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ABSTRACT
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ensure that they maintain their roots and develop their wings. (Contains 99
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A Review of the Literature

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Education plays a primary role in ensuring language maintenance and school success in Saskatchewan, Canada, and around the world. Language includes both "standardized" language and vernacular dialects. This document reviews the literature related to teaching English as a Second Dialect in school. The review covers information on the problems and challenges faced by speakers of minority languages including social and cultural processes and implications of language maintenance as well as how languages are taught and learned in school. It also includes literature on best practices in teaching English as a Second Dialect (ESD). This review will have relevance for teachers, curriculum developers, administrators and policy-makers working in ESD, particularly those in Saskatchewan and Canada who want to address challenges in teaching ESD to Aboriginal students and ensure that they maintain their roots and develop their wings.

This review can also be found on the following Website
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Authors' Biographies

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There are only two lasting bequests that we can leave to our children:

one is roots; the other, wings. (Anonymous)

Introduction to the Literature Review

Education plays a major role in language maintenance and school success in Saskatchewan, Canada, and around the world. This document reviews the literature related to teaching English as a Second Dialect (ESD) in schools, and for the purpose of this discussion, "language" refers to both "standardized" language and vernacular dialects. The review covers information on the barriers and challenges faced by speakers of minority languages, including social and cultural processes and implications of language maintenance. It also considers how languages are taught and learned in school and includes literature on best practices in teaching ESD. This review will have relevance for teachers, curriculum developers, administrators, and policymakers working in ESD, particularly those in Saskatchewan and Canada who want to address the challenges in teaching ESD to Aboriginal students and ensure that they maintain their roots and develop their wings.

Background

The Reviewers' Perspective

It is important to state at the outset that this literature review is not entirely objective. The authors' comments throughout demonstrate strong support for the need to maintain linguistic and cultural diversity, and to view dialect as valid and useful in education and in teaching Standard English (SE).

Significant Statistics

It has been reported that as of January 2003 1.3 million people, or 3.3% of the Canadian population claims Aboriginal ancestry compared to an increase of 3.4% in the non-Aboriginal population (CBC National News, January 22, 2003). This represents a 22% jump in population amongst Aboriginal people in 5 years (Foot, 2003). Canada's Aboriginal population is the second highest in the world, after New Zealand with a Maori population of 14%. The Canadian province of Saskatchewan has the second highest Aboriginal population in Canada; Manitoba ranks highest. With respect to language, however, since the 1996 census, the number of North American Indians, Inuit, and Metis speaking their ancestral languages dropped by 29%, and only 3.5% now claim an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue (CBC News, 2003). Cree is

still a major Aboriginal language in Canada, but the number of people "who spoke Cree as their first language dropped by 6.2 per cent, from 82,420 in 1996 to 77,285 in 2001" (ibid.). Most Cree speakers live in Saskatchewan.

In Saskatchewan, Aboriginal students reflect a broad cultural and linguistic diversity. Today, 50% of the Aboriginal population is under 25 years of age (CBC News, 2003). According to Saskatchewan Education's 2001 survey on ESL/ESD in Saskatchewan, Aboriginal students make up 74% of the province's total ESL/ESD student population, not including those in band schools on reserves. These young students are Saskatchewan's future workforce and it is crucial for them and the population of Saskatchewan that they be well prepared to enter it. We believe that ESD will help ensure their roots are strong. This will in turn give them the wings to fly and contribute to the life of this province.

Aboriginal students come to schools speaking an Aboriginal language or a vernacular dialect of English at home and in their communities. A vernacular dialect of English is defined as "a particular social or geographical variety of English that is not the standard one" (Wolfram, et al., 1999, p. 2). Indigenous English (or Aboriginal English) is a broad term referring to a variety of dialects of English spoken by many Indian and Metis peoples. Because vernacular dialects of English are strongly influenced by Aboriginal languages, Aboriginal students develop distinctive pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, discourse and pragmatic usage, which is different from those of the SE used in schools. Those Aboriginal students speaking vernacular dialect of English are recognized as learners of ESD. As there is no truly single Standard English in the world, (i.e., in the US, Canada, Australia, or Britain), Standard English can be defined as "a collection of the socially preferred dialects from various parts of the United States and other English speaking countries" (Wolfram, et al., 1999, p. 17) and it is the language used in print and media, and is taught in schools. Although dialect can be referred to as "standard," and "nonstandard," or "vernacular," all dialects are legitimate and rule-governed languages.

Characteristics of Aboriginal Students

Aboriginal students are distinctive in terms of their diverse social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds (Heit & Blair, 1993, Burnaby, 1982, Garret, 1996, Faries, 1991, Toohey, 1985). Unlike immigrant and other language minority English as a second language (ESL) students, Aboriginal students live and study in a variety of situations in Saskatchewan and in Canada. Most attend school in remote rural northern communities, on reserves and in band areas where they use their Aboriginal languages or an English vernacular for most of their communications. Some Aboriginal students attend school in urban and southern regions (Burnaby, 1982, 1987, Heir & Blair, 1993, Faries, 1991).

> English is clearly a powerful force. The majority of Aboriginal people have English as their
> mother tongue... If they use a second language in the home, that language is most likely to be

English. There is a considerable amount of Aboriginal language/English bilingualism in the Aboriginal language speaking population" (Burnaby and Beaujot, 1986, p. xi).

Because English is the medium of instruction (MOI) for Aboriginal students with little emphasis on their needs as English as a second language or dialect, they are disadvantaged at school compared with nonAboriginal students (Burnaby, 1982, Faries, 1991, Hewitt, 2000).

Aboriginal students represent a variety of linguistic backgrounds—some are monolingual in an Aboriginal language, English, or French, while some speak a dialect of English, and others are bilingual in an Aboriginal language or a dialect of English together with some degree of English (Heit & Blair, 1993, Burnaby, 1982, Tavares, 2002).

Challenges in Teaching ESD Students: The Sociocultural Model

These diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds present compelling challenges for those teaching Aboriginal students. To address these challenges, studies have been conducted to identify the specific educational barriers and problems facing Aboriginal students and to try to identify effective instructional practices to meet their needs. Virginia Collier's (1995) model provides a comprehensive analysis of the complex processes of acquiring a second language in school. She outlines four interdependent components affecting a student's overall growth and future success: "Sociocultural processes, Language development, Academic and Cognitive development" (ibid., p. 2) Collier states that "sociocultural processes strongly influence, in both positive and negative ways, students' access to cognitive, academic, and language development and the development of any one of academic, cognitive and linguistic components depends critically on simultaneous development of the other two, through both first and second languages" (p. 3). Because Collier recognizes that it is the combination of these components that is important, the implications of this conceptual model are worth pursuing in teaching ESD for Aboriginal students.

Collier's (1995) model may provide a more comprehensive account of the problems, challenges, and opportunities for improvement than have previous studies. Some research investigates the crucial role of sociocultural contexts in teaching ESD for Aboriginal students while another group of studies examines the role of sociolinguistics in promoting cognitive, academic, and language development (Collier, 1995, Malcolm, et al., 1999, Faries, 1991, Wolfram, et al., 1999, Burnaby, 1982). From the combination of the sociocultural, sociolinguistic, and linguistic perspectives, studies conclude that the education system is not adequately meeting the linguistic needs of Aboriginal students (Faries, 1991).

Suggestions for Improving ESD Instruction

To meet the challenges affecting Aboriginal students' school success, the literature identifies and suggests a number of solutions in the areas of curriculum, ESD approaches, and effective pedagogy. Several studies

identify inadequate teacher training, too few Aboriginal teachers, limited culturally relevant curricula and resources, and low levels of funding as the main barriers to Aboriginal students' academic success (Burnaby, 1982, Smith, 1999, Frasier, 1995). These studies point out that school curricula and instruction are irrelevant to Aboriginal students' lives, needs, and learning styles (Burnaby, 1982). Yet other studies focus on the sociolinguistic analysis of the characteristics and differences between vernacular dialects of English and Standard English as well as the attitudes towards them (Goodwin, 1998, Adger, 1997, Malcolm, 1999, Rickford, 1998, Heit & Blair, 1993). Kathleen Heugh and Amanda Siegrühn (1995) point to teacher education programs that equip teachers who know the languages of their students and that include intensive practice in the types of contexts in which they will teach.

II. Examining the Roots: Challenges in Teaching ESD Students

1. Historical and Current Sociocultural Inequities in Schools

The issues facing those teaching ESD to Aboriginal students are embedded within the larger historical, social, and cultural context of Aboriginal education (Collier, 1995). Research provides an overview of the sociocultural contexts of Aboriginal education, including educational policies in federal schools in bands, historical contexts, issues of self-determination, (Treaty) Indians' control of education, the socioeconomic conditions of Aboriginal students, and maintenance of Aboriginal languages (Barman, et al., 1987, Szasz, 1974, Garrett, 1996, Haig-Brown, 1995, Beck, 2000, Smith, 1991). Some of this research demonstrates that sociocultural contexts strongly influence, in both positive and negative ways, students' cognitive, academic, and language development (Collier, 1995). Other studies conclude that the school learning environment is not inclusive and that it does not recognize Aboriginal students' cultural and language experiences. Further, school is not a friendly place for them to learn because of inequities in educational system (Barman, et al., 1987, Szasz, 1974, Garrett, 1996, Haig-Brown, 1995, Collier, 1995, Toohey, 1985).

The historical inequities in the education of Aboriginal people is today recognized as a major cause of loss of Aboriginal languages, cultural heritage and identity (Barman, et al., 1987, Szasz, 1974, Garrett, 1996, Haig-Brown, 1995, Collier, 1995, BC Human Rights Commission, 2001). Many Aboriginal students may still experience both institutional and individual racism in schools resulting dropout. Mary, an Aboriginal student talked about her experiencing racism at school (cited in Haig-Brown, 1995):

> They didn't like me because I was an Indian. They used to just throw things at me and laugh at me. I didn't realize there was this big difference between Indians and Europeans. I found out at grade 3. I just got angry about it. I backed away from education. I backed away from the teachers, so I just stopped doing my schoolwork. (p. 113)

Yet, in South Africa it has been found that when students respect and speak each other's languages, they tend to mix socially and enhance the feeling of belonging that students need (de Klerk, 1995c). Negative experiences and attitudes toward their dialect can result in student rebellion, failure and withdrawal from schools (Heit & Blair, 1993).

The Barrier of Economic Inequity

In addition to the inequities in education noted above, social and economic inequity also contributes to unfavorable learning environments and prevents Aboriginal students from fully participating in school (BC Human Rights Commission, 2001, Smith, 1999). Sullivan (1988) states that: "unless the health, social, and economic conditions of Native lives are generally improved, the problems of language development and lower-than-average educational attainments levels will regrettably remain a part of the Native experience at schools" (cited in BC Human Rights Commission, 2001, p. 49). Alexander (1995a) contends that language policies related to language minority students must also take socioeconomic conditions into account.

Some cite insufficient financial support as a principle barrier in education (Smith, 1999, Yurkovich, 2001) and insufficient financial resources to meet the needs of Aboriginal students living in lower social economic conditions (Beck, 2000). These conditions are experienced by both urban and rural Aboriginal students and include coping with poverty, safety, abuse, violence, dysfunction, poor nutrition and health conditions, and lack of food, warm clothing, and transportation (BC Human Rights, 2001, Smith, 1999, Guerrero, 1999). Beck (2000) reports that Native American children and families are more likely to be poverty stricken than the majority of American people, and "47% of Native American children live in families classified as poor and near poor" (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 1998, p. 16, cite in Beck, 2000, p. 7). Moreover, Native Americans remain among the least educated ethnic groups in the US (Yurkovich, 2001). In Canada, educators need to be aware of the combination of challenges in the lives of Aboriginal students' in order to implement effective intervention strategies that promote their school success (Smith, 1999).

Internal Barriers

Internal factors affecting Aboriginal students' second language acquisition include individual variables such as low cultural identity, lack of confidence and self-esteem, anxiety, and other affective factors (Collier, 1995, Fraiser, 1995). Studies conclude that the Aboriginal students' educational barriers and problems in schools are caused by a social and cultural environment that is alien to many of their experiences, that is, there is little connection between their lives at home and at school (Fraiser, 1995). Because of their different cultural values and backgrounds, they also experience conflict or confusion with mainstream school culture (Smith, 1999, Taras, 1996, Haig-Brown, 1995, Guerrero, 1999, Hewitt, 2000). Some may find social integration more difficult as they go through the educational system, and the clash of world views and cultures increasingly contributes to low self-esteem, anxiety, isolation, and alienation at school (Haig-Brown, 1995, Guerrero, 1999, Hewitt, 2000). Aboriginal students in post-secondary education

also experience problems in adjusting emotionally and socially to the college culture and educational system (Guerrero, 1999, Aragon, 1998, Yurkovich, 2001).

Withdrawal from School: Causes and Statistics

The combination of so many factors may lead Aboriginal students to feel there is no reason for attending and continuing school. Consequently, their achievement level remains well below the national average (Szasz, 1974), and high attrition continues. Burnaby (1982) points out: "Lack of success in school is a chronic problem for Native students in all types of communities, on reserve, off reserve, in remote and urban areas, and in federal, provincial and private schooling" (p. 14–15). Education Indicators (Sask. Education 1998) reports the Aboriginal population has lower educational levels than the nonAboriginal population in Saskatchewan K–12 schools. In 1997/98, the grade 12, withdrawal rate for Aboriginal students was 100%, compared to 22.75% in the nonAboriginal student population (University of Sask., 1999). Statistics Canada's 1996 census data regarding Aboriginal and nonAboriginal populations by educational attainment in Saskatchewan shows that 23.1% of the Aboriginal population have less than grade 9 education, compared to 12.3% of the nonAboriginal population (statistics cited in Saskatchewan Educational Indicators, 1999, p. 62). The data also indicates that of the total number of students in Grades 9 to 13 without high school diplomas, 35.4% are Aboriginal compared to 29.4% in the nonAboriginal population (ibid., p. 62). This situation is similar across Canada. For example, in BC, only 38% of Aboriginal students graduated from grade 12, as compared to 77% of non-Aboriginal students (BC Ministry of Education, 2000, cited in BC Human Rights Commission Report, 2001, p.2). However, studies are often too general to identify the significant and specific factors contributing to the causes of student attrition, especially the role of language instruction.

In Support of Language and Dialect Maintenance

Arguments justifying the importance of linguistic diversity are convincing (Cummins, 2003, Reyhner, 1996, Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). One need only examine the facts to confirm that language loss is an accelerating global phenomenon (Chrystal, 1997). Loss of Indigenous languages has been especially alarming in New Zealand, Australia, the US, Canada (Associated Press, 2003, BBC News, 2001, Burnaby, 1996, Crawford, 1996, Johansen, 2000, Krauss, 1996, Reyhner, 1996, Statistics Canada, 1996) as a working knowledge of English becomes increasingly important for industry, commerce, education, and, perhaps most importantly, for employment. Language loss is "an intellectual and social tragedy" (Crystal, 1997, p. 17) that is accompanied by the replacement of those languages with the western ideology associated with a more dominant language and culture—English (Master, 1998, p. 718). It is important to be aware that language, whether it be a "standard" language or vernacular dialect, involves more than oral and written communication. It is also tied to values, culture, identity, history, literature, self-esteem and understanding of self, concept formation, and worldview. Languages and cultures are priceless resources. Once lost and replaced by a new language and worldview, they are impossible to regain. Without linguistic

and cultural diversity our world would be colourless, our perceptions narrow, our knowledge limited, our human neighbours' spirits reduced, and our peaceful goals at risk (Epstein, 1999a)!

Education is central in language maintenance. Inappropriate attitudes toward language and dialects are equivalent to destroying children's roots and snipping their wings. Cummins (2003) notes

> When bilingual students are instructed, explicitly or implicitly, to leave their
> language and culture at the schoolhouse door, they are also being told that everything
> they have learned from parents and grandparents up to this point in their lives has no
> value; the language through which they have expressed themselves up to this point in
> their lives has no value and must be replaced by a superior model. In such
> classrooms, human potential is being diminished. (p. 5)

Educators that are sensitized to the implications of language loss and aware of the power of English as well as the legitimacy of dialects and their value in teaching are much more able to address the needs of their students and implement the best practices outlined in this literature review.

2. Problems and Challenges: Language Learning in Schools

Introduction
Students who have difficulty understanding English, the MOI, will naturally have difficulties in all of their school subjects (Burnaby, 1982, Faries, 1991). Central to this issue is the role and impact of the process of English language instruction.

Cultivating L1
Although research confirms the important role of the students' first or home language (L1) in education, L1 is not cultivated and utilized effectively to support academic and language learning (Burnaby, 1982, Heit & Blair, 1993, Faries, 1991). By employing English as the only MOI in northern communities, schools do not meet the linguistic needs of students who speak an Aboriginal languages, (Burnaby, 1982, Fairies, 1991). Emily Faries (1991) points out that although Aboriginal language is taught as a school subject, it does not play a significant role across the curriculum and consequently Aboriginal languages in Canada are not thriving.

Materials

Research shows that success has been achieved in some bilingual or bidialectal programs in the US, Australia, and Canada, however some of these programs were discontinued because of major implementation obstacles. First, compared with bilingual education for French and heritage language students in Canada, bilingual programs for Aboriginal students, in which both Aboriginal languages and English are used as the MOI, lack popularity. Although they want their dialects to be recognized and respected in schools, some Aboriginal parents believe that teaching dialect would affect their children's success in learning SE (Rickford, 1997, Burnaby, 1982, Epstein, 1999c, Goodwin, 1998). A second obstacle in implementing these programs is the lack of teaching materials for Aboriginal languages, dialects, and culture. Shirley Fredeen (1990) notes that although library resources are critical to the success of the whole language and student-centred approach, there is a scarcity of English language arts teaching appropriate and relevant materials suitable for the range of teaching situations in northern Saskatchewan. Burnaby (1982) points out that most ESL material development in Canada is directed towards the needs of immigrant students and is often culturally inappropriate for Aboriginal schools. Moreover, the lack of experienced bilingual teaching staff and insufficient funding further hinder the development of the bilingual and Aboriginal language programs (Szasz, 1974, Burnaby, 1982, Faries, 1991). Some Sask. teachers (Epstein, 2003) are frustrated with the resource-based approach and call for series of textbooks to ensure consistency in content coverage among their often transient students.

The Role of Dialects to Support Aboriginal Education

Vernacular dialects play an important role in teaching ESD students. Some studies find that dialect differences can affect the quality of education both academically and socially, and the attitudes of teachers, school administrators, and other students can ultimately have a tremendous impact on the Aboriginal students (Christian, 1997). Ignoring dialect differences can potentially affect the quality of education in the following two ways. According to Walt Wolfram, et al. (1999), "a child's dialect may interfere with the acquisition of various skills, (such as reading)" (p. 23) and concept learning. Second, there is a "social consequence [to] being a member of a different dialect group" (p. 23) because dialect-based stereotyping, which can have a tremendous impact on the education process. Teachers with insufficient training, may develop misconceptions and negative attitudes towards the role of vernacular dialects of English in schools. Debates on the attitudes about the legitimacy of dialects among educators focus on the role of dialect in education in general and in teaching ESD in particular (Malcolm, 2001, Goodwin, 1998). Attitudes on dialects and professional development on dialect difference will be discussed later in this review.

Challenges in Reading and Writing

Some studies confirm that Aboriginal students do not perform well in language learning, especially in reading and writing. Dialect-speaking students in the US have limited oral and written proficiency in English and limited written proficiency in their home language (Kitano & Espinosa, 1995). Toohey (1985) found that Aboriginal students were still not proficient in English after six or seven years of English-medium schooling (cited in Faries, 1991). Aboriginal parents maintain that the schools are failing to teach Aboriginal students to read because instruction does not take into account the language differences in their children's vernacular dialect (Christian, 1997). It has been found that although all students confront the differences between written and spoken language, the language used in school subjects differ more for vernacular dialect students than for the speakers of SE. This is because dialect speakers, especially those from an oral tradition, are unfamiliar with formal language structures that occur only in writing (Wolfram, et al., 1999). "The Nation's Report Card: Fourth-Grade Reading 2000" (Donahue, et al., 2001, cited in Reyhner, 2001, p. 1) in the US reports only 43% of Native Americans reading at or above a basic level versus 73% of nonAboriginal students. Some Aboriginal students are also resistant to reading and writing because teachers continually correct their attempts. English idioms and the fact that instruction is often decontextualized also affect their comprehension. One of the major problems in Aboriginal students' writing is dialect interference, and dialect differences in pronunciation, spelling, grammar, and discourse patterns are reflected in their writing (Toohey, 1985, Clarke, 1983). Teachers, may not realize that the differences in their students' writing are caused by dialect differences, and rather than focusing on meaning, the teacher may interpret writing differences as language deficiencies requiring correction (Clarke, 1983, Bashman & Kwachka, 1989, Blackburn & Stern, 2000). A study by Charlotte Bashman & Patricia Kwachka (1989) on the use of variation in student writing found that Alaskan students constantly and "systematically use specific aspects of English grammar to encode their own distinct social values and pragmatic perspectives" (p. 130). They believe that this strategy contributes to students' efforts to maintain their cultural and ethnic identity in academic writing (ibid.).

Also affecting their academic success is the fact that Aboriginal students may not be familiar with the academic writing conventions required by schools (Bashman & Kwachka, 1989). Studies in US classrooms with dialect-speaking students show that ethnically based and unique narrative styles exist in students' writing across different ethnic groups. For example, "topic-centered versus topic-associating styles" (Sato, 1989, p. 270) and "topic-comment structures" (Coleman, 199, p. 491) may affect their academic writing. Bashman & and Kwachka add that "these dialect features are problematic at all levels, not so much because they are 'errors'" (p. 42), but because they reflect the distance between the students expectations about successful discourse and those of schools. Some researchers have thoroughly documented dialect features used in students' writing as well as the compensatory strategies used by Aboriginal students (Clarke, 1983,

Edwards, 1980, Bashman & Kwachka, 1989, Coleman, 1997). Teachers need to recognize these factors in the writing of their Aboriginal students.

Lack of Language Support

Because many Aboriginal students speak a fluent dialect of English, teachers and school administrators may think that those students do not have language problems, especially after early years in schools where English is the MOI. Faries (1991) notes that teaching ESL is not recognized as a priority in the education of Aboriginal students, and there is insufficient recognition that English is the second language for many of those students. Kelleen Toohey (1985) reported that some educators stated " problems with school work are not linguistic problems..." (p. 278). As a result, many schools with a majority population of Aboriginal students, (e.g., reserves, band schools, and some schools in the northern regions) do not have any ESD support for Aboriginal students in regular classrooms, and teachers don't have training in ESL or ESD (Burnaby, 1982, Toohey, 1985, Faries, 1991). According to the needs assessment on ESL/ESD in Saskatchewan (Sask. Education, 2000), many students are not getting the ESL or ESD support they need at school. Although technically each school division is responsible for allocation of ESL/ESD funding, a forum with middle years teachers in northern Saskatchewan revealed the perception that such funding is allocated primarily to K–3 education. Therefore, older students sometimes receive less intensive ESL or ESD. As a result, "they may not have developed more than a conversational variety of English language proficiency" (Fredeen, 1990, p. 4). Aboriginal students' language problems become most apparent at the secondary level where the language demands of the core subject area become more difficult (Sask. Education, 2000) and where Aboriginal students need to effectively handle cognitive learning tasks (Fredeen, 1990).

Educator' Lack of Knowledge about Dialect Differences: Affects on Identifying Students' Academic Needs and Gifts

Teachers' lack of knowledge and training in language variation often results in invalid assessments of the language abilities of dialect-speaking students. Too few teachers know about their students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds or understand the challenges inherent in learning to use SE (Fillmore, 2000). As a result, today's teaching force may not be well equipped to help language minority students and those who speak vernacular dialects of English be successful in school (Fillmore, 2000). The result of this inadequate professional development is that some teachers view dialects as linguistically and socially unacceptable (Malcolm, 1995). When a teacher underestimates a student's ability because of a dialect difference, the student may do less well in school. The over-representation of Aboriginal students and other dialect-speaking students in special education with the exception of the gifted category, both in Canada and the US, suggests that use of a dialects of English are often misinterpreted as developmental delays (Fillmore, 2000, Flores et al., 1991, Christian, 1997). Dialect difference is also recognized as a barrier to identify and promote dialect-speaking children into gifted programs.

III. Developing Wings: Appropriate Practices in Teaching ESD for Aboriginal Students

Introduction

Language specialists are attempting to find the solutions and implement best practices that will address Aboriginal students' educational challenges in efforts overcome what Cummins (2003) has criticized as "anemic teacher proof instructional vision[s]" imposed by "one-size-fits-all" instruction that does not allow teachers to connect "…at a human level with culturally and linguistically diverse students." (p. 5). Following are some of these approaches and innovations.

1. Promoting an Inclusive Learning Environment

Research reveals that many Aboriginal people think that an inclusive and friendly school environment promotes the success of Aboriginal students. A culturally inclusive environment is a safe place for Aboriginal students to learn, to have a sense of family, and to have a strong support (Haig-Brown, 1995). Doug Hewitt (2000) points out that "blaming the victim," (p. 114, i.e., blaming students) for learning failures "is both simplistic and inappropriate" (p. 115) because many factors contribute to learning, including "schools, teachers, and [the] education system, as well as the students" (p. 115). Therefore, putting Aboriginal students in remedial classes and having low academic expectations can only prolong educational inequality (ibid.). Improved attitudes that respect and include Aboriginal culture and languages in education and a more friendly sociocultural learning environment for them have resulted in a number of initiatives.

The Sacred Circle project, implemented in 1983–1985, provides a unique, culturally relevant, and effective educational program. The program addresses the complex of sociocultural processes involved in facilitating the successful integration of Aboriginal students into urban communities in the Edmonton Public School District. Using a Circle as a symbol to represent the traditional Aboriginal perspective in life, this project provides a broad range of initiatives appropriate for Aboriginal and nonAboriginal students as well as for administrative and teaching staff. Project staff include Native-home-school liaison services, Native studies consultant services, a Native education resource center, Native cross-cultural awareness and training components, and curriculum and materials development resources (Douglas, in Barman, et al., 1987). Circle programs have also been implemented in Ontario and Saskatchewan with good results (Fredeen, 1990). Similar large-scale projects in Australia such as "Language and Communication Enhancement for Two-Way Education" (Malcolm, et al., 1995) and "Towards More User-Friendly Education for Speakers of Aboriginal English" (Malcolm, et al., 1999) are examples of educational initiatives addressing barriers and challenges in the sociocultural process in order to provide a better educational experiences for Aboriginal students. These projects promote the concept of two-way educational experiences for students in which

both Aboriginal and mainstream cultures and languages are accepted and taught. Based on the cooperative involvement of Aboriginal and nonAboriginal people, these projects have developed culturally relevant training programs for teachers of Aboriginal students and have resulted in bidialectal research, curriculum development, and pedagogical innovation.

Incorporating Coping and Learning Strategies

In order to help Aboriginal students cope with negative experiences, unfamiliar expectations, tension, anxiety, low self-esteem, and culture shock in schools, there is a need to develop their coping skills and learning strategies (Guerrero, 1999). Such strategies include "establishing Aboriginal cross-cultural mentoring relationships, creating Native American based support systems, determinations motivated by the need to give back to community and recognizing the significance of spiritual dimensions in their lives" (Guerrero, 1999, p. 128). Eleanor Yurkovich (2001, p. 1) lists the following seven abilities that indicate student success: ability to (1) focus on goals, (2) adjust to the dominant culture, (3) invest in self-assessment, (4) develop assertive skills, (5) establish a support community, (6) socialize into roles of student, and (7) master content." Some Aboriginal students in higher education identify "a need to overcome an abuse mentality,…an inner struggle to eradicate a poor self image brought on by years of family violence, substance abuse and deep seeded negative stereotypes about Indian people as a whole" (Guerrero, 1999, p. 128). John Taras' (1996) project with urban Aboriginal high school students also demonstrates the importance of learning strategies in supporting Aboriginal students' academic success. He identifies self-directed learning as an effective learning strategy for Aboriginal students. In self-directed learning, students make decisions about what they believe is important to learn and what materials are relevant and important, and they take an active part in assessment of their own learning (Taras, 1996).

Community and Parental Involvement

Also discussed in the literature, is the importance of joint efforts between an inclusive school, the home, and the community (Faries, 1991, Smith, 1999, McGroarty, 1998). Community and parental involvement is recognized as important in addressing the challenges in social and cultural contexts that affect Aboriginal students' school success (Faries, 1991, McGroarty,1998, Smith, 1999, Taras, 1996). McGroarty (1998) adds that school-parent-community partnerships, particularly when they involve L1 and cultural understanding, can be transformative, possibly leading to policy improvements and curriculum reform.

Aboriginal parents are very interested in their children's education (Smith, 1999). These parents and their communities have many significant roles to play in helping Aboriginal students' achieve success. Aboriginal parents can be invited to schools to help students understand their own culture and language, or work in ESL or ESD classrooms as volunteers to support teaching and learning (Taras, 1996, McGroarty, 1998). They can also participate as translators of language and culture and bridge life at home and at school (Robb, 1995). Rama Aginhotri (1995) calls for the active involvement of parents and communities on a number of fronts including curriculum and syllabus planning as well as materials development. He notes

that through such involvement, content will be more locally relevant. Based on his study in an inner city elementary school, Douglas Smith (1999) demonstrates that integrated school, home, and community interventions are needed to establish culturally appropriate instruction and create an inclusive learning environment for Aboriginal students.

Mary McGroarty's (1998) study in this area identifies a number of obstacles to school-parent-community partnerships including lack of financial, human, and space resources to establish, develop and maintain these relationships. Partnerships are often fragile, depending upon the leadership of a few. She adds that there needs to be attitude change and commitment on the part of all stakeholders, suggesting that partnerships need not be led only by teachers and school administrators, but also by community and cultural groups as well as teachers' organizations (e.g., Sask. Teachers' Federation.). She adds that the business community, which has a vested interest in an educated future workforce, can lead such partnerships. She notes that partnerships depend on a "climate of respect for students and families and commitment" (p. 22) to work together. She notes that educators need to be flexible, respectful, understanding, creative, and open-minded so that they value what parents and communities bring culturally and linguistically to the partnership and ultimately their children's education. She encourages teachers to do research on the communities of their students and to incorporate what they learn into their curricula. McGroarty offers many additional suggestions to facilitate partnerships, including the following: make partnerships a priority; provide stable, consistent resource allocation to the establishment and maintenance of partnerships; make the school an open, friendly place; encourage informal and formal opportunities for parents and community members to come to the school (e.g., orientations, parent-teacher meeting, social events, guest speakers, parent aides); have translators available for verbal and written communications; have regular communications with parents; have spaces in the school where parents can work with children; have childcare available for parents with small children when they come to the school; encourage homework hotlines and cross-age tutoring (i.e., older students helping younger ones); publicly celebrate accomplishments (ibid.).

Professional Training for Educators

Educational administrators and teachers need appropriate professional training to address the challenges of students' with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Fillmore, 2000). Many institutions have developed effective training for teachers who can function biculturally and bilingually to support Aboriginal students' language acquisition (Barman, 1987, Burnaby, 1982, Szasz, 1974, Malcolm, 1995). Some universities in Canada, Australia, and the US have developed certificate programs or courses for teaching ESD to prepare teachers for teaching Aboriginal students. Ian Malcolm (1995) describes a program at Edith Cowan University, Australia, to develop a teacher training curriculum supporting bidialetalism in the schools. This program involves three key components: (a) "modelling research" (p. 11) for teachers on the Aboriginal English spoken in communities in order to develop a language profile documenting dialect features, (b) "mentoring teachers" (p. 13), including in-service workshops on

bidialectal education, (c) providing "modified courses" (p. 15) in the university's teacher education curriculum to include courses on bidialectism. Other research demonstrates the importance of having Aboriginal teaching staff as positive role models for ESD students (Reyhner & Jacobs, 2002). South African educators also advocate for the need of specialized teacher education for teachers of language minority students (de Klerk, 1995c, Heugh & Siegrühn, 1995, Young, 1995). Douglas Young (1995) particularly stresses the need for teachers to learn the languages of their students as part of their training. Heugh and Siegrühn (1995) note that it is trained and experienced teachers who are the most capable in identifying innovative teaching strategies to meet the specific needs in their classrooms. Professional development related to dialect awareness is discussed below.

Support for Teachers

Flor Ada (Ada, 1991 in Heugh & Siegrühn, 1995) discusses the personal challenges facing teachers of minority language students. She notes that bilingual teachers need to feel adequate and empowered in order to empower their students. She states that "members of language minorities/low status language communities have themselves been victims of language oppression in their youth" (p. 96). These teachers need confidence building and opportunities to develop flexible and creative solutions. They also need peer support "whilst prejudice against certain languages exist" (ibid.). Some Sask. teachers are frustrated with choices made at the school and policy level and express the need to have input into who should be appointed at administrative levels within the school (Epstein, 2003).

2. The Role of Language and Dialect in Education

The role of both English language and dialect instruction is crucial for educating Aboriginal students. There is consensus that a knowledge of Standard English is closely connected with school achievement in any subject area where English is the MOI (Burnaby, 1982, Toohey, 1985, Adger, 1997). In addition, the official languages in Canada (English and/or French) are usually necessary for employment and for Aboriginal students' future participation in everyday social life (Burnaby, 1987). Parents of Aboriginal students also recognize that their children need English in order to survive in today's world, yet they also want to maintain their culture and languages (Faries, 1991). The case is similar in South Africa (Epstein, 1999a, p. 16–18), India (Sheory, 1998), and undoubtedly in other countries as well.

There has been some debate on the role of Aboriginal students' L1 in promoting Aboriginal students' language learning and their academic achievement (discussed below). Generally, however, educators agree that although success or failure of second language instruction in itself cannot adequately account for general results of schooling and solve all the challenges, it does play an important role in addressing Aboriginal students' academic challenges (Toohey, 1985, Burnaby, 1987). Other educators believe that some aspects of schooling explicitly concern developing language skills, with an emphasis on developing reading and writing across the curriculum for educational and social purposes (Wolfram et al., 1999).

Cultivating Aboriginal Languages and Dialects

Research suggests that for Aboriginal students in northern communities, Aboriginal language should be used to support academic and linguistic success, and to foster a positive self-identify in schools (Burnaby, 1982, Faries, 1991). Aboriginal people believe that the loss of their languages can be prevented by the inclusion and promotion of Aboriginal language in the school, community, and at home (Burnaby, 1982, Faries, 1991). Language educators agree that language and culture are inseparable. By establishing and maintaining self-esteem and a strong sense of identity, Aboriginal students can better maintain a balance between their culture and language as they learn to succeed in the majority society's culture and language (Faries, 1991). Faries (ibid.) notes that "bilingual education is a necessity for children in aboriginal language speaking communities" (p. 115), in order to maintain Aboriginal cultures, languages, and identity as well as to improve Aboriginal students' academic achievement and second language or dialect learning. She adds that L1 literacy must be promoted in schools as a means of preserving and promoting Aboriginal languages and self-esteem.

Aginhotri (1995) points out that most of the world's population speaks more than one language so that multilingualism the norm. He adds that children do not have difficulty learning several languages simultaneously. Gerda De Klerk (1995b) states that knowing more than one language or dialect may be an asset for students in the following ways:
- it develops cognitive flexibility
- it develops matalinguistic awareness
- it promotes abstract, critical and creative thinking
- it increases communicative sensitivity with monolinguals.

Attitudes about the Legitimacy of Dialects

The debate on the role of Ebonics (Black English) in school has a high profile in the US In Australia, some educators regard Aboriginal English as "second-rate, deficient, useless, and a long way below the standard" (Goodwin, 1998, p. 3), and they do not recognize the role of Aboriginal English in school (ibid.). Other educators recognize Aboriginal English, but see it as inappropriate in education. However, research shows that the only appropriate attitude promoting Aboriginal students' success in learning English at school is to recognize their dialects as a legitimate, systematic, and rule-governed variations of language that exhibit varying degrees of differences in the areas of pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, and discourse patterns (Heit & Blair, 1993, Wolfram, et al, 1999, Malcolm, 1999, Goodwin, 1998). When a teacher or other students react negatively toward dialects, the results can be detrimental, resulting in negative consequences for dialect-speaking students. For example, if a teacher underestimates a child's ability because of dialect differences, the child will perform less well in school (Wolfram, et al, 1999). Being rejected because of their culture and language causes many Aboriginal students to feel ashamed and think that the teacher does not like them (Heit & Blair, 1993, Faries, 1991). This can contribute to their low academic performance,

high dropout rates, and low self-esteem. Ultimately, a student may accept this negative view of their dialect and lose the language.

In order to create an inclusive school and learning environment, there must be an attitude shift; teachers cannot deny the validity, equality and value of diverse dialects spoken by students and must provide for those students the addition of another dialect, Standard English (Anderson, 1990, McGroarty, 1998). There is consensus from a sociolinguistic point of view that all dialects have legitimate status (Goodwin, 1997, Adger, 1997, Aginhotri, 1995, Malcolm, 1999, Rickford, 1997, Wolfram, et al., 1999). Rama Aginhotri (1995) states "language is at the centre of the whole educational exercise" and "that stigmatisation of the home language of children can leave them with irredeemable psychological scars" (p. 5). Many educators realize that we cannot neglect the crucial role of cognitive, academic, and second language development through Aboriginal students' L1. Knowledge about dialects can reduce misconceptions about language and accompanying negative attitudes (Malcolm et al., 1999). Goodwin (1998) states that there needs to be a change in attitudes towards Aboriginal English (AE) dialects from little to full acceptance of AE as a legitimate dialect, and from seeing that there is no role in educational programs for AE to seeing AE as having a definite role in education.

Raising Teachers' and Students' Awareness of Dialect

As previously noted, teachers who realize the implications of language loss and the power of English as well as the legitimacy of vernacular dialects and their value in teaching can more effectively address the needs of their students. Such teachers also recognize the damage that stereotyping and racism can inflict upon language minority students.

Programs for teachers and students have been developed to address racism and to raise awareness of dialect as a legitimate language variation. In such programs, both teachers and students examine some of the scientific and sociolinguistic evidence justifying that all dialects are regular and rule-governed, allowing them to question misconceptions and stereotypes about dialects (Adger, 1995). In Australia, this is achieved by providing Aboriginal Studies courses in primary and secondary schools (Goodwin, 1998), using a variety of resources, such as videos, booklets, and kits. Courses and workshops offered by the Western Australia State of Department of Education help teachers accept and validate Aboriginal students' L1 and provide specific teaching strategies.

In the US and Australia, a "Dialect Awareness" approach or a "Language Awareness" curriculum (Adger, 1997, Wolfram et al., 1999, Goodwin, 1998) focuses on the study of dialect diversity to teach students not only about the structure of vernacular dialects but also about their role in speech communities. This approach is beneficial to both dialect and non-dialect-speaking students by providing information and skills for language investigation and cross-cultural understanding (Wolfram, et.al., 1999). Adger (1997) adds that

although this approach may not link to teaching SE directly, it provides linguistic knowledge that is useful for learning a second dialect.

There are a number of ways to approach dialect study. First, the teacher can raise students' awareness of dialect diversity by providing them with samples of common dialect use in communities depicted in audio, video, and written material (Wolfram, et al., 1999, Adger, 1997, Goodwin, 1998). The teacher can focus students' attention on the systematic differences in language variation comparing them with those in SE (Adger, 1997). Second, the teacher can set up community projects for students to investigate dialect differences used by dialect-speaking people by Students can interviewing people, conducting first-hand observations, collecting and interpreting data, and writing reports about their research in English (Wolfram, et.al., 1999, Rickford, 2001).

3. Policy

Helen Robb (1995) contends that "education will always be a political issue because it has the potential for empowering traditionally disempowered groups" (p. 18). Thus, school and government policy are part of ensuring the success of ESD students in school. Sask. Learning (as of 2002-2003) is in the process of developing an ESL Policy for the provincial schools based on their findings of 1997-99 (Sask. Education, 1999). (Policies for First Nations Band Schools fall under Federal jurisdiction). The reference committee for the provincial ESL/ESD policy includes Aboriginal and nonAboriginal teachers of ESD students, teacher trainers, and school administrators from across the province.

South Africa has identified 13 official languages in its constitution. The potential complexity of ensuring the continued viability of those languages necessitates well-considered federal language in education policies in that country. Neville Alexander (1995a) has written extensively about South African language policy. He contends that policies must recognize that barriers related to language are related to larger struggles for equality, liberty as well as to socio-economic conditions. He also argues for a state-sponsored language awareness program that will raises the status of indigenous South African languages and argues against English-only schooling (1995b). Kathleen Heugh 1995), also of South Africa states that language policy must emphasize that languages are valuable resources, pointing out that additive bilingual education "will result in equal access to meaningful education and in economic benefits beyond education." (p. 35).

At the school level, de Klerk (1995c p. 32–33) identifies steps to support a bi- or multilingual language policy. Heugh and Siegrühn (1995) also note that at the school level it is likely that the impetus for policy change "is likely to come from teachers within the school simply because they are directly confronted by the education system's inadequacy in catering for the needs of linguistically diverse students" (p. 91).

4. Inclusive Curriculum and ESD Programs

Introduction

Educators agree that culturally relevant and inclusive curriculum, and programs and methodology that respect Aboriginal students' cultural and linguistic diversity are crucial to teaching ESD for Aboriginal students (Haig-Brown, 1995, Burnaby, 1982, Schultz & Kroeger, 1996). The school system presently ignores Aboriginal contributions to society in the school curriculum (Haig-Brown, 1995, Fraiser, 1995). Celia Haig-Brawn (1995), identifies a culturally relevant curriculum, as "a program which will maintain balance and relevancy between academic/skill subjects and Indian cultural subjects" (p. 150), and recognize Aboriginal culture, heritage, languages, and contributions in curriculum. To integrate Aboriginal culture and heritage in ESD teaching, researchers advocate a "bicultural" or "bidialectal curriculum" (Malcolm, 1999, Goodwin, 1998, Adger, 1997, Leavitt, 1991) that takes into account both the mainstream culture and that of the Aboriginal community. This approach takes advantage of what both cultures have to offer and helps students move confidently between the two cultures (Leavitt, 1991).

The Western Australian State Department of Education identifies the following principles in an inclusive curriculum for speakers of Aboriginal English:

> (a) access and equity: redressing educational disadvantages, target groups gaining access to curriculum and participating fully; (b) valuing knowledge and experience of all groups: redressing curriculum imbalance, not favoring one group's structure of knowledge, and recognizing different world views and ways of learning; (c) critical analysis of disadvantage: 'deficit' not inherent in groups, learning about socially constructed disadvantage and need for skills to initiate and support change; (d) a developmental approach to education: the recognition that patterns of development differ across cultural groups (Malcolm et al., 1999, p. 74).

To implement these principles, the Western Australian education department recommends including the components to the ESD curriculum by (1) explicitly teaching SE as a second dialect that complements L1 or the students' dialects; (2) teaching all students about Aboriginal ways of viewing the world and the role of Aboriginal languages in world view; (3) encouraging students to recognize and examine the social and linguistic value of their vernacular dialect and SE. Also teachers must be aware that differences in dialect and learning style can result in wrongly assessing students as having learning deficits (ibid.)

Toohey (1985) advocates including Aboriginal culture as well as adjusting educational practices. Teachers can add information about Aboriginal culture, traditional skills, and related knowledge and beliefs in theme-based units to the curriculum. Inclusion of such content would result in recognition and respect of the culture and experiences that Aboriginal students bring to school. In addition, the teacher can engage Aboriginal students in meaningful ways to learn the history and geography of their community—for example, "through hikes and canoe trips, map study, readings, oral history, road-building, religious and

legal history, archaeological, mythology, hunting and fishing activities, agriculture" (Leavitt, 1991, p. 274). Such curricular enhancements are important to motivate Aboriginal students to share their culture through the medium of SE. To initiate the curriculum change, researchers call for joint funding efforts at both the federal and provincial government levels to enable "Indian people to work with professional curriculum developers to develop to develop a culturally inclusive curriculum (Haig-Brown, 1995). In Saskatchewan, a provincial Aboriginal languages curriculum guide for K–12 has been implemented to meet the needs of teaching and learning Aboriginal languages.

A major challenge in teaching ESD for Aboriginal students is to show to them how language instruction can help them address demanding academic study. ESL programs are not appropriate for dialect-speaking students (Adger, 1997, Burnaby, 1982). For example, beginning and intermediate ESL programs that focus on the development of basic conversational language skills are not appropriate for Aboriginal students who speak a fluent dialect of English (Adger, 1997). Until recently, educational programs designed to address dialect differences focused on teaching SE to Aboriginal students. As the attitudes regarding dialect difference as improper or incorrect English have changed, the aim of today's ESD programs should be to add SE as a second dialect to their repertoire of linguistic varieties rather than eliminate L1. The literature informs us of some successful ESD programs in Canada and internationally for teaching ESD for Aboriginal students. These include bidialectal and bilingual programs, enriched English language instruction in regular classrooms, and content-based ESL/ESD programs.

A. The Bidialectal Approach

The Value of Teaching Contrastive Analysis

American and Australian researchers advocate a bidialectal approach that uses contrastive analysis to address the dialect differences for dialect-speaking students. Such an approach views dialect as a resource rather than as a barrier. The key to the bidialectal approach starts from the children's L1 and teaches them to use SE competently in appropriate situations. The goal of this approach is not to remove or correct students' dialect, but to build on students' knowledge of dialects and to show them explicitly the differences between their dialect and SE. Borrowing from sociolinguistics, the bidialectal approach recognizes that a contrastive analysis highlighting differences between dialects of English and SE provides a foundation to link the two (Adger, 1997, Corder, 1994, Goodwin, 1998, Rickford, 2001). The value of "contrastive analysis" is that it can lead to students' metalinguistic awareness, allowing them to effectively use both SE and vernacular dialects (Adger, 1997, Rickford, 1998, Goodwin, 1998). Although the grammatical analysis of structures in second language learning is not very effective to promote communicative competence, the contrastive analysis that draws students' attention to the specific structural differences between dialect and SE has been found to be effective in teaching English as a second dialect (Wolfram, et al., 1999). There are differences between learning a second language and learning a second

dialect. In second language learning, the aim is communicative fluency. In second dialect learning, because students already speak fluently, accuracy is the goal. Because dialect speakers have already formed speech patterns, achieving this goal is challenging. Explicitly pointing out structural details may help these students (ibid., p. 125). Aspects of this approach have also been found useful with preschoolers who can use their first language as a foundation to learning a second language (Robb, 1995).

Although some instructional methods in the bidialectal approach involve "some attention, either directly through structural drills or indirectly through some other language tasks, drills may be less boring when they are closely tied to situations of authentic Standard English use, and when they are part of short minilessons intended to promote expert performance in the real situations" (Wolfram, et al., 1999, p. 125). Edward Anderson (1990) believes that elimination of dialect interference can be achieved as the teacher focuses on comparing dialect features in students' written and oral assignments. Teachers can use this information to design appropriate instruction.

The Social Functions of Language and the Bidialectical Approach

In addition to the analysis of differences between a dialect and SE, some research on bidialectal approach argues for the important role of social functions of language use. This research focuses on social setting as demonstrated by language use (Toohey, 1986, Adger, 1997). Toohey (1986) argues that there are functional differences between the way language is used in the school and in dialect-speaking communities. These differences may be helpful in explaining why minority students are so often at a disadvantage in schools. Toohey (1986) also suggests "the real difficult problems students encounter are not merely surface-level discrete structural ones" (p. 137), but the problems "in understanding the rhetorical structures" (p. 137) of academic language and producing school academic assignments. She suggests that teaching SE must therefore go beyond teaching discrete structural features and give students the knowledge of the functional difference between SE and their dialect. Through such explicit instruction, they can translate this knowledge into appropriate ways of academic communication. To achieve this, Toohey (1986) encourages teachers to become "ethnographers of communication"(p. 138) in local communities and schools through careful observations in order to understand the communicative styles of their students. The emanation of language sounds and structures is also advocated by Ruth Versfeld (1995) in South Africa who adds that it is also important in classrooms to have"…discussion about multilingualism; and the articulation of our own attitudes and responses whose languages we do not understand" (p. 26).

The Value of Explicitly Teaching Code Switching

In the bidialectal approach, "code-switching" or "language transfer" is considered vital to the appropriateness of language and dialect use in social settings. Of central importance in teaching code-switching is a clear message to students that their dialect is as valuable as the English used in school, but that it is "just less appropriate in some situations in the wider community" (Wolfram, et al., 1999, p. 73). This is because most people in mainstream society use SE in a variety of settings that the teacher clearly

identifies for students. Code-switching for Aboriginal students is "basically being able to have a mastery of both SE and Aboriginal English and when it is appropriate for them to switch from one to the other" (Goodwin, 1998, p. 4). Anderson (1990) points out that teachers should systematically compare dialects and systematic instruction in how people shift from one to another so that students can learn to select SE forms as appropriate. Toohey (1986) suggests teachers can structure language tasks in the classroom so "students can examine the differences between their own and classmates' speech and writing, in discovering that sometimes use of standard forms and sometimes use of nonstandard forms is obligatory, or at least, more effective" (p. 139).

In Support of the Bidialectical Approach

Some international research approves the success of the bidialectal approach for teaching ESD for Aboriginal students. J.R. Rickford (1998) reports on studies in the US in which the bidialectal approach was successfully used with dialect speakers in Tennessee and Chicago at the preschool, elementary, high school, and college levels. An example is the Hanni Tayler study (1989, cited in Rickford, 1998) in Chicago with the students using Ebonics features in their writing. The researcher used conventional techniques of teaching English with one group of students and contrastive analysis with the other group, explicitly drawing students' attention to the differences between Ebonics and SE. After 11 weeks, the researcher found that the control group students "showed an 8.5% increase in their use of Ebonics speech in their writing" (ibid., p. 9). The students in the experimental groups using contrastive analysis "showed a 59 percent decrease in their use of Ebonics features in their writing" (Rickford, 1998, p. 9). An Australian project, "Towards More User-Friendly Education for Speakers of Aboriginal English" (Malcolm et al, 1999), uses the bidialectal approach to investigate sociolinguistic aspects English used by Aboriginal students at the high school level and its application to the development of effective bidialectal education programming. Their findings confirm that Aboriginal English does differ systematically from SE in its phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, discourse, and pragmatic functions. This project used two-way education, "which recognizes Aboriginal English and its associated culture and world view as relevant to the curriculum for all learners" (Malcolm, 1995, p. 8) to reinforce the value of the bidialectal approach in teaching ESD to Aboriginal students. The basic principles, or the "the ABC of two-way education" include: A: "Accept the dialect of nonstandard speakers" (ibid., p. 9) and systematically teach SE to them; B: "Bridge to Standard English" (ibid., p. 9); C: "Cultivate Aboriginal ways of approaching experience and knowledge" (Malcolm, 1995, p. 9).

B. Additive Bilingualism

The Success of the Additive Bilingual Approach

Studies reinforce the value of bilingual education for language minority students (Collier, 1995, Cummings, 1981). In the bilingual approach students receive school instruction both in their L1 and English. This approach has proven successful in teaching French in Canada and in teaching heritage languages in the US, Canada, and in other parts of the world (Cummins, 1987, Collier, 1995, Burnaby, 1982). According to Colliers (1995) "the difference in student performance in a bilingual program, in contrast to an all-English program, is that students typically score at or above grade level in their L1 in all subject areas, while they are building academic development in the second language.... When students are tested in their second language, they typically reach and surpass native speakers' performance across all subject areas after 4–7 years in a quality bilingual program" (p. 5). In the US, Collier (1995) found that two-way bilingual education at the elementary school level was the most promising program model for the long-term academic success of language minority students

The Additive Bilingual Approach for Aboriginal Students

However, some studies show that the bilingual approach used for teaching French and heritage language is somewhat different from of the bilingual approach to teaching English for Aboriginal students (Burnaby, 1982, Heit & Blair, 1993). In French or heritage bilingual language programs, there can be two separate programs—one for the maintenance of students' L1 and the other for teaching SE, with each MOI taking up to 50% of the instructional time. But in the context of teaching English for Aboriginal students, especially in northern communities where the majority of the school population speaks an Aboriginal language or a dialect of English, bilingual programs usually take an "alternate" or "additive approach" (Heit & Blair, 1993, Faries, 1991). The additive approach to instruction in all subject areas is almost entirely in the students' first or home language or vernacular dialect in early grades, while ESL or ESD is taught as an academic subject. Instruction gradually switches to SE in later grades in some subjects (Faries, 1991, Goodwin, 1998). This approach is referred to as "dialect transition programs" in some of the literature (Burnaby, 1982) and is similar to an approach advocated by Rickford: "introducing initial reading in the vernacular, then switching to the standard" (Rickford, 1998, p. 10). This purpose of the approach does not diminish the students' L1 but seeks to extend and to add to their existing skills and knowledge of L1 (Heit & Blair, 1993).

Research on the additive approach for dialect-speaking Aboriginal students in Canada shows children do as well or better than those taught only in the second language. "Bilingual programs develop first and second language skills, improve academic achievement, promote positive self-identity and improve home-school relations" (Faries, 1991, p. 38). Examples of successful programs have been found in northern Quebec, northern Ontario, and Manitoba (cited in Faries, 1991). Toohey (1982) also reports that "in other native

contexts, second language teaching programs have consistently been reported as most successful in schools which use the Native language as the initial medium of instruction and as the language of initial literacy, with later introduction of the second language" (p. 226, cited in Faries,, 1991, p. 20). In these programs, Aboriginal students from kindergarten to grades 3–4 were instructed in their Aboriginal languages with the exception of English language arts, which was taught in English. From grades 5–8, students were taught in both their Aboriginal language and English. By the end of elementary school, the Aboriginal language was taught as a subject, and English became the MOI in all other subjects (Faries, 1991). The programs demonstrated that students taught first in their L1 could readily transfer many of the skills they learned in their first language to their second language or second dialect. In addition, because English was introduced gradually with appropriate ESL techniques and ESL materials relevant to the students' environment and lifestyle, they were able to transfer naturally to English instruction (Faries, 1989). Faries (1991) goes on to suggest that what is important in this approach is that when the L1 should be gradually decreased and English introduced depends on the linguistic backgrounds of the students.

Cummins' (2000) well-known ESL research on Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) concurs with this approach. Students require time to develop BICS and especially CALP in L1 before they can be successful in L2, particularly in academic situations. This takes a number of years. In addition, adding an additional language to an existing and perhaps minority language provides opportunities for developing the corpus of that minority language and supporting its maintenance and growth.

Bilingual Education Internationally

Bilingual education in Aboriginal communities has been successful not only in Canada but also internationally. International studies show that the vernacular dialect students who were taught initial reading skills in their dialect performed better in reading in SE than those taught in SE-only programs (Toohey, 1986, Richard, 1998, Goodwin, 1997). The US reports successful programs that introduce reading in the dialect first, then switch to SE. One particular example of using the vernacular to teach the SE, is the Bridge Reading program reported in Simpkins and Simpkins (1981, cited in Rickford, 1998). In this study, a control group of 100 students from 27 schools were taught entirely in SE. The experimental group of 417 dialect-speaking students were taught in a "transitional series of 'Bridge' readers written in a variety intermediate materials between Ebonics and English, and ended up with a final series written entirely in SE" (ibid., p. 10). After four months of instruction and testing, the students in the control group "with the conventional methods showed only 1.6 months of reading gain, while those in the experimental group with the Bridge Readers showed 6.2 months of reading gains" (ibid., p. 10). This study shows that "African American students would finally be able to read above and ahead of the norm rather than below it" (ibid., p. 10). These programs using bilingual methods and readers to improve the reading level of African American students resulted in amazing improvements in both reading speed and comprehension. Goodwin (1997) describes attempts to use the bilingual approach in Australian schools to teach the community dialect as the

basis to teach SE to dialect-speaking students. Other international studies in the Philippines, New Zealand, and European countries cited in Rickford (1998) and Faries (1991) show that students who started in the vernacular outperformed in English the students who started in English-only programs, in subjects ranging from reading to social studies and even arithmetic.

C. Adapted English Language Instruction

In areas where bilingual programs are not available to Aboriginal students, some schools have implemented adapted English instruction to support language minority students. Under funding structures in some Canadian schools Aboriginal students may not qualify for ESL or ESD programs (Heit & Blair, 1993). The only language program model for them are ineffective regular "English submersion programs" in which students receive language instruction in English as the only MOI in a regular classroom (Burnaby, 1982, Heit & Blair, 1993). Research shows that the social and cultural processes involved in "French immersion programs" are very different from those in "English submersion programs" (Heit & Blair, 1993) for Aboriginal students, especially in northern Aboriginal communities, where the situation is socially, culturally, and linguistically unique and complex (Burnaby, 1982, Fredeen, 1990, Toohey, 198). Observations in the schools reveal that unlike French immersion students, but like many other minority students, Aboriginal students may not learn very well in English-only programs (Burnaby, 1982, Toohey, 1985, Heit & Blair, 1993). In these cases, adapted English language instruction is more supportive, appropriate, and meaningful (Sask. Education, 1994, Smith, 1991, Toohey, 1985, Sato, 1989, Fredeen, 1990). Adapted instruction in the regular English language arts curriculum is designed to make adjustments or modifications to accommodate diversity in student learning needs in the areas of curriculum content, instructional practices, and evaluation as well as the learning environment.

Key components in adapted English programs emphasize developing enhanced Aboriginal identity through "culturally responsive pedagogy"(Smith, 1999). Such pedagogy uses traditional Aboriginal rituals, Aboriginal cultural activities, and messages supportive to Aboriginal cultural backgrounds. In addition, instruction includes Aboriginal content and Aboriginal language instruction in the curriculum and supports Aboriginal teaching staff as role models to support the development of students' positive identity. Adapted English instruction should also build on students' prior knowledge and experiences, and use appropriate ESL methods to meet student needs. The use of an holistic, student-centered approach, the whole language approach, the language experience approach (LEA), and literature-based approaches to the teaching of English language arts have proven successful in schools in the northern communities (Fredeen, 1990). In addition, the teacher can provide Aboriginal students with opportunities to participate in talking or sharing circles to support exchange of information and ideas, and support their learning through experiential learning and demonstration (Smith, 1999), Taras (1995) suggests providing extensive reading and writing practice that is based on students' personal and cultural experiences.

D. Communicative Content-based and Task-based Language Approach

In some Canadian schools Aboriginal students come to the ESD class an hour or two a day to receive academic and language support from either English language teachers or resources staff. This is similar to English language development for immigrant and refugee students. In order to promote Aboriginal students' academic and communicative language development in this type of ESD program, language educators advocate a communicative approach that focuses on content- and task-based language teaching (Collier, 1995, Taras, 1996, Leavitt, 1991). Language research supports that teaching is most effective when students participate in real life tasks and in meaningful projects (Leavitt, 1991). Students achieve significantly better in programs that teach language through cognitively complex content, using interactive classroom activities such as problem-solving and discovery learning (Collier, 1995). In content-based language programs, the curricular focus shifts from traditional teaching methods to engaging activities, and from the use of traditional ESL texts and materials to the use of authentic subject-related materials. Such ESD programs prefer small group or individual instruction over whole class instruction to address the various academic and language needs of Aboriginal students (Taras, 1996). The teacher's role is to help students cope with academic work through language support. For example, the teacher acts as a partner to help students analyze challenging academic language, provide them with extra English reading and writing assignments to support their language development, and help them adjust to the school cultural and academic environment (ibid.). Taras utilizes a portfolio approach where the teacher and the students work together to promote the students' language learning skills using academic content. The teacher uses authentic language learning materials such as subject textbooks, and content-related materials such as library resources, magazines, and newspapers to provide students with relevant and meaningful language learning experiences. In addition, subject assignments, such as essays, written lab reports, and oral presentations are used as language tasks for Aboriginal students to practice their language in the supportive environment of the ESD classroom (ibid.). The literature supports task-based language teaching because it respects the Aboriginal world view and students' unique learning styles as well as the academic context in which they must learn to cope. This is because "within an Aboriginal world view, experience and knowledge are context dependent. Things are learned in the doing,…" a process involving "repetition and personal trial and error to solve a problem" (Malcolm, et al, 1999, p. 71). The teaching methodology involved in content- and task-based teaching emphasizes developing critical thinking and learning strategies, and encouraging student independence in their academic studies. Teachers have high academic expectations of their students and use scaffolding and modelling to expose students to SE forms. Cognitive coaching and tutorial support are used rather than correction (Smith, 1999, Taras, 1996, Heit & Blair, 1993).

E. Other Approaches: Bridging/Adjunct Support and Empowerment Pedagogy

Some ESL programs are now using "adjunct support," (Roessingh, 1999), which introduces students to academic concepts in sheltered situations either before or at the time they learn these concepts in English language arts in their regular classrooms. One Saskatchewan high school is using this method for both ESD and ESL students in all school subjects (personal communication, 2001). This approach is similar to bridging programs that have been found to be effective at the post secondary level (Epstein, 1999b).

South African educators have suggested and in some provinces implemented the idea of clustering schools to maximize and share resources as well as setting up Teaching and Learning Centres to involve the community, and to support teachers, teacher trainers, curriculum developers and researchers working with language minority students (Heugh and Siegrühn, 1995). They also note that value of twinning more privileged schools with less privileged schools for resource sharing.

Other approaches that have worked well with disempowered populations and in developing countries are known as empowerment, critical, or transformative pedagogies. Such approaches are appropriate because English is a dominant and powerful language that can victimize people and their cultures in subtle ways. Based on pedagogy advocated by Paulo Freire (1970), these approaches to ESL teaching advocate strategies such as problematization, problem-posing, biliteracy, critical literacy, discussing language maintenance as part of the struggle for justice and equality, and the concept of voice (Ada, 1988, Alexander, 1995a, Auerbach, 1995, Brouse, 1996, Cummins, 1999, Pennycook, 1994, Bock, 1995, Wallerstein, 1982). Teaching methods used by Taras (1996) with his ESL and ESD students exhibit some aspects of empowerment pedagogy.

5. Effective ESD Pedagogy

Introduction

Effective instructional practices that build on Aboriginal students' cultural and linguistic diversity and experiences to support their academic and language development are found in the literature. Because Aboriginal students' cultural, physical, and learning environments are different from those of immigrant and international students, ESD instructional strategies are, to some extent, similar to but also different from those used to teach ESL.

A. Learning from Traditional Indigenous Approaches to Teaching and Learning

Malcolm et al. (1999) point out that "the fundamental to the difference between the cultural and linguistic background is world view. This is relevant to pedagogy because it has implications for the way ideas and events are viewed and how new skills or understanding may be incorporated, learned, and later applied" (p. 71). Research notes that instruction must take into account Aboriginal students' unique cultural and linguistic background and that ESD teachers have much to learn from the traditional Indigenous ways of teaching and learning (Haig-Brown, 1995, Malcolm, et al., 1999). Robert Leavitt (1991) tells us that "the most significant differences between English and Indian, and Inuit languages are found in their ways of conceptualizing, preserving and transmitting knowledge" (p. 269). For Aboriginal people, traditional teaching and learning are important in transmitting knowledge, understanding a person's life experience, conveying information, identity development, and maintaining cultural heritage and languages.

The Oral Tradition and Spirituality

The literature advocates cultivating the Aboriginal oral tradition (Atleo, 2000) in story telling and story circles (Garret, 1996, Orr, 2000, Sask. Education, 1994), and talking and sharing circles (Hart, 1996). The essence of the oral tradition is that it creates learning opportunities by involving students in the learning process and exploring issues that matter to them (Orr, 2000). By starting with the students' cultural experiences, talking circles are effective for discussions, sharing feelings and responses, building trust, and ensuring all students have opportunities to participate (Sask. Education, 1994). A bilingual teacher can use "Story Reading" in the classroom by reading and telling a story in the student's L1, then rereading or retelling it in English or vice versa (Sask. Education, 1994).

In Aboriginal culture, the wisdom of elders is important in the teaching-learning process. Schools can engage students in activities that promote pride in Aboriginal heritage and traditions through interviewing elders, hearing their stories, and organizing and participating in Aboriginal events (Orr, 2000, Haig-Brown, 1995). Indigenous pedagogy also encourages cooperative and experiential teaching and learning, a child-centred environment, tutoring, artistic creation, and a holistic approach to education (Heit & Blair, 1993, Malcolm, et al, 1999).

In addition, the role of spirituality (Guerrero, 1999, Orr, 2000) in Aboriginal education is emphasized in the literature. Many Aboriginal people cultivate a sense of spirituality through the teachings of the "Medicine Wheel" (Orr, 2000, White,1996), an ancient symbol representing the circle of life. The Medicine Wheel focuses on four aspects of life: "the emotional, physical, spiritual, and cognitive" (Orr, 2000, p. 59). Aboriginal adult educators may use it to promote: "teaching through sharing and respect" (Orr, 2000, p. 62). Adult Aboriginal education also uses story telling, story circles, respecting Aboriginal world views,

and strong group bonds as educational strategies to promote living a spiritual life (Smith, 1999, Orr, 2000). Aboriginal spirituality is highlighted in cultural activities to enhance Aboriginal students' identity and promote pride in their heritage. Some of these activities include rituals, festivals, crafts, drumming, dancing and activities with elders (Smith, 1999, Haig-Brown, 1995).

B. Accommodating Aboriginal Students' Learning Styles and Effective ESD Methodology

Because of their unique cultural backgrounds, Aboriginal students may show distinctive thinking, communicative, and learning styles. Hilberg and Tharp (2002) observe that learning styles among American Indian and Alaskan Native students have "the tendency towards (a) a global, or holistic style of organizing information, (b) a visual style of mentally representing information in thinking, (c) a preference for a more reflective style in processing information, and (d) a preference for a collaborative approach to task completion" (p. 1). In Australia, "Towards More User-Friendly Education for Speakers of Aboriginal English" (1999) and other studies confirm some of these observations and suggest a number of classroom strategies for teachers working with Aboriginal students. These are discussed below.

Contextualised Learning (Solid English, 1999).

According to Malcolm, et al. (1999), Aboriginal students prefer a "contextualisation" or a contextualised learning" model" (p. 71) for organizing and presenting learning and information in the classroom. Contextualized learning is the way learners organize information globally. In this model knowledge and information are presented starting from the whole to parts. For some Aboriginal students, the Western analytical and linear style, or the decontextualized language of school, may contrast strongly with the highly contextualized language use and learning styles of their home and community (Malcolm, et al., 1999, Hilberg and Tharp, 2002).

Visual Style

Studies also show that some Aboriginal students exhibit "visual information processing" (Hilberg & Tharp, 2002, p. 1). Some observations in the classroom also show that Aboriginal students create images through their words and use visual analogy and cultural symbols to help them understand both words and abstract concepts (Blake & Sickle, 2001, Taras, 1996). Therefore, teachers should develop instruction in which information is presented holistically and with visuals (Hilberg & Tharp, 2002, Taras, 1996).

Cooperative Learning

Other research shows that Aboriginal students enjoy "shared achievement, in contrast to a nonAboriginal tendency to strive for personal achievement" (Malcolm et al., 1999, p. 48). To accommodate this teachers can establish a collaborative learning environment (Two-Way English, *Solid English*, 1999). Citing studies by Kagan (1986) and Slavin (1983), Jim Cummins (1987) indicates that achievement gains observed in cooperative classrooms are particularly dramatic for minority students who, along with low-achieving

students, appear to be motivated to learn to learn cooperatively. One important component in cooperative learning is peer tutoring, which engages students in helping each other achieve common goals (*Solid English*, 1999, Taras, 1996). Cooperative learning, peer-interactive activities, and tutoring are all strategies that work effectively with Aboriginal students (Heit & Blair, 1993, Sato, 1989, *Solid English*, 1999).

Learning-by-Doing and Observing

Many Aboriginal students may learn best when given opportunities to see and learn experientially (*Solid English*, 1999). In traditional Alaskan Aboriginal communities and homes, children usually learn by observing and collaborating with others to accomplish tasks and solve problems (Hilberg and Tharp, 2002). Classroom studies indicate that Australian Aboriginal students prefer "learning by doing, not by learning how to do" (Malcolm, et al., 1999, p. 10). Aboriginal ways of learning in Australia emphasize "observation and imitation rather than direct instruction or question and answer" (ibid., p. 10). Observations and use of models by teachers can provide Aboriginal students' opportunities to learn by doing and "verbal explanations are best provided in the context of the model" (*Solid English*, 1999, p. 43) provided in the learning experience.

Unique Interactional Styles

Some studies suggest that in some cases Aboriginal students' discourse patterns and communicative interactions differ from those of mainstream students (Sato, 1990, Crago, 1992). Martha Crago (1992) found that in Inuit families, children are raised to take the role of spectators, observing and listening to the performance of adults, and as a result, they seldom speak in class. In addition, research finds that the teacher's use of questioning in the classroom may be in conflict with Aboriginal styles of seeking and displaying information (*Solid English*, 1999). For example, nonAboriginal students are used to being asked "display questions" such as,

> a mother asking a child: "who is in this photo?" Aboriginal parents in the same
> situation would be more inclined to say: "This is your aun'y and your gran, an
> 'look, there's you when you was a baby." When Aboriginal children first
> encounter display questions at school, they often don't know what's going on or
> what's expected of them. (ibid., p. 49)

Similarly, some Aboriginal students feel more comfortable with questions aimed at the group rather than at one individual student (Sato, 1989, *Solid English*, 1999). Moreover, some studies suggest that flexible classroom setting, the arrangement of seating tables and designed workspaces, has a role to play in Aboriginal students' language learning. Aboriginal students believe prefer the flexible setting of the classroom because it allows for flexible groupings and encourages them to make choices in their learning (Taras, 1996, *Solid English*, 1999).

Independent Study

Studies show that Aboriginal students can learn better when given control over their academic studies (*Solid English*, 1999, Taras, 1996). The teacher, through constant teacher-student communication and negotiation, gives students the responsibility for their learning by involving them decisions about what they believe is important, thereby giving students a greater sense of ownership and making their learning relevant and meaningful. (Taras, 1996). In independent study, the choices the teacher offers students can range from selecting learning tasks to learning resources under the teacher's guidance (*Solid English*, 1999, Taras, 1996). Learning contracts, where the expected goals, the time frame, and the way to achieve learning outcomes are clearly defined by the teacher and the learner, are recognized as a way to help Aboriginal students to achieve their identified learning outcomes (*Solid English*, 1999, Taras, 1996). For example, when preparing a science report or a series of learning journals (*Solid English*, 1999, Taras, 1996), the students work in groups or individually to fulfill their contracts.

Taras (1996) also reports that independent study also assists Aboriginal students to learn to identify their problems and make decisions about what they can do by themselves and what help they need from teachers and peers. They also learn to work independently or cooperatively with other learners to achieve their learning goals. Independent study also develops Aboriginal students' self-reflection and evaluation skills. Research indicates that Aboriginal students value conversations with the teacher and other students in performance evaluation (Taras, 1996) and his portfolio approach offers students an opportunity to discuss their growth, to reflect on past performance, to express concerns, to ask questions, and to set up new goals with the teacher and other students.

Research shows that the teaching styles common in the mainstream classroom characterized by teacher-centered or didactic instruction cannot meet the needs of Aboriginal students and that some resist mainstream teaching methods and classroom management (Blake & Sickle, 2001). The most important implication from studies on Aboriginal students' learning styles is that teachers must understand differences in learning styles between cultural groups (Hilberg & Tharp, 2002, *Solid English*,1999). It is important for teachers to value alternate learning styles and accommodate them in their instruction.

In summary, an effective teaching tactic for Aboriginal classrooms should make use of pedagogical strategies that incorporate contextual learning, the whole language approach, learning by doing or experiential learning, peer-interactive activities and tutoring, comprehension-based approach, and student-centered approach (Heit & Blair, 1993, Sato, 1989, Taras, 1996, Malcolm, et al., 1999).

C. Building on Aboriginal Students' Experiences in Reading and Writing Instruction

Top-Down and Bottom-Up Reading Instruction

Many Aboriginal students lack basic reading and writing skills, which limits their academic success (Guerrero, 1999, Aragon, 1998). Reading experts identify two basic reading models—a "bottom-up" model and "top-down" model (Wolfram, et al., 1999). The bottom-up model emphasizes word recognition in reading by linking the printed word with its sound. The main skill to be developed in this model is "decoding," that is, "deriving the pronunciation of the printed form from the written letter combinations provided in the text and then organize it into larger chunks of syntax and meaning" (Wolfram, et al., 1999, p. 147). In the top-down model, "the initial decoding into silent speech is not necessary, and the reader processes much larger chunks of information—larger syntactic and semantic units to confirm expectations about the meaning of the text" (ibid., p. 147). Researchers conclude that both top-down and bottom-up processes occur and should be integrated in reading instruction for a "balanced approach" to reading instruction (Reyhner, 2001, Wolfram, et al., 1999). Research on reading models that focus on word recognition emphasize the role of phonological processing in reading—relating printed words to sound (Wolfram, et al., 1999). For example, based on the phonological features in American vernacular dialects where final consonants are dropped, experts recommend that teachers give more attention to word endings and facilitate SE pronunciation by presenting these words in a particular phonological context (Orr, 2000). It has also been recommended that it is important for early reading instruction to emphasize strategies that increase students' phonemic awareness (Lobov, 1995, Wolfram, et al., 1999). However, some suggest that "while early reading experiences can depend on learning how letters in words relate to sound (phonemic awareness), students who later continue to focus on these sounds become poor readers" (Reyhner, 2001, p. 1). This is especially significant for dialect-speaking students who if "taught to decode words that are not in their oral vocabulary end up parroting what they read without comprehension" (St. Charles & Costanito in Reyhner, 2001, p. 1). In addition, "there is more evidence for dialect influence than there is for dialect interference. For example, dialectal patterns of identical pronunciation for different words (e.g., 'find' and 'fine'...) have the potential to interfere with meaning, but pronunciation differences usually result in little or no interference in reading text in context" (Wolfram, et al., 1999, p. 147).

Other Strategies for Developing English Literacy

Effective ESD reading instruction should build on Aboriginal students' prior knowledge and experience and reflect Aboriginal culture, languages, and world views (Anderson, 1990, Taras, 1996, Blake & Sickle, 2001, Wolfram, et al., 1999, Malcolm, et al., 1999). The Whole Language Approach, which "integrates reading with writing and speaking, uses trade books and de-emphasizes skill and subskill instruction" (Wolfram, et al., 1999, p. 149) is recognized as an alternative to the traditional decondextualized skills-based instruction (ibid.). With the Whole Language Approach, the teacher can facilitate students' reading experiences by providing relevant and authentic materials and rich opportunities for students to learn

written and spoken language (Wolfram, et al., 1999). It is extremely important that teachers obtain thorough and perhaps ongoing professional development if required to use Whole Language and that they understand that this approach does not mean discarding instruction in phonics.

Teachers and researchers (Garret, 1996, Wolfram, et al, 1999, Malcolm, et al., 1999) find that Language Experience Approach (LEA) is very useful to teach English literacy to beginning Aboriginal students. Students report their common experiences in class. The teacher writes down these experiences and uses them as new texts for literacy development (Garret, 1996, Wolfram, et al., 1999). This approach builds on the student's cultural and life experience and reflects each student's language patterns and interests in the student-created texts.

Taras (1996) encourages teachers to help students develop such academic language reading skills as predicting, searching for main ideas and specific details, making inferences, and drawing generalizations and conclusions. He suggests activities such as encouraging collaboration with other students to decide on text meaning, developing subject specific vocabulary lists, using subject textbooks as authentic reading materials, and explicitly describing the reading process. Taras' research suggests that teachers should focus on developing students' abilities to organize academic text by helping them understand different text structures. Teachers can do this through key visuals and other graphic organizers. Finally, there is growing evidence that using reading material that relates to students' lives is motivational and that using curricular material written both in students' languages and English improves reading (Reyhner, 2001). This would involve a "resource-based" approach to teaching, that is supplementing textbooks with outside materials. De Klerk (1995c) emphasizes that asking teachers to find, develop or adapt culturally relevant materials must be accompanied by professional development for teachers.

The Consensus Model

Wolfram, et al. (1999) recommends the "consensus model" for teaching reading to vernacular dialect students. This model incorporates several reading strategies and includes the following key components: (a) "teacher modeling"—by describing and thinking aloud, the teacher demonstrates the reading process to students; (b) use of "authentic texts such as subject area and student-created texts to contextualize the reading experience; (c) "scaffolding" to help students to manage complicated reading tasks in context, which involves focusing on comprehension and ignoring pronunciation and dialect differences that do not interfere with meaning. Wolfram, et al. Also note that "Actual dialect interference could be handled in minilessons" (ibid., p. 152) without interrupting the reading process.

ESD Writing Instruction

Like reading, writing instruction for vernacular dialect students should build on students' prior knowledge, incorporate information on the nature of language and dialect diversity, and use contrastive analysis to promote understanding of the systematic differences between SE and dialects (Goodwin, 1998, Rickford, 1998, Wolfram, et al., 1999). Research supports the facilitative role of Aboriginal students' oral language strengths to build literacy skills (Malcolm, 1999, Scott, 1993). For example, teachers could use Aboriginal students' rich and varied experiences with metaphorical language learned at home "to enhance their understanding of figurative language in English Language Arts" (Scott, 1993, p. 334). At the same time, it should take into account Aboriginal students' oral language because dialect features in students' pronunciation are reflected in errors in their writing. Further dialect features that differ from academic English contribute to students' difficulties in learning academic writing (Coleman, 1997). Researchers suggest teachers also focus on addressing the differences between speech and writing (Coleman, 1997, Wolfram, et al., 1999, Edwards, 1980).

It has been noted earlier that dialect differences should not necessarily be viewed as errors needing correction and that when ESD teachers address dialect interference in writing they should use the contrastive approach to compare and contrast grammatical features of student dialects and SE in writing (Anderson, 1990, Wolfram, et al., 1999). Error analysis can become a useful tool to provide the teacher with information on the source of errors and can help students to recognize structural differences between dialects and SE (Clarke, 1983, Anderson, 1990). Beside helping raise student awareness of the dialect, these activities can motivate them to improve their SE proficiency and help them learn to select appropriate SE forms when necessary (Anderson, 1990).

Studies also emphasize the importance of the writing process in developing Aboriginal students' writing abilities (Clarke, 1983, Anderson, 1990, Coleman, 1997). Writing process activities should provide meaningful prewriting activities, both in SE and in students' dialect (Anderson, 1990, Edwards, 1980), to activate students' prior knowledge and experience (Wolfram, et al., 1999). Teachers should emphasize editing and provide the opportunity for students to practice spelling and vocabulary items in SE that contrast with their dialect. By presenting students with writing samples in their dialect, the teacher can ask them to translate or rewrite them in SE to compare and contrast similarities and differences rather than approaching them as points for corrections (Edwards, 1980). Teachers should use Aboriginal issues and cultural experiences as stimuli for student writing and offer opportunities for a variety of meaningful writing experiences in a several genres (Anderson, 1990, Taras, 1996). Taras (1996) notes that Aboriginal students can be successful by writing about their own cultural and life experiences.

Summary

International research provides educators and classroom teachers with both a theoretical foundation and practical pedagogy to make teaching ESD more effective and meaningful. However, in the context of teaching ESD in Saskatchewan and in Canada, only a few studies effectively address teaching ESD for Canadian Aboriginal students. While the research on teaching African American students in urban America and South African students in townships has some relevance for the ESD teacher, these experiences also differ in many ways to teaching Aboriginal students in Saskatchewan, particularly in northern communities. According to the needs assessment on ESL/ESD (Sask. Education, 2000), teachers of Saskatchewan Aboriginal students need the following: resources: curricula, program support, professional development, and other related support. In addition, more studies are needed to explore the unique context in teaching ESD for Aboriginal students in Saskatchewan, especially in northern communities. Such research will provide teachers with more practical pedagogy to meet the challenges in their classrooms and to help students excel with both roots and wings.

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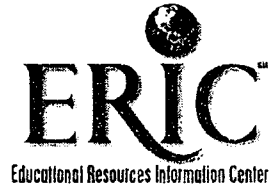
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