural group, and we can find a teacher who wants to support them” (BettyW1). In 2017, 15 additional cultural groups existed at Wordsworth (Wordsworth School, 2017). They were encouraged to present at school assemblies and participate in local competitions and events, such as with Chinese and Korean performances supported by their local parent groups (SarahW1).

There was very selective formal and informal encouragement of language diversity. Two Mandarin classes had been recently introduced through Asian Language Learning in Schools Programme (ALLIS) funding, for New Learners and Heritage Learners, starting from Year 12, which added to the stable of six other languages taught in the school: Spanish, French, Japanese and Latin within the timetable, with Samoan and Tongan after school. Alex was proud of the school having three bilingual counsellors for Chinese and Korean students: “We do use them to phone the parents, gather information, and to talk to students. I don’t know if all schools are resourced like that” (AlexW1). Wordsworth staff came from a range of multicultural ethnicities, but their professional roles did not include translating. Both Sarah and Jasmine urged that more translators “on tap” would really improve diverse language practices in the school (SarahW1).

There was ad hoc use of languages other than English in classes: “We have a couple of Chinese Maths teachers, and I know that they often talk to their students in Chinese. That must be comforting for the students” (SamW1). The practice of using languages other than English was sometimes seen as a mixed blessing in class, because academic achievement demanded English. Tara explained: “I do understand using L1 in class, and I think they should be allowed to communicate in L1, but they don’t have the luxury of actually writing in their own language for classwork and assessments” (TaraW1). Tara also stated that some parents did not want their children speaking their L1 in class because they perceived that it hampered their English development: “If they keep speaking in Tamil, how are they going to learn English?” (TaraW1). ELLs themselves were also ambivalent about bilingualism in class, perhaps partially because of answerability issues. Christian thought: “Maybe it’s better to let every student know there are teachers that can speak your language in school, and if you really need help, you can ask them to come with you,” but Alice countered: “I think it would be better if it was a Pākehā helping you, so you can try to interact with English” (ESFGW1). Overall, there was strong emphasis on English as a gateway to academic excellence, with little direct encouragement of ELLs’ L1 use to support their English acquisition.

A number of initiatives were encouraged with staff generally to accommodate language and culture diversity in the classroom. Two special projects were in place to build strategies for language and literacy. Tara managed a Literacy Across the Curriculum (LAC) focus, and the HOD Science was working with a new Mandarin-ESOL teacher on vocabulary enrichment, rather than syntax or semantic features, as LAD Languages Sandy observed (SandyW1). At the 2017 TOD, there were four workshops that supported linguistic and cultural diversity, on hand gestures, literacy strategies, culture shock and the difference between international students and migrant ELLs (BettyW1). The last two workshops used ELLs from ESOL to give their perspectives. However, the workshops were voluntary and attendance was low. Mainstream teacher Jane felt that “the student voices that we were hearing were the ones that were really successful and comfortable in the setting, but they were volunteered. The ones that we’d actually want to hear from wouldn’t volunteer themselves” (MTFGW1). Tara believed that much more standardised PD on cultural diversity was needed, encouraged “from top down” (TaraW1), but Dean Alex was dubious that more PD would be useful, as mainstream teachers would rather give priority to their own subjects (AlexW1).



A few staff had upskilled with government-sponsored teaching courses. Sam commented: “I did the Grad Dip TESSOL, it was just amazing. It would be awesome if all teachers would do it. They would have to want to do it” (SamW1). However, Betty showed ambivalence as to the relative importance of tertiary TESSOL qualifications for teacher career promotion within the wider school context: “We have quite a few teachers who are doing it at the moment, and it seems to be readily accessible to people who want to do it. I’m not sure how desirable it is” (BettyW2). Tara acknowledged that there were time constraints and subject demands on staff which curbed their willingness to become involved with more training, but stated that there was a need to communicate the cultures of multicultural staff and students in the school: “We don’t actually recognise the wealth of knowledge, the culture, everything they brought in” (TaraW1).

#### **7.4.2 Cultural adjustments in progress**

Staff were beholden to follow Curriculum Document guidelines (MOE, 2007b) to model and establish accommodating responses to language and culture diversity in classes. In 2017, some adjustments were still needed in practice, particularly with upskilling mainstream teachers to respond to ELL academic needs. Sam recalled a recent experience:

We did have a situation in the Maths department quite recently, a heated debate between two teachers, where one teacher was saying, ‘It is not my job to teach them English, where the others were saying it is our job. There’s a lot of stress in teaching. (SamW1)

However, ESOL teacher Cameron reflected that mainstream teacher resistance to ELLs was slowly diminishing: “The school has become so hugely multi-ethnic that previously I would have many teachers coming to me: ‘Can you give me some books, prepare some work for them to do in my class?’ This is not happening so much now” (CameronW2). Betty offered a possible explanation: “I think there is more of a relationship now. Part of that is a concerted effort to make ELL everybody’s *problem* [researcher’s italics], making everyone responsible” (BettyW1). Staff perceptions of ESOL as a negative presence in the school were diminishing but still residual.

Another challenge was for mainstream staff to encourage inclusive intercultural relationships in class. Betty explained: “Europeans would still make up half our roll, but

Asian is rapidly catching up. There is probably a little bit of that feeling of threat in our community” (BettyW1). Sam recalled: “In our Maths department, MTA’s the top class. There’s often a lot of Asian students in the MTA classes. I remember this student saying, “Ohhh I’m one of the only white students in this class!” Students notice these things and they comment” (SamW1). Tara concurred: “I was having a conversation with somebody in the department. She feels that the ‘white European’ – that’s what she said – ‘white European students,’ do not include students of other ethnicities. She tells the students to include them.” (TaraW1). However, Tara felt that some students of migrant background also needed to be educated into adopting inclusive classroom behaviour, as they could be just as standoffish. She added: “Education has to be both ways. They [‘white European students’] are kids as well. They don’t know if somebody is just stonewalling them, how to approach that” (TaraW1). Chinese national, Carol, agreed that sometimes ELLs themselves might be harbouring prejudices about other ethnicities, and so avoid the challenge of classroom interaction with other students or staff. She highlighted the way that Chinese students often disliked Africans and Indians (CarolW1). “I remember once in a Chinese class, there was this Indian reliever, and they go: ‘Oh listen to her accent!’ They spoke in Chinese, I could understand. They think Indians are really bad at English. Actually, they are not” (CarolW1).

Ethnic prejudices were further demonstrated when Tara, of Indian ethnicity, exposed her ongoing difficulties with being accepted as a teacher at Wordsworth, which she attributed to her visibility:

I have been here for nearly 30 years now; I have been in New Zealand a lot longer than I have been in India. But I am still an outsider. I don’t know how to overcome that. I was the International Dean here for a while. Things didn’t work out so I just resigned from that position. I used to see a lot of these students. If they are from Germany or from other places, they had no problem with making friends. But you look different, if you have a brown skin or if you have a yellow skin, the racism is there. (TaraW1)

Betty was mindful that part of staff intercultural understanding was to move away from thinking the classroom was their own personal territory and be more “responsive to everybody’s needs in the classroom. If we make a mistake, acknowledge that we have made a mistake, say ‘I’m sorry, I didn’t know’” (BettyW1). Further, she explained that

all staff were obliged to work on intercultural relations with their individual teacher appraisal enquiry: “It’s in there, fostering cultural relationships or interaction” (BettyW2). She was also aware that some “students don’t feel that they have got the courage to say anything and they needed to be trained to be more confident with both staff and other students in saying, ‘Actually, that’s not ok. It’s really rude’” if they felt slighted for their ethnicity (BettyW1).

There were certainly indications that individual teachers showed real sensitivity to intercultural behaviours within class, but there were also indications that some New Zealand European Pākehā staff and students had not been brought on board, and ELLs themselves were sometimes unenthusiastic about intercultural integration. Without a focus on whole-school cross-cultural training for students and staff alike, Wordsworth’s intercultural relations remain vulnerable to ad hoc practice.

## **7.5 ESOL systems and practices**

On a balmy late summer’s morning, my entry into Wordsworth to investigate ELL systems and practices was heralded by a long wait in the school foyer for an appointment with the principal. I had wrongly presumed that I would be able to have a short and informal meeting with senior managers as had happened in the two previous schools. Eventually, I was able to meet and thank the principal for the research opportunity with a small gift. I was then advised to make an appointment with SM Betty, who, when available, outlined the expected patterns of communication, and identified staff that I could approach. Afterwards, I walked from the senior management administration block to the ESOL rooms some way away, where I waited for my primary contact to finish class and introduce me to other department members, who graciously enquired after my research purpose.

For myself as researcher, this entry process indicated that there was a very strong expectation of co-operation with established staff hierarchies. It also signalled that ESOL staff felt privileged to be teaching in the school. They seemed very busy and driven to meet high academic expectations with resources which were adequate, but not generous. I was struck by the extensive ESOL experience of my gatekeeper participant in contrast with the three other ESOL staff who were relatively new to their roles. They seemed conscious of the need to integrate with the wider staff and their superiors, and they used

interval and lunchtime to walk some way to the large general staffroom, where they could briefly access refreshments and wider companionship.

The following sections are based on staff perspectives of ESOL systems and practices, which can be presumed to have been shaped by their past professional and life experiences, and plans for the future.

### **7.5.1 ESOL staff hierarchies and networks**

The ESOL Department was situated within a closely-knit pattern of school department networks. Betty was responsible for the ESOL Department within senior management. She had no particular affiliation to this area and had wider commitments than just one department: “I have responsibility for Pasifika students, but other than that, I don’t feel any particular allegiance. ESOL is just another area I look after. I do like to think that I worry about all students” (BettyW1). She backgrounded that in a previous school an ESOL class had been “a timetable filler for me” (BettyW1). She did not profess to have any knowledge of ESOL curriculum material and perhaps did not value it:

Betty: “There are some students in ESOL classes who have all the words, numbers thing, whatever it is, Nation thing...”

Researcher: Paul Nation.

Betty: Yeah, yeah” (Betty2) (Coxhead, 2000, 2011a; Nation, 2018).

She seemed to perceive that migrant ELLs gave the ESOL Department a low academic status overall, but international students in ESOL improved this: “Many of our ELLs are international students, so academically they are quite high achieving. That’s probably sold the ESOL a little bit better” (BettyW1). Betty perceived the ESOL Department as very much being a support area for general and cross-curricular language growth.

Although ESOL staff member Cameron wished that Betty had a more intimate understanding of ESOL needs and was “actually aware of the issues which teachers have,” Betty’s management of multiple roles, and need to balance different needs, distanced her from everyday teaching concerns (CameronW2). A study of Auckland DPs and APs showed that their roles were: “very much focused on operational matters, of an administrative/management nature, and ... much less focused on strategic or curriculum

leadership matters” (Cranston, 2007, pp. 17-18). As such, staff from other backgrounds could have other skills to offer the ESOL Department. LAD Sandy observed that offices of higher authority, like the MOE, have people with little training in the area that they are in charge of, because they “can bring fresh insight. I remember we had somebody who came in from a totally different subject area and had some great ideas” (SandyW1).

In 2017 at Wordsworth, the ESOL Department was a sub-set under the English Department’s umbrella and when the HOD English, and LAD Languages regularly liaised with SM Betty, the HOD ESOL was also invited to be present. Betty rationalised the English Department oversight of ESOL: “There is a lot of cross-over with the skills, ELLP crossover with the requirements of NCEA and English curriculum. Also, in programme development, when you are doing writing tasks in ESOL classes, there are going to be similar writing tasks” (BettyW2). She did not encourage ESOL staff to attend English meetings, perhaps because of workload, but also to differentiate department responsibility (BettyW2).

Cameron recalled that before 2010, the ESOL Department had been under the umbrella of the Languages Department and appreciated that language teachers “understood how long it takes to learn a language” (CameronW1). The ESOL Department came under English supervision because Languages were relocating to less accessible “15-year temporary” decked units enabled through the building of a new gymnasium, and ESOL was adopting some NCEA English assessments (SandyW1). LAD Languages, Sandy, explained timetable issues stemming from this. Though they had an English class, ELLs were unable to take a Language subject: “Often L2 students are linguistically astute, and the Language class is the only area of the curriculum for some of them, where they actually are on an equal footing. They soar to the top of the class really quickly” (SandyW1). The Languages Department also obviously lost students, funding and potentially prestigious assessment results from this timetable decision. Another consequence of English Department responsibility for ESOL was that a two-period Year 13ESOL class originally established to help ESOL students complete assessments, was now mainly filled with mainstream English students who needed extra time to complete work. Cameron observed: “There was only one L2 student in 13EAP this year” (CameronW2) (see Table 9).

However, English responsibility for the ESOL Department also seemed to have its exigencies. Acting HOD ESOL and Junior HOD English Zara explained:

Sometimes we socialise with them [ESOL staff], and we have staff who teach ESOL and English, but we are physically distant. The only disadvantage that I see about having them doing our standards is the timing not always being in sync. I'm the TIC of NCEA Level 1 English. With one of the writing standards, 400 odd kids, we've done all the moderation, resubmissions, appeals, and then six weeks later, it's, 'OK, we've finished our writing now. Can you moderate?' 'NOOOOOOOO!' (ZaraW1)

It seemed that ESOL Department guardianship was difficult wherever it was located.

At the next level, the HOD ESOL position included being the liaison for any ESOL communications up and down the school hierarchy. At the beginning of 2017, Jasmine had taken up this post. After living overseas for some years, she had taught English at Wordsworth for over two years before her present role. She aligned with Betty's perception that the ESOL Department should "fall in with the school" (JasmineW1) and agreed with English Department requirements for ESOL:

We must do and listen to what the English Department does especially when we are doing English Achievement Standards. So, we don't make up our own rules over in the corner, we talk with other departments, so the students get a similar experience here as they would elsewhere. (JasmineW1)

Jasmine accepted a position in the MOE after six months as HOD ESOL. Zara, the Junior English HOD expanded her role to include Acting HOD ESOL for the last two terms of 2017. The new HOD ESOL appointed for 2018 was from a PTE, new to the secondary school system, and would be the fourth ESOL leader in just over a year. Zara explained:

We had difficulty appointing a replacement mid-year, so it was decided that I would step in as Acting Head. I have a sort of a statutory management role, just checking that their admin has been done, communication from whole-school directives getting through to them. (ZaraW1)

Both HOD Jasmine and Acting HOD Zara agreed with Betty's perception of ESOL's role as a general language acquisition support in the school. Zara stated: "ESOL does not need

to be a quasi-English programme with the same emphasis on literature study” (Email 9.2.2018).

Five ESOL teaching staff were employed overall within the department. Dean Alex perceived them as “quietly chipping away, making all the cogs in the wheel tick along” (AlexW1). The associate members of the ESOL Department were a permanent full-time ESOL teacher, Cameron, who had worked previously in English, and another permanent staff member and migrant Ronald, who in 2017 had one ESOL class. There were also two newer staff members on contract: a previous Language Department teacher Millie, and a new migrant teacher Carol. Three staff had post-graduate ESOL qualifications, four had Master’s level degrees, and all had degrees in English or another language. Cameron stated: “I think we have been quite fortunate in having mainstream and specifically ESOL trained teachers” (CameronW1). Jasmine listed the multi-lingual expertise within the department: “Carol speaks Cantonese, Mandarin. Millie speaks German, Ronald speaks French, hailing from Canada. And I have learnt a lot of Turkish, so there are languages here” (JasmineW1). Even though, bar Mandarin, their languages were not the same as the L1 of most ELLs at Wordsworth, ESOL staff language knowledge afforded an increased sensitivity to ELL linguistic, if not cultural, needs.

The two contract teachers’ tenures were dependant on funding from the international student intake: “Both of our two fixed-term teachers would be essentially paid for by the money coming in from internationals” (BettyW1). Jasmine expressed that the fixed-term nature of ESOL teachers’ contracts was an ongoing and regrettable issue: “In many institutions, there is a hesitation on the part of management to give ESOL teachers permanent contracts, which is unsettling. I wish that we could be more certain and give those hard-working people more permanency and tenure” (ETFGW1). Millie observed that contract tenure limits desire for ESOL positions: “For younger teachers, perhaps buying their first home, they would want some more security round salary” (ETFGW1).

The following section follows the experiences of one ESOL staff member during the changes to ESOL systems and practices during her tenure.

#### 7.5.1.1 Cameron: Adapting to ESOL requirements

Cameron had been “the first full-time appointment” in ESOL at Wordsworth at “the beginning of the influx from the Northern Hemisphere” (CameronW1). Along with the

then HOD Languages, she had largely contributed to the construction of ESOL Department classes, with Academic Word Lists, NCEA English, and the 12-hour Reception programme for ELLs with very little English (see Table 5) (CameronW1). Her last few years had been complicated by a change of HOD who was appointed to improve the digital technology in the ESOL Department, but who had less training for NCEA English: “When we had a contract for computers coming into schools, the person appointed was perceived to have ability in this direction. The assumption was that that person would also have all the other things, which was not the case” (CameronW2).

Ongoing and accumulating conflicts over NCEA English assessment time deadlines and grades eventually led to an ESOL review and staff changes (see 7.8.1). Two years on, in Term 3 2017, after 32 years of teaching, Cameron was granted an “absolutely marvellous sabbatical. It’s definitely helped me have a more balanced perspective on things” (CameronW2).

During Term 4 2017, Cameron’s refreshed perspective and the absence of a permanent HOD caused her to generate some significant improvements in her own staff relationships and ESOL Department practices. Cameron attributed her successes to having a “wonderful relationship with the Acting HOD ESOL. If I saw a need, I would zip through her and she would sort. People can’t always see the need; we can see the need, but they have the authority, coming together” (CameronW3). She was very pleased that classroom teachers were being listened to: “There can be change. Everyone knows what’s going on. It’s more open and everybody’s happier because they feel that their voices are being heard” (CameronW3).

Cameron habitually prepared the ESOL exams, completed the Ministry funding applications, and managed the entrance tests: “It was quite a big ask at the beginning of the year for the ESOL Department to mark 47 tests” (SamW1). In Term 4, 2017, Cameron significantly improved ESOL entrance test construction and processing. Under the previous system individual ESOL teachers did their own placement tests which were not always used when Ministry funding forms were filled out (Cameron W3):

I have worked to make that more transparent so that the matrix can be filled in properly – Reading, Writing, Listening, Speaking. I have felt that it has been good to have been given some responsibility I have not otherwise had, and to have been told, ‘I’m glad you are showing this initiative.’ (CameronW3)



A further issue with new student testing was the need to identify ELLs who may have learning difficulties which were not language-based. Cameron used some of her sabbatical time to create a diagnostic tool to identify potential medical issues, in the form of bilingual reading comprehensions at different language levels, to identify possible learning difficulties. If there were low scores in both L1 and L2 “that would give us data to take to the parents, like a little first measure” (CameronW3). This impetus sprang from her previous teaching experience, but also an incident her teacher mother had encountered in Remedial Reading, where a student had been put under significant parental pressure to achieve. The student ultimately took his own life. She reflected: “This is something that really has made me think how important it is for parents to understand and for the issues to be addressed” (CameronW3).

Another task for Cameron in Term 4 was to identify placements for all ELLs in their upcoming year’s English classes, which involved negotiations with English staff:

I sent through my particular thoughts about class placement for the following year, to the English Department. The Junior HOD English spoke individually with each of the English teachers, so there were about three adjustments of class. It has felt extremely thorough. (CameronW3)

The results of all new and existing ESOL test results and ESOL/English class placement suggestions were processed for the Deans. The information could be used to help them counter “parents or students coming to them, who think that they should be in another class or don’t need ESOL classes, so that they have actually got objective data to use in those discussions” (CameronW3).

Cameron also initiated improved connections with parents. Acting HOD ESOL Zara responded to Cameron’s desire for an improved ESOL Report layout, by incorporating written judgements on ELLs’ skills-building instead of using school-based grades (ZaraW1). Cameron also wanted to help parents understand ESOL progress by having the ELP matrix grades “put up in our portal somehow, the four skills and an explanation” (CameronW3). She added: “When I was talking to the SM, she suggested using the matrix then making hyperlinks, with specific examples of these things” (CameronW3). This was gradually being implemented.

Further, Cameron improved links between ESOL and mainstream staff. Existing separate material on international students and other students in ESOL classes was “quite hard to

find” (MillieW1). Cameron planned a more detailed and accessible replacement to parallel Literacy and Counselling apps for staff and intended to “communicate with the incoming HOD about this, at the beginning of the year I’d say” (CameronW3).

Cameron’s experiences indicate the psychological cost to ESOL staff where HOD ESOL expertise and cohesive leadership roles are not combined, and the benefits of ESOL staff sabbaticals ESOL to generate agency for themselves and their students within school networks.

#### 7.5.1.2 Wider ESOL staff networks

ESOL staff had various affiliations with wider staff groups. Class level deans had academic and pastoral precedence over ESOL staff perceptions of student class requirements, though ESOL staff provided academic information to them. ESOL staff, like other staff, were also asked to go through the deans if they had a pastoral issue with a student: “Just because if a teacher starts emailing a parent, they don’t know what is going on in the background of that student. We can only communicate with the family, host family, do the best we can” (SamW1). ESOL staff also worked closely with the International Department Dean Sam, and regularly marked international student entrance tests. Cameron appreciated that Sam had acquired ESOL qualifications and understood international student language needs in ESOL classes (CameronW2).

Sometimes there was a conflict of interest. In 2017, there was discrepancy between what Cameron and a dean thought about Year 10ESOL placement. The dean favoured social promotion<sup>8</sup>, but Cameron favoured the Year 10 students being put in with those at the same acquisition levels of English, possibly Year 9ELLS (CameronW2). Eventually the Year 10s from Reception (see Table 9) were moved up with their social peers, which Cameron believed would slow their progress down (CameronW2). In spite of efforts, sometimes there was also a mismatch with the deans’ intercultural expertise when dealing with multicultural students. Haworth (2016) notes that ESOL teachers commonly work with different cultures and have training in international intercultural practices, as HOD ESOL Jasmine had. She recalled an example:

I’ve mentioned something about an Arab student to a dean, who I’d thought didn’t get it, because they operate in quite a different way. So, I just went,

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<sup>8</sup> Social promotion means moving students up class levels based on their age not their ability.

“Oh, OK” but I just looked out for that student personally, invested interest because I understood her. (ETFGW1)

Dean Alex commented that in 2017, the training for deans in different cultures focused on Māori and Pasifika practices. She reflected: “Maybe the ESOL teachers do have a better understanding of culture of their students, so I wouldn’t discourage the ELLs making a connection with them. They [ESOL teachers] probably just need to talk to me and say, ‘I’m just letting you know this is what’s happening” (AlexW1). Betty emphasised that close daily ESOL teacher relationships with students were a factor in close relationships with students, rather than the value of ESOL staff expertise: “It’s not necessarily that ESOL teachers have got more knowledge or training, they have got a relationship with that student” (BettyW2). At Wordsworth, all ESOL staff had significant multicultural experience or training and had developed intercultural skills which perhaps were unrecognised by their peers.

Another common affiliation of ESOL staff could be with TAs, but these were no longer used at Wordsworth (CameronW1, SamW1). Betty advised that the Learning Centre had eight TAs, specifically allocated to one student each, and paid for by parents (BettyW1). Betty’s experience in Technology classes had also made her question TA efficacy: “It challenges the authenticity of the work ‘cos we have requirements that the students have to do all of the work in class. Sometimes you get the odd TA who helps a little bit too much” (BettyW1). She offered an alternative that the school used: “What we tend to do is keep students who have high ELL needs, in the department more, for the 9-12 periods a week (BettyW1).

### **7.5.2 ESOL rooms: A poor relation**

The ESOL classrooms consisted of three uninsulated, relocatable buildings at the back of the school. Betty explained that their location was historic: “It has grown up. We wouldn’t have had a great number of domestic ELLs in the past. The community in the home zone wouldn’t have been a place with a great many immigrant families” (BettyW1). Sam commented on their location: “I notice they’re on the periphery of the school, and there is a bit of research to say that ESOL Departments are often on the periphery” (SamW1). Cameron was more pragmatic: “We have four prefabs. They are quite old, fairly ancient desks. We have no running water. It’s been a frequent request to improve” (CameronW1). Cameron’s classroom had a data projector, six computers and a printer: “I would say my

room feels the best set up” (CameronW1). She concluded: “I find it interesting to wonder when I look at our classroom facilities, and I look at the facilities elsewhere in the school, and I think, ‘Where does all this money go to?’” (CameronW1). ESOL staff used Jasmine’s classroom for meetings, but there was no provision for ESOL staff or student hospitality; instead, Jasmine emphasised whole-school links: “We integrate with all the staff by going over to the main staffroom for morning tea and lunch. On Friday mornings we meet with Languages [Department] morning tea on a weekly basis” (JasmineW1). ESOL rooms were not used for after-school homework support for ELLs, or as homerooms, but Cameron’s room was informally used as one. Cameron remarked: “The kids will come in here. I’ve got kids will come in here I had last year. They feel comfortable to be here” (CameronW2). She continued:

I used to have a couple of sofas in my room. Those were removed supposedly on Health and Safety issues. Having a decent environment to make them feel at home, is really important. I think it is something lacking here. It doesn’t mean that you have to be fostering them to be separate from others, but just something where they felt secure and could relax easily and talk with friends in their L1. (Cameron W2)

Betty thought that an ESOL homeroom “makes for more isolation,” but conceded: “We have probably got unofficial homerooms, I suspect” (BettyW1), in some way acknowledging that ELLs will create their own L1 spaces, in spite of school protocols.

### **7.5.3 ESOL class levels**

Existing ESOL class structures had a strong emphasis on language and literature, with clear classification for student placements in a streamed hierarchy from 1-16 classes (see Table 9 below). The five junior classes had a customised syllabus based on language proficiency; classes were separated by using Academic Word List levels (Coxhead, 2000, 2011a, 2018; Nation, 2018). The size of the students’ vocabularies indicated the levels of their overall language proficiency. When students reached 5000 words, they left ESOL classes to be fully mainstreamed (Cameron W1). The senior classes were separated by national assessment programmes consisting of sequenced ELP Unit Standards, NCEA English Levels 1 and 2 and EAP (see 2.7.4). Year 13EAP also contained senior English students who needed extra time to complete NCEA English work. Academic vocabulary was taught on Fridays at all ESOL levels (CameronW1). HOD ESOL Jasmine expressed

that the streamed ESOL class structure was not typical of the social promotion found in most New Zealand mainstream secondary schools and concluded cautiously: “I’m new to the department this year, so I’m observing it” (JasmineW1).

The ELLs interviewed enjoyed ESOL classes, as they were “smaller, compact with friendly teachers ... involve everybody in class” (ESFGW1). They explained that the ESOL staff worked at a slower pace than general subject teachers, so ESOL students could learn “step by step, understand everything” (ESFGW1). ESOL student Stacey enjoyed the increased opportunity for teacher feedback and was grateful that ESOL classes helped her “stand out in front of people” for class presentations (ESFGW1).

**Table 9: Wordsworth ESOL classes 2017**

(the ‘words’ align with the Academic Word List; p: periods)

<b>SENIORS</b>	<b>JUNIORS</b>
<b>13EAP:</b> 2 periods a week; completing standards from 12ESL	<b>10ESA:</b> 3 periods a week; 3-4000 words;
<b>13ESL:</b> 4 periods a week; EAP/NCEA	<b>10ESL:</b> 6 periods a week; under 1-2000 words; new students also go to 9ESRx 4-10p week
<b>12ESAx2:</b> 4 periods a week; EAP/NCEA	<b>9ESA:</b> 3 periods a week; 3-4000 words
<b>12 ESLx2:</b> 4 periods a week; EAP/NCEA; 2-year course	<b>9ESL:</b> 3 periods a week; 1-2000 words
<b>11ESA:</b> 4 periods a week; 3-4000 words; NCEA	<b>9ESER:</b> 6-12periods a week; under 1000 words; Foundation class
<b>11ESLx2:</b> 4 periods a week; 15-2000 words; Literacy Unit Standards/NCEA	
<b>11ESU:</b> 4 periods a week; under 1000 words; ESOL Unit Standards	

## 7.6 ELLs

ELLs in ESOL classes consisted of migrant and international students (see 2.7.2) and were 10% of the school intake (JasmineW1). Cameron believed that there were “just under 250 students in our department, but there are also others that we are still entitled for funding for, who have moved into mainstream” (CameronW1). Jasmine identified 150 migrants for the March funding application list. Betty commented on Wordsworth’s lack

of RMB students: “We don’t get a number of RMB students; very, very small because 80% of our roll is home zone” (BettyW2). The very few RMB students at Wordsworth in 2017 had been mainstreamed. Lastly, there were 130 international students, some of whom did not attend ESOL classes (BettyW1).

Betty perceived that the ESOL Department was mainly for migrants, not international or RMB students. She commented that international students spent

a lot of time in ESOL classes, which is not what they’re coming for. Those students want to be in the mainstream as much as possible, and they might be achieving very well in some of their main curriculum subjects, but English is their weakness. So, they are requiring additional English support, and that is taking time out of their preferred classes. The [ESOL] department is actually set there for domestic students. (BettyW1)

She estimated: “Our balance in ESOL classes between international and domestics are about half and half” (BettyW1). Most ELLs were Asian migrants or internationals (BettyW1). Dean Alex concurred: “When you say ESOL, in my head Chinese comes to mind” (AlexW1). Cameron identified that “there’s been a distinct drop in Korean, a few Thai, a few Indian, some Filipino, and there are Sri Lankan as well, very few Japanese” (CameronW1). Betty observed: “We get a number of Mexican and German students, but they don’t tend to have any ESOL requirements” (BettyW2).

The main purpose of encouraging international students was to provide school income. As a high decile school, Wordsworth was granted lower government funding entitlements than many other schools (see 2.5.2). There was no distinct area of the school that was generated from international student funding. Betty commented: “The funding that comes in from internationals probably goes into extra teachers. Everybody gets to enjoy it” (BettyW2). She asserted that Wordsworth did not target international funds for school projects, because “when international students have offered to gift us money, we always say no, because we don’t want to start a culture of accepting money from people” (BettyW2).

### **7.6.1 ELLs' arrivals**

Betty voiced the school practice for international and migrant student arrivals at Wordsworth: "They can come in whenever they want. We encourage them to turn up on the first day, but they don't always" (BettyW2). International Dean, Sam, indicated that international students came mainly in two blocks: "At the beginning of this year we had 47, then we've got 18 coming in mid-year" but others arrived outside this (SamW1). Unpredictable student arrivals were perceived as an issue by mainstream and ESOL staff. Jane commented: "They all come in at different times. I find that difficult. You are so busy in the curriculum that you don't have lots of time to have those one-on-one conversations. It's all business end" (MTFGW1). During my first visit, Cameron reflected:

We have no control over our roll. This week is week 6, the first week that I have not tested more people who have not come to live in zone. It does impact. If a class becomes too big we have to shuffle. Last year, this time of year, I discovered that there were 32 students in 10ESL. It was very far from ideal. (CameronW1)

Sarah explained that it was just a fact of life that new students arrived randomly in class. She emphasised that as a teacher, she had the responsibility to make the new student feel welcome, and be very positive, in spite of the demand of existing students for her attention (SarahW1). She identified time factors as responsible for teachers not being notified about student arrivals: "I didn't have any information, background. There isn't opportunity in between the student's arrival often and their needing to be put in a timetable. We don't have a waiting lounge. But the student was plonked in my classroom" (SarahW1). Wordsworth managers seemed reluctant to dissuade students from random arrival, perhaps because of the presence of alternative schools nearby competing for the same fee-payers.

### **7.6.2 International students: Younger, with less English**

In the past, international students were accepted with the expectation that they had more than the basic level of English proficiency and the assumption was that they would need to spend minimal time in ESOL classes (BettyW1). Betty acknowledged that sometimes the test reports the school received for students were not always at this level: "Not all of

them meet it; some of them are a little bit borderline” (BettyW1). From 2014 onwards, an added factor had arisen. The new international director had prioritised the need for international students to pass senior subjects, so implemented a strategy of bringing in younger students so they had time to improve their English before sitting senior assessments. Dean Alex concurred:

If their main goal is to have an English NCEA qualification that is going to help them get into university here, then it’s going to be more beneficial than the shell-shock they perhaps feel when they arrive in Year 11 or even Year 12. (AlexW1)

Sam explained that seniors arriving with limited English, then being expected to pass, was “not fair to anybody, especially students with really limited English” then added a rejoinder: “Sometimes it’s the parent who is pushing the students to come” (SamW1). Cameron noted that the recent raising of student entry criteria for Auckland University (17 credits of written English) intensified the need for international students to arrive earlier.

ESOL classes were affected by the change of policy to accept younger international students. Jasmine stated: “Our Year 11 lowest stream is mainly international students. They haven’t come in here with high English” (JasmineW1). Cameron affirmed: “Year 9ESER has got two or three who are not internationals. Those with the least English are internationals” (CameronW1). The international students were very much in need of ESOL tuition, though their preference was to be in other subjects.

Three staff were uneasy about accepting younger international students. Jasmine reflected on their emotional needs:

I wonder about some of the international kids coming in, who are quite young. I worry about that for them, just feeling homesick. We know that if you don’t feel safe, because you haven’t got your strong person next to you, then you may not learn as well. (JasmineW2)

However, Dean Alex noted that there was no upswing in international students needing counselling: “No, touch wood, but I think the International Department is dealing with them” (AlexW1).



### 7.6.3 ELL friendships

There were very few ESOL Department activities available for its students to bond with each other. Though HOD ESOL Jasmine had initiated an ESOL walk to see the sunrise at Mātāriki, she left before implementing further co-curricular ventures (JasmineW2). Senior ESOL students attended a local film viewing of 'Making Good Men' as part of their bullying theme for EAP (Wordsworth School, 2017, p. 18). ELLs were encouraged to become involved with whole-school initiatives. There were some organised events for international ELLs, sometimes linked with another school: "a trip to Devonport, the school production, ice-skating in the holidays" (SamW1). Sam conceded that the support for international students to become friends with locals was limited: "I do tell them they can bring a domestic friend if they want that. I don't think we really do a lot to encourage that" (SamW1).

Cameron clarified her perceptions about the effort required from ELLs when making friends:

Making friends with locals and other groups to me is all about them gaining enough English to be able to do so. The function of the ESOL teacher is to help them do that. We can understand why they feel secure being within the same ethnic group or with students who speak the same language, but it always fills me with joy when I see one of my ELL kids talking with somebody whose L1 is English. (CameronW2)

Chinese international student Christian remarked on the value of friends for learning: "You really need to make some friends that can help you," with which Japanese migrant Alice concurred: "They can teach you English and they will also be your friend for school life and outside school" (ESFGW1). Other ELLs found that it was easier to make friends if you were younger, and used ESOL classes to buddy up, but Christian noted that it was "actually very hard to build relationships between international and local students" (ESFGW1). Mary explained that her ELL students often united to use plurilingual methods to improve their learning. Dean Alex was determined to improve diverse student integration in tutor classes: "We need to think about how we are going to try and change that, to help with their transition" (AlexW1). Both staff and ELLs recognised the personal, social and academic benefits of intercultural friendships, while also acknowledging limited school systems to encourage them.

## **7.7 ELLs' impact on school subjects**

As a group, ELLs complicated the way choices were made around allocation of students to subject classes, as highlighted in the following.

### **7.7.1 Subject choices**

Timetabling practices were based around the needs of the majority of the students. Sam indicated that it was often difficult to place ELL international students in the subjects they wanted. Dean Alex explained that, in the senior school, two-thirds of subjects have prerequisite subject requirements. If ELLs are refused entry by the HOD, Alex's role was to help them look for alternatives where they could achieve:

Two-thirds of our subjects have a prerequisite and it's up to the HOD, if that person hasn't met the prerequisites, then that's often when my role comes in, talking them through why [we are], saying, 'What we are trying to do is put together a programme that you are going to be able to achieve in.' (AlexW1)

There could also be discrepancies between student ages and their academic level:

We had a few older students in Year 10. They complained, and I have actually put them in Year 11 now. We don't want them bored but also we don't want the other extreme where it is too difficult so they fail everything. It's trying to find that balance. (SamW1)

International students also displayed a commodified attitude to learning which created subject choice tensions, as when senior ELLs wanted to take Chinese instead of attending ESOL class, so they could potentially obtain more credits. Jasmine commented on the possible impacts of international student beliefs about education: "I feel a little bit sad about it. I hope we are not losing that love of learning" (JasmineW2).

### **7.7.2 Increased competition in classes**

ELLs were under considerable parental pressures to achieve with learning. Stacey noted: "In China, basically you just study." Christian asserted: "Chinese students don't have any time away from learning: I remember when I was a child, my father take a chair and sit behind me and see me do my homework OOOOOH!!" (ESFGW1). International students continued this attitude to learning at Wordsworth, accompanied by intense personal

anxiety and competitiveness. Cameron reinforced: “I’ve noticed that as the year progresses, from Term 3 to 4, the number of ELLs in tears, going to counsellors, increases. For students to self-manage, is huge” (CameronW2).

Desire for excellence also increased the possibility of cheating, particularly from ELLs who might have come from cultures which emphasise results over process. Cameron explained: “I’ve had students cheat; I can only say cheat, because they think that if they do this they will up their grade” (CameronW2). Wordsworth teachers had to be meticulous with assessments and marking. In ESOL classes, all summative work was done in class as a safeguard of student authenticity, as there was also “a strong element of students who have tutors” (CameronW1). Cameron observed: “We’ve got to have transparent processes, and we have got to make sure that we date and sign every piece of feedback we give, we have to be super-careful” (CameronW2). High expectations on ESOL staff demanded that they maintain high quality standards in teaching and assessing subject material, but also utilise skilful response strategies when dealing with ELLs who try to pressure them to pass assessments (CameronW1).

Though Wordsworth had a reputation for excellence already (see 7.3), mainstream teacher and previous Wordsworth student, Jane, reflected that the ELLs’ work ethic impacted on the school by adding even more stress on other students (MTFGW1). She explained:

Kiwis are having to work a lot harder to achieve the same results. It’s becoming quite a challenge. Anxiety, stress, all these things are very out there now. It has raised the academic standard, which is good, but it is taking its toll on all of them, pressure, stress, to be the top. They all want to go to med school, and they all want to do those top jobs. (MTFGW1)

It seemed that ELLs’ drive for excellence was instrumental in maintaining and improving the traditional academic reputation of the school, but their drive was not making them more popular with local New Zealand European Pākehā students who had to work much harder to achieve the same competitive goals.

### **7.7.3 ELLs' relationships with mainstream teachers**

ELLs' relationships with their mainstream staff were often limited by lack of communication. Mainstream staff member Mario noted: "The communication thing is a big one" (MTFGW1). ELLs themselves admitted that they had suffered a lot in the past by being too afraid to ask for help, particularly with word knowledge (MTFGW1). Technology teacher Jane expanded: "They will say they are fine, when they are not. I found it rude, continually giving me blank walls. But now, I'm realising, this is not what they are used to" (MTFGW1). Further, staff could not easily resort to ELLs' parents for explanations, as they could be absent or have very limited English (MTFGW1).

Mainstream staff utilised a variety of strategies to support ELLs in their subjects. They used Google slides, bilingual notes, photographic whiteboard notes, videos with subtitles, scaffolded templates and multiple checkpoints for formative written work. Glossary lists were turned into varied language games. Jane added: "I put help-lists on the board. I go round giving help, but they never ask for it" (MTFGW1). Mario was pleased that there was "a core in my class that are in the ESOL class so they are going to cross-over the glossaries with me which will be really helpful" (MTFGW1). Bilingual students were also used as buddies and to translate where possible.

HOD ESOL Jasmine explained the difficulty that ELLs might have with adjusting to mainstream staff:

If they [ELLs] come from a passive learning environment, they may seem not as engaged, but in fact they are very engaged. The teacher needs to know how to read them but also how to encourage that shift, that transition. That's one of the roles I think we play, in the ESOL Department. (JasmineW2)

It seemed that more opportunities were needed to allow this information to be understood by all mainstream staff. ELLs too, needed to be trained how to more readily communicate their needs in class.

### **7.7.4 ELLs influencing ESOL class placements**

Cameron and others (Dean Alex, Betty, Zara) perceived that the ESOL Department was not valued very highly in the school generally, and for some students to be associated with it, was beneath their dignity. Zara acknowledged: "The things that students complain

about here, are still being in ESOL classes when they believe they are ready for mainstream, because of the prestige, so to speak, of being in the mainstream” (ZaraW1). Some ELLs placed considerable pressure on ESOL staff to avoid being put in ESOL classes when their test scores indicated that their English levels required support: “They try to get out of this class. They make demands about ‘why am I in ESOL class?’ You have to really withstand this” (CameronW3). She gave an example of a student in 2016 with fewer than 1000 words, who resisted placement in Reception. After numerous emails, student demands were met, then that student was placed in Year 12, and was “clearly at the bottom of the class, not doing at all well” (CameronW3). She concluded: “I have wanted to have a ‘Letter Against Advice’; to move them into the mainstream against advice” (CameronW3). Pressure continued with 2017 entrants:

There’s this whole little raft of students born in New Zealand but then they have gone usually back to China. Sometimes they have arrived for Intermediate, taking up their New Zealand birth, and they are arriving here. I have been testing these. There is one mother who is objecting: ‘We speak English in our house. She is New Zealand-born. Why is she being classified as needing ESOL classes?’ This is a child who has got fewer than 3000 English words, but what I did do was say that she could discuss it with the dean next year, if she would like. (CameronW3)

Betty was more ambivalent about pressure from ELL international students. She recalled that their overall number in the school was small and many of them did not try to change practices: “130 students is a fairly small number, and some of them are very hands-off” (BettyW2). In practice however, for ESOL staff setting class placements, ESOL testing was a highly politicised area, at times encompassing intense conflicts between staff and students about the realities of low language levels against high social expectations of language achievement. This conflict was part of a raft of issues played out in the ESOL review discussed below.

## **7.8 ESOL Department restructuring**

### **7.8.1 The ESOL review**

From 2014 on, after the appointment of a HOD ESOL with limited NCEA English training or experience, a series of conflicts escalated over Level 3 English NCEA

assessment marking. Some ELLs had been told by ESOL staff that they had passed their L3 NCEA assessments completed in ESOL classes, but when their work was moderated by the English Department, it was deemed not acceptable. The ESOL students complained to senior management. Betty observed that pressure for ESOL staff accountability was driven from “probably more our international ELLs really” (BettyW1), over desire for maximum assessment credits for university placement. She charged the whole ESOL Department with the responsibility and believed that they should have upgraded their understanding of NCEA assessment by linking closer with English assessment meetings: “It was about the ESOL teachers going to the benchmarking meetings, when the English Department was doing the standard” (BettyW2).

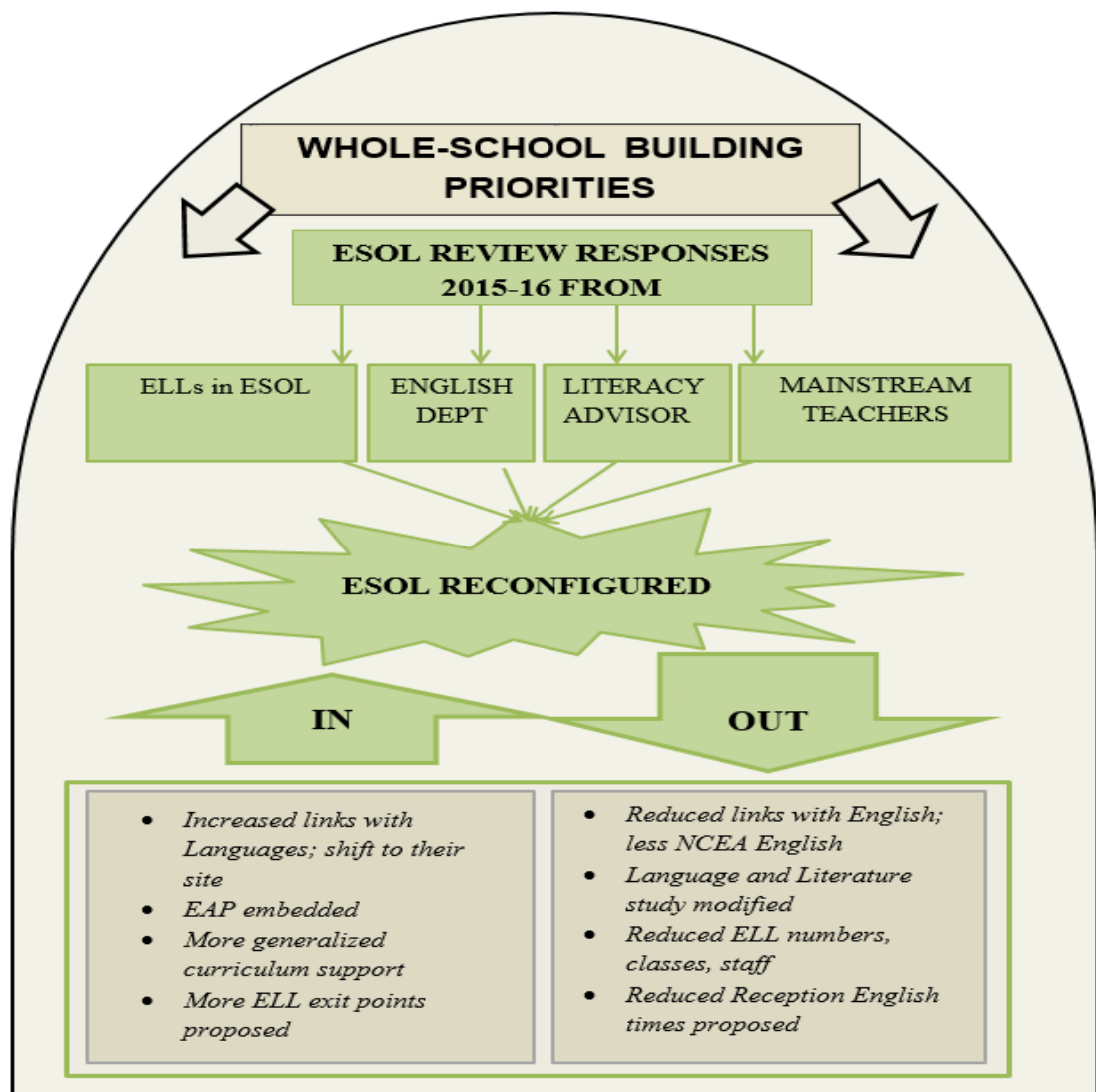


Figure 12: Representation of the ESOL review

As a result, in 2015, the then new SM Betty established an ESOL review “to identify whether it was actually meeting the needs, based on a number of concerns that people had raised” (BettyW1). ELLs and mainstream staff were canvassed but individual associate ESOL teachers were not involved (BettyW1, 2; Cameron email 7.7.2019). Betty reflected on the review changes: “In the past, the ESOL Department has been a little bit isolated, and not so integrated into classrooms as I would like. But I think now we are working on ways to make it more integrated” (BettyW1).

The process of the ESOL Department review is simplified in Figure 12 above. From the top down, it outlines the whole-school impact of “collaborative learning” initiatives to redevelop school buildings on land presently used for ESOL classrooms (Wordsworth School, 2017, p. 2), then identifies four school groups who were asked to give their views about the ESOL Department. The changes that were made as a result are shown at the bottom of the diagram and highlight practices that were introduced into ESOL and those that were abandoned. The changes will be analysed in more detail below.

### **7.8.2 Senior ESOL programme changes**

The review responses encouraged Betty to acknowledge that the ESOL curriculum needed to support students’ language across the curriculum, rather than have a streamed language-literature programme (BettyW1). Her perceptions were actioned in the overhaul of ESOL classes from 2016 onwards.

An early change was the replacement of the Year 13 English NCEA writing-based assessments to EAP ones, which were more content-based, and could use cross-curricular material. Cameron added that another advantage was that EAP assessments carried five credits each, so two EAP assessments could earn entrance to Auckland University, instead of using more Level 3 NCEA assessments which earned less credits (CameronW1). Jasmine, cognisant of higher networks, noted that EAP “was by far the preferred version from Auckland University. In many ways it dictates, what we need to provide” (ETFGW1). Also, the removal of Level 3 NCEA avoided a timetable problem whereby Year 13 ELLs had been cramming their NCEA assessments into a two-period support timeslot and using the four-period ESOL class time to complete another subject.

All existing ESOL staff were measured in their response to EAP, represented by Ronald:

This is my first year doing EAP standards, and we had done the NCEA Level 2 prior to that, and it did allow a broader range of thinking, more access to literature, more ways to enjoy English, and it allowed the ELLs to be in a similar programme to the rest of the cohort at school. It will be interesting to see. (MTFGW1)

Cameron highlighted marking issues, similar to earlier NCEA ones (see 7.8.1) (CameronW1). The English Department had no experience of EAP and did not want to be involved, so eventually external moderation was used successfully.

A further review consequence was to gradually remove most NCEA literature and language units used in Year 11-12 ESOL. This was accommodated by the decision to merge the top-streamed Year 11 ESOL class (11ESA) with English Literacy in 2018, with the thought of doing the same in Year 12 in 2019. The changes also meant that there would be earlier exits from ESOL for the most successful ELLs, reduced ESOL teacher time and classroom spaces and less opportunity for conflict between ESOL and English Departments about NCEA implementation. The appointment of a new HOD ESOL for 2018, with EAP not NCEA experience, marked additional distancing by the English Department from ESOL assessment.

Cameron observed two other outcomes of this change: “The interesting thing is, ESOL money will be coming in for these students, who will be mainstreamed” (Cameron W3). She felt that they would be short-changed. She was also disappointed that that high-achieving L2 ELL students would be taught literacy alongside local L1 students with low literacy levels students:

These [ELLs] students often are bright, clever, smart, kids who might be doing well in their Maths, or their Physics. They will be in there with Literacy students who are making slow progress. And the reasons that they are making slow progress are very, very, very, very different reasons from the reasons that an ELLs may, but I am having to accept it. (CameronW3)

It also meant that ESOL students achieving well in English would be disallowed the opportunity to achieve at high levels of senior NCEA in English and perhaps indirectly with other senior humanities subjects. This could presumably result in less academic



competition in these subjects for domestic students, and possibly reduce high academic achievement outcomes in the school overall.

Cameron observed that there were also three NCEA assessments being introduced into the second-tier Year 12 ESOL class to allow for more credits: “The thought is to differentiate, possibly to cram” (CameronW3). Overall, she reflected that the ESOL Department was “simply becoming more of a language school, basically” (CameronW3).

### **7.8.3 Cross-curricular emphasis**

Comments from Mathematics and Science staff in the ESOL review emphasised the need for cross-curricular academic subject vocabulary in ESOL classes, so in 2017, strategies were implemented. ESOL classes began to use Friday lessons for general vocabulary extension. The two Literacy initiatives outlined in 7.4.1 were instigated. Betty outlined a further plan to support ELLs’ social and cultural integration within mainstream classes:

The intention is to make it more inclusive by gaining confidence. You do have students who sit at the back who never say anything, because they’re too scared to. Our students don’t tend to misbehave. It’s very easy to ignore a student who may be not doing anything, because they look busy. (BettyW1)

She envisaged putting another three to six hours from the 12-period Reception into a practical Technology class that taught general routines, “where the subject thing was almost a side-line” but at the end of 2017, plans had not yet been completed (BettyW2).

Another review response was to use senior ESOL class time for cross-curricular assessment support. Betty stated:

There may be the opportunity for students to come out of any subject and say, ‘I have to write this for this subject. I need some support with it’ so that they are not doing new content for the sake of doing their writing task. They are actually getting the support to do their writing task. (BettyW2)

Cameron explained that there could be problems with student authenticity and plagiarism: “If a student is coming with a biology topic and a report, how do we know how much teacher input there has been from the Biology teacher?” (CameronW3). She recalled a cross-curricular Chemistry report that she had been asked to mark, where she checked

with the HOD Chemistry to see if the language showed correct English as well as an understanding of Chemistry. It had the former but not the latter: “I think there are grey areas that are very difficult” (CameronW3). In future, she planned to manage cross-curricular assessments with “ways of doing it that preserve your own sense of integrity” (CameronW3). Cross-curricular language support meant that mainstream staff workload was decreased, but it was increased for ESOL staff. The value of, and time spent on, the ESOL curriculum was reduced and ESOL staff would need to closely link to subject leaders to avoid student manipulation or being perceived as ‘the weakest link’ with assessment marking.

#### **7.8.4 Exit points**

Betty explained that when migrant and international students arrived at the school in years 11 and 12, taking some form of English was an MOE requirement, though not at Year 13. Sometimes the results of their entrance tests meant that they ended up “with more ESOL classes than they like” in the drive for maximum credits for university placements (BettyW1). During 2017, exit points for ELLs were established twice a year with tests using ELLP criteria. Betty began to:

look at more exit points, for students to move, to show once they’ve got to a certain level of being able to get, not to get out of ESOL class, but to focus more on the mainstream once their language support needs were reducing.  
(BettyW2)

She appreciated that the present ESOL programmes produced “students coming out who have reasonable levels of English, well-schooled” but she prioritised another value: “The sooner we can get them integrating into main classrooms, the easier it is for them to socially fit in” (BettyW1). However, Betty was aware of the quandary of over-testing, reducing class learning time (BettyW1). By the end of 2017, she had directed some extra testing into ESOL classes, but the results indicated that more work was needed (BettyW2). Perhaps there was some realisation that fee-paying ELLs could not short-cut English proficiency just by wishing for it to be so, or by telling staff that it had been achieved when test results displayed otherwise, as a recent Australian study had also observed (Filipi & Keary, 2018).

### **7.8.5 Building priorities**

Behind the review and the ESOL class reductions was whole-school planning for a building programme. The library and digital areas were to be enlarged and extended into an open-plan area “for innovative learning” during 2018 (SandyW1). The ESOL room space nearby would need to be vacated during the new-build. LAD Languages Sandy had been notified that ESOL classes not merged into English Literacy would be moved over to the Languages Department classrooms, so the Language Department teachers could not use their rooms as offices, and classrooms generally in the school would be at a premium. Sandy commented: “People need to be mentally prepared to be moving all around the school. They will be all over the place” (SandyW1). She knew little about plans for the new-build but considered that open-plan was not very helpful for ELL where “listening is such a key component. That goes for ESOL classes as well” (SandyW1). She knew little about a future ESOL location: “That’s a good question for that new HOD ESOL to be asking” (SandyW1). Meanwhile in 2017, ESOL Department identity in Wordsworth was being remodelled to include demands from powerful wider-school forces, within the wider drive to maintain competitive advantage locally and manage future student-parent expectations.

## **7.9 Summary and conclusion**

An exploration of Wordsworth’s ELL during 2017 has highlighted the gradual reconstitution of its ESOL language and literature curriculum into literacy support provision, as a result of overlapping layers of demand from wider school groups prioritising their needs over ELL. These demands included the whole-school impetus to upgrade classroom facilities to cater for an increasing zone intake, pressure to reduce workload for KLA subject staff burdened with extra teaching of ELLs, the desire of English department staff to avoid ESOL NCEA moderation and the urgency of fee-payer students to obtain entry into the local university with English credits. Behind these demands lay an ideological struggle within the school to follow government and local pressure for traditionally Eurocentric educational frameworks, while accepting the presence and pecuniary benefits of increased numbers of migrant residents and fee-paying students from other cultures. With the emphasis on subject-specific vocabulary and English language use for assessments in senior academic subjects, it embedded the monolingual dominance of English within the school and positioned L2 academic

acquisition as a cognitive, linguistic issue, without support from L1 socio-cultural pedagogies. The systems changes to ESOL, driven by a new senior manager, eased tensions regarding ELL presence within the wider school, reinforced the subsidiary role of the ESOL compared to KLA subjects, and reduced specialist conditions for learning for ESOL students and their potential to succeed in humanities subjects.

This chapter ends the findings sections of this enquiry, which has reviewed the changing place of ELL within the operations of three very different schools in New Zealand. All three show the influences of wider, powerful mainstream demands for monolingual dominance within and around the school environments compromising ELL provision. At Mountfort, idiosyncratic and multicultural ESOL leadership was modified so that ESOL Department systems and practices could align better with mainstream demands and management aspirations for capturing a wider socio-economic range of student groups. At Patton, traditional egalitarian boundaries were crossed to prioritise the need to build international business income, resulting in a two-tiered approach to ELLS where careful systems for all ELL cohorts were well-maintained. Despite assiduous efforts, there remained an inability to socially integrate international students with New Kiwi and mainstream staff and students. Wordsworth, a school with strong expectations of excellence for all students including ELLs, was in the process of introducing ESOL systems and practices which could be seen as actually working against that. This chapter leads into the discussion chapter, which contains an in-depth analysis of the data according to the conceptual frameworks chosen, in order to provide insights linked to management, beliefs and practice with ELL provision in New Zealand state secondary schools.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION**

This chapter aims to deepen an understanding of the complex processes involved in ELL within and across relationships and settings in three New Zealand secondary school contexts.

The sections below correspond to the four research questions within the theoretical and analytical frameworks which underpin this study. The initial focus in Section 1 overviews how an ecological perspective can deepen an understanding of the synergies in and between the layers of influence affecting provision of ELL in this study. Section 2 examines how ecological layers interconnect to generate decisions made around the management structures which administer ELL through ESOL Departments in schools. Section 3 analyses international and national, historical and contemporary beliefs and how they interrelate with ELL and ESOL subject provision. Finally, Sections 4 and 5 explore participants' perspectives of the challenges and affordances experienced during the provision of ESOL in three settings. In the process, the exploration will clarify distinctive features to help highlight the extent of complexity and variation across school settings. Following this, some final conclusions will be presented in the closing chapter.

### **8.1 An ecological perspective on ELL**

#### **8.1.1 An overview**

An ecological perspective can capture an expansive overview of the breadth and depth of interactions of the layers of influence that lie in and around ELL. Crichton and Murray (2014) outline that an ecological view of language learning “signals an interest in gaining a holistic understanding of the nature of language(s) that foregrounds the complexity of interrelationships between them, their speakers and their social, institutional and cultural environments” (p. 35). These layers from different spatial and temporal contexts include the “distant and proximal, past and present, real and imaginary” (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008, p. 667), and contain constraints and affordances that condition the emergence of successful ELL learning outcomes (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; van Lier, 2004, 2010, 2011).

An ecological perspective can enhance an understanding of ELL provision by ensuring that complete responsibility for learning is not entirely placed on the learner, the teacher and the academic and social confines of the immediate classroom. An ecological perspective encompasses influences inside and outside of the classroom, such as the significance of learners' key relationships with friends and family and their beliefs. It incorporates the attitudes and beliefs of student peers, school staff and local community influences, past and present, as contributing to the formation of language learning opportunities. It includes past or present influences from national and international politics, beliefs, economy and resources, as instrumental in the enhancement or constriction of ELL provision. Taken as a whole, an ecological perspective embodies a profound, deep and complex understanding of ELL within a wide, radiating socio-relational context (see 3.1).

This study has adopted the ecological perspectives encapsulated in Spolsky's educational language policy theory (Spolsky, 2004). Spolsky (2009) affirms that there are complex, dynamic variables within and around each radiating ecological layer, which can be categorised as three main components, namely management, beliefs and practices. Interactions in and between these components affirm the nature and extent of regulation, clarify how actual or default regulations result from people's beliefs and how regulations may be reconceptualised or reformed by respondents as they are put into practice. Spolsky legitimates the importance of human rights responses in language use, stemming from personal beliefs or democratic political allegiances that can modify and realign language policy management within different local contexts (Spolsky, 2012, 2018).

From here, the chapter analyses the relationships within and between layers of ELL management, inherited and adopted beliefs and staff and student practice using this ecological framework.

## **8.2 The ecological influences of ELL management**

### **8.2.1 Historical international influences**

The British discovery of the sparsely populated southern islands later named New Zealand provided a wonderful opportunity to expand international British influence. From 1840, British control of migration to New Zealand meant that mainly British Pākehā were granted the right to settle, and they proceeded to arrive in substantial numbers, thus

ensuring their sociocultural domination of the country. New Zealand's present language learning realities are substantially governed by this historical and contemporary affiliation with Britain and other post-colonial countries which originally developed social systems progressing from British ones (McGroarty, 2013). Politically, New Zealand developed a liberal democracy "guided by the ideals of freedom and equality, operating within an open society with a free-market economy, governed by an elected government under rule by law" (Liu, 2005, p. 72). Within this framework, the demands of British-leaning international allegiances, trade and finance formed an historical context which ensured that New Zealand inhabitants' dominant way of life was based on Eurocentric patterns that showed little interest in wider cultural inclusiveness.

Current government educational provision is still heavily influenced by these inherited wider ecological influences, and they transfer their influences through their agencies into local schools. Even though secondary schools are deregulated, government educational agencies use state income to fund and regulate how state secondary education is taught and provide regulations which govern national subjects, content and assessments. Government ministries have largely chosen school locations which have a burgeoning adolescent populations, and have developed school structures which cater for local socio-economic demographics, as can be seen with the three case study schools (McCulloch, 1992).

### **8.2.2 Post-World War II macro-influences**

The last 50 years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century heralded decolonising processes which added a multi-ethnic texture to government Eurocentric immigrant preferences. These processes have stemmed largely from changes with economic and political allegiances and international trade, significantly impacting on ELL numbers in state secondary schools (see 2.2). There was an increasing need to look for markets closer to home and to encourage a youthful multicultural migrant labour force that could fill employment gaps. From the 1990's until 2018, temporary and permanent multicultural migration increased sharply and remained very high, generating increased ethnic variability within New Zealand society. In addition, from the 1990's, international secondary school students were increasingly targeted; 2017 figures have surpassed the 15,600 reached in 2003 (MOE, 2017b). As well, New Zealand's refugee agreements with UNHCR, and the traumatic experience of war and displacement in other parts of the globe, has gradually generated an influx of up to

1000 RMB students annually to its shores during the period of this research (NKTFGP1; DysartP1; CharlieP1).

Consequently, state secondary schools have expanded ESOL provision, particularly for the lucrative gains provided by mostly temporary international students, who tend to gather in high-decile schools in cities. In 2016, this income stream was responsible for \$NZ4.5 billion and employed 33,000 people (Kalafatelis et al., 2018). Their income is a crucial factor for state schools struggling with insufficient government funds. At Wordsworth, Alex commented: “I do know that having international students is a really important money source to keep the school operating for everyone” (AlexW1). Conversely, international students could use their short-term stay as a means of “buying an education” to obtain entry to an overseas university not so accessible elsewhere (CameronW2).

Migrant adolescent students may use state secondary or private schools depending on their choice or income, while they wait for residency. RMBs, granted permanent residence on arrival in New Zealand, enter local state secondary schools by right once they have been placed in government housing nearby.

### **8.2.3 National influences**

Ecological pressures on ELL education has also come from within New Zealand. In the 1980s, a spirited resurgence of indigenous Māori demands for improved rights has eventually led to New Zealand officially becoming a bicultural nation and Māori being made an official New Zealand language in 1987. Māori education was also given priority rights with funding and Māori indigenous status protected in national education documents over other non-indigenous ethnic minorities who are present in ELL (MOE, 2007b).

National economic stringencies have also had a major role. From 1989, ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ legislation has devolved national management of education to individual principals and their senior managements, and school governance to their BOTs consisting of elected parents or co-opted members. Government ministries oversee curriculum and assessment, while national Curriculum Document guidelines (MOE, 2007b) steer educational thinking. State secondary schools’ financial health depends on government bulk monetary grants granted according to schools’ decile, catchment or zone, and student



intake (see 2.5.2). These changes still provide the basis for the management of state secondary education today.

State secondary school ELL provision is enveloped within wider state educational structures. The government bulk-funds universities and ITE institutions which provide qualifications and training for staff who teach ELL in secondary schools. Government school catchment and zoning regulations assist in the management of the numbers of international students allowed in schools. Head Gardener at Patton remarked: “The ability to grow an International Department is constrained by the size of the school, and the BOT still has got to cater for all of the local kids who want to come first, and we don’t have infinite land” (HGP1). Government agencies encourage the international student income streams with national recruitment support, resource guidance, and supervision through the Code of Practice (MOE, 2016b). Government management agencies, MOE and NZQA, provide ELL guidance and resources (see 2.7).

#### **8.2.4 Local management of ELL**

In deregulated, local state secondary school contexts, school managements are sanctioned to reframe national management initiatives to meet the needs of their own communities, including ELL provision. However, they are still expected to comply with top-down policies as they are enacted (Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Shannon, 1999). The following section surveys local ELL management provision existing in the three case study schools.

##### **8.2.4.1 ESOL Department frameworks**

In 2017, the structures of the case study school ESOL Departments exemplified the wide variation of management measures existing in secondary schools for ELL provision today. During the first two terms at Mountfort, the HOD ESOL was directly responsible to the principal and was an autonomous member of middle management curriculum group HOLA. In the last two terms, an Acting HOD aligned with the HOD English to manage ESOL until the end of the year. In 2017, Wordsworth ESOL Department was managed by a hierarchy progressing from the HOD ESOL to the HOD English to a SM. The 2017 ESOL management framework of Patton, was unusual in that in 2012 it broke away from traditional ESOL Department expectations to form two separate departments, both with separate layers of staff managed overall by one SM. The ability of schools to tailor their

ESOL Department managements to align with local needs has been undoubtedly beneficial, but results reflects only one part of the deregulation equation.

From an ESOL perspective, it seems that nationally-deregulated management systems in state secondary schools could also place ESOL members and their systems in jeopardy of being exploited. Deregulation, using larger departments as buddies, and lack of closely monitored ESOL standardisation could mean that, potentially, school leaderships could compromise ESOL needs and their resources for wider school exigencies deemed to be more pressing. All the case study ESOL Departments showed examples of how resentment from mainstream staff and whole-school demands modified their practices during 2017 (see 5.5.6; 7.8; 6.4.5; 6.5.4). In the absence of systems surety, ESOL Departments can be particularly vulnerable to an ad hoc type of professionalism and moral leadership present in their school leaders and the way they manage their school community demands (Billot et al., 2007; Reyes, 2005; Suttmilller & Gonzalez, 2006). The following sections examine these two features of ESOL local management, variation and vulnerability, in greater detail.

#### 8.2.4.2 Student entry

Case study schools had different processes for managing student entry. At Mountfort, the HOD ESOL took responsibility for whether new students were to be in ESOL classes, using Oxford word placement test results. At Wordsworth, the decisions were more widely diffused with an initial recommendation by the associate teacher Cameron then negotiated with the deans, the ELL student and their parents. There was more management negotiation and less parental involvement at Patton with international student entry. After testing by an administrator, results were sent to the academic advisor who then negotiated with the school timetabler and subject HODs for student inclusion in classes. The HOD New Kiwi at Patton tested her arrivals herself then processed subject choice and timetables with the class level deans' cognisance. All case study ESOL Departments aired concern with the limits of digital communication systems for communication with mainstream staff.

ELL student entry and timetabling procedures could be very disruptive to school-wide systems, and to be successful, required streamlined expertise and advanced negotiation skills. While Patton minimised the difficulties by employing several experienced

ancillary staff, Wordsworth depended on the conscientious goodwill of existing staff to incorporate new ELLs' needs. Timetabling issues are discussed in greater detail in 8.4.3.

#### 8.2.4.3 Curriculum and assessment management

Management of the ESOL curriculum was delegated to ESOL teacher leaders in each school, resulting in a wide range of autonomous curricula and assessment opportunities used to cater for diverse student needs. At Mountfort, curriculum and assessment management was left to individual ESOL staff and was largely driven by academic vocabulary extension and assessment units. At Wordsworth, a cohesively programmed literature and language focus was being moderated with a Literacy focus. At Patton, International Department teacher Curly used a range of IELTS, ESOL Unit Standards and her own EAP resources. The HOD New Kiwi was stabilising her curriculum programme based on non-fiction reading material, and using Communication, Literacy and ESOL Unit Standards. All ESOL staff had some network links with their local ESOL cluster groups, and used them for curriculum training (Curly, Rosie, Jasmine), assessment moderation (Bill, Curly), or presentations (Cynthia), but networks inside the school seemed to provide more support options overall.

Curriculum choices gave ESOL staff the opportunity to cater for more specific curriculum needs of their ELLs students, but without sufficient planning, resources and TA help, it could significantly increase ESOL staff workload and intensify classroom demands. Further, while ESOL Unit Standards and ELP assessments provided specialist ELL support, English NCEA in ESOL could subsume results under an English Department which could resent ESOL inclusion, as Wordsworth showed. Overall, this umbrella assessment management option and the wide variety of curriculum choices used combined to reduce perceptions of ESOL as a valid department and as an identity.

#### 8.2.4.4 ESOL funding management

Government agencies allocate ESOL funds for individual schools based on the presence and academic progress of their ELLs (see 2.7.3). Although the MOE advise on how to use ESOL funding, revenues can be targeted for wider uses in the school such as general staffing, computer allocations and building projects. Ibrahim (2012) describes the relationship between the Ministry and schools as a “‘hands-off’ approach, because it sees schools as self-governing and its role as a statutory one” (p. 220).

In 2017, ESOL funding management in the case study schools was generally considered to be the business of senior management. HOD ESOLs were not fully informed about how ESOL funding was used. At Wordsworth, Betty remarked that ESOL funds were used to pay for two full-time ESOL contract positions and cover extra staff in the school to allow for smaller class sizes (BettyW1; ESOLTFGW1). Cameron, having often prepared the Ministry funding sheets, noticed that there was little spent on the ESOL facilities in contrast to other school areas, and wondered where the monies went (CameronW3). At Patton, with Charlie's pro-active approach, there was more negotiation for ESOL funding benefits. Curly was given ample funds to improve the International Department classroom seating and teaching resources when she arrived, but she, like Rosie, did not obtain a regular budget for resourcing ESOL teaching and Rosie was reduced to fundraising for New Kiwi school trips. At Mountfort, Cynthia tried several times to negotiate with the BOT Chair and Principal Joseph for ESOL funding to be carried over, and for Ministry funds to be allocated for resource-building instead of staffing, to no avail (see 5.5.6.1).

ESOL staff responsible for department management were remunerated very differently with PRs (see 2.6.1). At Patton, Rosie agreed to her PR being partly composed of funds already bestowed from coordinating after-school RMB student homework groups, which she also supervised (RosieP1). Rosie would have liked to be recognised financially for her unofficial deaning (RosieP2). International teacher Curly had given up her dean's role and the PR with it, but was also still involved with pastoral care informally. The HOD ESOL position at Wordsworth carried PR1, while at Mountfort Cynthia more unusually had a PR3.

There were also differences in the way funds generated from ELLs were perceived by senior managements within their wider school communities. At Patton, international funds were showcased to reinforce the benefit of international student presence in the school for everyone, with the Tiger Turf, school vans, and various overseas staff trips (CharlieP1). Wordsworth was more cautious to avoid being perceived as open to donations that might incur payback (BettyW1). Overall, the use of ESOL funds in these schools was the responsibility of senior management. ESOL staff might attempt to negotiate for the funds their students earned the school, but there was no security that all the funds would come back to the ESOL Department. Windle and Miller (2013) emphasise that limited access to material resources reduces ESOL teacher "ability to

identify and address a wide range of pedagogical concerns,” and further reinforce their marginal role as ESOL teachers (p. 206).

### **8.3 The ecological influences of beliefs**

This study shows that societal beliefs and language use are irretrievably united, and beliefs irredeemably shape the way that ELL provision is conceptualised and delivered. Cameron (2006) states: “Language and language use are themselves shaped by ideological factors ... there is a complex but non-arbitrary relationship between beliefs about language and beliefs about other things” (p. 151). In the challenge to explain a coherent interpretation of this complex, multidimensional topic, some explanation of major, contested beliefs can now be discussed in relation to the compromises that they place on ELL provision in state secondary schools.

#### **8.3.1 Egalitarianism and homogeneity**

Two enduring New Zealand beliefs, egalitarianism and homogeneity, provide a background context to perceptions about ELL in the case study schools. The two beliefs were formed and embedded during early New Zealand European Pākehā settlement. Pioneers of mainly lower middle-class origins reacted to the class-bound Victorian England they left behind by displaying a desire to develop “self-conscious egalitarianism” (Thrupp, 2001, p. 305). Thrupp (2001) observed that New Zealand’s smaller population, relatively recent settlement, labour market forces and relatively prosperous history have helped to foster a powerful “egalitarian mythology” (p. 305). Educational egalitarianism became established in early education policy measures in 1877, when state education was established as free, secular and compulsory from between the ages of seven and thirteen, and intended to ensure equality of opportunity in terms of “access, treatment and outcomes” (Clark, 2005, p. 130) (see 2.5.1). Existing belief in egalitarianism in state secondary education today is largely upheld by beliefs within the teacher unions and Labour Party policy (Eldred-Grigg, 1990; Thrupp, 2001). More recently, Gordon (2015) reinforced the findings of Marks, Cresswell, and Ainley (2006) when she found that “there is no evidence that choice and competitiveness improve educational programmes within schooling systems” (p. 19).

Older values such as egalitarianism have diminished somewhat, but they still hold important sway and are part of an educational climate that does have some support for

low achievers. In this study, egalitarian views were strongly and overtly expressed by participants, with an expectation of common acceptance. Albert's views were representative: "It's a social justice thing, you know. If you have accepted those people into your community then you treat them the same as the others" (AlbertP1). Both Albert and Charlie both recognised and fully supported that equality for ELLs meant extra resourcing to obtain that (CharlieP1; AlbertP1).

A second belief, that of homogeneity, grew from the same early settler origins, where everyone was expected to look, speak and behave like everyone else (Beaglehole, 1990). New Zealand's relatively isolated island position at the bottom of the Pacific Ocean further contributed by rendering an awareness of the nation's geographical boundaries, breeding a sense of belonging inside it, a *turangawaewae*,<sup>9</sup> joined with an affection for the landscape and a desire to protect and preserve its integrity. Spoonley and Bedford (2012) explained that "the framing of the racially different 'other', notably Asians, in the late nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century reinforced national values concerning the desirability of homogeneity and conformity" (p. 210). As a first-generation New Zealander, teacher Bob (Patton) perceived homogeneity as part of the Kiwi culture:

I think it's a Kiwi thing. We just accept everybody who comes from somewhere else. We are not actually always as aware of where people come from and what their cultural background is; then the result of that is that we don't tend to make a bigger fuss of it. 'Oh you're from another country, let's get on with it. You're a Kiwi now.' (MTFGP1)

The 1987 immigration changes, accelerating post millennium (see 2.3), have invariably altered the strength of the above beliefs, and many New Zealanders accept the presence of migrants of varied ethnicities. The continued increases in the gap between rich and poor in New Zealand have also markedly reduced the realities on which homogeneous beliefs are based (Keeley, 2015). Notwithstanding, these values have survived in part to encourage a suspicion of cultural difference, particularly in regional areas, that could develop into parochialism or even xenophobia, and a belief that if immigrants arrive, they should assimilate as quickly as possible. Dysart explained: "New Zealand has

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<sup>9</sup> Māori word meaning a place where one has the right to stand, and one has rights of residence and belonging.

traditionally been a very insular bunch of people ... we live on a long island a long way from everybody. We were a very monocultural place in the past” (DysartM1). Spoonley and Macpherson (2004) caution: “Assumptions about a homogeneous nation state are problematic in culturally diverse societies with many of those societies having extensive linkages to the homelands” (p. 189).

### **8.3.2 Individual, free-market choice**

From 1984, international and national economic conditions propelled the New Zealand government into accepting another belief – that of competitive free-market choice, which promotes inequality as essential for society to prosper (see 2.5.2). Free market choice advocates that society needs people to fill jobs at every part of the spectrum, the bottom layers as much as the top, and “the right people must fill the right positions in society” (Adams & Hamer, 2005, p. 61). The fact that those at the top are rewarded for their expertise is a logical outcome for their talents, and vice versa.

In schools, it is concerned with identifying and rewarding optimum academic outcomes so that students might be appropriately placed in the workforce later as wealth-builders. The 1989 reforms of ‘Tomorrow’s Schools,’ the decile system of school categorisation based on parental wealth and the deregulation of education to individual schools, formed an educational structure that aligned with the fundamental tenets of this belief. It still has considerable covert and overt influence in the management of schools today, in spite of social justice measures to moderate its extent. These consist of financial compensation to low decile schools, financial support and educational guidance for Māori, Pasifika and ELLs, and NCEA subject and assessment initiatives to support the recognition of all students.

The free-market belief positions ELLs in an education system based on their relative capital value, and their ability to advance academically for future work-readiness and capital growth. ELL international students, associated with having access to wealth, can be found more in urban high decile schools like Wordsworth, which had 120 in 2017. Low decile Mountfort had three short-term international students in 2017. Poorer RMB students are barely present in high decile schools like Wordsworth, (which had one in 2017), as Windle (2017) found.

Academically, the school status of ELLs rises with their ability to learn English quickly and manage the assessment system. They are competing for maximum academic outputs with L1 English students who are generally advancing at a faster pace with more wide-ranging support (Gearon et al., 2009). Overall with this belief, ELLs are likely to be placed in a lower academic stratification in schools because they may possess less cultural and academic capital than dominant L1 students, and may experience “a marked discontinuity or even conflict between home and school” (Clark, 2005, p. 147). As such they require strong personal agency and family support to achieve (McCarthy, 2016).

### **8.3.3 Bicultural partnership**

Another ideological focus for ELL provision can be found in the belief in equal partnership to acknowledge New Zealand’s dual cultural heritage, and the special status of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi as a founding document between the British government and the Māori people (Clark, 2005). Today, secondary schools are guided into recognising Māori bicultural partnership within school systems, specialised Māori places on BOTs, use of Māori language for welcomes and farewells, Māori student leadership and learning support programmes and culturally Māori-sensitive school procedures.

In this study, all participants were well aware of the bicultural partnership belief, and supported it for different reasons, as voiced by Mountfort’s BOT Chairperson:

Well, we are first of all bicultural in this country so we’ve got to remember our Māori kids are right at the top of the list, and we’ve got to do the very best we can for our Māori kids. That doesn’t mean we can’t do it for others as well. But it would concern me if Māori start just sort of going on the same list as, “I’m from Samoa, Tonga, Māori, Chinese, and so on.” ... The next thing, we are part of the Pacific, and our nearest Pasifika neighbours are countries where New Zealand has had a lot of influence in, and has helped them mature and grow, primarily since World War II. So, we’re talking about places especially like the Cook Islands, where they deserve a central place in our view of the world. (RupertM1)

Albert at Patton emphasised the linguistic imperative:

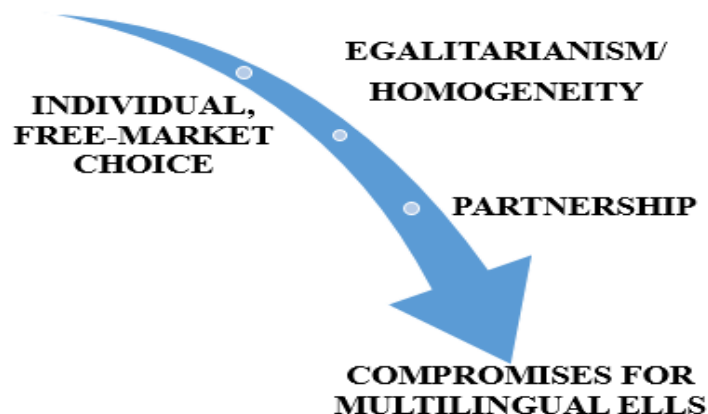


I think what the Treaty [of Waitangi] really says is that we must support the indigenous languages, and let's face it if Māori is going to survive as a valid language, and I think it should, then it's going to happen here so it does have to have some priority. Indian, if it doesn't survive here, is still going to survive. (AlbertP1)

Mountfort Principal Joseph, aware of the cultural range of his students, was more ambivalent: "Everyone's got the moral imperative. I haven't quite figured out where that sits – biculturalism versus multiculturalism. I choose not to say multiculturalism. I use 'multi-ethnic' or 'multinationality'" (JosephM1).

### 8.3.4 Ideological consequences for secondary education

The beliefs discussed, as shown in Figure 13 below, create overlapping layers of compromise for multicultural and multilingual ELL.



**Figure 13: Ideological consequences for ELL provision**

Egalitarianism, homogeneity and free-market choice together place education within what May (2014) calls "a wider nexus of nationalism and nation-building that constructs societal monolingualism as the norm and on which monolingual educational (and wider public) policies are subsequently based" (p. 25). The monolingual bias is hegemonic, and embeds inertia through creating the perception that the status quo is the norm, common sense so that it can be "de facto maintained and perpetuated" (Johnston, 2003, p. 54). The bicultural partnership belief filters multicultural and multilingual learners further, by placing them as lower in importance than indigenous Māori for government recognition

and support. The effects of the above beliefs on attitudes and systems affecting ELL will now be gauged.

#### 8.3.4.1 ELLs as ‘deficit other’

Emphasis on New Zealand European Pākehā-dominant Boards, staffing, school networks and communication means that ELLs are disadvantaged for their lack of English language background to make them equal to and the same as local students. ELLs are positioned within school institutions and as minorities within those institutions. Teacher participants empathetic to ELL needs were well aware of their disadvantage. Nugget explained: “What I try to do is to give that level playing field, so sometimes that does mean working with an [ELL] student, to push him up a bit. In that way, we don’t treat them equally” (NuggetM1). However, giving ELLs extra help could be perceived as unfair to non-ELLs, while blurring and diminishing the elementary significance of language difference as a criterion needing support (Cardno et al., 2018). Mountfort mainstream staff perceived that large numbers of local students were also “language-poor” in English because of their socio-economic rather than multi-ethnic or migrant backgrounds and were reluctant to support extra ESOL classes (MTFGM1). The Patton ESOL department split was resented by some mainstream staff because it exposed the mythical nature of egalitarian beliefs (see 6.3) and reminded staff that for ELLs to be equal, more resourcing and support was needed, resources for which they too would be competing.

Sometimes lack of white skinned homogeneity could be added to language difference to exacerbate perceptions of ELLs as ‘deficit other.’ The visible presence of ELLs could raise associations of lower-class poverty or strangeness which aspiring New Zealand families did not want to be associated with, leading to a desire for separation as experienced in ‘white flight’ at Mountfort in the 1980s (Ladd & Fiske, 2001; Spoonley, 2016). Elements of homogeneity also lay behind Cynthia’s departure from Mountfort and the Wordsworth ESOL Department reconfiguration. More covert, embedded desire for curriculum homogeneity could be found in widely supported mainstreaming policies for ELL (see 3.4.3.4), and a concentration in Mountfort and Wordsworth on continuous ELL exit assessments.

At a lower level, homogeneous beliefs could increase friction between New Zealand European Pākehā students and harder-working non-white ELLs competing for academic achievement, as in the streamed Wordsworth classes (TaraW1, SamW1). International

student recruiters were careful to try to include a wide range of ethnicities in their school cohorts, but with proximity and demand, Asian students dominated the ELL student groups at Patton and Wordsworth. As Dean Alex indicated (see 7.6) ESOL and Chinese were synonymous in her mind. It seemed much easier for New Zealand European Pākehā to accept the people from Britain or the colonies who looked like them, rather than savvy ‘Orientals’ whose ancestors may have been New Zealand enemies in the World Wars (Belich, 2001; Spoonley & Bedford, 2012).

Signs of deeper social alienation were present in Rupert’s analysis of student relationships at Mountfort, when he attributed local student acceptance of ELLs to their low socio-economic status and lack of social sophistication. He suggested that ELL’s successful integration with local students might undermine the latter’s ability to succeed within the largely New Zealand European Pākehā social networks of the wider Christchurch community. His comments also evoked a critical perception of Christchurch’s New Zealand European Pākehā as being very comfortable in their higher numbers and status, and ethnic exclusivity:

I think there is a degree of naivety in our local kids. They’re relatively uncomplicated. They’re from lower socio-economic backgrounds. There’s a degree of naivety which I see as being open to other people, whereas sometimes there are kids who have grown up with certain attitudes and values, and I think perhaps in higher socio-economic communities, those attitudes, those values will cause barriers around them, in terms of relationships with people who might be different from themselves. I think there’s less of that barrier at Mountfort, definitely. (RupertM1)

A more obvious practice within schools was the absence of government-led or school-wide PD to show staff and students how to foster cultural integration strategies, a practice that could go a long way to encouraging multicultural acceptance (JosephM2; BettyW2).

#### 8.3.4.2 Less priority and compromises for ESOL Department staff

Free-market choice beliefs are still prevalent, instrumental in the guidelines propounded in the 2007 Curriculum Document (MOE, 2007b). By prioritising eight Key Learning subject areas (where ESOL was not included), it created a two-tier subject division in schools. Charlie observed that those staff who were promoted to senior managements

emerged mainly from KLAs (see 6.4.2). ELLs were also less likely to achieve academically, and ESOL assessments did little to contribute to school reputations within the overall context of school academic results.

Free-market beliefs also lie behind very generalised national approaches to pedagogical responses to ELLs. In recent years, reading and writing literacy strategies have been streamlined by government agencies, including those offering ITE, to alleviate general learning difficulties and to improve learning results. This includes ELLs. Unfortunately, the literacy measures, excellent in themselves, contain limited awareness of the L1 language and cultural components in L2 learning, which are significant for ELLs' advancement (Gray, 2012; Haworth, 2008; Howard, 2010).

Staff employed as ESOL teachers in state secondary school are expected to align with the dominant monolingual beliefs of the local and national school culture (Cruickshank, 2015; Moloney & Giles, 2015). ESOL staff have the role of assimilating their students, to position them within the existing ideological framework. However, in trying to cater for the learning needs of ELLs, ESOL staff can become involved with their ELLs' past and present cultures as discussed in 2.4.3. Murray (2009) states:

The nature of English language teaching is, by definition, intercultural, whether it is a teacher and learners from the same cultural and linguistic background learning English or a multilingual teacher teaching learners from a variety of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The latter clearly involves the negotiation of meaning around the different cultures and languages in the classroom; the former also requires an understanding of the cultures in which the target language is used. (p. 16)

As ESOL teachers experience intercultural learning, they can develop a wider appreciation of different cultures, and can shift previously monocultural values towards an appreciation of multiculturalism generally. This creates a tension between what the national and local managements may expect, and what beliefs the ESOL teacher can have. A recent study of New Zealand secondary schools by Cardno and Bassett (2015) found that there were “strong differences in the perceptions held by those in executive level positions and those in middle-level positions” (p. 1), as is the case for selected ESOL staff in this study, such as Cynthia, and to a lesser extent Curly and Cameron.

In fact, ESOL Department staff were placed in the ambivalent position of being paid to support ELLs' learning but being pressured to follow beliefs which compromised ELL educational opportunities, beliefs that were present in the wider school staff demands. Pressures arose from mainstream expectations that it was more important for ESOL staff to socially assimilate their ELLs than prepare them for academic advancement, what Windle and Miller (2013) include in their explanation of "strategies of marginal integration" (p. 199). At Patton, Rosie directed New Kiwi students into "practical, literacy-based" subjects, "preparing for life" (RosieP2). In doing so, she prioritised New Kiwi students' financial and temporal realities which positioned them as lower-level achievers, while avoiding possible resentment from mainstream staff coping with ELLs in their academic classes. Head Gardener also created compromises between parent and mainstream staff expectations in the placement of newly arrived international students:

Initially, for that first year, that for me would be enough because you are going to get to talk to Kiwi kids, you are going to listen to Kiwi teachers, you are going to get some credits to get started. If you don't pass Level 1 as a Year 11 kid, because you came in with really weak language, it doesn't really worry me. (HGP1)

In spite of assiduous efforts to manage ELLs in their school, Patton ELL staff seemed to be constantly reminded that ELL students had only limited acceptability within the academic demands of a larger mainstream cohort (see 6.4.5).

Senior staff responsible for ESOL Departments were also paid to effectively manage ELLs' interests, but also contextualise their interests within the wider interests of the school, which could sometimes generate significant compromises. At Wordsworth, Betty aired plans to use the 12-period Reception class for teaching classroom behavioural expectations, instead of language and literature: "They are well-schooled, and more integration into mainstream courses might reduce some of that ... the sooner we can get them integrating into main classrooms, the easier it is for them to socially fit in" (BettyW1). She was not sure how desirable tertiary ELL courses were for wider staff career success (BettyW3). Her decision to reduce ELLs' time in ESOL classes and relegate ESOL to being a literacy support was in line with generalised national Curriculum guidance (MOE, 2007b) as well as mainstream staff and international student demands within the school. PR ESOL staff, Zara, Jasmine, and Tara, who co-operated

with Betty on her review decision, were favoured with her continued consultation and support.

Mountfort ESOL Department staff were also affected by wider school demands centred on dominant monolingual beliefs (see 5.5.6). Cynthia's resignation effectively reduced multicultural and multilingual visibility in the school, and acting replacement Bill reduced specialised ESOL provision to calm mainstream hostility. Overall, whole-staff alignment with the four beliefs above meant that ESOL teachers faced a conflicting ambivalence between supporting ELL success or conceding to the demands of wider school dynamics.

#### 8.3.4.3 Limited race-matched teaching

The beliefs explained above contribute to a traditional tendency for schools to employ staff who will represent the dominant culture, in spite of the researched benefits of “race- or ethnicity-matched” teaching (Howard, 2010, p. 1). Howard (2010) stated: “International research indicates that teachers from minority language and cultural backgrounds can impact positively on minority students’ self-esteem and academic performance ... all students can benefit from a diverse teaching workforce” (p. 1). In this study, race-matched staff were predominantly designated to ELL support roles. Where the practice was present, as with the TAs at Mountfort and Patton, ELL students very much appreciated the affordances it provided (NKSFG1, ELLSFGM1). At Wordsworth, Alex was proud of the three bicultural counsellors, the language links they provided and their liaison roles with deans, while the recent appointment of a migrant Chinese teacher in the ESOL Department showed a recognition of bilingual support (AlexW1). Windle and Miller (2013) accentuate that “ongoing support from other professionals embedded in schools – specifically social workers – could help relieve teachers of some of the ‘social labour’ which preoccupies them” (p. 208).

Generally, however, there was less evidence of language and cultural diversity with ESOL, mainstream and senior management staff, a finding that aligns with evidence in Australian schools (Wilkinson, 2018). Ethnic diversity would presumably be an advantage with higher-up decision-makers also. RMB teacher and Languages Academy leader Vida remarked:

Recently we've had a meeting with the MOE advisor, and I was absolutely gobsmacked by how little she knew about the needs of the area. I sat there and I saw very, very good teachers who were aiming for the best with their kids. Needless to say, they were all very Anglo-Saxon. They were talking about different groups as if they were Vegemite on crackers. (VidaP1)

Of the ten ESOL teacher participants interviewed, seven were New Zealand European Pākehā, albeit with international experience or languages training. Indian ethnic HOD Cynthia's replacement for 2018 was a linguist from Britain. Tara and Rosie both recounted experiences of multicultural teachers facing acceptance hurdles, for both their appearance and their accents (TaraW1; RosieP2). Rosie explained: "I know a Sri Lankan man that gets a bit of racism against him ... certainly I think if he was a Kiwi teacher, he would get less 'aggro' from the kids than he does because he's Sri Lankan" (RosieP2). Ultimately, though there was strong visible presence of multicultural staff generally, especially in Mountfort and Wordsworth, there were few PD channels whereby they could use their languages at school or where all students could be exposed to their varied cultures and languages.

#### 8.3.4.4 Emergent plurilingual pedagogies

Over the last 50 years, the cognitive and neurological benefits of bi/multilingualism have become well-established (Gray, 2012; Haworth, 2008, 2011; Reaume & Pinto, 2012; Walker, 2018; Walter & Benson, 2012). Viorica and Shook (2012) state: "Researchers have shown that the bilingual brain can have better attention and task-switching capacities than the monolingual brain, thanks to its developed ability to inhibit one language while using another" (p. 1). Cynthia at Mountfort created bilingual affordances for ELLs in ESOL not commonly found in their mainstream classrooms (BillM2; CynthiaM1). At Patton, during 2017, both Curly and Rosie expanded their understanding of the place of multiple languages in ESOL classes. At Wordsworth, mainstream teacher migrant Mary arranged for bilingual students to partner ELLs with less English in her classes, used a variety of plurilingual strategies to help her ELLs and provided extra tutoring of ELLs in her free time with bilingual students who could translate (MFGW1). However, none of the case-study ESOL or other subject departments had written process assessment material where accommodation for L1 was scaffolded within L2.

Translation services were not systematised. At Wordsworth, attempts to translate written school notices into Pasifika languages using Google resulted in frustration, and student interpreters were used informally during parent meetings instead of written translations. Sarah commented:

Part of our communication review is that we have realised that it's a problem that we are sending out a review survey only in English, so we thought, "Oh we will get it translated" but then we realised that it would line us up for translating all our communications. We just don't have the staff to do that. It would hinder the timeliness of those communications. This evening is a Careers evening for Māori and Pasifika [with] Pasifika and Māori students who are fluent, translating those instructions. That's a small thing; but it's a start. (SarahW1)

ELLs there were also ambivalent about the academic benefits of using non-English languages to help their English development (MSFGW1). Overall, in all schools researched, in spite of some advocacy of diverse language use, English usage conferred very limited legitimacy on other languages (Davey & French, 2018; French, 2016).

#### 8.3.4.5 Partnership outcomes

The bicultural delineation of New Zealand society, and legalised filtering of minority cultures into a hierarchy led by Māori and Pasifika has created a significant gap in the recognition of New Zealand's growing multiculturalism, a factor that is played out in secondary schools (de Bres, 2015). Sobrun-Maharaj (2002) established that biculturalism "has dictated the policies of the government and other major social institutions, often resulting in the neglect of those New Zealanders who fall outside this binary" (p. 24), of which her own study and the Koreans in a study by Kitchen (2014), both in Auckland secondary schools, are representative. The case study schools in this enquiry followed suit.

However, demographic population numbers indicate other priorities. With low Māori population numbers (15% of the population in 2013) (StatsNZ, 2013b) and limited Māori language use (3.7% of New Zealanders) (MSD, 2016), Māori are fighting to maintain visibility of their equal bicultural status against the wealth and cultural encroachments of



other numerous immigrant ethnicities (May, 2008; Walker, 2004; Wepa, 2005). Spoonley and Bedford (2012) explain that the issue is far from being solved:

It is unclear what a multiculturalism that recognises Māori and state sponsored biculturalism might look like. It is not inevitable that a locally developed multiculturalism would compete with an existing biculturalism. It could be complementary so that cultural diversity requires political and policy responses that recognise immigrant and minority ethnic diversity alongside the prior and significant elements that constitute biculturalism. (p. 281)

The findings of this study show however, that complementary policy responses are not common in practice.

#### 8.3.4.6 Culture as performance rather than language

Another consequence of the above beliefs has been the prevalent tendency to believe that different cultures can be acceptably recognised and accommodated in schools through cultural performance. The overall decline in Languages subjects since the 1990s (see Table 2) has been matched by increased encouragement of curricular and extra-curricular cultural activities and performances like dance and song. This is not to deny that participation in group-enhancing visual presentations can be uplifting and bonding for participants and audience alike, and can encourage some language use. Wood and Homolja (2019, March 12) state that their “research highlighted the very important role festivals play in helping to create belonging and identity for diverse young people” (p. 1). However, compared to learning a language as an expression of a culture, performance can be in danger of creating shallow, short-term and potentially stereotyped perspectives, and can encourage indifferent views of minority cultural expressions as fleeting diversions only (Johnson, 2015). Kitchen (2009) maintains that cultural practices “need to go beyond the familiar level of multicultural food festivals, cultural festivals” (p. 71).

The propensity for whole-school encouragement of different cultures through performance was evident in the practices of all three school sites in this study. Meanwhile Language subject options reduced with the school decile. Wordsworth HOF Languages Sandy recorded that the numbers of students taking the six languages available had dropped since round 1996, with Chinese international students mainly taking ALLiS-supported Mandarin, and Pasifika languages having after-school tutoring (SandyW1).

Patton offered three Language options and another in Correspondence, while Mountfort offered two Pasifika languages and Te Reo Māori. It must be acknowledged that the decline of Language subjects in secondary schools has consequences for the acceptance of ELLs as multicultural students, and the value assigned to their acceptance in society as a whole.

## **8.4 The ecological influences of practice: ESOL staff challenges and affordances for ELLs**

It is in the everyday democratic use of language practices that regulation and beliefs about them are fully mediated and legitimated (Spolsky, 2012). The following sections analyse the nature and extent of ELL provision from the perspectives of ESOL staff, then ELLs themselves.

### **8.4.1 Individual ESOL staff**

In their drive to create affordances for their students, ESOL staff in this study faced challenges as individuals, within their departments, and in the wider school community. The New Zealand Curriculum Document maintains that responsibility for ELLs is spread round the whole teaching community (MOE, 2007b). In practice however, McGee et al. (2015) report that “English language learners are often seen as the responsibility of only a few in the school” (p. 108). Carnuccio et al. (2008) also establish that ESOL staff have little formal status in school leadership hierarchies, and are under significant pressure to conform to status quo beliefs and practice, with which Spolsky (2009) concurs.

The constant turnover of ESOL leadership during 2017 and earlier was the most obvious indication that individual ESOL teaching roles were challenging, as researchers in New Zealand and elsewhere have highlighted (Boone et al., 2016; Gandara et al., 2005; Haworth, 2018; McGee et al., 2015; Miller, 2011; Winer, 2007) (see 5.5.1; 6.5.1.2; 7.5.1). Cynthia and Curly lasted less than four years, Jasmine one term. In Mountfort and Wordsworth, for over two terms of 2017, there were no permanent HOD ESOLs appointed. Decisions around ESOL teacher appointments could be an issue. Two ESOL staff at Wordsworth had annual contracts and their job tenure was apparently dependent on how many international students entered the school from year to year (ETFGW1). At times, ESOL HODs seemed to be appointed with sets of skills such as computing and

journalism where in practice, a background in academic English language better fitted the daily needs of the department (CameronW2, CynthiaM3). Perhaps most importantly, as a non-Key Learning subject, ESOL teaching was not perceived by individual staff as a stepping stone to career promotion (CharlieP1; BettyW3).

TAs could be a valuable bilingual, academic and pastoral support for ELL. However, there was variable support for TA use. There were none at Wordsworth; Betty questioned their classroom use, and their potential to interfere with the authenticity of students' work (BettyW1). At Mountfort, Cynthia explained that there was no money for ESOL TAs in the mainstream, but two were used extensively within the ESOL Department. Conversely, Patton employed five trained bilingual migrant TAs in the New Kiwi Department for ESOL classes and the mainstream, and two bilingual TAs for international students (ITFGP1). Competent New Kiwi TAs played a significant bilingual role in linking to parents, explaining difficult learning concepts to students, being interpreters in counselling matters, and helping new students adjust to the New Zealand school culture (NKTFGP1).

Classroom conditions did not always allow ESOL staff to deal comprehensively with the learning needs of ELLs. Except for Patton's International Department, the ESOL site locations in this study reflected other research (see 3.4.2). Within ESOL rooms, there was no MOE regulation of ESOL class sizes and class numbers could change often. All the case study schools periodically suffered from large ESOL classes, with some at Mountfort and Wordsworth reaching over 30 (CynthiaM3; CameronP1). Cameron explained: "Sometimes we have the luxury of having smaller class sizes, and that means the students feel secure. They can see that we know we are human beings!" (CameronW2).

ESOL staff were also challenged by the need to provide pastoral support for their students well beyond that of a normal subject teacher, taking extra time and difficulty. Numerous Wordsworth staff were concerned with the acceptance of more international students in their early teens. Alex was representative in stating: "It's a difficult time being a teenager, and you do need parental guidance" (AlexW1). Staff also needed to develop strategies to evenly apportion individual student attention, manage ELLs' dislike of being in ESOL classes, and manage ELLs' demands after receiving failed or mediocre assessment results. Student feedback material was scrupulously recorded, dated, signed, then filed

(CameronW2). Another concern was the lack of communication with migrant student parents about medical or academic issues; ELL medical issues could be fraught with misconceptions, cultural issues, or parents not wanting to know (AlexW1). Cameron spent her Term 3 leave creating entrance tests at different ELP levels in English and Mandarin, to more accurately detect any beginning Chinese student learning difficulties (CameronW3). At Patton, Head Gardener was proud that the department had streamlined responses of different International Department staff members when confronted with a student medical emergency (HGP1, ITFGP1).

As Gandara et al. (2005) indicate, the complexity of curriculum and assessment matters could prove to be very challenging for individual ESOL teachers. Wordsworth had implemented a tightly-woven system of 16 streamed classes using ELP, NCEA and EAP, with student advancement based on selected test results; its academic stringency was disliked by Jasmine and Betty. At Patton, Curly reflected: “If I looked at my classes, I’m probably offering 12 or 13 programmes” (P1). Curly outlined her hopes for improved student support and wanted ELLs to be left in ESOL classes longer than they were, to help them settle in and learn more English. (CurlyP2). At Mountfort, the ESOL staff lacked training in ESOL curriculum guidelines, which reduced opportunities for students. Bill acknowledged that he was unaware that the ESOL programme needed to have a curriculum programme and expressed an interest in developing it: “It would make sense for us to do that, because the students would know where they were going, and we would too” (BillM2).

In providing student affordances, ESOL staff could sometimes cross status quo boundaries at a cost to their personal networks with mainstream staff, professional status or jobs (Gandara et al., 2005; Hammond, 2009; Haworth, 2008; McGee et al., 2015; Winer, 2007). At times, ideological differences could create antagonism with staff, reducing ESOL network allegiances and placing ESOL staff in liminal spaces between contested cultural expectations and “between worlds” (Haworth, 2016, p. 240). In this study, ESOL staff with a dedicated commitment to their students created expanded affordances for them. HOD ESOL Rosie’s comment was indicative: “Cos you would walk over hot coals for them ‘cos they are so nice” (RosieP1). Rosie’s desire for New Kiwi students to be included on school trips motivated her to confront the attitudes of class level deans towards new Kiwis and spend time fundraising. Curly became more and more involved with the multiple curricular and co-curricular needs of her international

students during her free time, only to become increasingly isolated from mainstream staff. Cameron was also prepared to use her expertise spending many extra hours of unpaid time improving quality assurance for ELLs, and in the process often shouldered others' workloads, such as with MOE funding tests, internal exams and recording student results (Cameron M3, JasmineW2).

SMs could use their leadership roles to expand affordances for ELLs (Garcia & Menken, 2010; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). At Patton, Charlie successfully negotiated with other SMs to obtain rewards for ELLs, such as increased funds and extra ESOL staffing. New Kiwi HOD ESOL Rosie appreciated Charlie's commitment to making ESOL Departments a success: "I would be really upset if she left, 'cos I don't know how things would go. She has a real passion for this area, which is really lovely" (RosieM2).

#### **8.4.2 Within the ESOL Department**

In this study, high turnover and ideological and curriculum challenges meant that ESOL staff did not always develop collaborative relationships with each other, but when they did, it was celebrated. Siskin (1994) explained: "It is within the department that collaborative community is most possible, and through the collective efforts of that group of people 'the individuals involved' that different kinds of communities are created" (p. 90).

At Wordsworth in Term 3, 2017, Cameron was thrilled that the acting HOD was someone that she could relate to, after enduring some years of bruising arguments and resentments over NCEA assessment and moderation with a previous HOD ESOL (CameronM3). At Patton, Charlie's constant monitoring and assiduous efforts by staff kept split ESOL department staff and student conflicts to a minimum, though it remained a work in progress (CurlyP1, P3; VidaP1; RosieP1). New Kiwi student, Zahra, commented about the split: "Yeah they don't talk to us very much, so we don't talk to them" (NKFGP1). Overall, split ESOL structures reduced ELLs' opportunities for interacting with international students and created simmering ideological tensions within and between the departments and the wider school that could not be easily extinguished.

#### **8.4.3 ESOL staff and the mainstream**

ESOL staff had a role of crossing boundaries between cultures to liaise for ELLs with mainstream staff, which was not always easy (Haworth, 2008). Carnuccio et al. (2008)

advise that ESOL leaders must become agents of change, and constantly “be prepared to advise all school staff and personnel on all issues” related to the education of ELLs (p. 207). Participants in this study also advised about ESOL-whole staff cohesion. Principal Joseph repeatedly aired that the ESOL Department should be included within a cohesive Mountfort staff (JosephM1, 2). Jasmine at Wordsworth stated: “We integrate with all the staff by going over to the main staffroom for morning tea and lunch whenever possible” (JasmineW1).

In effect, however, the ESOL Department locations, lower-order identity as a subject area, and supplementary pastoral demands often reduced ESOL staff associations with mainstream staff. At Mountfort, there were multiple areas where mainstream and ESOL staff conflicts could arise. Cynthia felt she was accused of always prioritising her department, which annoyed other HOLA members: “Oh you are always talking about ESOL.” (CynthiaM3). She had no official support links to other departments. ESOL staff could easily become the target for mainstream teacher umbrage about ELLs entering their classes. Mainstream teachers were responsible for ELLs’ acculturation and class bonding but were hampered by partial communication between the teacher and ELLs, limited TA support, and heightened workload that ELLs brought with little perceived reward. After 10 years of 2007 Curriculum Document guidance (MOE, 2007b), ESOL staff still recorded being expected to provide teaching and assessment support for ELLs in the mainstream. Cynthia recalled: “I was told by somebody, ‘I don’t know what to do with this student. I am not trained to teach them’” (CynthiaM3). On the other hand, Mountfort senior mainstream staff expressed tensions about competent senior ELLs being taken out for ESOL classes, as they wanted to retain their potential subject grades and numbers to solidify job tenure.

Even though Patton’s International Department had efficient communicative links with mainstream, Patton was the only school in the three of this study where a staff complaint was made to the BOT about the academic pressures on them with the international student intake. The BOT responded by reducing the maximum international student target from 100 to 75, close to the forecasted 2018 numbers (CurlyP3, HGP2). However, Cynthia, Curly and Cameron all noted that, overall, demands to incorporate part of mainstream subjects into catering for ELLs had reduced slightly through increased understanding and ELL experience. Some staff managed ELL complexities easily. HOD Lee at Patton commented: “We have had a lot of internationals for so long in the Art Department that

it's just second nature now, so I address them within our programmes, and take a moment at certain parts of the lesson to go and check on them, and work and differentiate with their needs versus other students" (MTFGP1).

While high-achieving ELLs might be fought over by mainstream staff for inclusion in their subject classes, underachieving ELLs were greeted with reluctance. Such was the case at Patton, where mainstream staff could avoid giving an indication of international student assessment failure on the computer management system. They needed to be monitored by the Academic Advisor so that he had a ready reference for students' progress and could encourage the students to realise that "they have to live with the failures" (HGP1). Head Gardener and Charlie used their influence proactively to create solutions. They obtained BOT permission to flag international students' assessment grades, so lower grades could be contextualised, especially for the new arrivals. They also negotiated a partnership with a local private provider to care for international students' arrival at very inconvenient school times, and to encourage international students' parents to conform to entry guidelines at four times a year. The same provider also agreed to monitor senior students who needed time to finish assessments at the end of the year, so their grades could be processed and published in the new year for entry to further educational institutions.

The battleground of timetabling was where assimilationist pressures from the mainstream, and inclusion of ELLs' academic needs, played out with the greatest intensity. The numbers and times of ELLs' arrivals, their subject choices and entitlements, and the position, numbers and staffing of pre-timetabled mainstream classes, all exacerbated difficulties. At Mountfort and Wordsworth, it was important that ESOL staff provided class-level deans with updated ELL test results for their perusal, otherwise they could configure ELLs' class levels based on their spoken English, or keep them with their age group, instead of putting their language acquisition first (CameronW2; CynthiaM2; ESOLTFGM1).

Wordsworth suffered from parents and students taking sides with either ESOL or mainstream staff with decisions about timetabling. There was an active perception by ELLs students that belonging to ESOL classes was offensive, which mainstream staff readily noticed (CameronW1,3; BettyW1,2; AlexW1; ZaraW1). Students and parents would regularly complain that ESOL classes were not needed, only partly assuaged by

ESOL staff and class level deans explaining their test results and outlining exit assessment opportunities. Cameron's efficient marking results and negotiation with the deans helped assuage this issue at the end of 2017 (CameronM3).

At Patton, Head Gardener utilised alternative methods to assuage potential conflicts with mainstream staff over timetabling of international students. In 2017, he managed Correspondence Mandarin, and Science and Mathematics teaching during lunchtimes himself (HGP2). He arranged for contract teachers to manage student subject pressures and entered imaginary students (zinkle ghosts) in future class lists to prepare for late-arrival international students (see 6.4.2.3). His solutions smoothed the negotiations with the timetabler and mainstream staff for successful international student academic pathways.

Contested relationships between ESOL and mainstream staff seemed to be exposed mostly during the implementation of ESOL systems and processes and required innovative alternative solutions for harmony to be achieved. Relationships between ESOL staff and senior management were more focused on issues of authority and beliefs and played out in practice over ESOL staff status and tenure.

#### **8.4.4 ESOL staff and senior management**

This study exposes that success with ELL provision is very much dependent on one or more senior management figures (Suttmiller & Gonzalez, 2006). While granting autonomy to their ESOL teachers in classroom matters, ESOL leaders' relationships with ESOL staff very much revolved around making sure that their wider requirements were processed to their satisfaction, and in line with the "establishment outside" (Spolsky, 2009, p. 93). ESOL staff in turn were required to be fully co-operative and largely compliant with senior management attitudes and beliefs. When they were so, they were rewarded with PRs and by being included in decision-making. Zara, Tara and Jasmine at Wordsworth were representative. Those that questioned accepted beliefs and systems experienced other journeys, as the following show.

At Mountfort, repeated small conflicts over control of finances and ESOL staff management between Cynthia and the Principal Joseph and BOT Chair Rupert were enveloped in wider ideological contestations about the place of multiculturalism. Cynthia had a personal history of multicultural living overseas and was multicultural and



multilingual herself. While desirous of giving Māori equal status with New Zealand European Pākehā, she saw no reason why other ethnicities in ESOL should experience a diminished status or insufficient attention. Her beliefs drove at the heart of national educational beliefs of free choice and bicultural partnership and put her on a collision course with mainstream staff, senior management, and eventually her department members. She worked very hard using her marketing and performance talents to improve the status of ELLs locally (see 5.5.2.3), but her lack of knowledge of the New Zealand ESOL curriculum and insistence on multicultural prioritisation for ESOL meant that she fought a losing battle. She had little senior management support to call on when tensions escalated and she eventually chose to resign (RupertM2).

At Wordsworth, the relationship between Cameron and Betty was also backgrounded by differences centred around free-market beliefs and ELL provision. Betty used the results of a 2015 whole-school ESOL review to remodel the ESOL curriculum two years' later in 2017, reducing classes and literature programmes and increasing general literacy (see 7.8). The review was implemented during a year when there was weakened ESOL staff voice, with HOD Jasmine's departure and Cameron's third term leave. Associate teacher Cameron aired her concerns. As a 17-year ESOL teacher, she was uneasy that, for the review, the viewpoints of international students and mainstream staff were considered above her own extensive ELL experience. She was disappointed with the inclusion of successful ELLs in classes with senior domestic students with limited literacy, and observed that these two groups had very different reasons for their compromised English progress (CameronW3). She grieved at the loss of previously successful ESOL language and literature classes and student joy achieving with NCEA. She disliked the inclusion of cross-curricular marking into ESOL staff workloads, which helped other subject department members deal with ELLs' low writing levels and reduced their workload, but introduced increased workload and authenticity issues for ESOL staff (Cameron W3). Fortunately, her term's holiday provided some refreshment from the intensity of teaching, and she accepted the changes within the wider context of her role.

These examples show that ESOL staff status and tenure in state secondary schools is advantaged if their personal beliefs align with those of their senior managements and the education system overall, or that ESOL staff compartmentalise their personal from their professional beliefs and fully accept those of the school during their workplace lives. Affordances by ESOL leaders and staff for widening social and educational opportunities

for ELL outside the status quo are evidenced in this study. However, they can be short-lived, and they can limit career options for staff contesting top-down Eurocentric orthodoxies. Those wrought under Charlie's leadership emerge as role models.

## **8.5 ELL challenges and affordances**

ELLs, like all students, lie at the bottom layer of the school hierarchy which exists ostensibly to cater for their needs, but really to train them to conform and assimilate with wider social expectations as future citizens and members of the work-force. In this study, ELLs, whether RMB, migrants, or international students, faced multiple different academic and psychological challenges not mitigated by their adolescence. ELLs were expected to self-manage, adapt and achieve in a new country, location and educational system that had different language and cultural patterns to what they were used to, and the quicker they learnt spoken and academic English, the better. Migrant Bok stated: "In English, it's hard to get Excellence. It's very different and hard for us, but of course you need to work hard. That's the challenge for us." He joked about ELLs' unending learning needs: "All the time, Google is our friend" (ESFGM1). In the mainstream, ELLs were challenged to meet the same teacher expectations of progress as those placed on local students and match their progress, despite often significantly different backgrounds and home lives. Unofficially ELLs used plurilingual strategies to learn English and collaborated with each other and helpful buddies to improve their own learning opportunities (MTFGW1).

As permanent settlers, RMB students and migrants faced the greatest hurdles. Sobrun-Maharaj et al. (2008) reported that "most migrant and refugee youth generally do not feel settled and socially included in New Zealand," and are facilitated most when their host communities are positive, informed and accepting of cultural diversity (p. v).

### **8.5.1 RMB students**

RMB students in this study, as with Zita in the study by Saghafi et al. (2017) (see 3.1.2) suffered previous pre-migration trauma. Their past schooling experiences, or lack of them, restricted their ability to learn at the same rate as local mainstream students. At Patton, the only site school with a large RMB student group, Loko recalled his earlier school experiences of lack of safety, punitive and disorganised schooling systems and narrow opportunities to progress (NKFGP1). Differences between cultural expectations

from parents, and local culture expectations from schools, also created difficulties that the students had to weather (NKFGP1). Further, Vida remarked that many of the RMB students did not understand the level of competition required to achieve, and didn't have the necessary economic and emotional support, sponsors or personal motivation required to succeed (see 6.5.1.1). Their most difficult immediate hurdle was learning English; lack of facility in English limited their subject choices into vocational and literacy options and could close future work-options available to native speakers (RosieP2). On the other hand, New Zealand has many examples of past RMB students who have overcome these hurdles and have forged very successful lives for themselves and their families (Beaglehole, 1990).

Patton RMB students stated that good friendships between students and with teachers, and their multiple bilingual TAs, were very helpful affordances for their considerable learning needs. They also appreciated the wide range of subjects, multiple assessment opportunities, and the organised homework times (NKSF GP1). Their energetic enthusiasm on the soccer field was a visible sign of social inclusion (ObservationP2). Charlie and Curly both recorded that the mainstream staff showed a welcoming empathy for the RMB students not accorded to international students. Staff appreciated their desire to become Kiwis, and RMB students did not challenge their socio-economic status or local sureties about their sense of place.

### **8.5.2 Migrants**

Migrants in this study were less burdened by the hazardous backgrounds of the RMB students but still faced risks to learning achievement. Those at Mountfort, who made up almost all the ELLs in ESOL classes, were mostly from families of tradespeople who had "sold everything to come here," responding to the call for earthquake construction workers (CynthiaM1). Students suffered from the insecurity of their family economic status, their contract employment, and temporary accommodation. Another feature of migration was the loss of extended families and rise of blended families, with first culture families joining newly formed second ones, sometimes resulting in step-sibling conflicts that intruded on school life and learning (ETFGM1). Commonly, first culture priorities with childcare, cultural or religious commitments reduced their time on homework, or even class time (ETFGM1). As with Mei in Kitchen's study (Kitchen, 2018), Mountfort

migrants really appreciated the encouragement of ESOL staff for multilingual use in class, and the support of having multilingual ESOL staff available when needed.

At Mountfort, migrant student desire to succeed sometimes conflicted with the motivation of the rest of the class. Mountfort migrant students expressed irritation in the length of time teachers had to spend disciplining instead of teaching, and the noise and disruption of class climates. They succeeded by continuing their first culture habits of maintaining a strong respect for staff, using passive classroom behaviour, and benefiting from tight-knit groups of same-culture friends working together (ESFGM1). Evidence of their success was found in Rupert's comment that the numbers of ELLs in 2017 "who were getting awards, was in my mind, considerably out of proportion to their numbers in the school" (RupertM2), while Cynthia reflected that the ELLs had "raised the bar" for the rest of the students overall (ETFGM1).

Extensive student ethnic diversity at Mountfort (only 37% New Zealand European Pākehā) created considerable social affordances for ELLs outside class. It was at the management level that their needs had to compete with multiple others, jostling to be heard in a school undergoing considerable physical, psychological and social transformation, within a city increasingly identified by ethnically-separated suburbs (Spoonley, 2016).

### **8.5.3 International students**

International students faced quite different challenges from RMB students and migrants because of their visitor status. Essentially, they stood astride two worlds, pressured by their parents to take full advantage of their stay, but knowing that their presence in New Zealand was limited. Further, while their financial input was desired by schools, it could allow them an expectation of demand and privilege that other ELLs in ESOL classes did not have. These factors sometimes affected international student opportunities for learning, limited their desire to socialise with locals and built expectations that they were entitled to negotiate for specialist learning conditions. Cameron felt that international ELLs' parents had much more influence about their subject placement in the school than migrant ELLs' ones, because of the income they wielded for the school and ability to change schools if they did not obtain what they wanted (CameronW2).

The 64 international students at Patton, mainly Chinese, Vietnamese and South Americans, were accorded privileges in their comfortable school block, exclusive ESOL classes, assemblies, extra-mural trips and extra-curricular activities. Asian students expressed an expectation of further exclusiveness through avoiding playing sports and socialising with other international students on the veranda at lunchtimes. This latter practice was in spite of constant remonstrations and opportunities provided by Patton staff to mix. Student Yuu realised that their veranda time limited their time to speak English and disarmingly credited it to the number of same-country international students at the school (ITFGP1).

Certain subjects challenged Patton's international students more than others did. They could lead the classes in Japanese, Music and Mathematics, while in Science, they considered that the requirement for all students to learn specialist language placed them at a competitive level. They struggled, however, to reach Excellence in English-heavy subjects like Economics and Business. They also needed to adapt to inquiry-based and experiential learning methods to learn to precis their own class material instead of expecting handouts. In the large classes they had to develop better listening and class discussion skills, recover from their shame at failing, and learn to approach teachers (ITFGP1). They appreciated the internet access of class lessons, their two bilingual TAs, subject support classes, International Department homework times and staff, and homestay family support. Student friends also supported each other in and out of class, with some empathetic female students becoming mentors for needy males (ObservationP2). Some international students readily gained from these and other Patton affordances. TA Cindy remarked: "Since Curly started this department, the achievement rate with the international students has really gone up a lot" (ITFGP1).

At Wordsworth, a large proportion of their 120 international students were Chinese. They were used to receptive learning methods, and a competitive, results-driven attitude to education, like Melinka in the study by Saghafi et al. (2017). In this high decile school, they were not given the opportunities for homework or tutoring. Cameron noted that student academic pressures and competitiveness increased over the year, along with the numbers of tearful students going to the bilingual counsellors (CameronW1). Mainstream teacher, Jane, noticed that the international students had raised mainstream academic standards but pressured Kiwi students to work much harder than in her adolescence at the same school (MTFGW1).

Wordsworth international students were aware that, for learning, “you have to change sometimes” (ISFGW1). They depended on internet dictionaries, the support of international student friends, and their parents’ strong levels of motivation to boost their drive to succeed. Despite a certain disdain towards the ESOL Department, the students interviewed appreciated the smaller, slower progress of ESOL classes, the chance to make friends with others in the same predicament and to obtain comprehensive support with vocabulary, speaking and writing registers.

Kitchen (2009), like others (McGrath, Stock, & Butcher, 2007; Ward & Masgoret, 2004), has recorded the lack of interaction between Asian international students and native English speakers in New Zealand secondary schools. She states: “Significant interaction is not occurring spontaneously to any large extent, nor are structured opportunities being provided for students in secondary school classrooms to interact while thinking through new learning” (p. 61). International students found it difficult to develop social relationships with New Zealand European Pākehā students, who could isolate them socially as academic competitors, non-residents, and non-white. Wordsworth ESOL student Cristin explained: “It is actually very hard to build relationships between international and local students,” and added that most international friendships occurred amongst themselves (ESFGW1). At Patton, a constant and varied organisation of International Department friendship lunches, sports invitations, and concerts attempted to cross the gulf, which Head Gardener called an “Achilles heel” (HGP1).

All schools lacked policy and guidelines about how intercultural relationships could be encouraged in class and out of it, for both staff and students. Head Gardener was representational in his comment: “The AP might have some stuff in her Handbook in theory, but the gap between that and practice, is very much dependent on the classroom teacher” (HGP2). It was also left up to the personal values of parents to advance their beliefs about racial interaction to their children, which in different regions could be skewed by ethnic bias from historical, commercial, religious, class-bound or purely personal proclivities.

## **8.6 Summary and conclusion**

This chapter has used the findings of data assembled from three state secondary school sites to deduce interpretations in the light of the analytical and theoretical frameworks.

The research questions have provided the chapter's structure for these interpretations, which elucidate a mix of complex interactions within and between macro, meso and micro elements that surround ELL provision in state secondary schools. Analysis highlights how international, and national management influences overlap to provide significant pressure for local management contexts and how these contexts respond in distinctive ways. Further, the origins of four layers of belief are analysed for the ways they position ELL provision, in overt and covert ways. Lastly, ELL practices within the case study schools provide a very complex layering. The opportunity for democratic responses through advocative support for ELLs is present but resulting in systems and practices that are is tenuous and ad hoc. ELL staff, in their need to maintain personal tenure, can be tempted into assimilationist practices that 'whitewash' the actual learning needs of ELLs. Meanwhile ELLs themselves need to be aware of the monolingual bias in secondary school systems but take full advantage of existing pastoral and academic support available and use their own families and friends for learning support where possible. The perceptions garnered from the discussion will be condensed in the next chapter and become the focus from which to deliberate more directly on the research questions and the study's implications.





# CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

This chapter begins by attending to the research questions conceptualised as a guiding framework for the enquiry, and then considers the theoretical, methodological and practical implications of the research. It describes the limitations resulting from the number, designations and characteristics of case study locations used, and asserts that these are somewhat compensated for by the revealing theoretical and methodological considerations about ELL contexts. In closing, some final observations reflect on the worth of the research process as a whole.

## 9.1 Research questions revisited

### 9.1.1 Question One

1. What can an ecological perspective bring to an understanding of the dynamics of English language learning provision in three New Zealand state secondary schools?

An ecological perspective recognises that responsibility for learning extends from the learner in the immediate classroom to encompass a much wider, holistic understanding of the conditions surrounding ELL provision in New Zealand state secondary schools. In choosing Spolsky's educational language policy as its main theoretical framework, this study propounds that ELL provision is impacted by a complex mosaic of dynamic, intersecting layers of influence that are categorised under management, beliefs and practice. Within and between these ecological layers, ideologically-driven management decisions interrelate with each other to result in practices that are further moderated by the staff and ELLs that experience them.

For educationalists responsible for ELLs who work within the state secondary sector, an ecological perspective as in this study can encompass an understanding of the inherited and contemporary influences, both overt and covert, upon them. For ELL managers at international, national and local levels, it can expose constraints and supports which generate concessions in their decision-making, which may lie outside the direct process of learning, but which still have significant impact on it (Johnson, 2013). An ecological

perspective can gauge the nature and extent of local community interaction with international and national beliefs and regulation and define the extents and limitations of community members' own personal values and practices within specific socio-cultural contexts. For ESOL teachers, it can clarify the complex and sometimes contested educational context of their subject, highlight an understanding of their role expectations academic and pastoral care, and divulge the complexities of becoming bridge-builders with wider school networks. Finally, for ELLs, an ecological perspective can elucidate the ways they can choose and experience educational pathways that are ideologically separate from their first culture values and home relationships. For ELLs, this perspective can also explain the social and academic exigencies within secondary schools compromised by the consequences of local, national and international mandates.

The results of this study expressed in full in the preceding chapter have very much reinforced Spolsky's ecological theory as a valid way of analysing state secondary school ELL provision in New Zealand.

### **9.1.2 Question Two**

2. What historical and contemporary circumstances influence management provision for English language learners?
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Within New Zealand, national and local educational ELL management measures are significantly affected by international political alliances, trade and demographic factors, both inherited and contemporary. Johnston (2003, p. 7) stated: "The spread of English has been intimately associated with the processes of colonisation and decolonisation and the vast machineries of economic, political and cultural hegemony that have attended it" (p. 54). Nineteenth century British migrants searching for an improved version of their homeland established a dominant language and culture and established a democratic system of government adapted from British political structures. This government's need to maintain international political alliances has ensured that national educational decisions have often been affiliated with those of their closest Western supporters, while the material consequences of international finance and trade enabled successive governments to fund the state education system.

Pressure to provide separate ELL education developed alongside national economic and political exigencies. In the aftermath of World War II, a process began of supplementing labour markets with increasing numbers of ethnically diverse migrant families. Other international demographic movements generating from strife, capitalist or totalitarian drives or new opportunities, influenced national ELL management decisions. Guided by the UNHCR, RMB families and their children have settled in gradually increasing numbers, to expand the ELL student intake into state educational systems. Further, the muscular expansion of English as the language of international trade and digital technologies enabled New Zealand state education systems to develop substantial income through the presence of international students (see 2.7.2).

Within New Zealand, the present national management role of the state in secondary education extends in a hierarchy leading from centralised government with statutory and policy control, to its agencies, the ERO, MOE and NZQA. MOE regulates and supports ESOL management, providing funding and guidance manuals for RMB students and migrants, while NZQA through the Code of Practice (MOE, 2016b), Education New Zealand, and other groups administer the needs of international students. For ELL needs generally, MOE also provides extensive written and internet advice, funds regional ESOL cluster groups and PD workshops, which provide advice to school managements and teachers, and organises an audit of individual school ESOL Departments every three years.

The next level down from national management, local management, is delegated to operate individual schools (see 2.5.2). Individual school managements are led by a BOT with local governance consisting of parent, staff and student representatives. Within the school a senior hierarchy of the principal, SMs consisting of DPs then APs lead a middle management group of HOFs, HODs and deans, who oversee associate teachers, ancillary staff, and students. ESOL members are part of this hierarchy.

Traditionally, ESOL Department managements have often had support allegiances with larger Language or English Departments, depending on school size and personnel. ESOL leadership is responsible for student entry and exit testing, curriculum and assessment practices, and has an extensive pastoral role in assisting ELLs' educational and emotional needs. Further, although ESOL leaders often have limited authority compared to mainstream staff, they are encouraged to become liaisons with mainstream teachers to

assist with ELLs' pastoral and educational matters. This study highlights the varied and changeable nature of local ESOL Department management in New Zealand overall.

All national and local managerial staff are expected to support top-down educational regulations, but they are also influenced by group and individual attitudes emanating from their surrounding contexts, which are played out and revised in their day-to-day experiences.

### 9.1.3 Question Three

3. What beliefs interact with management systems to influence provision for English language learning?

Belief systems provide conceptual frameworks that underlie people's attitudes and behaviour. When a substantial number of people in a given educational community adopt certain beliefs, they generate far-reaching consequences which affect the overall organisation of that community and its context. Such has been the case with New Zealand beliefs affecting ELLs, four of which are outlined below.

Settler-driven beliefs in the value of egalitarianism and homogeneity, generating from their past experiences of Britain, still exist today, though New Zealand society has long since become a very inequitable society (Rashbrooke, 2014). These two beliefs encourage uniformity; they affirm that New Zealanders should all be treated the same, and that they should speak, look and act the same. To these two ideologies can be added that of free-market choice, established in 1989 with 'Tomorrow's Schools' legislative deregulation, and still fundamentally in place today. It facilitates a competitive, winners-and-losers approach to education, so that cultural and economic resources are concentrated into the highest decile schools and their zones, while, in spite of compensatory government funding, the low decile schools suffer from the effects of less support from poorer families, increased pastoral needs, declining rolls, and reduced timetable options. Minority ELLs are automatically disadvantaged within the free choice system, in their need for extra time and effort to attain the education levels established by their L1 English class cohorts.

The bicultural partnership belief provides yet another filter by which ELL is shaped. Inherited from the Treaty of Waitangi, subsequent partnership legislation has established

Māori as the dominant minority group in New Zealand. As the country's ethnically diverse population increases, these minorities are indirectly positioned to lower echelons of support in government recognition and assistance. As well, the extent of provision accorded Māori is limited enough to ensure their response of threat instead of accommodation when faced with increasing numbers of multicultural immigrants.

The above four beliefs have had widespread consequences for ELL provision overlapping to produce compromised learning opportunities for ELLs in state secondary schooling. The first three reinforce English language as the default monolingual language of education. Though steadily declining in proportion of the total population, New Zealand European Pākehā are still the dominant culture numerically with the largest combined personal wealth, so they, or those that look, think and speak like them, exist as the default norm. Minority multicultural ELLs are relegated as different from and less than the norm. The partnership belief further attests to ELLs marginal status subsumed under the recognised indigenous minority hierarchy.

Overall, these beliefs have produced a limited encouragement of other cultures and languages, and an expectation that once migrants arrive on New Zealand shores, they should become quickly assimilated. Consequently, ELLs are vulnerable to stereotyping as negative or threatening in some way, whether it is in their level of English, wealth, social status or ethnicity. In schools, their lack of English and time needed to improve it may cause them to be placed in less academic subjects, which in turn, can reduce their future work and life choices. There is also limited encouragement for socio-cultural factors which can help activate prior knowledge in ELLs for improved learning and enhance their self-esteem. These factors include ethnically and linguistically 'match-based' teachers who could activate plurilingualism possibly because of the fear that responses to majority local student learning may be diminished (Ellis, 2013; Howard, 2010). Instead, the study showed that ESOL teachers were much more likely to be New Zealand European Pākehā with training and experience in European languages which did not relate to the language or cultures of their ESOL students. On a wider scale, the identified beliefs have also contributed towards the already declining practice of learning other languages, and a tendency to perceive that minority cultures are adequately represented through opportunities for ethnically-based performances and the display of other cultural artefacts.

The above beliefs also modify the ESOL Department, as the language centre for ELLs. It is identified as a non-KLA, containing transitional students with often minor academic clout. ESOL staff can have the difficult role of being paid to support ELLs within an educational system which can compromise ESOL teaching effectiveness. ESOL staff may be placed under the regulation of superiors who have limited understanding of socio-cultural influences on English language development, or the value of the ESOL Department in promoting it. ESOL teachers can still be perceived as members of an ‘add-on’ group, present as a support staff for mainstream teachers rather than teachers in their own right, and can face resentment from mainstream staff concerned with the arrival of ELLs into their classes. ESOL staff may be pressured into following “strategies of marginal integration” which reduce ESOL students expectations in order to accommodate institutional demands (Windle & Miller, 2013, p. 199). On the other hand, ESOL teachers may become so involved with ELL learning needs that they move into liminal spaces where their links to mainstream staff networks are diminished (Haworth, 2016). ESOL staff can also be expected to complete testing for collecting ESOL funding, then accept that it may not be targeted towards suitably-trained ESOL teachers or TAs or other resources, or for ELLs to attend ESOL classes. Ultimately, complete ESOL Department structures can be placed at the mercy of more powerful pressure groups within the school community and become strategically weakened in order to enable other demands perceived as being more pressing.

The MOE has provided significant support to combat these ESOL difficulties, with funding, resources and auditing processes. However, because of educational deregulation, these initiatives cannot be enforced. If individual school managements or their support communities do not wish to comply with Ministry guidelines, ESOL provision can be white-washed into a pale version of its intended benefits. This study has established that individual school responses to ELL Ministry guidelines (MOE, 2007b) are demonstrably variable and express a palpable gap between generalised intention statements for ELL learning achievement and ELL practice.

#### **9.1.4 Question Four**

4. How do participants perceive, explain and respond to the challenges and affordances involved with ELL practices?
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As we have seen, the historical and contemporary realities influencing ELL provision have created significant challenges. It is in meeting these challenges, in accepting their costs or negotiating opportune affordances for ELL enhancement, that the level of commitment of staff responsible for ELL and ELLs themselves is illustrated, as they live out their experiences in the three secondary school contexts.

#### 9.1.4.1 Staff responsible for ESOL

In this study, the ESOL teacher participants were mostly qualified, skilled and experienced English or language teachers, and predominantly older females. The high turnover of ESOL staff suggests that their roles were challenging and compromised, with an ESOL teacher leader leaving from each school in 2017. The departures were also an indication of a gap between school managements' expectations of ESOL leadership, and the expectations of the officeholders themselves, stemming from their own beliefs, backgrounds, training or previous experience in the role (Cardno & Bassett, 2015).

The time and skill required to effectively manage ELLs' pastoral needs within schools provided multiple challenges stemming from the exigencies of new ELLs' migrant family life or the acceptance of young international students. Difficulties could range from medical to academic to issues. There were often complications with communication with ELLs and their families. ESOL staff willingness to respond to these needs could be marred by lack of time and resources, or lack of recognition of the actual pastoral problems by other staff. Many of the above challenges could be reduced with funding for selective staffing with expertise, particularly for ESOL teachers and TAs who were trained and committed. Bilingual staff with languages relating to the majority of their ELLs were also a valuable asset.

ESOL staff relationships with wider school staff have been highlighted as a particular challenge. Mainstream staff difficulties with ESOL staff were often based around conflicting academic priorities as much as ideological differences about the place of multicultural students in New Zealand schools. ESOL staff roles were also significantly affected by their relationships with one or more senior management figures. ESOL staff links to wider staff networks often entailed complex and shifting and contradictory roles, and the support of a senior figure was crucial for the success of ELL affordances.

All the case study schools displayed commendable examples of ESOL teacher participants who were personally committed to the needs of their ELLs, to the extent that, in spite of consequent isolation or shortened job tenure, they crossed boundaries to pursue best teaching practice.

#### 9.1.4.2 ELLs in ESOL Departments

This study reveals that when ELL adolescents enter the New Zealand education system, they are substantially challenged by the expectation to accelerate their ELL understanding at the same time as achieve educationally alongside native speakers who are learning subject content at a much faster rate.

Some ELLs were challenged more than others. RMB students may have experienced violence and trauma, and very limited schooling, which reduced their ability to concentrate and learn in their New Zealand environments. They and their families might lack understanding of their new educational frameworks, or have insufficient economic, social and emotional networks. Migrant students, numerous in all case study schools, were less burdened by their backgrounds, though their transitions could be no less daunting. Migrants from families of tradespeople at Mountfort could experience insecurity from their family economic status and employment tenure, and impermanent accommodation. International students faced quite different challenges, based on their perceived wealth and limited intended period of residence. Their financial contributions could give them a sense of privilege and bargaining rights that were resented by some mainstream staff such as at Patton. International students were commonly under family pressure to achieve academically to gain access to reputable universities later, and this pressure was transferred to their teachers. When combined, these challenges were not diminished by educational management approaches which could view ELL learning needs as a generalised, cognitive issue.

Conversely, all the ELL students in this study expressed gratitude for the support given to their learning. RMB students at Patton appreciated their New Kiwi and mainstream staff, friendships with fellow classmates, and extra homework times and bilingual support (NKSFGP1). Migrants at Mountfort were very thankful for their college community, educational affordances, and opportunities for a more secure future. Their class behaviour and work habits generally made them role models for local students and earned them academic distinction (ELLSFGM1). Patton international students appreciated the



affordances of internet copies of class lessons, subject support classes, homework support after school, their two bilingual TAs, and homestay family support (ISFGP1).

The “Achilles heel” (HGP1) of international students overall, was the limited ability to forge friendships with local students. While they developed good relationships within their own group, they could be ‘othered’ in the wider school community because of academic competition, their visitor status or their socio-ethnic diversity. Wordsworth, in particular, provided varied activities to bond international students themselves and encourage intercultural interaction though their concerted efforts had limited success.

For teachers responsible for ELLs, and ELLs themselves, the everyday experiences of language learning captured in this study highlight the restrictions of being in a specialist minority group within a larger cohort engineered for mainstream linguistic and social uniformity. The study also exposed how the same students and their teachers responded to their educational environment to forge opportunities for themselves for language learning advancement in practice.

## **9.2 Implications of the study**

The findings and discussion chapters have generated insights which will now be briefly explored.

### **9.2.1 Theoretical implications**

From the beginning, this investigation into seeking to understand the dynamics of ELL provision in New Zealand secondary education, lent itself to an ecological perspective. Johnson (2013) credits Haugen with the origins of language ecology theory “as a means to investigate the interactions between languages and their environments” (p. 51). The historical ecological model expanded language research focus from an emphasis on either top-down hegemonic control or bottom-up ethnographic studies of minority language learners, to incorporate a more holistic understanding of how and why different layers of influence exist and interact within and between each other, to moderate language practice outcomes in educational contexts. An implication therefore is for researchers to be fully aware that emphasis on curriculum pedagogy, teacher quality or student readiness to learn are not enough in themselves as a focus in analysing ELL situations and that future studies in these areas need to also incorporate wider ecological elements.

The present enquiry very much confirms the relevance of Spolsky's educational language policy theory to ELL research in state secondary schools. Spolsky (2009) highlighted the three main categories of management, beliefs and practice as the foundation of his language policy theory, and identified location, participants and language topics as domains of his educational language policy (see 3.4). Albury (2012) perceives Spolsky's theory as "equipping scholarship to contextualise any grassroots language policy situation or discourse that is positioned against or informed by state policy" (p. 368-9). Overall, the theory's effectiveness highlights the implication it could be considered to be an appropriate framework to elucidate other complex spatial and temporal inter-relationships in multi-layered educational contexts in other political and geographic locations.

Spolsky's theory also supports "the broader conception of the value of language" (Reaume & Pinto, 2012, p. 39). The theory's wide-ranging framework generates further implications from this study. It can highlight the "contextual variables" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 7), around players dealing with precise, critical issues at varying layers of influence, and encourage researchers to delve into background phenomena that may not have been previously investigated in depth. In laying the foundations for investigating particular offshoots, Spolsky's theory can encourage more specific educational theories to be aligned with his, to bridge concepts for further insights, such as Cummins (2014) societal relations of power. Further, Spolsky's theory can link with background material for pedagogical or policy solutions for complex educational issues, such as approaches on how to increase awareness of "dominant societal and political paradigms of leadership" in state secondary schools (Wilkinson, 2018, p. 70).

### **9.2.2 Methodological implications**

This study used a methodological design framework of qualitative case study with an ethnological perspective to explore participants' perceptions of ELL influences in real-life state secondary school contexts. The success of the research was very much dependent on the researcher's professional relationships with school members. The initial relationships were particularly sensitive as it was the gatekeepers and SMs who enabled researcher entry. Once within schools, it was important for the researcher to be reciprocal, managed through shared activities such as student classroom support, verbal and resource support of the staff, and *koha* such as vouchers and multiple food offerings. Of major importance during the data collection process was the need for the researcher language

and persona to be very adaptable and respectful of interviewees with different status levels and aware that her role involved being a visitor in extremely busy and complex institutions where her presence could be viewed as an inconsequential disruption. Ultimately then, one methodological implication would be that researchers need to be particularly conscious of the way that they are always perceived by others and to be flexible and responsive so that the full range of the research intent can be obtained.

Data collection took place over one year, 2017, with three visits from three to ten working days spaced evenly to highlight progress and change. The process of gaining valid and credible data involved pacing a year-long sequence of data collection, with careful planning to minimise risk in the process of data collection. However, contextual realities incurred frequent compromises in the planning and timing of data collection. Class observation times were compromised, with staff absences, declined researcher applications, or interrupted school timetables. Interviews had to be scheduled during participants' busy pre-school times, lunchtimes, during non-contact periods or after school. This leads to my second methodological implication: for researchers to be aware that even the most careful plans can be disrupted and to use resourceful and flexible measures to obtain alternative opportunities for rich data if the need arises.

### **9.2.3 Implications for educational groups**

#### **9.2.3.1 Governments and their national educational agencies**

Overall, the following implications can be viewed within a need for a greater sense of ethical responsibility for awareness-raising initiatives which could reduce the gap between government offers of ELL guidance and actual practice that exists for ELL provision. In the wake of the March 15<sup>th</sup> 2019 shootings in Christchurch, expatriate New Zealander Lamia Imam stated: “The way [politicians and commentators] talk about immigrants taking jobs from Kiwis, looking at immigration as an economic benefit or burden only rather than people enhancing our country – in that way, New Zealand is not different from the U.S” (Mau, 2019, March 17, p. 7).

The first implication is to introduce wide-ranging education programmes for ITE learners, mainstream and ESOL staff on the value of diversity as a positive influence, to gain increased understanding about the way educationalists' identities are shaped by their ethnicity and race (Wilkinson, 2018). Instead of accepting Eurocentric language and

culture as the norm, educationalists would benefit by gaining an understanding of the political and social privileges New Zealand European Pākehās' language and skin colour affords them, in past and present contexts. These programmes could be followed up with PD discourses within schools on relational strategies which could enhance a sense of legitimacy for language and culture diversity within schools and classrooms (Tatebe, 2013). As well, programmes on plurilingual pedagogy could expand existing literacy courses so that curriculum planning, teaching and assessment opportunities could provide a range of methods that encourage L1-L2 crossover (see 8.3.4.4). Once these initiatives have been developed, ESOL staff could take a leading role in schools to expand existing PD for mainstream staff on how to accommodate plurilingual strategies in their subject teaching and internal assessments for ELLs (Cummins, 2014). Once established, ongoing PD opportunities could help embed the intercultural message further, as new staff and students arrive (Handjani, 2014).

Further implications arise out of this previous one and support it. The first is for the study of a Key Learning Language subject to be compulsory from Year 9-11 within the national curriculum for secondary school students, with an introductory component for each Language subject to explore the links between language and culture. Whatever the Language subject taught, students could gain some essential understanding of the linguistic and cognitive processes of learning a language and gather some experience of the way language affects culture. As well, with sufficient numbers, schools might be encouraged to teach Language subjects that relate to the L1 of their ESOL student cohort, so that opportunities might be created for improved ELL academic performance and more ELL parental support within the school. A further implication calls for ESOL as a subject to be taken more seriously in schools through the introduction of a standardised ESOL curriculum (as is common in Australian secondary schools) linked to the existing New Zealand ELP assessments, with credits and assessment results included in students' National Curriculum Certificates. A standardised curriculum supported by NZQA would also reduce ESOL teacher workloads and work to maintain greater overall quality of ESOL teaching. In addition, by restarting the practice of providing ESOL advisors to secondary schools, ESOL teachers could obtain reinforcement for their work and increase their valuable community ESOL networks, particularly for more isolated regional schools who have less access to urban PD opportunities. The next implication links to principals, crucial figures for acceptance of language and culture acceptance in schools (see 3.4.1.2).

It calls for training in diversity leadership to be included in Principals' Leadership Centre support recently announced by the government (MOE, 2019).

A further implication is for increased administrative regulation for government ELL resource provision which already exists, so that resources to enable ELL learning could be more assuredly available. Regulation could include an assurance that all ESOL Ministry funding was spent on the ESOL Department and ELLs in secondary schools, a designation of maximum student numbers for ESOL junior and senior classes, and an adoption of mainstream staff quotas for TESSOL scholarships. These regulations could be administered by members of the Education Service Agency as part of the MOE (MOE, 2019).

#### 9.2.3.2 SMs with responsibilities for ESOL staff

Lead ESOL staff have the task of answering for the presence of ELLs in classes which can be seen as disruptive, and managing ELLs' academic and pastoral needs and those of their teachers, while also grappling with the challenge of managing ELL differences within wider school demands. McGee et al. (2015) affirm that school leadership engaged in "developing and supporting ESOL teaching and learning environments empowers teachers in schools, and this is crucial to supporting English language learners" (p. 104). An implication arising from lead staff roles is that it is key that there are streamlined communication networks between at least one senior management person committed to ELL and the HOD ESOL, so that ELL concerns may be heard, supported and managed efficiently at the top of the school hierarchy. Once established, these networks could be assisted by developing bridging programmes within PD systems in schools, led by small numbers of qualified ESOL language staff, to assist mainstream staff with their relationships with ELLs.

A further implication involves SM responsibility to employ suitably trained ESOL staff, and ensure that they have enough time allowance to cater for their planning needs. Consideration of ethically and linguistically race-matched staffing of counsellors and teachers in subjects with large numbers of ELLs could enhance learning through modelling and use of plurilingual teaching methods (Cardno et al., 2018; Howard, 2010). Further, this study has shown how the use of competent, trained, bilingual TAs in ESOL and mainstream classes, funded from Ministry grants, can add a wealth of linguistic and cultural support to help ELL learning. Lastly, employment of ancillary staff, and extra

time allocated to ESOL staff markers, for administration and marking of initial and ongoing testing for ELLs, could assist with prompt results and reduce staff conflicts over ELLs' timetabling, which two ESOL Departments in this study adversely experienced. Having effective computer programmes and clear procedures to continually update information on ELLs' progress, accessible to mainstream staff and parents, would also enable clearer understanding of ELLs' actual learning needs, instead of a dependence on outdated or misguided perceptions of their ability.

Finally, lead ESOL management could, without reducing recruitment opportunities, smooth mainstream staff perceptions of inconsiderate treatment by refining procedures that regulated the arrivals and exits of ELLs to ESOL classes. Using measures which Patton achieved, of setting international student arrivals to specific times a year and using other local educational centres to cater for any student backlog, could encourage more streamlined, efficient resource building and reduce staff workload overall.

#### 9.2.3.3 ESOL teachers

This study has disclosed that ESOL teachers lack a clear professional identity and bear the burden of different expectations from varying school groups, in line with the "Jack of all trades" role espoused by Gleeson (2012). An important implication from this is that ESOL teachers need to have clear personal reasons for committing to their role so that they retain a professional balance between prioritising the ideological extremes of either ELLs' needs (Haworth, 2016), or pressures from SMs and mainstream staff (Windle & Miller, 2013). ESOL staff are also advantaged if they have intercultural experience themselves through their families, travel or relationships, are professionally qualified in teaching English or another language, and have specialist ESOL training.

A further implication identified in this study for ESOL staff is to maintain efforts to expand affordances for those in their care, particularly by encouraging first culture engagement, through multicultural language and curriculum material and support for parental engagement. ESOL teachers also have a pastoral role to encourage ELL motivation by setting creditable goals and by careful proactive monitoring of their timetabled subjects so that their academic potential can be reached. Finally, ESOL staff could also strive to encourage relationships between mainstream students and ELLs where possible, with cognisance of opportunities for them to study, engage with clubs, sports or socialise together.

#### 9.2.3.4 ELLs in ESOL Departments

This study has shown that the ideologies and beliefs that lie behind state school regulation and practices are part of the country's heritage, have been implemented through the demands of the voting public, and do not directly support multiculturalism. Spolsky (2009) determined that "multilingual schooling able to reflect the linguistic diversity of its student body, remains rare" (p. 91). For multilingual ELLs in New Zealand state secondary schools, this study has highlighted a crucial implication: to be aware of the monolingual bias and bicultural constraints, but to grasp every formal and informal opportunity to learn, so that an enhanced appreciation of the value of education may be gained. Part of this process highlighted in this study is for ELLs to network with ESOL or other mainstream staff who can particularly support them, and to choose friendships with other students who can assist with their academic, social and emotional progress.

### **9.3 Limitations and strengths of this study**

Perhaps the most obvious limitation in this study began with the researcher's choice of three state secondary schools as case study locations. In choosing them the researcher bypassed alternative private or integrated secondary education systems, which could have been examined. Another limitation was that although the schools chosen had a contrast of deciles, sizes and locations, the research did not include geographically remote schools, which if included may have gleaned different results. Neither did it concentrate on either co-educational or single sex systems; it chose a mix of both. Moreover, only one of the chosen schools had a large group of RMB students, while only two had large groups of international students. Yet another limitation was that the process of gaining acceptance from three state secondary schools for the enquiry was constrained by the researcher's personal social networks and supervisor advice.

School management of researcher visits and choice of participants created further limitations. The choice of three spaced visits for data collection provided ethnographic depth to the study and identified evolving changes over a year. More extended visits would have added finer texture to results but needed to be weighed up against overstepping the researcher's role as a visitor into busy school life. As well, ELL leaders had a role in the choice of some staff and student participants, and sometimes their interview locations, which affected the extent of answerability in interview responses.

Interviews from BOT leaders and principals were not attainable in all schools because of personal or institutional logistics, so data from staff members next in the school hierarchies gained greater importance.

However, a variety of strengths did result from this study. The qualitative enquiry process has highlighted the benefits of a particular focus on certain elements for successful data collection, such as sensitive researcher field entry, the maintenance of researcher stance, and use of complementary research methods. The research experience has gathered a rich collection of data which has succeeded in capturing the spirit of ELL and has reaffirmed the validity of using a purely qualitative paradigm for applied linguistics research.

Content-wise, the final mix of school locations produced three comprehensive examples of the different situational dynamics surrounding ELL provision in state secondary schools. Further, parts of the research contain material that can resonate with all New Zealand ELL contexts. It has widened opportunities for similar studies to be located in other educational institutions at varied levels in this country.

Another strength is that this study has produced significant insights that make an important and original contribution to knowledge and has generated advances to ecological theory in New Zealand state secondary school contexts, which have hitherto been absent. The ecological theoretical perspective has highlighted historical reasons for the present low status of ESOL in schools, the heavy preponderance of beliefs and ideologies that reinforce the monolingual bias, and the complexities that result when attempting to blend mainstream staff and students with others of different culture, language and class, within secondary educational institutions.

In highlighting the above problems, this study also proposes a number of solutions for educationalists, researchers and policy makers to analyse further. Overall, the study calls for a more tolerant appreciation of language and culture difference. It calls for an increased awareness that nationally, economic progress and strong political networks come at a price, and that contemporary educational problems often need solving with new and innovative approaches rather than relying on past procedures.

The study also adds to the wide body of language policy research in international post-colonial contexts, particularly Australia. The study has corroborated with Australian evidence of the ongoing impact of past British regulation and ideologies on contemporary



secondary school education, has elucidated the rigorous, ongoing struggle required to modify colonial influences in order to fittingly respond to the needs of present-day ELL students, so they may be ably prepared for inclusion and attainment in future worlds. The study also draws attention to the influence of wide-ranging political ecologies on education, and how training and funding for educational leadership in linguistic and cultural diversity is reliant on conservative and sometimes unaligned forces which have a restricted interest in support for educationally disadvantaged groups like ELLs. In aligning with Australian ELL research in secondary schools, this study has widened an opportunity for transnational studies on responses to linguistic and cultural diversity in secondary school locations, for mutual edification and ELL improvement.

#### **9.4 Closing comments**

The ecological framework has provided the opportunity for a flexible, comprehensive, and accurate perspective on the dynamics involved around ELL in New Zealand state secondary school contexts. Spolsky's theory allows for the analysis of a very complex web of ecological layers in different state secondary school contexts, in order to clarify and synthesise them into a contemporary portrayal of ELL in state secondary school life. The analysis also provided greater researcher understanding and awareness of the ideological reasons why these ecological layers exist, which further developed a wider appreciation of the educational decisions surrounding ELL provision.

The study has extended researcher appreciation of people involved with ELL within state secondary schools. These range from observing the assiduous efforts of ELLs to integrate and achieve, to the ESOL staff in often-difficult teaching spaces, to ELL leaders who are constrained by competing issues which those above and below them in the educational hierarchy can often fail to appreciate. It has confirmed for me that, in spite of the undoubted realities of human bias and selfishness, ESOL educational systems are continually buoyed by the generosity and commitment of individuals at all educational levels striving to improve conditions for ELLs in present and future contexts. It remains for researchers and practitioners within the field to collaborate, support, educate each other and celebrate ELL achievements.



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# APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: Glossary

1. **ALANZ:** Applied Linguistics Association of New Zealand
2. **ALLIS:** Asian Language Learning in Schools Programme
3. **AP:** Assistant principal
4. **BOT:** Board of Trustees
5. **CELTA:** English Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, a Cambridge English qualification
6. **CLESOL:** Community Languages and English for Speakers of Other Languages
7. **CoL:** Community of Learning
8. **DP:** Deputy Principal
9. **EAP:** English for Academic Purposes
10. **EEC:** European Economic Community
11. **ELL:** English Language Learning
12. **ELLP:** English Language Learning Progressions (key documents for assessment of ELLs in New Zealand).
13. **ELLs:** English Language Learners
14. **ERO:** Education Review Office
15. **ESOL:** English for Speakers of Other Languages
16. **GradCertTEAL:** Graduate Certificate in Teaching English as an Additional Subject
17. **HOD:** Head of Department
18. **HOF:** Head of Faculty
19. **HOLA:** Head of Learning Area
20. **IELTS:** International English Language Testing System
21. **IMF:** International Monetary Fund
22. **ITE:** Initial Teacher Education
23. **KLA, KLAs:** Key Learning Area, Key Learning Area subjects
24. **L1:** First Language
25. **L2:** Second Language
26. **LAD:** Learning Area Director

27. **MMA:** Middle Management Allowance
28. **MOE:** Ministry of Education
29. **MP:** Member of Parliament
30. **NCEA:** National Certificate of Educational Achievement
31. **NZQA:** New Zealand Qualifications Authority
32. **PD:** Professional development
33. **PISA:** Programme for International Student Assessment
34. **PR:** Position of Responsibility (roles which carry unit remuneration)
35. **PTE:** Private Training Establishment
36. **RMB:** Refugee Migrant Background
37. **SM:** Senior Manager
38. **STEM:** Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics emphasis
39. **TA:** Teacher aide
40. **TESOL:** Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (a national ESOL teacher group)
41. **TESOLANZ:** Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages Aotearoa New Zealand
42. **TIC:** Teacher in Charge
43. **TODs:** Teacher Only Days
44. **UNHCR:** The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees



## Appendix 2: Links between interview questions and original research questions

INTERVIEWS	Research question 1: What is the impact of wider community variables on ELL department systems and practices in three selected New Zealand secondary schools?	Research question 2: What is the impact of in-school variables on ELL department systems and practices in these schools?	Research question 3: What are the outcomes for ELL departments from the above variables, and how do their personnel respond to them?
Initial Interview	Qu 5✓ Qu 6✓	Qu 1✓ Qu 2✓ Qu 3-4✓ Qu 7✓	Qu 3-4, 6✓
Individual interview for those with responsibility for ESOL students	Qu 2-4✓ Qu 5-6✓	Qu 1-3✓ Qu 5-7✓	Qu 4-5✓
Focus group interview for ESOL staff	Qu 1✓ Qu 3-4✓	Qu 2✓ Qu 3-6✓ Qu 7✓	Qu 1, 4✓
Focus group interview for mainstream staff	Qu 2✓ Qu 5✓	Qu 1✓ Qu 3✓ Qu 4✓ Qu 5✓	Qu 6✓
Focus group interview for senior ESOL students	Qu 3✓ Qu 5✓ Qu 7-8✓	Qu 1-4✓ Qu 6✓	Qu 4✓
Focus group interview for Board members	Qu 3-5✓	Qu 1-2✓ Qu 4✓	Qu 5✓

## Appendix 3: Letter requesting access to institution



**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed-method case study

### LETTER REQUESTING ACCESS TO SECONDARY SCHOOL

.....  
Palmerston North  
To the Principal and Chairperson of the Board  
.....School

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Geraldine Anne McCarthy and I am writing to ask you to help me with case-study research I am conducting for my doctorate in Applied Linguistics at Massey University, Palmerston North. I am very interested in the systems and practices that exist in secondary schools in response to the diversity of local student intakes. The intention is to gain greater understanding of the role of ESOL systems within mainstream teaching. I am inviting you to become part of this research.

Having been a long-serving Head of English and Head of English Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) for seven years, I am well aware that schools are very busy places with multiple commitments so I would plan to be as least disruptive as possible. This letter is a request to visit your school in 2017 to interview some of the staff and ESOL students on a volunteer basis, and to observe some of their classes. Questions would focus on the diversity cohort in the school, the way the school responds to that group, and the impact of diversity on the school. All collected material would be confidential, in accord with the university's ethics requirements, and the school's requirements.

I hope you will agree to take part and I will try to make the process interesting and enjoyable. I hope also to be able to reciprocate with ESOL support through possible tutoring, teaching resources and/or duties. If there are any other ways that you think I could be of help during the visit, I would be happy to respond.

Before deciding, if you have any questions about the above, please don't hesitate to ring me for further information at (.....), (.....), or email (.....). My CV is attached.

“This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director-Ethics, telephone 06 3569099 extension 86015, email [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz).”

Yours faithfully  
Anne McCarthy

## Appendix 4: Principal/Board consent form



**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed-method case study

### CONSENT FORM

- I give consent to Mrs. Geraldine Anne McCarthy to conduct research in ..... School in the time agreed.
- I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. Questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
- I understand that volunteer students and staff will have full confidentiality
- I understand that all research material obtained will be transcribed and stored privately, and only be used for this research
- I choose the following pseudonym for the school for use in this research.....

.....  
(Signature)

.....  
(Date)

## Appendix 5: Initial email to HOD ESOL



MASSEY UNIVERSITY  
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA  
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed-method case study

### EMAIL TO HOD ESOL

To .....

Greetings. My name is Geraldine Anne McCarthy, an experienced ESOL and English NZ secondary school teacher. At present, I am doing doctoral research at Massey, Palmerston North, on the response to diversity in New Zealand secondary schools. For my study, I am approaching schools which have locally-developed English language learning systems and practices that are examples of good diversity practice, in relation to their local second language community student intake. As your school has been defined as one of these, I am therefore making an initial request to you as Head of ESOL, for possible inclusion of your department in the study.

If you are interested in further involvement, I will make further contact for formal permission for the school to be part of the research, and explain more detail of the extent of the study, plus offers of my reciprocal support.

Before deciding, if you have any questions about the above, please don't hesitate to ring me (.....) or email (.....).

Thank you.

Regards,

Anne McCarthy

## Appendix 6: Initial letter to ESOL Department



**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed-method case study

### LETTER TO HOD ESOL

To the Head of English Speakers of Other Languages (ELL),

My name is Geraldine Anne McCarthy and I am writing to ask you to help me with case-study research I am conducting for my doctorate in Applied Linguistics at Massey University, Palmerston North. I am very interested in the systems and practices that exist in secondary schools in response to the diversity of local student intakes. The intention is to gain greater understanding of the role of ESOL systems within mainstream teaching. I am inviting you to become part of this research.

Having been a long-serving Head of English and Head of ELL for seven years, I am well aware that schools are very busy places, with multiple commitments, so I would plan to be as least disruptive as possible. This letter is a request to visit your school in 2017 to interview some of the staff and ESOL students on a volunteer basis, and to observe some of their classes. Questions would focus on the diversity cohort in the school, the way the school responds to that group, and the impact of diversity on the school. All collected material would be confidential, in accord with the university's ethics requirements.

I hope you will agree to take part and I will try to make the process interesting and enjoyable. I hope also to be able to reciprocate with ELL support through possible tutoring, teaching resources and/or duties. If there are any other ways that you think I could be of help during the visit, I would be happy to respond.

I hope you will agree to take part and I will try to make the process interesting and enjoyable. I hope also to be able also able to reciprocate with ELL support through possible tutoring, or help with teaching resources and/or duties, food and vouchers.

Before deciding, if you have any questions about the above, please don't hesitate to ring me (.....) or email (.....). My CV is attached.

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director-Ethics, telephone 06 3569099 extension 86015, email [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz). Thank you.

Regards,  
Anne McCarthy

## Appendix 7: Ethics approval letter



Date: 24 June 2016

Dear Anne McCarthy

Re: Ethics Notification-4000016336-Exploring response to student ethnic and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed method case study with an ethnographic perspective

Thank you for your notification, which you have assessed as Low Risk. Your project has been recorded in our system which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

If situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your ethical analysis, please go to <http://rims.massey.ac.nz> and register the changes in order that they be assessed as safe to proceed.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course -Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

*"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.*

*If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director-Ethics, telephone 06 3569099 ext. 86015, email [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz)."*

Please note, if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to complete the application form again, answering "yes" to the publication question to provide more information for one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Brian Finch  
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics)

## Appendix 8: Information sheet for staff



**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed-method case study

### INFORMATION SHEET FOR STAFF WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS

My name is Geraldine Anne McCarthy and I am writing to ask you to help me with case-study research I am conducting for my doctorate in Applied Linguistics at Massey University, Palmerston North. I am very interested in the systems and practices that exist in secondary schools as responses to the diversity of local student intakes. The intention is to seek greater understanding of the role of ESOL systems within mainstream teaching. I am inviting you to become part of this research.

Having been a long-serving Head of English, and Head of English Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), I am well aware that schools are very busy places, with multiple commitments, so the plan is to be as least disruptive as possible. This letter is a request to visit your school in 2017 to interview some of the staff and ESOL students on a volunteer basis, and to observe some of their classes. Questions would focus on the diversity cohort in the school, the way the school responds to that group, and the impact of diversity on the school. All collected material would be confidential, in accord with the university's ethics requirements.

I hope you will agree to take part and I will try to make the process interesting and enjoyable. I hope also to be able to reciprocate with ESOL support where possible. If there are any other ways that you think I could be of help during the visit, I would be happy to respond.

Should you agree to take part in this project, I will ask you to be involved in two data collection stages. Each element is separate and needs separate consents from you.

#### *Individual Interview*

You will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview. The style of the interview would be open to allow for free and flowing discussion about the institution's ESOL systems in response to diversity in the school. The interview is intended to be at the school site, and between thirty to fifty minutes, at a time arranged in consultation with you.

#### *Retrospective Interview*

This short interview will occur at the end of the year, and will ask about your reflections on ESOL systems over the past year.

The interview is semi-organised to give focus but allows for flexibility. The questions will concern your role with ESOL students and your knowledge and understanding of the

way ESOL systems and practices operate in the school. A small voice recorder will be used to tape the interview and will be transcribed in its entirety, and stored by the researcher.

You will be asked to give yourself a pseudonym which I will use in the study material. The name of the school will not be recorded on any of the material collected. I am the only one to use the material, and it will be stored in a private setting. At the end of the research any personal information will be destroyed except that used for research purposes. The research material will be kept for five years as required by Massey university ethics committee, after which it will be destroyed.

All interviewee volunteers have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during interviews
- withdraw from the study at any time
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation
- provide information on the understanding that their name will not be used unless permission is given to the researcher
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded and edit any offensive details.

If you have any questions about the project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

- Myself as the researcher: Mrs. Anne McCarthy
- Either of my two supervisors: Dr Gillian Skyrme or Dr Arianna Berardi-Wiltshire at in the Applied Linguistics Department at Massey University (06) 3569099.

“This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University’s Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director-Ethics, telephone 06 3569099 extension 86015, email [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz).“

Regards,  
Mrs. Geraldine Anne McCarthy



## Appendix 9: Information sheet for senior English language learners



**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed-method case study

### INFORMATION SHEET FOR SENIOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS OVER SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE

Thank you for showing an interest in this research project. Please read the following information carefully, before deciding whether or not to be involved.

My name is Geraldine Anne McCarthy and I am writing to ask you to help me with case-study research I am doing at Massey University, Palmerston North. I am very interested in the systems and practices that exist in secondary schools to support second language students there. I hope to obtain better understanding of them. This is an invitation to become part of the study.

Having been a long-serving Head of English, and Head of English Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), I am very aware that schools are very busy places for students, so I plan to be as least disruptive as possible. This letter is a request to visit your school in 2017 to interview some of the staff and ESOL students on a volunteer basis, and to observe some of their classes. Questions would focus on the diversity cohort in the school, the way the school responds to that group, and the impact of diversity on the school. All collected material would be confidential, in accord with the university's ethics requirements.

I hope you will agree to take part and I will try to make the process interesting and enjoyable. I hope also to be able to reciprocate with ESOL support where possible. If there are any other ways that you think I could be of help during the visit, I would be happy to respond.

If you agree to take part in this project, I will ask you to be involved in the following two stages, both which will need separate consents from you:

#### *Focus Group Interview*

You are invited to be in a focus group interview with up to seven senior ESOL students. The interview style is open to let you speak openly about the institution's ESOL systems and practices. The interview should be about thirty to fifty minutes. The time of the interview will be decided by you and the HOD ESOL, and it will take place at the school.

#### *Classroom Observations*

You will be asked to let the researcher sit in on a number of your mainstream and ESOL lessons, over a few days. I will not interfere with your schoolwork and will not be concentrating on you as an individual. I will take personal written field notes over this time, focusing on systems and practices in the classroom. No recording machinery will

be used. The times and dates of the lessons will be arranged by you, your teacher, and the timetable.

You will be asked to give yourself another name which I will use in the study material. The name of the school will not be recorded on any of the material collected. I am the only one to use the material, and it will be stored in a private setting. At the end of the research any personal information will be destroyed except that used for research purposes. The research material will be kept for five years as required by Massey university ethics committee, after which it will be destroyed.

All interview volunteers have the right to:

- not answer any particular question
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during interviews
- withdraw from the study at any time
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation
- give information on the understanding that their name will not be used unless permission is given to the researcher
- be allowed to see a summary of the project findings when it is concluded and edit any offensive details.

If you have any questions about the project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

- Myself as the researcher: Mrs. Anne McCarthy, [jerryanne@inspire.net.nz](mailto:jerryanne@inspire.net.nz).
- Either of my two supervisors: Dr. Gillian Skyrme or Dr. Arianna Berardi-Wiltshire at in the Applied Linguistics Department at Massey University (06) 3569099.

“This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University’s Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named in this document is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Dr. Brian Finch, Director - Ethics, telephone 06 3569099 extension 86015, email [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz).”

Regards,  
Mrs. Anne McCarthy

## Appendix 10: Data collection – interviews and observations: Dates, time length and people involved

Timeline 2016-8 1. First Round 2. Second Round 3. Third Round	SCHOOL A 7-9 <sup>th</sup> March 2017 19 <sup>th</sup> -30 <sup>th</sup> June 2017 4-7 <sup>th</sup> Dec 2017	SCHOOL B 10 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> April 2017 22 <sup>nd</sup> May-15 <sup>th</sup> June 2017 10-30 <sup>th</sup> Nov 2017	SCHOOL C 2-3 <sup>rd</sup> March 2017 20-31 <sup>st</sup> March 2017 20 Nov-20 <sup>th</sup> Jan 2018
Gaining Field Entry	26.8.2016.	17.8.2016	23.8.2016.
Observations	1: 7; 2: 23; 3: 2 = 32	1: 8; 2: 25; 3: 0 = 33	1: 0; 2: 24; 3: 0 = 24
Interview dates, interviewee name, length of interview	8.3.2017: Cameron (1.08.13) 9.3.2017: Jasmine (31.09) 19.6.2017: Betty (1.34.42) 19.6.2017: Jasmine (55.41) 20.6.2017: Sarah (52.14) 20.6.2016: Sam (53.06) 21.6.2017: Tara (21.6.2017) 23.6.2016: Carol (35.58) 26.6.2017: ESOL Teacher Focus Group (34.49) 26.6.2017: ESOL Student Focus Group (54.18) 26.6.2017: Mainstream Teacher Focus Group (47.31) 28.6.2017: Cameron (1.06.51) 4.12.2017: Betty (32.42) 4.12.2017: Alex (46.05) 5.12.2017: Zara (21.02) 6.12.2017: Sandy (25.06) 7.12.2017: Millie (6.54) 7.12.2017: Cameron (1.08.13) <b>TOTAL: 18</b>	10.4.2017: Board Focus Group (50.24) 11.4.2017: Rosie (55.31) 12.4.2017: Curly (13.42) 22.5.2017: Charlie (1.34.42) 23.5.2017: Vida (1.1.19) 23.5.2017: HG (1.58.42) 1.6.2017 Mainstream Teacher Focus Group (48.53) 1.6.2019: International Department Student Focus Group (47.14) 5.6.2017: Curly (43.59) 6.6.2017: New Kiwi St Focus Group (53.35) 6.6.2017: Albert (50.47) 8.6.2017: International Department Teacher Focus Group (51.32) 8.6.2017: New Kiwi Teacher Focus Group (52.53) 15.6.2017: Rosie (46.19) 10.11.2017: HG (1.02.53) 14.11.2017: Ada (20.42) 30.11.2017: Curly (27.16) 30.11.2017: Charlie (50.95) declined after interview <b>TOTAL: 18</b>	3.3.2017: Cynthia (26.48) 20.3.2017 Joseph (47.40) 20.3.2017: Bill (26.22) 20.3.2017: Cynthia (47.50) 21.3.2017: Dysart (47.27) 23.3.2017: ESOL Department Student Focus Group (49.45) 23.3.2017: Rupert (1.14.02) 24.3.2017: Felix (18.42) 24.3.2017: Nugget (31.07) 27.3.2017: ESOL Teacher Focus Group (54.01) 28.3.2017: New International Student Focus Group (54.01) 31.3.2017: Mainstream Teacher Focus Group (1.11.28) 20.11.2017: Joseph (44.26) 21.11.2017: Bill (54.15) 21.11.2017: Dysart (33.05) 23.11.2017: Rene (9.44) 23.11.2017: Rupert (1.00.40) 23.11.2017: Jane (18.29) 20.1.2018: Cynthia (1.13.15) <b>TOTAL: 19</b>

## Appendix 11: Lists of school participants

ELL SENIOR STUDENT PARTICIPANT FOCUS GROUPS		
WORDSWORTH	PATTON (1: International; 2: New Kiwi)	MOUNTFORT
<b>Time:</b> During lunch <b>Place:</b> Boardroom <b>Student Details:</b> 1. <i>Alice</i> : (F); 17yrs; Japanese; migrant 2. <i>Rowling</i> : (F); 19yrs; Chinese; International student 3. <i>Stacey</i> : (F); 18yrs; Korean; migrant 4. <i>Cristin</i> : (F); 17yrs; Chinese; International student	<b>Time:</b> During class <b>Place:</b> International Reception Room <b>Student Details:</b> 1. <i>Yuu</i> : (M); 17yrs; Japanese; International student 2. <i>Allen Naz</i> : (F); 18yrs; Afghani; RMB 3. <i>Ding Shu Rai</i> : (M); 19yrs; Chinese; International student 4. <i>Helen</i> : (F); 16+yrs; Chinese; International student 5. <i>Vynie</i> : (F); 16+yrs; Vietnamese; international student	<b>Time:</b> During class <b>Place:</b> HOD ELL office <b>Student Details:</b> 1. <i>Leah</i> : (F); 16+yrs; Samoan; migrant 2. <i>Sub</i> : (M); 17yrs; Philippines; migrant 3. <i>Bok</i> : (M); 16+yrs; Philippines; migrant 4. <i>Nishan</i> : (M); 18yrs; Nepalese RMB 5. <i>Herb</i> : (F); 16+yrs; Fiji Indian; migrant
	<b>Time:</b> During class <b>Place:</b> Languages Academy workspace <b>Student Details:</b> 1. <i>Zan</i> : (M) 16+yrs; Bhutanese; RMB 2. <i>Zahra</i> : (M); 17yrs; Afghani; RMB 3. <i>Loko</i> : (F); 18yrs; Myanmar; RMB 4. <i>Lah Kee</i> : (F); 20yrs; Myanmar; RMB	<b>Time:</b> During class <b>Place:</b> Reception room <b>Student Details:</b> Three Thai student new arrivals

ELL MAINSTREAM PARTICIPANT FOCUS GROUPS		
WORDSWORTH	PATTON	MOUNTFORT
<b>Time:</b> Lunchtime <b>Place:</b> Boardroom <b>Teachers' Details:</b> 1. <i>Jane</i> : (F); (FTP); Food Technology; NZ European; 20+ 2. <i>Mary</i> : (F); (FTP); Teaches five Science or Physics classes; BSc, TEFL Certificate; French migrant; speaks French; 30+	<b>Time:</b> Before school <b>Place:</b> International Reception Room <b>Teachers' Details:</b> 1. <i>RB</i> : (M); (FTP); PhD. Physics; Teaches Science, Physics; NZ European; 40+ 2. <i>Bob</i> : (M); (FTP); HOD Technology; Teaches DVC, Product design; South African migrant, speaks Swahili; 40+ 3. <i>Lee</i> : (F); (FTP); HOD Art; Teaches senior Art; B. Ed; NZ European; 30+ 4. <i>Walker</i> : (F); (FTP); B. Ed & Psych, BSc; HOD Biology; Teaches Science, Biology; NZ European; 40+	<b>Time:</b> Just after school <b>Place:</b> HOD ELL's office <b>Teachers' Details:</b> 1. <i>Eric</i> : (M); (FTP); BSc; Teaches Physics, Mathematics; NZ European; 20+ 2. <i>Laura</i> : (F); (FTP); BSc; Dean, Teaches Social Sciences; South African migrant; speaks Swahili; 30+ 3. <i>Emma</i> : (M); (FTP); Teaches Mathematics; Chinese migrant; speaks Mandarin; 30+

<b>ESOL STAFF PARTICIPANT FOCUS GROUPS</b> (FTP: full-time permanent; PTC: part-time contract)		
<b>WORDSWORTH</b>	<b>PATTON</b>	<b>MOUNTFORT</b>
<p><b>Time:</b> Lunchtime</p> <p><b>Place:</b> After school, after an ELL meeting</p> <p><b>Staff Details:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Carol:</b> (F); (FTC); Chinese degree, Grad Dip TESSOL and Languages; First year teacher of ELL and Mandarin; Chinese migrant; 30+</li> <li><b>Jasmine</b> (left end Term 2); (F); (FTP); MA Creative Writing, MA Applied Linguistics, PG Dip SLT, PG Dip Drama; HOD ELL; Teaches Year 3 11-13 classes; NZ European, 40+</li> <li><b>Ronald:</b> (F); (FTP); BA in French, BA in Pol Science, MA in Education; Teaches I class Year 12 ELL; American migrant; 50+</li> <li><b>Millie:</b> (F); (PTC); BA Hons, CELTA; Teaches senior ELL; NZ European; speaks German; 60+</li> <li><b>Cameron:</b> absent</li> </ol>	<p><b>a. International Department</b></p> <p><b>Time:</b> Lunchtime</p> <p><b>Place:</b> International Reception Room</p> <p><b>Staff Details:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Curly:</b> (left end of 2017); (F); (FTP); Primary NZ Certificate; Teaches 5 classes; NZ European; learning Māori; 50+</li> <li><b>Cindy:</b> (F); (PTC); NZCS, COPMLT; TA 22 hrs week; Malaysian migrant; speaks Bahasa Malay, Foochow; Mandarin; 50+</li> <li><b>Claire:</b> (F); (PTC); Secretarial Diploma; TA 20hrs week; Malaysian Chinese migrant; speaks Mandarin; 50+</li> <li><b>Joanne:</b> (F); (PTC); student counsellor; Chinese migrant; speaks Mandarin; 40+</li> <li><b>Jenny:</b> (F); (FTC); BBS in Marketing; marketing Coordinator and TA; NZ migrant; speaks Vietnamese; 20+</li> </ol> <p><b>b. New Kiwi Department</b></p> <p><b>Time:</b> After interval</p> <p><b>Place:</b> New Kiwi Classroom</p> <p><b>Staff Details:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Kirawa:</b> (M); (PTC); TA 26.50hrs week; Computers in Homes Coordinator; Bhutanese RMB; speaks Nepalese, Dzongkha; 30+</li> <li><b>Rhea:</b> (F); (PTC); BA, TTC; TA 21hrs week; Indian migrant; speaks Hindi, Urdu; 40+</li> <li><b>Paul:</b> (F); (PTC); TA; 25 hrs week; Burmese RMB, speaks Karen, Thai; 30+</li> <li><b>Leila:</b> (F); (PTC) TA; RMB Middle East; speaks Farsi; 30+</li> </ol>	<p><b>Time:</b> Lunchtime</p> <p><b>Place:</b> HOD ELL's classroom</p> <p><b>Staff Details:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Cynthia:</b> (left end Term 2); (F); (FTP); Journalism degree; HOD ELL, CANTESOL chair; Teaches three junior classes; 6 hrs pastoral care; Indian ethnicity; speaks Hindi, Gujarati; 40+</li> <li><b>Pene:</b> (F); (FTC); MA from India; TA; speaks Hindi, Gujarati; Indian migrant; 50+</li> <li><b>Roy:</b> (M); (FTC); Primary Certificate, CELTA; Term 1-2 teaches 2 classes Year 7-9 ELL, TA (6hrs); Terms 3-4 teaches one class Year 11 also; Filipino migrant; speaks Tagalog; 50+</li> <li><b>Bill:</b> (M); (PTC); BA, RSA Cambridge ELL Diploma; Term1-2 teaches 2 classes Year 11;13 ELL; Term 3-4 another class plus Acting HOD ELL also; Acting Director of International Students; NZ European, 69+</li> </ol>

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS		
WORDSWORTH	PATTON	MOUNTFORT
<p><b>Staff Details:</b></p> <p>1. <b>Betty x2:</b> (F); (FTP); BA, NZCE, M Prof Studies; SM in charge of ELL Department; Teaches one class Textiles; NZ European; 40+</p> <p>2. <b>Sarah x1:</b> (F); (FTP); BFA; deputy principal; teaches Art; NZ European; 40+</p> <p>3. <b>Sam x1:</b> (F); (FTP); BSc, BA, Grad Dip TESSOL; International Dean; Teaches Mathematics; NZ European; 40+</p> <p>4. <b>Tara x1:</b> (F); (FTP); Literacy Coordinator; teaches Mathematics; ex-International Dean; Indian migrant; 40+</p> <p>5. <b>Sandy x1:</b> (F); (FTP); PhD Ed, MA Applied Linguistics; Learning Area Director of Languages; Teaches French; NZ European; 40+</p> <p>6. <b>Zara x1:</b> (F); (FTP); MA Hons; Assistant HOD English and Acting HOD ELL for Terms 3-4; Teaches English; NZ European; 30+</p> <p>7. <b>Alex x1:</b> (F); (FTP); BA Sport and Recreation; Senior Dean; NZ European, 30+</p> <p>8. <b>Cameron x3:</b> (Sabbatical Term 3); (F); (FTP); MA Hons, CELTA, AIRMT, LTCL, Grad Dip TESSOL; Teaches full ELL; NZ European; speaks French; 60+</p> <p>9-11. <b>Jasmine x2, Millie x1 and Carol x1</b> as in ESOL Focus group details</p>	<p><b>Staff Details:</b></p> <p>1. <b>Charlie x3:</b> (F); (PFT); BA, Dip STN, Cert Counselling; SM in charge of ELL Departments; Dutch migrant; 60+</p> <p>2. <b>Vida x1:</b> (F); (FTP); BA, Dip Middle Management; HOD Languages Academy, TOC New Kiwi Department; Chilean migrant; 40+</p> <p>3. <b>Head Gardener x2:</b> (M); (PTC); BSc; ex-HOD Mathematics, ex-Snr Manager; International Dean; NZ European; 60+</p> <p>4. <b>Albert x1:</b> (M); (FTP); BE (Electrical); HOD Mathematics, SM, Year 13 Academic Dean; NZ European; 50+</p> <p>5. <b>Rosie x2:</b> (F); (FTP); BA, Cert TEAL; I ELL paper of PG Dip Ed; HOD New Kiwi, Literacy Coordinator, RMB Homework Coordinator, teaches 4 classes; NZ European, 50+</p> <p>6. <b>Ada x1:</b> (F); (FTP); BA, Dip TESSOL; NZ Speech Board examiner, ex-IELTS examiner; new International teacher for 2018; 5 classes; NZ European; 50+</p> <p>7. <b>Curly x3:</b> as in ESOL Focus group details</p>	<p><b>Staff Details:</b></p> <p>1. <b>Joseph x2:</b> (M); (FTP); MA Hons, PG Dip Ed, Dip Ed Man; Principal; NZ European; 50+</p> <p>2. <b>Dysart x2:</b> (M); (FTP); BA Hons, PG CELTA; Year 13 Dean; Teaches English; NZ European; 40+</p> <p>3. <b>Jane x1:</b> (F); (FTP); HOD English; speaks Te Reo Māori; NZ European; 30+</p> <p>4. <b>Nugget x1:</b> (left end 2017); (M); (FTP); HOD Technology; NZ European; 40+</p> <p>5. <b>Felix x1:</b> (M); ex-teacher; reliever; NZ European; 50+</p> <p>6-7. <b>Cynthia x3, Bill x2:</b> as in ESOL Focus group details</p>

<b>INTERVIEWS WITH BOARD MEMBERS</b>		
<b>WORDSWORTH</b>	<b>PATTON</b>	<b>MOUNTFORT</b>
-	1 Focus Group Interview with: 1. <i>Joy</i> : (F); NZ European; 40+ 2. <i>David</i> : (M); Pasifika ethnicity; ex-teacher; Board Chairperson; city councillor; 40+	Individual Interviews with: 1. <i>Rupert x2</i> : (M); Board Chairperson; ex-Principal; 60+

## Appendix 12: Initial individual interview questions



**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed-method case study

### a. INITIAL INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW

(Thank you for agreeing to this interview. The contents of this interview and your identities are completely confidential to this research, your choice to engage is voluntary. For all the material you'll be discussing, you are free to talk about your different experiences and opinions. Please would you first fill out the consent form.)

1. I wondered if we could start with a general overview of the composition of the ESOL Department, the facilities, staff and classes.
2. Would you please speak about the range and extent of ELL student intake at this school?
3. What is your big picture of what you hope ESOL provision in the school can achieve?
4. How do you think the way your department has been set up and operates facilitates that?
5. What are some of the influences that have led the school to this way of doing things?
6. Could you share a little bit about your thoughts on teaching ELLs in its relationship and impact on the wider school and beyond?
7. Now, please would you look at the sheet of my wish list for interviews and suggest who I might approach, with possible reasons.
8. Also, could I have some thoughts on which classes and students should be approached for the Year 13 ELLs and why?
9. Please share any direction you could give me about how to go about mixing within the school during the next interview stage.

Thank you very much for the interview. Please fill out the profile sheet.





**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed method case study

**b. STAFF PROFILE**

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. Please fill in the details below.

Name: .....

Pseudonym:.....

Role in the school:.....

Classes taught this year:.....

.....  
Qualifications, including ELL qualifications:.....

.....  
Length of experience teaching or taking responsibility for ELL students:

.....

Ethnicity and cultural links.....

**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed-method case study

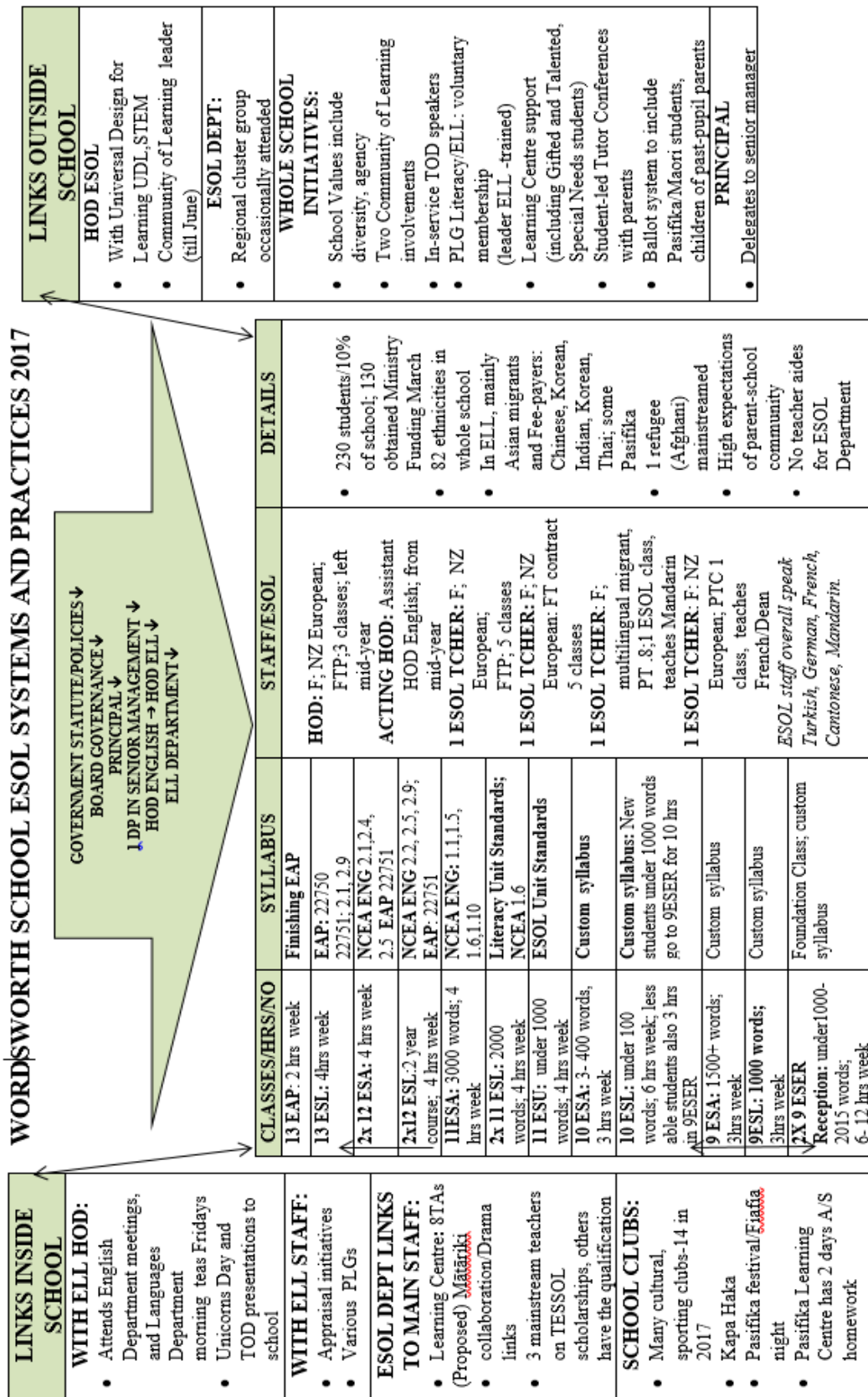


**c. INITIAL INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM**

- I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me.
- My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to the interview being sound recorded.
- I agree to participate in this study and allow access to my personal information under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature:..... Date:.....

## Appendix 13: Chart of ESOL systems at Wordsworth



## **Appendix 14: Interviews with staff responsible for English language learners**



### **a. INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS WITH STAFF WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR ESOL STUDENTS**

(Thank you for agreeing to this interview. The contents of this interview and your identities are completely confidential to this research, your choice to engage is voluntary. For all the material you'll be discussing, you are free to talk about your different experiences and opinions. Please would you first fill out the consent forms.)

- A. Response to Typical Comments: most or least interesting, any links to your experiences
  
- B. Please think about and discuss these areas:
  - 1. The nature and extent of ELL provision in the school
  - 2. ELL's place in the wider school, school community and wider local communities
  - 3. The influence of in-school and school community groups on ESOL and ELLs systems and practices
  - 4. The influence of national curriculum guidelines and initiatives, and government political positions on ESOL and ELLs systems and practices
  - 5. Any particular benefits and concerns
  - 6. A possible wish list unhindered by funding restraints
  - 7. Changes that the ELL Department has been through in the past and any plans or suggestions for the future

(Thank you very much for this interview. Please fill out the profile.



**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed-method e case study

**b. INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM**

- I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to the interview being sound recorded.
- I wish to have data placed in an official archive.
- I agree to participate in this study and allow access to my personal information under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

**Signature:** ..... **Date:** .....

**Full Name-printed** .....

## Appendix 15: Focus group interview with English language learners



**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed method case study

### a. FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW WITH SENIOR ESOL STUDENTS

(Thank you for agreeing to this interview. The contents of this interview and your identities are completely confidential to this research, your choice to engage is voluntary.

For all the material you'll be discussing, you are free to talk about your different experiences and opinions. It would be great to hear from everyone here, not just some.

First, please fill out the consent forms.)

1. I wondered if we could start with sharing some cell phone photos of your school life that you are proud of?
2. Can we talk about your thoughts about if a new ELL student asked you what it was like to be a student here? What would you say to them? Would there be any good advice you could give?
3. Would you tell me a little bit about your experiences that show how the ESOL Department or ESOL classes being helpful for you, either in class, out of class, and outside the school?
4. Would you like to share some of your experiences of difficulty with ELL provision, and how you have managed or been helped with these?
5. Can we have a conversation about what the older ELL groups think about learning in this community, compared to the newly-arrived ones?
6. Can we discuss a little bit about how you see the way ESOL systems link to other subject/student activity areas in the school?
7. Next can we share some thoughts about how the wider school community affects or influences ELL students and ESOL?
8. As Year 13s in your last year at secondary school, what helpful advice would you give about the increased numbers of ELLs forecast to come to New Zealand?

(Thank you very much for this interview. Thank you very much for this interview.

Please fill out you profile sheet.)

**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed method case study

**b. INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM**

- I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to the interview being sound recorded.
- I agree to participate in this study and allow access to my personal information under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

**Signature:**

**Date:**

.....

.....

**Project Title:** Exploring responses to student cultural and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed-method case study

**c. STUDENT PROFILE**

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. Please fill in the details below.

1. Name: .....
2. Age: .....
3. Pseudonym:.....
4. Form class: .....
5. Subjects and classes taught this year and by whom:.....  
.....  
.....  
.....
6. School responsibilities:.....  
.....
7. Cultural links.....



## Appendix 16: Retrospective individual interview



**Project Title:** Exploring response to student ethnic and linguistic diversity in different secondary school environments: A mixed method case study

### RETROSPECTIVE INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS WITH STAFF RESPONSIBLE FOR ELL STUDENTS

(Thank you for agreeing to this interview. The contents of this interview and your identities are completely confidential to this research.)

1. For this retrospective interview, would you please reflect on how the year has progressed with ELL, seeing them as new community members over the more established school communities?
2. What aspects do you think has been the area of most success/concern?
3. Have there been any special experiences that have caused you to think about changing any ELL systems or practices, or any future plans?
4. Have there been any changes in the priorities that you have made about who you are answerable to in relation to your place in the school? Please discuss some consequences of this.
5. There is a recent initiative to place Māori and Pasifika peoples as indigenous to NZ? What are your views on this?
6. What are your views of the role of the New Zealand Curriculum Document and what it states about diversity?
7. When, if ever, would you need to access official policies relating to cultural and linguistic diversity in the school, very much?

(Thank you very much for the interview)

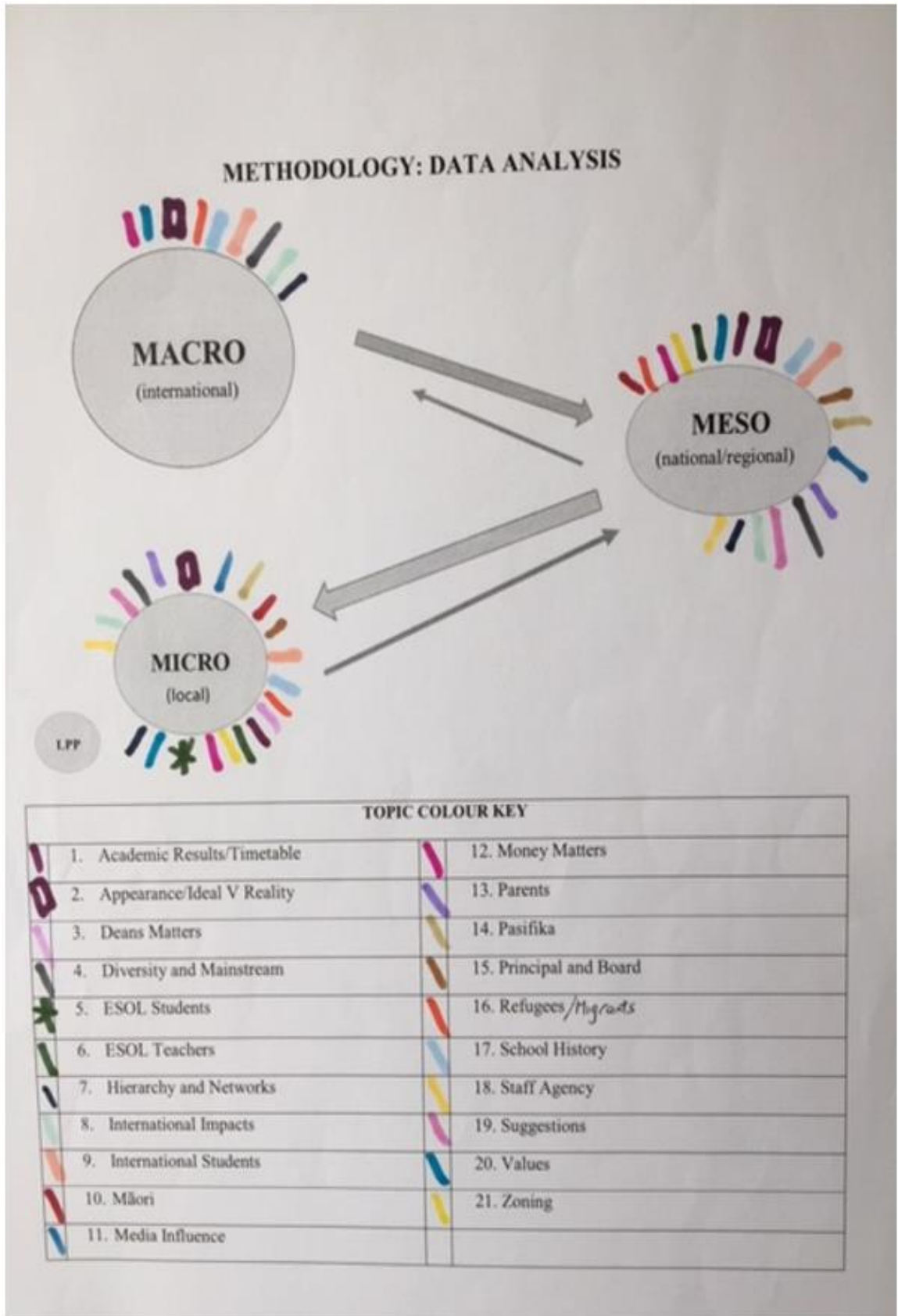
## Appendix 17: Documentation

DOCUMENTATION	MOUNTFORT	PATTON	WORDSWORTH
<b>ESOL DEPARTMENT MATERIAL</b>	2014 end-of-year ESOL report; ESOL magazines: 2014 (Vol 1, Issue 1) 2015 (Vol 1, Issue 1,2) 2016 (Vol 1, Issue 1,2); <b>Timetables</b> of selected senior ESOL students from HOD for classroom observation planning	<b>EAP resources</b> 22750, 22751 from HOD; <b>Handout</b> from HOD: 'Case study: A diverse student body at Patton'; <b>Timetables</b> of selected senior ESOL students from HOD for classroom observation planning	<b>EAP resources</b> 22750, 22751 from HOD; <b>Timetables</b> of selected senior ESOL students from HOD for classroom observation planning
<b>SCHOOL PUBLICATIONS</b>	School newsletters March-November 2017; School magazines 2016, 2017; Senior Curriculum Handbook 2017	School magazine 2017  (Extra: SM's own cartoon from office wall)	School magazines 2016, 2017; Senior Curriculum Handbook 2017; 2018
<b>WEBSITES</b>	School material in 'Education Counts' website July 2016-2017; July 2017-2018; School's own website	School material in 'Education Counts' website July 2016-2017; July 2017-2018; School's own website	School material in 'Education Counts' website July 2016-2017; July 2017-2018; School's own website
<b>GENERAL: NEWSPAPERS</b>	<p><b>Dominion Post</b> March 19<sup>th</sup> 2019 (p. 17): 'White supremacy is a part of us' by Anne Salmond</p> <p><b>Dominion Post</b> March 2<sup>nd</sup> 2019 (p. C1-2): 'Mind the (education) gap' by Rob Mitchell</p> <p><b>Dominion Post</b> January 18<sup>th</sup> 2019 (p. 1): 'Two capital schools top largest donations' by Josephine Franks</p> <p><b>Dominion Post</b> Thursday June 7<sup>th</sup> 2018 (p. 22-3): 'Do it for your kids' by Caroline Botting</p> <p><b>The Tribune</b> January 17<sup>th</sup> 2018 (p. 30): 'Italian football camp helps refugee teens' by Shaun Eade</p> <p><b>The Press</b> March 22<sup>nd</sup> 2017 (p. A9): 'Good news for the city's ...' editorial writer unnamed</p>		
<b>MAGAZINE</b>	<b>Metro</b> July-August 2017: 'Perfect Storm' by Matt Zwartz (p.34-51)		

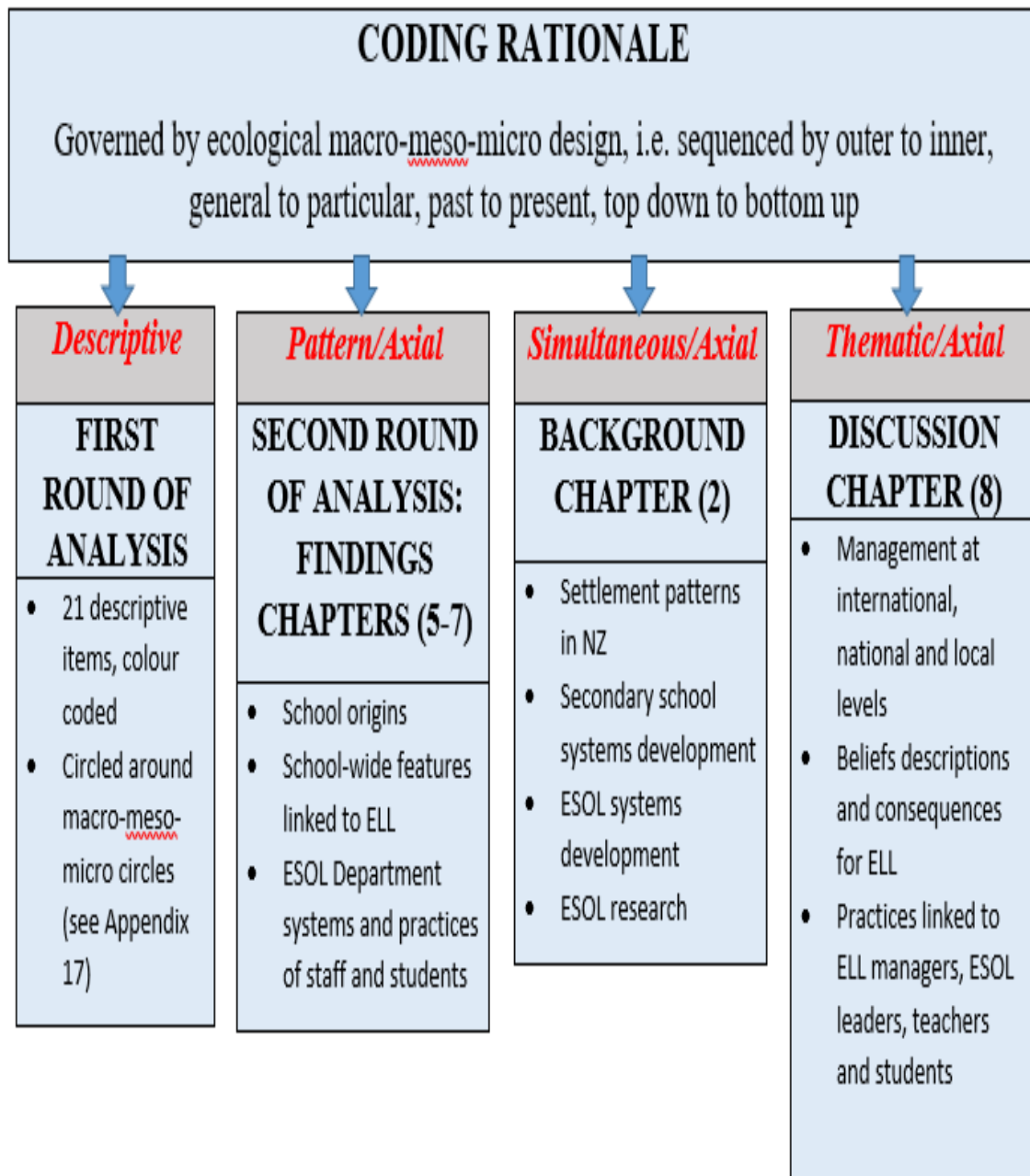
## Appendix 18: Data analysis indicators used during transcription

<b>12 font</b>	Standard transcript font
<b>14 font capitals</b>	Emphasised speech
<b>16 font capitals</b>	Very emphasised speech
<b>Italics</b>	Change of tone
<b>.....</b>	Pause
<b>PPPPPP</b>	Long pause
<b>(laugh)</b>	Laugh
<b>block style</b>	For interview questions
<b>repeated letters</b>	For word lengthening e.g. weeeeeeeeeeeee
<b>Rustle, rustle</b>	Turning pages or looking for material
<b>Word and number abbreviation</b>	Where possible, e.g.: 1-10, words like quals for qualifications, also as in Glossary

## Appendix 19: List of descriptive data analysis topics



## Appendix 20: Coding rationale



## Appendix 21: List of interview abbreviations for chapters 5-7

### 18 a. For Chapter Five Mountfort

<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATED INTERVIEW MATERIAL</b>	
(ESOLTFGM1)	ELL Department Teacher Focus group Mountfort 1
(ELLSFGM1)	ELL Department Student Focus Group Mountfort 1
(MTFGM1)	Mainstream Teacher Focus group M1
(CynthiaM1, M2 M3)	Cynthia Mountfort: 1, 2, 3 Interviews
(JosephM1, M2)	Joseph Mountfort: 1, 2 Interviews
(RupertM1, M2)	Rupert Mountfort: 1, 2 Interviews
(DysartM1, M2)	Dysart Mountfort: 1, 2 Interviews
(BillM1, M2)	Bill Mountfort: 1, 2 Interviews
(FelixM1)	Felix Mountfort: 1 interview
(NuggetM1)	Nugget Mountfort: 1 Interview
(PeneM1)	Pene Mountfort: 1 Interview
(JaneM1)	Jane Mountfort: I Interview
(ObservationM1, M2, M3)	Observations Mountfort 1, 2, 3

### 18 b. For Chapter Six Patton

<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATED INTERVIEW MATERIAL</b>	
(ITFGP1)	International Teacher Focus Group Patton 1
(ISFGP1)	International Student Focus Group Patton 1
(NKTFGP1)	New Kiwi Teacher Focus Group Patton 1
(NKSFGP1)	New Kiwi Student Focus Group Patton 1
(MTFGP1)	Mainstream Teacher Focus Group Patton 1
(BFGP1)	Board Focus Group Patton1
(CurlyP1,P2,P3)	Curly Patton:1,2,3 Interviews
(HGP1,P2)	Head Gardener Patton: 1,2 Interviews
(RosieP1,P2)	Rosie Patton: 1,2 Interviews
(AlbertP1)	Albert Patton: 1
(CharlieP1)	Charlie Patton: 1
(VidaP1)	Vida Patton: 1
(AdaP1)	Ada Patton: 1

(ObservationP1, P2, P3)	Observations Patton 1, 2, 3
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**18 c. For Chapter Seven Wordsworth**

<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATED INTERVIEW MATERIAL</b>	
(ESOLTFGW1)	ESOL Teacher Focus Group Wordsworth 1
(ESOLSFGW1)	ESOL Student Focus Group Wordsworth 1
(MTFGW1)	Mainstream Teacher Focus Group Wordsworth 1
(CameronW1,2,3)	Cameron Wordsworth: 1, 2, 3 Interviews
(JasmineW1,W2)	Jasmine Wordsworth: 1, 2 Interviews
(BettyW1,W2)	Betty Wordsworth: 1, 2 Interviews
(SarahW1)	Sarah Wordsworth: 1
(ZaraW1)	Zara Wordsworth: 1
(SamW1)	Sam Wordsworth: 1
(SandyW1)	Sandy Wordsworth: 1
(TaraW1)	Tara Wordsworth: 1
(AlexW1)	Alex Wordsworth: 1
(Observation W1, W2, W3)	Observations Wordsworth: 1, 2, 3