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The Role of the Samoan Culture (Fa'asamoa) In the Development of Its Childrens' Literacy Skills

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A thesis submitted to the University of Auckland in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Master of Arts 1995

A B S T R A C T

This thesis investigated **storybook** and **Bible reading** activities in Samoan families from Samoa and in New Zealand. There were ten families observed in Samoa from the villages of Nofoali'i and Matautu, Falelatai. In New Zealand, eight Samoan families were observed from the South Auckland suburbs of Mangere, Papatoetoe and Otahuhu. All eighteen children were aged between three and four years of age, at the time of the study. Four reading activities were observed. These were:

(i) *Familiar Text* - provided by the families

(ii) *Unfamiliar Text 1 ("O le Maile")* - provided by the researcher

(iii) *Unfamiliar Text 2 ("Leiloa")* - provided by the researcher

(iv) *Samoan Bible (O le Tusi Paia)* - provided by the families.

The readings of each text were audio and video recorded twice, the duration of each session being fifteen to twenty minutes.

There were similarities and differences between the two groups of families (Samoa and New Zealand). Families at each site used one or more of the six different routines termed: *Tauloto Routine/Performance Routine; Narrative Question Routine; Reading Routine; Display Question Routine; Tag Question Routine* and *Child Initiating Routine* the Bible reading sessions, all eighteen families used the Tauloto Routine almost exclusively. Families in Samoa produced more of the Display routine than those observed in New Zealand while the New Zealand families had a higher percentage of Narrative question and Reading Routines when reading storybooks.

It is argued that the presence of these routines is a reflection of the significant role that **fa'asamoa** plays in the acquisition of preschooler's literacy skills. The patterns are characteristic of the symbolic systems and beliefs that Samoan society holds as it's *cultural model* .

Differences between family groups show the presence of multiple messages for socialization and the potential for variation across sites. The patterns also show literacy learning of Samoan children occurring in conjunction with Church-related methodologies of teaching and learning. The study contributes to understanding the psychological development of Samoan children and contradictions to culturally based theories of literacy development. Future research on Samoan socialization patterns is needed.

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CHAPTER ONE
-INTRODUCTION-

This thesis focuses on the role of *fa'asamoa* in the development of Samoan children's literacy skills; especially in story book and Bible reading with preschool children. As in other cultures, the Samoan language and cultural practices create a diversity of meanings in the development of a child's literacy skills. These are constructed in the conditions of socialization, and cultural influences which determine the ways in which Samoan children have access to specific reading patterns.

In the past years, the development of Samoan children has been viewed using questionable assumptions. Theories deriving from the results of researching white middle-class children, were applied to Samoan children's development. Although children may follow a general pattern of development, recent research (eg Ogbu 1981 & Valsiner 1989) suggests that there are sociocultural factors which only the Samoan people can understand and relate to in terms of Samoan children's psychological development. It is important to record such valuable knowledge from the Samoan *tua'a* (elders) as each culture has a unique contribution to the development of it's children's literacy skills.

Emergent literacy as constructed in storybook and Bible reading was chosen as activities to analyse for several reasons. Firstly, the review of research which looks at children's development shows that studies of our writings based on the psychological development of Samoan children are limited. A study on Samoan children's acquisition of literacy skills, would begin to fill this gap and contribute to understanding important educational processes too.

Storybook reading has been the typical activity for research to study because of it's significance to conventional school literacy. Much is known about patterns of socialization in this activity. Research such as Elenor Ochs (1988) has examined cultural process in Samoan children's language development with cultural influences,

little has been done on the development of emergent literacy of Samoan children. (Duranti & Ochs, 1988)

It is generally agreed that the most popular reading activity among Samoan families, is the reading of the Samoan Bible. This activity would need to be included to determine similarities and differences in how the adults and children interact, between the Bible and storybook reading. Bible reading has become a prominent activity in the lives of the Samoan people. This is due to traditional and Christian beliefs. The Bible reading is a frequent activity creating a significant channel for socialization.

This socialization takes place during the evening *lotu* (devotion) and sometimes in the morning. The activity engages the children in the singing of the hymns and reading the Bible. Although, preschool children could not read the Bible, their involvement through observation and direct interactions develop their awareness as to what the activity requires. For example; a Samoan child may not know how to read yet, but during the lotu, he or she may develop awareness of the procedures of the Bible reading. Children can hold a Bible and pretend to read it, or imitate while older members of the family are reading the Bible. Thus, it can be said that Bible reading is an extremely important activity among Samoan families. It is therefore, important to examine the dynamics of guiding the children in how to read the Bible and how these relate to the dynamics of story-book reading activities.

A previous colleague conducted a study focussed on story book reading activities within several Tongan families in New Zealand (Wolfgramm E 1992). She has been the only person to research the literacy development of Tongan children. Her study provided another rationale to examine literacy activities of Samoan families in New Zealand. The patterns employed by these Tongan families were not like those described more generally in the research literature on Storybook reading.

It was therefore considered important to examine how children are socialized within literacy activities, in both Samoa and New Zealand. It is possible that *cultural shifts* may occur in the ways in which families observed in New Zealand may socialize

children. Given multiple messages, it is possible that variations between the two groups of families (Samoa and New Zealand), might occur due to the demands and expectations of the New Zealand society. However, Wolfgramm's (1992) research suggested that shifts are not inevitable.

This thesis will try to define the pedagogical patterns used by Samoan parents in Samoa and in New Zealand in relation to the mainstream families described in the research literature. A further aim is to determine the reasons why Samoan families interact differently from other families when engaged in reading tasks.

-REVIEW OF LITERATURE-

A. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FA'ASAMOA AND LANGUAGE PRACTICES

(i) What is Fa'asamoa?

This study examines the role of the Samoan culture in the development of it's children's literacy skills. From personal experience, the Samoan culture like any other culture is constantly under pressures to change. These pressures come from several sources. For example, young Samoan academics have questioned it's relevance to the materialistic progression of the Samoan people, as a large amount of the wealth of families is absorbed into traditional occasions through kinship lineages.

But what is **fa'a-samoa**? It is simply defined as the *Samoan way of life.* However, the Samoan culture is diverse in it's ways, ideas, customs, myths and legends. Pratt (1984) defined fa'asamoa as "an act according to Samoan customs". Meleisea (1987) provided a similar definition in these terms: "In the manner of the Samoans; according to Samoan customs and traditions." Fa'asamoa then, is a term which outlines the political, social, economic, cultural and spiritual system of the Samoan people.

There are traditional-based initiatives associated with the children's language practices which can be seen as instantiating the fa'asamoa. These initiatives are within the environment in which the child is socialised.

Historically, the fa'asamoa developed a certain political significance in the struggle against colonialism. This led to the importance of the Samoan culture as a goal for self-government. Interwoven within this political framework was an elite authority structure which was composed of chiefs. This is called the matai system (fa'amatai).

The Fa'amatai (Matai System)

The matai is the basic unit of the authority structure in Samoa. It is an hierarchical arrangement of title holders which is the basis of leadership. A matai title holder may be called an **ali'i** or **tulafale**, which becomes the trustee of the goodname of the family. All ceremonial recognition of the status of his family rests upon him. Hence, fa'asamoa in this sense is a framework for action, based upon the social structure of the extended family (aiga potopoto) and the village (nu'u), with the authority of matai incorporated into it.

Christianity

Christianity is the belief system within fa'asamoa. It was accepted by the Samoan people with deliberation. Missionaries preached middle-class individualism with Protestantism becoming a predominant influence on the Samoan people. On the other hand this led to the Christian faith being "Samoanized".

Keesing (1934) claimed that the "Samoans did not re-structure their lives around Christianity, instead they took Christian practices and gave them a place inside fa'asamoa, making it a part of their culture". Similarly, Meleisea (1987) stated that "despite the fact that some Samoan customs and practices contradicted the Christian ideals, Christianity was absorbed and Samoanized." Despites such influences on fa'asamoa, the Samoan culture has the capacity to change and re-new itself and still be regarded as

tradition.

Economy

In the economy of fa'asamoa, subsistence agriculture is based on descent group tenure and ownership of land. Fa'asamoa made anything with an individualistic focus impossible, hence egalitarianism with hierarchy was maintained by respecting the autonomy of the village and the extended family.

Social Organisation of the Village (Nu'u)

The Samoan people receive their sense of solidarity from being a **communal society.** Being a communal-based society, the accumulation of goods is established on a shared basis, unlike a white middle-class society who save their goods. (Crocombe R, 1979)

The social organisation of a village is characteristic of the extended family living in close vicinity with each other, thus the sharing between each family is relatively easy. In most villages, there are committees specially designated for the women and single girls. A group called the aualuma consists of unmarried girls of the village, with a similar group for single men which is called the aumaga. The fa'amatai also exists within the village.

The village is the one place in which all aspects of fa'asamoa can be found. The authority of the matai together with the supremacy of the village pastor are the people who look after the traditional and spiritual interests of the villagers. Each extended family have allocated land for their cultivation purposes and they share the produce from the plantation or from any other source of income. These are general threads around which fa'asamoa has woven and which are influential also in language socialization.

(ii) Language Practices Within Fa'asamoa

Given this outline of what makes fa'asamoa, the question can now be asked about the role it plays in the children's acquisition of literacy skills. There are various settings and educational initiatives which operate within a child's village life that are regarded as forms of language practices. These do not only function in the village but also in countries such as New Zealand and Australia which the Samoan people have adopted as their homeland.

Due to the historical effects of colonizers such as the English missionaries, the Samoan people have taken their religion to wherever they settle. Samoans are very proud of such a heritage which is evident with the impressive church buildings both in Samoa and New Zealand. There are activities and programmes within CCCS (Congregational Christian Church of Samoa) which are related to children's literacy development including the *Aoga Aso Sa* (Sunday School), *Aoga Faifeʻau* (Pastor's School), *Lotu a Tamaiti* (White Sunday), Christmas plays and other activities. All place emphasis on the teachings of the Bible. Such teachings involve the children's participation in reading scriptures from the Bible and singing hymns from the Samoan Hymn book. These programmes are conducted in all Congregational Christian Churches of Samoa or the *Lotu Taʻiti*, in Samoa and in New Zealand.

Aoga Faifeʻau

Historically, education was a major programme of the mission's work in Samoa. Throughout the 19th Century and up until the 1950's, "the pastors and their wives ran schools for both children and adults in villages"
(Meleisea 1987:59)

The Pastor's Schools were where most recent generations of the Samoan people were educated. They were instructed to read and write in Samoan. The curriculum for Pastors schools were learning basic arithmetic, scripture and church music. The pastor was responsible for teaching practical skill he had learnt, while his wife taught the girls "papalagi" domestic arts. (Meleisea 1987:59) The first 2 classes called the *Vasega Pi* and *Vasega Pi Faʻapitoa*, consist of the youngest group of children. Children enrolled in these classes usually range from one to five years old. The mothers were welcome to bring their newborn babies too.

These children are given exercises such as the *Pi Tautau* chart to read and memorize. They recite a specific letter and the name of an illustration which starts with that letter. For example; the letter A is associated with the picture of a basket which is called 'Ato. In reciting the letter A, a child is required to say aloud *a 'ato*. It

is within the Pastor's Schools where young children first learn the Arabic and Roman numbers from 1 to 10.

Ochs (1988:195) argued that the pictures representing the Samoan alphabet in the Faitau Pi chart were Western oriented. For example; the letter V had a picture of a boat displayed beside it. This boat was not the customary outrigger canoe (paopao), rather an ocean liner was the selected type of boat. The other letters of the alphabets were expressed in the same Western oriented materials.

Thus, Ochs claimed "that when a Samoan child is first exposed to literacy instruction, he or she is taught something more than the alphabet. From the very first day of school, literacy is accompanied by an attention to a world of objects and values that either are removed from the immediate context of the child's everyday life or suggest Western alternatives.." (p 195). As will be mentioned later, the replacement of the *e - elefane* with the *e - esi,* occurred and this is an example of the clash of Western objects with the child's social reality.

The exercises in these classes demand only a **verbal** response from the children. That is, the teachings concentrate on performance, where the child is required to orally respond and often imitate what the teacher is saying aloud. Through these tasks, children learn about the concept of numeracy, recognise the letters of the alphabet and develop a great sense of memory, as they are also given a phrase or sentence from the Bible to memorize as their *tauloto* (memory verse).

Older children study the Bible in a more complex format. "They read aloud from the Bible and interpret Bible passages". (Ochs, 1988). Learning domestic chores such as woodwork for the boys and sewing for the girls were also emphasized (Meleisea, 1987).

The Pastors' Schools of the past had the local pastor as the instructor. Now, selected Sunday School teachers have extended their responsibilities by facilitating the children in the Pastor's schools. Thus, the teaching methodologies within the Sunday School and the Pastor's School share a similar pattern. It can be argued that this has strengthened the existence of Tauloto Routine teaching patterns within the verbal

exchanges of the teachers and the children. This pattern has the form described earlier of a model accompanied by a response or imitation and feedback. From personal observations, Tauloto procedures are now operating within the conversational patterns between the child and family members. The Pastor's School, potentially then has a great impact on the Samoan children's reading abilities, and is an important mechanism for the acquisition of the children's literacy skills.

The methods used by the Pastor's school are practiced and maintained from one generation to the next. This is seen in the use of Tauloto teaching patterns within the Pastor's School curriculum. A special examination is done to test the children's knowledge on certain Biblical scriptures. This is called the *Suega Samoa* where children sit an exam based on what they were told to learn. Each class sit a different exam, according to the scriptures they were required to study.

Again, the preschool-aged children are tested orally. All the children are tested on their ability to recite the Faitau Pi, and a tauloto (a sentence or phrase from the Bible that is chosen by the pastor). Prior to this exam, the children would have to have had two to three months of preparation, to recite without any assistance from their teachers, parents or the Pastor. Sometimes, the children receive some minimum help from the people mentioned earlier, but the whole purpose of the exam is to have the child recite without any assistance.

Bruner J (1976) introduced the concept of **scaffolding** which can be applied to the child's preparations to successfully recite initially with guidance, then without assistance from his or her facilitator. It can be predicted that the child's memory capacity for such texts is gradually developing due to the efforts to recite from his/her recollection of what they were taught.

Aoga Aso Sa

Sunday School takes on a similar syllabus to that of the Pastor's school. The two schools parallel each other in their tasks specially allocated for preschool-aged children. The classes for these children are called the *Vasega Amata*. A similar name

is given to the Samoan preschools in Wellington, New Zealand which are called the Aoga Amata.

After six years of being a Sunday School teacher for pre-school children, it is clear that teaching the Tauloto Routine is a common form of verbal interaction between the teacher and the children during Bible reading. During this reading, the children are expected to imitate verbally what has been read. Sometimes, the teacher asks them to recall a word or words from the chosen passage in which she/he (teacher) had read aloud to the children.

Another common experience in the curriculum involves a lesson which can be delivered in any method possible, for the children to easily understand what the story is about. For example, sometimes the story is acted out depending on the amount of teachers available. Props such as pictures and objects are used to assist the story-telling. In most cases, the story is told verbally using the common techniques extracted from the traditional procedures of *fagogo* (tale-telling). That is, teachers usually start with the traditional phrase of "*i aso a la ua leva*" (long time ago). When this is completed, the teacher would ask questions based on the story (narrative). If props such as pictures and illustrations were used, the teacher would question the children about such displays. After these procedures, a selected passage which is connected to the story is read to the children. It is at this stage, the children are asked to recall a word or words from the chosen passage. They are also given practical activities such as drawing and painting an object or character from the Bible story that had been read to them. Here, a child is able to read a word by recognising the pictures drawn next to the word. These are the commonly experienced patterns which I have observed as a Sunday School teacher.

Drama Activities

Each year, the Sunday School puts together plays or musical productions for Christmas, New Year, Easter and other days which have a significance to the lives of

any Christian. Sometimes the Christmas play is replaced by carol singing or better known as the *manuao.*

Although the children do not participate verbally during the play, they get to help by singing the carols that accompany the play. But most importantly, they witness such a festivity and are exposed to human contact and interaction.

The play is taught by constant rehearsing. Older children with character roles use the Tauloto routine to memorize their lines. Younger children learn the lyrics and the tune of the songs, through the same procedures. As some children may not be familiar with musical notes, the ability to memorize the words and the tune of the songs is achieved by the constant imitation of the instructor.

Lotu a Tamaiti

For the annual White Sunday that the church as a whole celebrate, a child is given a memory verse to learn which he/she will recite on the actual day. That would be the children's contribution to the White Sunday celebration. The children are jointly taught by their Sunday School teacher on Sunday and by their family members at home.

Prior to the actual White Sunday, the children have already been repeatedly taught to recite their tauloto (memory verse). This leads to the children reciting their tauloto without the assistance of the family. Again, it can be argued that scaffolding operates in several socialization settings in the Samoan children's literacy activities.

As scaffolding is a process whereby the expert slowly removes their facilitating as the novice gradually takes over the their role, the same procedures applies to the children's learning of their tauloto. Whoever is teaching them their memory verse progressively removes themselves from the intervention while the children recapitulate the tauloto alone; without assistance

iii) Summary

It is clear from the language practices operating within the Sunday and Pastor's Schools, that the pedagogical patterns used during literacy activities are relatively alike and complement socialization at home. Both schools, use the same procedures when the children are taught to learn their tauloto, hymns, scripts for the Plays and learning to read the Bible.

The most significant strategy used by the teachers of both schools, is the Tauloto Routine. Other researchers have described this as the Performance Routine (McNaughton 1994). The children and the teachers interact during literacy activities using the Performance Routine, especially during Bible reading. These experiences can be predicted to facilitate the development of an extensive recitation memory.

The Performance Routine is a popular strategy used in memorizing a child's tauloto. Due to the fact that the Bible is the only primary text used in both schools, this provides complimentary and supporting settings for the Performance Routines as the expected ways of teaching within the verbal exchanges of the teachers and the preschoolers. Reading the Bible and the Performance Routine are in this sense, co-existant with one another.

The Tauloto Routine therefore is linked with literacy learning. The past recent generations have learnt how to read from using the same routine. Although the process to becoming literate appears to be slow when using the Tauloto Routine, the objective - to be able to read - is achieved.

Valsiner (1994) pointed out that the developing child encounters activities in an organised social world in which a variety of messages of varying ambiguity and redundancy exist. Within the frameworks of the language practices offered by the Samoan way of life (Sunday School, Pastor School and at home), there exists a cultural base for the Tauloto Routine as a popular mechanism of implementing interaction during Bible reading activities.

As Valsiner has argued, the child builds ideas from the ways in which he or she encounters various literacy activities, in this case the reading of the Bible. The setting of the Bible reading is an important part of how the Samoan children's social world is organised. In other words, the activity of Bible reading becomes "internalized" which results in shared meanings and goals by the teachers and the children to use the Performance routine.

The strong existence of similar tutorial strategies within Samoan language practices, is illustrative of the high redundancy of messages which links the Tauloto Routine with literacy learning. That the Tauloto Routine is used regularly if not exclusively in Biblical-related activities with Samoan adults and children, means that Bible reading reflects and creates a distinctive set of interactional patterns. Samoan adults and children reconstruct their beliefs and ideas at how to interact during Bible reading. Valsiner's (1989) claim is that "the child is an active transformer of cultural messages". This can be extended to all participants in socialization. This means that the children and the adults (or whoever is involved in the child's life) jointly transform the cultural messages.

These features are incorporated in the general concept of **collective culture** (Valsiner 1994). Samoan children and parents share a collective culture which has been developed and enhanced from their social and verbal interactions. Regarding the Bible reading within the Sunday and Pastor's Schools, teachers of both schools have their set of expectations from the children at how to respond during literacy activities; particularly Bible reading. The children also share similar goals, in that they know what is expected of them. As for the parents, they construct their own cultural messages too. Thus, the Performance Routine becomes an end product of this sharing of a single collective culture.

Samoan children in New Zealand also participate in collective culture. They go to their designated Samoan Preschools taking with them their expertise in handling literacy activities. Royal-Tangaere & McNaughton (1992) have underlined the significance of close connection between preschool educational settings and home

language socialization. They argue that the ecological connections between the two settings create a "wide significance" and complementary activities. Also, children have a major role in transferring and initiating language exchanges and deploying activities at home that were from their preschool.

However, with the presence of multiple settings in which a Samoan child faces, such as the "palagi" schools in New Zealand, various forms of "mismatch between the school and home practice then becomes an important ecological transition" (Bronfenbrenner 1986). Samoan children observed in New Zealand all attended a Samoan Aoga Amata (preschool). It appears that these may be similar to the Pastor's Schools operating in Samoa. However, when they enter State schools the potential for a mismatch may exist. But Samoan families may have already adopted several coping mechanisms and strategies that would make the children's transition from home easier.

Despite such a mismatch, the focus of the present study is the strong input of cultural factors (fa'asamoa) to the child's acquisition of literacy skills. Samoan Aoga Amata exist to promote the child's mother-tongue through play, literacy activities and so forth. Expertise is acquired by the children within the encounters in their Aoga Amata or from home regarding reading tasks. With this experience, Samoan children will enter "palagi" schools, combining their cultural beliefs with the knowledge they are taught. Hence, they would not only receive the best of two worlds, but use either experience supplied by the two settings to manage themselves and reading tasks better. This raises the question of the degree to which socialization of Samoan children in New Zealand has incorporated other messages from other settings. It also raises questions about cultural change.

B. CULTURAL VARIATION

Questions arise as to the cultural specificity of different literacy practices, and about the potential for variations in cultural expansions. There are a number of studies

which raise these issues of cultural variation in socialization on story book and Bible reading practices of different cultures.

Within the literature that covers emergent literacy of Samoan children, it was difficult to develop strong arguments relating to such a topic. This is due to the limited amount of writings and research on Samoan children's development as a whole. However, there is other research which is culturally-oriented providing discoveries that are applicable to the literacy development of Samoan children. In some studies, a *cultural variation* appears to exist between their findings and the results of my study.

Philips and McNaughton (1990) carried out a study on story book reading in ten mainstream Anglo Pakeha families in New Zealand. They studied the patterns of adult-child interactions within this literacy activity of storybook reading. The purpose for such an observation was to describe the social organization and language aspects of these events. They also took into consideration, factors such as materials being used, age of the child, mother and child's cultural background. Focusing on the mainstream Pakeha families, they claimed that their interaction patterns in some respect were a reflection of the school context. This theoretical issue involves the generalization or transfer of skills learned in one setting (the home) to a second setting (the school).

It was also discovered in these middle-class families, that the verbal exchanges emphasized the narrative routine. The facilitators concentrated on the narrative of the storybooks, rather than on the display or the illustrations provided.

Ninio & Bruner (1987) examined readings of picture books by an Anglo middle-class mother and her young (8 month - 1.5 year old) child. They found that the interaction pattern between the mother and child typically consisted of three elements. They were - an attentional vocative, query and label. Such a pattern may be common in the verbal exchanges of Samoan mothers and their children during storybook reading, because of the extensive labelling in Sunday School and Pastor School lessons. Heath (1982) argues that this particular interactional pattern was present in her study of book-reading episodes with young children too. Her study focussed on

the literacy socialization practices amongst preschool children of 15 middle-class primary teachers. However, she discovered that the nature of the interaction was different when the subjects were older (around 3 years old) and when they were reading story books. She argues that children at this age are discouraged by adults to participate heavily in such an interactive role. Rather, the children are to be passive listeners "like an audience" (Heath, 1982).

A study by Wolfgramm E (1991) examined storybook reading skills in eight Tongan families in New Zealand. The preschoolers in the families were not selected as high progress readers. The family income earners were also in non-professional jobs with less than average years of secondary schooling. Wolfgramm discovered that when new and unfamiliar books were read, the interactions between the facilitators and children took the form of the Performance Routine. In fact, all interactions (within the unfamiliar book reading activity) took the standard Performance Routine. But the Familiar storybooks were read with the reduced help by the facilitators and some books were repeated without any help at all. Wolfgramm's study is important because it's findings will suggest the significance of Tauloto Routine for the Samoan families. It also suggests that it would be important to examine reading of familiar and unfamiliar texts too.

Other studies suggest possible emphasis and possible variations in storybook and Bible reading activities. More generally Ochs (1982) has examined the relationships between cultural beliefs and values on how communication is organized between caregivers and young Samoan children. Her study adopts a comparative perspective on Western Samoan communicative patterns and Anglo middle-class caregiver-child verbal interactions. Ochs makes two claims in pursuing "developmental sociolinguistic" studies. Firstly, there is the need for researchers to integrate patterns of a society's belief system with their children's language behaviour. Local patterns of social organization operating within that society have to be included in the integration process. Secondly, the data collected from the above-mentioned findings, would help diminish the assumption made by cognitive psychologists that

particular communication patterns are "normal". Ochs (1982) argues that normal development is "culturally oriented" .

Ochs' (1982) research on Western Samoan children's language endeavoured to fulfil those goals. She argues that how a Samoan child speaks (both form and content) "is strongly influenced by social norms for using language in Samoan household and by certain attitudes and beliefs concerning individuality, knowledge and human competence". In relation to literacy development, Ochs argument is appropriate in terms of culturally oriented influences which places impact on how Samoan children are socialized within reading activities. Thus, the socialization patterns which Samoan children experience when acquiring language can be transferred to help achieve literacy skills, as both are heavily culturally influenced.

Duranti & Ochs (1988:203) found three types of Questions which are characteristic of verbal exchanges that they observed within storybook and Bible reading activities among Samoan mothers and their children. They were: Rhetorical Questions, Test Questions and Incomplete Sentences Frames.

Example of Rhetorical Question:

Mother- O le lanu paepae lea a?

(It is the white colour, isn't it?)

Example of Test Question:

Mother- O ai lea?

(Who is this?)

Example of Incomplete Sentence Frame:

Mother- O le lanu pae...(It is the colour wh...)

Child - Pa'e. (White)

On the basis of Duranti and Och's observations, it was explained that each of these question types would be found in the verbal exchanges of Samoan readers and children in the study. These three question types have been absorbed into the interactional patterns of Samoan caregivers which I believe have stemmed from the influence of the Sunday School and the Pastor's School teachings. Thus, the questions have become culturally - oriented which resulted in their major significance within the exchanges of the Samoan families and their children.

Heath's (1983) study on two different communities in Piedmont Carolina, provides further contrasts into how the children are socialized as talkers, readers and writers. "Roadville" Town which consists of white middle class people showed similar methods to the white middle class in Phillips & McNaughton's (1990) study in socializing a child into becoming a reader. The other community called the "Trackton" Town, practiced similar patterns to ways in which the Samoan families in Samoa have been described by Duranti & Ochs (1988) as socializing their children into reading. Trackton town is a black working-class community.

Heath argues that in the two locations (Roadville & Trackton), the different ways children learned to use language were dependent of the ways each community structured their families and lives. In Trackton, their own pattern of socialization signifies their cultural values. All are related to their history. This community was structured similarly to the Samoan extended family routine, which constantly immerses the child with human communication. Such communication patterns can be defined in either a verbal or non-verbal interaction.

Within Samoan families, young infants are in constant physical contact with numerous people either in the village or in the extended family. The whole family has a sense of responsibility to the child. As with the Trackton community, it's members also are involved in the caring of the child. Here, the theoretical concern is how such heavy interaction can contribute to the acquisition of the a child's literacy skills.

The fact that Samoa is a communal-based society, each village evolves around the authority of the chiefly system (fa'amatai), Church and family households. Being a

communal society is characteristic of the extended family living in close vicinity with each other, where the goods and products of plantations operate on a shared basis. "Families in Samoa have communal commitments and duties to several councils operating in the village and in the church" (Ochs 1988:71). How the locals socialized in these settings have great impact on the children. For example; although Samoan children are usually seen but not heard during the formal ceremonies in the village or community, they still absorb the knowledge that passes by them through observation. "This knowledge is the core of social competence in a Samoan community. While understanding of social principles and social structures is a lifelong process, the beginnings of this understanding emerge early in the lives of Samoan children" (Ochs 1988:71). Children acquire various contents of the language used by adults which eventually becomes part of their daily verbal routine.

Samoan children participate in groups which involve networks of social relationship. These groups are based on kinship, residence, social rank, gender and church affiliation. Here, Samoan children learn various ways of appropriate behaviour from their interactions with people within those groups. It is through these participations in culturally organized activities, that not only children but adults acquire new ways of thinking.

This leads to the proposal that variation in socializations between Samoan and Pakeha middle-class families, will reflected in the different forms of conversation that they practice in storybook and Bible reading. Also, given that Samoan families in New Zealand and Samoa have more members than the Pakeha middle-class families, the Samoan families will perform the *multi-party* form of conversation. Ochs (1983) describes it as a turn-taking pattern (ABCA) which is a product of cultural expectations.

The above-mentioned prediction could be applied to Samoan families living in New Zealand and in Samoa. Considering the different living arrangements that the housing in New Zealand has imparted on it's citizens, it is clear that the potential for the extended family living together is reduced. Hence, such living arrangements

practised by families in New Zealand will hinder the multi-party form of conversation that Samoan families are accustomed to. Also, there are a variety of messages about literacy activities and socialization in all societies. But in New Zealand, the variety of different messages may be stranger. The patterns described by Phillips and McNaughton may be more obvious or more strongly represented.

So, these studies and arguments about multiple cultural message, raise questions about variation in cultural process of book reading in Samoan families. Significant sources for variation include the type of book - storybook and Bible; and recent adoption of a new country (New Zealand) with new messages and practices. Now, it is appropriate to find out if what these studies propose are reflected in the results of this present study.

C. SOCIALIZATION

i) Multiple Voices

Valsiner (1988) claims that the "socialization process" consists of a *collection of voices.* His claim draws on Bakhtin's concept of *heteroglossia* (Bakhtin 1981). This is an argument that in all societies, but particularly multicultural societies, there exist a combination of cultural meanings and messages. That is, children's encounters with their activities in an organised social world are incorporated into their concept of collective culture.

Thus, in the Samoan community any form of socialization activity regardless of it's status (formal or informal), reflects and contrasts cultural messages. For literacy activities such as story-book and Bible reading, the ways in which the expert reader and the novice interact, both expresses and constructs cultural concepts; thereby, carrying socialization patterns.

Valsiner (1988) elaborates on the concept of cultural voices in the context of contemporary cultural circumstances. For example, when a group of people migrate

voluntarily, they take with them their culture which will eventually experience transformational forces impinging on them by the dominant culture. Ogbu J (1990) refers to such a group of people as "immigrant minorities".

This notion is of great importance to the study because it suggests that cultural messages may differ between two environments, for example Samoa and New Zealand. In the present study, differences may emerge from how the Samoans in New Zealand socialise their children in the context of the multiple voices available in their country.

Here, socialization might be viewed as the transmission of cultural knowledge and experiences. Samoan parents transmit both social skills and cultural knowledge to their young, and through these experiences, children construct the formalities that are expected of them. For example; during Bible reading, Samoan children have this expectancy that the older members of the family always read first. Although they may not fully comprehend why it happens, they have internalised such actions as valid and appropriate. "Socialization in this framework consists of making sense out of the world and procedures for engaging in it from one generation to the next" (Ochs, 1988:p6). In Samoan families, each household member has been socialised according to their participation within culturally structured events.

A second claim that Valsiner makes focuses on the role of the child rearers and on the child, as an active transformer of cultural messages. He views the socialization of children as a category of the collective culture. Such channels of socialization equip the children with expertise and knowledge which develop their personal culture. It also leads to transforming the collective culture through externalised action.

Hence, Valsiner claims that "all participants in the cultural transmission process are actively transforming the cultural messages" (1988). Applying this claim to the proposed study implies that an expert reader and the novice are involved in modifying the cultural elements present in the socialization patterns of Samoan mothers and their children when engaged in reading activities.

The two claims provide a challenging proposition about the roles of primary socialization agents. These include having to reinvent, select and adapt to the cultural voices available to them. This principle may be relevant to the New Zealand-based Samoans due to survival mechanisms developed to adapt to the new resources available to them in their "hostland".

ii) Culturally Organised Settings

Valsiner (1985) argues for the importance of cultural organisation in a child's environment. He claims that the objects present in the child's environment, carry meanings which represent the belief systems of the household members. These objects are functional and symbolic of the child's culture.

His claim can be applied to the Samoan context of literacy development. For example, many Samoan families in New Zealand and in Samoa have in their households, a chart called the *Pi Tautau* (Ochs 1988) and (McNaughton & Ka'ai 1990). This particular chart is an historic object as illustrated by the parents who were interviewed in the study. They claimed that they had learnt how to read and write from the Pi Tautau. The Pi Tautau has been revised and modernised to the social reality of Samoan children. For example; previously the letter E has been pictured as associated with the word *elefane* (elephant). There are no elephants in Samoa, so elefane has been changed to *esi* (pawpaw) which is something with which Samoan children can identify.

Sunday Schools of LMS (London Missionary Society) descent, use the Pi Tautau in Pastor's Schools for preschool-aged children (Duranti & Ochs 1988). This particular chart has become a solid foundation in emergent literacy amongst Samoan children, as most Samoan families believe that the Pi Tautau was where a child was first exposed to acquiring literacy skills. Ochs (1988) underlines this significance claiming that "Samoan children generally first acquire literacy skills in a village Pastor's School" (pg 200). Hence, children's environments are "active agencies which express

and construct socially and culturally based ways of living" (McNaughton 1991). A child's environment then carries many potentialities in the channelling of his or her acquisition of literacy skills.

Firstly, a child's surroundings is a resource for them to construct knowledge. Secondly, a child's environment becomes the medium of interactions. The presence of others in the interaction process helps the child in developing their own notions about specific learnings. In emergent literacy generally, these tutorial encounters have been referred to as characteristic of scaffolding instruction (eg Sulzby & Teale 1981). But this model is seen as a mechanism of social and cultural context. This means that different tutorials may occur which have different purposes which communities might have for literacy.

Here, Valsiner's (1988) concepts of ZFM (Zone of Freedom of Movement) and ZPA (Zone of Promoted Actions) can inform our understanding of what a child's environment offers. The former constitutes the environment, set of objects in that environment, and set of actions on these objects, which is made available for the developing child at a given period of development. The latter covers the subset of objects and actions that the child's social environment actively promotes to the child to use and perform. The ZPA can be used for studying parents' preference of their children's actions. For example; when a family is employed in a reading activity, everything that surrounds the child are objects and actions which encourages the child to actively respond to the expert reader's questions and comments.

It would be interesting to determine how Valisner's concepts are operational in the present study, considering the two functionally different environments in which the observed families reside. Families in Samoa would have more environmental freedom in their houses and surroundings than the families observed in New Zealand. This could produce a variation between the two groups of families in how the children are socialised which could lead to a differentiation of interactional patterns when engaged in the reading activities. For Samoan families, verbal actions such as constant praising and complimenting the child is expected to be used to motivate the child to respond.

The presence of the extended family members during reading activities may also contribute to the acquisition of the children's literacy competence.

A study by McNaughton & Ka'ai (1990) focused on the effects of children's cultural backgrounds on their reading abilities. These groups included children who were from Maori and Samoan descent. They were closely monitored from the time they were four over the transition to school. The children were predicted to achieve well at school - and they did. The main income earners in each family had non-professional occupations. The researchers discovered that these children had the similar "textual commitment" to that of middle-class Pakeha families. Features of the standard scaffolding operated in their interactions with the expert reader. But their interactions also featured what the authors called Performance Routines. These were the routines which the child would repeat or imitate what the reader had read from the text.

McNaughton & Ka'ai found diversity in the shifts between different ways of reading storybooks. These shifts appeared in other texts such as picture books, nursery rhymes and in Bible reading with Samoan families. This finding of patterned diversity can be researched further in my study.

The question of the role of occupational and economic forces in constructing socialization can be raised. Fox (1990) describes children from low socioeconomic families as being "at risk" of being illiterates in a diverse society such as the United States. She describes how an ***epidemiological paradigm*** identifies and classifies factors that place a group (not individuals) at risk, in their development of conventional literacy. Here, researchers seek "risk factors" in children's home and community background, which could have related to the antecedents present early in the children's lives. This particular paradigm adopts a deficit hypothesis, presuming that school difficulties are the direct result of cognitive deficits present in the children's home environment and community. This leads to educational explanations which blame the children, their parents and communities for the risk of reading failure.

Families are seen as immediately deficient when they do not provide the children an environment for stimulation.

This is an interesting notion to consider in the following study. A question arises as to the similarity of families observed in New Zealand to those families studied in McNaughton & Ka'ai's research. That is, the Samoan families in New Zealand may show similar outcomes because the parent's occupations of the families were also within the non-professional category.

However, a non-deficit view of Samoan children argue, that they experience the richness of traditional elements of everyday living which provides them with an enriching environment. A Samoan child's natural environment contributes to the development of a child's literacy skills. A personal experience provides an example; the children in Samoa are rarely restricted from places. The sea is a place of experimentation and play with supervision given by older family members of children's use of the sand. Children leave messages for their friends on the sand on which to draw pictures. These messages are usually in the form of numbers and other objects with which the children are familiar. In these activities, a child gradually confronts concepts about print.

It is also understood that a child in Samoa has the freedom to move from one household to the next, except when crossing the main road. This freedom of space allows the children to be in contact with people in their villages. The constant closeness to people would help develop their sense of value in their communities and provide access to different literacy experiences.

Ochs (1982) examined the impact of Samoan notions of human nature on the interactions between caregivers and young children. She argued that an influential aspect of Samoan life in it's member's socialization is the *spatial organisation* of family household. According to Ochs, factors such high number of children per family (an average of 6), the absence of interior walls which allows people to interact freely with

other family members.....and so forth, all create a social environment for a Samoan child. Hence, when Samoan children socialise, they do so with usually more than one person involved. They learn to interact with several family members in the *aiga potopoto* (extended family).

These examples are of the potential richness in children's socialization when considered from a cultural and contextual framework. Fox (1990) proposes an alternative to the epidemiological paradigm; called the ***ecological paradigm***. This paradigm argues that different socialization patterns may lead to a conflict or mismatch between the language values, interaction patterns and knowledge that children bring to school and expectations of teachers and curriculum planners. It implies that a discontinuity can exist between the children's home culture and school's culture which places them at risk. Cultural mismatch does not cause reading failure, yet it is the sociocultural and school-related factors that interact and cause delay in school learning and low reading performance in school activities. Hence, the risk in this paradigm is controlled by the education system.

Again, the cultural mismatch is an important aspect to consider because the children observed in New Zealand, all attended a Samoan Aoga Amata (preschool). The area of interest here is the ecology of the literacy development of these children (including children from Samoa) at their homes. How they are socialised through literacy activities in their homes and Aoga Amata, whether it is different from how mainstream families conduct their teachings at home regarding reading.

Many have researched this Home-School cultural intersection and have concluded that a mismatch places the child at risk of reading failure. For example, researchers such as Heath (1983), Mickelson (1990) and Edwards (1989) have claimed

that in some communities, home culture does not provide the child with language patterns that are required in the school. However, it appears that it does provide the child with patterns required for the family's community.

The above arguments focus on the child's home culture as instrumental in his or her acquisition of literacy skills, both for the family and for school forms of literacy. Just as this thesis aims at understanding the potential contribution of the Samoan culture to the development of young children's literacy skills in context. The dynamic properties of the children's cultural background and their contribution to reading development needs to be understood. The co-construction framework, provided by Valsiner together with the ecological paradigm argument provided by Fox (1990) predict that the children in the study will construct literacy within the socialization provided by their significant roles in their home cultures.

If any differences occur between the two groups of families, it could relate to the new experiences by families observed in New Zealand. Although they may still practice and live a fa'asamoa way of life, there are still social factors which could either add to their value system or replace some of the ways in which they would normally interact with their children. How these families are socialised may vary according to the resources and materials that are available to them, especially within the children's Preschool.

As the parents of the New Zealand children were born and raised in Samoa, it is an interesting concept to enquire if the two sets of parents (Samoa and New Zealand) share a "single collection of voices", or even separate sets. This can be discovered in how the parents interact with the children within the proposed reading tasks.

CHAPTER TWO
-METHOD-

A. FAMILIES AND CHILDREN FROM WESTERN SAMOA

The study was conducted in the island of Upolu; Western Samoa. Upolu is the second largest and the most populated of the four major islands that compose Western Samoa. Apia, which is the capital of Western Samoa is situated in Upolu, which is the major centre for commercial and governmental affairs.

Upolu was chosen because it was where I have been raised as a child, therefore I was familiar with it's region and the environments of the families with whom I observed. It was also the residential area of most of my relatives, which was of practical value to the research. That is, accommodation, transport and food were provided at no extra cost.

The villages in the study were both located in the west-eastern area of Upolu. The preference for such an area, was due to it's rural origin and location. Rural localities were selected because the urban regions would be under influenced by the sources of information about literacy and learning that would be similar to the families studied in New Zealand. The main objective behind the choice of area was to select families and children who were living more traditional patterns. Although there are numerous rural villages in Upolu, two were selected because of my personal connections to the people from those villages.

Some prominent figures in Samoa's educational field also reside in Upolu which provided easier access for interviewing. Not only for important educators, but the main office for Education is in Upolu.

I interviewed two women who were well known in the Samoan community for their contributions to the promotion of Samoa's educational efforts. These women were selected because they possessed knowledge and expertise on Samoa's literacy

development. Knowing one of them personally as she used to be my Sunday School teacher in the village of Moata'a, was an extra bonus.

The first interview was with the acting Vice-Principal at the time of Western Samoa's Teachers Training College. The interview was organised through a telephone call for an appointment and took approximately 45 minutes. It was conducted in her office at Malifa.

The second interview was with the President of Western Samoa's Literacy Committee. She was also my Sunday School teacher almost three decades ago, and had extended her expertise and wisdom in the combination of literacy practises within Church literacy activities and within the Government schools.

Both interviews had further value in that these two women had expended considerable energy on building local awareness of how literacy can be best accommodated with the assistance of the cultural elements in fa'asamoa.

Ten families were involved. The children focused on in the families, were aged between three and four years old. These children were the ones observed. There were five boys and five girls.

All children from the ten families were mono-lingual, and there were ten children chosen from these families. They were fluent speakers of the Samoan language. Some children may have had a small understanding of the English language which was insufficient to label them as *bilingual*. Evidence for this can be found in the transcripts where they infrequently used English words and solely as a reference to the illustrations. English was rarely used in a sentence format.

None of the children attended a preschool because there were no preschools operating at the time of the research. However, both villages previously had operated preschools, but due to a variety of reasons, they were stopped.

The children's status in their family household consisted of only two types; they were either the only child or the youngest in the family. Six were the youngest siblings, and four were the only children in their families. All ten children attended

their local village's Sunday School and the Pastor's School. With their similar ages, they were slotted into the same class called the *Vasega Amata.*

The adult readers (henceforth called facilitators), had different sorts of familial status which potentially explains the variation in their interactions. This variation consisted of four mothers, three grandmothers, two sisters (older) and an aunty.

The facilitators were those who were available for the observations and were those who typically engaged in the task of reading with the children. It is important to note here that upon my arrival at the children's homes as the researcher, there was already an older member of the families who assumed that they were required for the tasks. These people were the ones mentioned in the paragraph above. Given the instructions provided by the researcher, this was a natural assumption because each family wanted to know what the research aimed at achieving. And of course they wanted to know what their children were required to do. These requirements were not enforced upon the families nor the children in any way, rather they were instructed to perform what they naturally did when engaged in a literacy activity.

Some facilitators (readers) asked if they were required for the activities and they were told that if they were the people who usually accompanied their children with literacy tasks, they were welcome to continue their interventions. Those who did not ask, were the facilitators who had naturally assumed that they were involved. I guess that such assumptions were the results of their direct involvement included in the explanations of what was required for the observations. Here, it is important to note that this was done unintentionally. Maybe if a family member had opposed their direct involvement, the instructions would have been more precise as to who the facilitator would be. All the facilitators were familiar with the tasks, as they were the usual people whom the children engaged as conversational partners. The adult-readers of these children were also the people who usually assisted the children in their Sunday School work such as learning the memory verses (tauloto), the Faitau Pi and so forth.

The occupations of the children's parents varied little. There were two categories into which these parental occupations fell. Firstly, there were parents who

were unemployed. Parents under this category were either solo-parent, had worked for a short period of time or had never worked at all. Although these parents were labelled as "unemployed" in terms of not receiving a salary or wage, they were very occupied during the week with family, church and village duties. For example, a family member may have responsibilities in cleaning the church boundaries or flower arrangements.

The second category were a group of parents with clerical and professional jobs. For example, one couple worked for the Polynesian Airlines office at the main Faleolo Airport. Another mother was a Primary school teacher and one used to be a bank-teller in Apia.

The occupations of the readers who were not parents were nevertheless similar to the children's parents' professions. The fact that they were present during the observations indicated that they were all unemployed, except for one mother who was a Primary school teacher. Of the two sisters who facilitated their brothers, one was attending a Primary school and the other was working. These two children were observed during the weekend. One of the grandmothers used to be a teacher and the rest were unemployed at the time of the study.

There were only two children who had no books of their own in their homes. That is, there were no story or picture books present in their households. The only readable material available in the two homes was the Samoan Bible, Samoan Hymn book and the Faitau Pi. These two children were rarely read to, except during the evening devotions (lotu afiafi) in which the Bible was read by older members of the extended family.

The remaining eight children had books of their own, mainly written in the English language. Although they could not read them, they were familiar with the story by looking at the pictures and the actions (prompts and cues) of the readers. For example, in one of the families, the reader made up a story to the child in their own words in the Samoan language.

In the study, readers were observed reading books that were nominated as familiar books. The list of English books which the families used as their familiar reading text was:

- Alan Snow's Wonderful World of Animals, Birds, Bees and Flowers.
- The Bible Story by Arthur Maxwell
- Prayers for a Child by Rachael Field
- A Child's Story of a Farm in Living Pictures by Radcliffe Howarth
- I Can Do It Myself by Emily Perl Kingsley
- Boys and Girls of the Bible by Charles L Paddock

It is worth mentioning here that most of the books on the list are related to the stories in the Bible. It is evident that the Church plays an important role in the development of the children's literacy skills.

Other reading materials present in the homes were newspapers in the Samoan language, English and Samoan textbooks belonging to older members of the families. All subjects were observed in their homes.

B. FAMILIES AND CHILDREN FROM NEW ZEALAND

All families lived within a small residential locality in South Auckland, in the suburbs of Mangere, Papatoetoe and Otahuhu. A major influence on the selection was that these areas had within their community a Samoan Preschool, which was a special criteria in selecting the children. That is, to avoid the wide variety of influences that the New Zealand society may have on the Samoan families, it was decided that the children would have to comply to several criteria. The criterion that a child had to be attending a Samoan preschool, was chosen because it might be that preschool education provided a source of information about reading books to children. Also, these preschools encourage the children to speak Samoan which could lead to both

New Zealand and Samoan families sharing core cultural meanings that are provided linguistically.

i) Families

There were eight children chosen from the above-mentioned South Auckland suburbs. All eight children from the selected families were fluent speakers of the Samoan language. They were *bilingual* in the sense that they spontaneously imitated English words which their older sister or brother had said. These exchanges may not have been directly addressed at the children, but they could easily absorb what had been transmitted. They would also use words from the television commercials and characters even though they may have rarely watched them. So, their bilingualness was more emphasised in their ability to converse fluently in Samoan with a few insertions of English words which they often used correctly in terms of meanings. The children consisted of five girls and three boys. Four of the children were four years old and the remaining four were three years of age.

There were several criteria applied in choosing the families. Firstly, the children were expected to be enrol and attend a Samoan Preschool. This particular criteria aimed at getting children who were involved in programmes which promoted the importance of the Samoan language. It was also an easier way of approaching the families, as the children's mothers were the usual facilitators. Thus, the children were extracted from two Preschools; one in Mangere and the other in Otahuhu.

These two preschools were selected as I personally knew those who were in the positions of authority. The closeness of the preschools to my home was also taken into consideration.

The children from Samoa and New Zealand had parallel characteristics in that all attended the same church denomination. They are exposed to the same systems of teaching in their Sunday and Pastor's Schools. They are not however related to each other.

As some of the children were observed individually in their preschool environment, gaining the supervisor's consensus was required. Fortunately, both supervisors were pleased with the aim of the study and permission was granted to observe the children within their learning environment.

Another characteristic of the New Zealand families, was that they had to be attending a Church with a single denomination. Thus, the eight families were from the CCCS (Congregational Christian Church of Samoa) denomination. The Samoan people refer to this particular church as the *Lotu Ta'iti*. Meleisea has described it as the "longest established church in Western Samoa" (1987:55). This is one of the most developed churches in New Zealand for the Samoan people.

As the children attended the CCCS, they were all enrolled in the Sunday School class called the Vasega Amata. This is similar to the children studied in Western Samoa, where they attended the same Sunday School class. Again, this is one of the most influential environment in which Samoan children in New Zealand are socialised. The children were all born and raised in New Zealand. They are categorised as first generation children of Samoan living in New Zealand.

As mentioned earlier, one of the objectives of the study was to observe the differences of fa'asamoa in the two settings. However, if the New Zealand children were born and raised in Samoa, it may create similar outcomes to those living in Samoa.

Familial status of these children parallelled those in Samoa. Five children were the youngest members of their immediate families. One child was the eldest of the two children in the family. The other two were the middle of three siblings. None of the children was an only child of the family, unlike the children from Samoa where three of them were the only offsprings in their respective families.

The facilitators or readers of six of the families were the children's own mothers. One reader was the child's grandmother and another was an aunty of the child.

The selection of the facilitators or readers followed the pattern that was used in the families from Samoa. It was whoever was available during the observations and those were the usual people with whom the children engaged as conversational partners. As five of the children were observed in their preschool, their facilitators were the customary people who accompanied them daily. These mothers, an aunty and a grandmother play an important role in the management of the preschool. The observations and interviews were conducted in a vacant room near the main learning area. It can be argued that there is no functional difference between the children observed in their home environments and those observed at the preschool. Both were equivalent settings in that the preschool setting was familiar and culturally organised like the child's home environment.

The remaining three children were observed in their homes. These children attended a different Preschool in Mangere. The other five, went to a preschool situated in Otahuhu. Observations which were carried out in the children's homes were as such because this was the time that the mothers were available. Although two of the three mothers were unemployed, they were quite occupied with their family and church commitments. Both usually accompanied their child to the preschool. One mother who facilitated her child was working therefore the study had to be conducted at her home.

The fathers of the children were the major income earners of their families. Three couples were working which led to the child's grandmother and aunty chaperoning them to the preschool. The professions of the children's fathers had little variation, as they were all engaged in manual labour.

The available material in the home and preschool consisted of a large variety of books, magazines, English daily newspapers such as the New Zealand Herald, the local Courier, Samoan newspapers (Manu Samoa, Observer and Samoana), Samoan Bibles, English Bibles, Samoan Hymn books, Encyclopaedia sets, books with biblical stories, school textbooks or picture books belonging to the older members of the family, Faitau Pi and book in the Samoan language geared for adult readers.

The three children who were observed in their homes provided their own books as a familiar reading. They were as follows:

Colours	-	designed and illustrated by Lynn N Grundy (1988)
Faitau Pi	-	published by the Malua Printing Press for preschool readers in the CCCS church.

The other five children who were studied in their preschool used a book from their preschool shelf, which they were all familiar with. This book is the same as one of the unfamiliar books which were used for all of the families in Samoa and New Zealand. The book is called *O le Maile* by Leon and Fran Huia (1991). All families had a television set, which was also an effective mechanism for acquiring various literacy skills.

-PROCEDURES-

A. FAMILIES AND CHILDREN FROM SAMOA

The ten children were observed individually in their homes. The recorded sessions consisted of the four set reading activities; *familiar storybook, two unfamiliar storybooks* and *Bible reading.* Each session had a time duration of fifteen to twenty minutes. The personal interviews with the families about their literacy backgrounds were also tape recorded. All families gave their consent for video and audio-taping the sessions. At the end of each session, a gift of appreciation (meaalofa) was presented to the families.

In each family, the instructions which were given to the adult reader were the same. These are described in detail below. As each recorded session was my first acquaintance with the families, it was normal to begin the introduction with an important notion in the Samoan culture which was to greet each other with the "malo exchange" (Duranti & Ochs, 1988).

For some families, I had to introduce myself first before introducing my reasons for being there. The other families already knew of me and my background. Therefore, they asked further questions which were either a confirmation of what they had been informed about me (by family members with whom I stayed) or to elaborate on my family's church background. These were the kinds of topics which informally acted as ice-breakers before the actual recordings started.

This was followed by a short introduction to the study and it's objectives. The consent forms and their purposes were explained and signed by the persons who agreed to play the role of the facilitator. The information sheets were also given to them, which were written in the Samoan language. In all cases, this procedure meant a relaxed collaboration between the participants and myself.

As the families were excited and eager to participate, the facilitators asked questions of what was expected of them, before they were given the actual

instructions. Their questions indicated that the facilitators were both motivated to engage in, and had some experience in, handling reading activities.

The instructions were designed to be simple and to not in any way communicate beliefs or expectations about how reading should be conducted. Each reader or facilitator was asked to perform what they naturally do when engaged in literacy activities.

Each reader was asked to assist the child in the four reading activities. Through this assistance, they were again reminded to use the procedures which they have been practising in such activities.

i) Tasks

Familiar Text

For the familiar reading session, each reader was asked to produce a book with which the child was familiar (masani). This familiarity had to evolve around the child's perspective on the book. That is, the book had to be known by the child; being fully acquainted with it's reading. In other words, the child and the reading material was literally aware of each other.

Further directions were that it could be any readable material that the child occasionally looked at together with older family members or by themselves. When two of the children had no book of their own to use as a familiar reading, the Samoan Hymn book was used as a replacement. This was chosen because it's content and purpose were something with which the child was familiar. Although the language used in the Samoan Hymn book is quite complicated and advanced for three and four year olds, at least it was a recognisable book to them.

All families were encouraged (but not required) to commence their reading sessions with the familiar text. It was felt that most children might have been intimidated by my presence with a video and tape recorder. Children in rural areas

rarely come across such situations, and one way to reduce their being shy and maximise their concentration was to start with an activity that was relatively similar.

In all cases, children and readers were attentive to the tasks. The two case of families who were shy, completed the activities. Each family was instructed to do what they usually did with the child under such circumstances. From earlier research and pilot studies, it was clear that they may have done several things. So it was decided to tell them that whatever they did would be appropriate, and refer to the possible different things as examples:

- read to the child and see if he/she responds.
- talk about the story
- on a second reading of each text, ask the child to recite the story first, before the actual reading takes place. (This was suggested to observe if the child had remembered anything from the previous reading. This took the form of verbal exchanges between the reader and child.)

These examples were only given to accommodate the reader's own experiences about literacy instruction. Regardless of whether the readers asked for information or not on what they were required to do, these examples were provided as a guide. These examples were not given to the readers to abide by as each facilitator was asked to perform in the manner they were accustomed to (masani), rather they were blended with the informal discussions in which the families and myself engaged. Thus, it was up to them to decide whether to utilise any of these or not. It was discovered that the instructions which I had provided were familiar to the families in the way they engaged with their youngsters in literacy activities; meaning that they tended to read first then question the child about the narrative or illustrations.

Unfamiliar Texts

Reading the two unfamiliar texts (of which I had provided) was the second and third activity. As the books were written in the Samoan language, they aroused the families interests because they had been rarely exposed to such books. Initially, the families in the study had been asked about the types of books which might have occasionally been displayed around the children. It was discovered that reading material within the households were mainly in the English and a few in the Samoan language. However, the level of the English and Samoan language used in these manuscripts was complex and only suitable for adult readers. Similar books to the ones provided by the study, were available at the town preschool but not in extensive numbers. The Unfamiliar books were as follows:

- *"O le Maile"*, written by Leon & Fran Hunia (1991)
- *"Leiloa"*, written by Epi Swan (1992)
- *"Palusami"*, written by Aimeamiti Leota V Luatua (1990)
- *"O le Tulituli"*, written by Luhiano Perez (1991)

These books were provided by the researcher. They were all written in the Samoan language, printed in New Zealand and made suitable for Samoan preschool readers. All books were published at the Ministry of Education in Wellington, and were available in other Pacific Island languages.

Either one of the first two books (*O le Maile, Leiloa*) was used in most of the families. *O le Maile* was a simple composition which focussed on identifying different kinds of canines and their colours. *Leiloa* consisted of a young girl who lost herself while looking for her parents. The first text (*O le Maile*) was always used first, to prepare the child for the next book (either *Leiloa* or other texts) whose contents consisted of a more advanced vocabulary; but were still considered readable for preschoolers. One or other of the two last texts (*Palusami, O le Tulituli*) were used as the second unfamiliar book, depending on the social experience of the child at the time. For example, one child had just witnessed the production of a *lua'u* or *palusami* (food

made from taro leaves and coconut cream in a stone oven or *umu*), it was then felt that using the book *Palusami* would be appropriate, in terms of the child being actively engaged in the task.

As the unfamiliar texts were given to the families, they assumed that a new set of instructions were required, which resulted in their immediate questions of what was expected of them. However, the same instructions were provided as were given at the beginning of the familiar book reading session.

Bible Reading

The reading of the Samoan Bible was the fourth and last activity involved in the study. Bible reading sessions, however, had slightly different instructions. The major instruction again, was for them to follow their normal (masani) procedures which they used when engaged in Bible reading. The example, however was to interact, as if the reader was teaching the child a memory verse. Most of the children have already had a memory verse (tauloto) in their minds from their churches yearly programmes of White Sunday and Pastor's School, which they proudly recited during the observations. The latter is sometimes referred to as *Suega Samoa* which are examinations based on Bible stories. The exams are conducted in the Samoan language.

Another reason behind such an instruction, was to observe if scaffolding operated in Bible reading, and whether the parents expertise in Bible reading has a particular historic pattern.

The families choices of texts from the Bible, were almost the same. They were all told to select which ever text they preferred.

Seven families chose the famous Psalm of David, twenty-three. Their reasons were that the child was familiar with the passage and could almost recite it without the assistance of the facilitator. Some of the children were learning this particular chapter as a memory verse in their Sunday School classes.

Although the children's familiarity with the chosen text might have meant that scaffolding would be difficult to operate, the results received from this section of the study clearly illustrated the features of scaffolding in practice.

One family chose the book of Psalm, Chapter one. Again the facilitator explained that it was a regular chapter that was often recited by the older children in the family.

Another family selected the book of Proverbs, chapter fifteen. The adult reader in this family had explained that this specific chapter portrayed biblical messages in acquiring wisdom, which was the reason why she chose such a passage from the Bible.

However, one reader opened the Bible and selected at random a text. Her methods of selection had no special inquiry about it.

B. FAMILIES AND CHILDREN FROM NEW ZEALAND

The eight children were observed individually, some in their homes and others in their Early Childhood Centres. The recorded sessions, involved four set reading activities. They were the *familiar, two unfamiliar readings and the bible reading.* The personal interviews with the families were also included in the recordings. Prior to the recordings, all families gave their consent for video and audio-taping the sessions.

The instructions provided for these families, were the same as the ones given to the families in Samoa for all four reading sessions. I knew most of the families which made the observations faster and easier. However, I introduced myself to the families whom I had not been acquainted with before. The consent forms were explained and signed by those who volunteered to be the child's facilitator. All consent forms were written in the Samoan language.

Of course there were questions asked by the families, and most focused on the importance of the study and how much it was going to contribute to the up-bringing of Samoan children residing in New Zealand. Such discussions led to the families being cooperative with the requirements of the study.

i) Tasks

Familiar Text

The selection of familiar texts for the eight families was similar to the procedures used for the families in Samoa. Reading a familiar text was recommended for these families too, so that the child could slowly become adapt to the requirements of the study.

As five of the children attended the same Aoga Amata (Early Childhood Centre) in Otahuhu, their readers chose a storybook from the Centre's bookshelf called *O le Maile*, which the children were familiar with. This text was used by the ten families in Samoa as their first Unfamiliar text. Therefore, these five families read only one unfamiliar text. The remaining three families used different texts; two in the Samoan language and one written in English. All three books were geared for preschool-aged readers.

Also these three children had several books for their own use. Some were written in Samoan and others in English. There was a range of reading materials within the households, which consisted of Samoan and English newspapers, text books belonging to older members of the family, Samoan Bible and Hymn book, Faitau Pi and many more.

Unfamiliar Texts

Only three families completed the two unfamiliar readings, as the other five used the second unfamiliar text (O le Maile) as their familiar text. Thus, these five families completed only one unfamiliar text reading. The two unfamiliar texts used by three families were as follows:

- *"O le Maile"*, written by Leon & Fran Hunia (1991)
- *"Leiloa"*, written by Epi Swan (1992)

Only the second text was used by the five remaining families.

Bible Reading

This particular session were given different instructions from those used in the first three reading sessions. These instructions were the same as those used by the families in Samoa for their Bible reading sessions.

The families choices of texts from the Bible, were the same, even though they were told separately to choose which ever text they preferred. All eight readers selected Psalm twenty-three, which was a common text for the children.

CHAPTER THREE
-RESULTS-

The study aimed at describing possible similarities and differences between the families from Samoa and in New Zealand, in how caregivers interacted with their preschool children during story-book and Bible reading. A further objective was to determine and describe the process of "faasamoa" within those activities of storybook and Bible reading, and how these activities contributed to the acquisition of Samoan children's literacy skills within fa'asamoa.

There were six distinctive routines which appeared within the verbal exchanges between the readers and children. These routines appeared within the conversational patterns of families in both Samoa and New Zealand.

A. TAULOTO ROUTINE/PERFORMANCE ROUTINE (TR/PR)

The most prominent routine which occurred in the verbal exchanges between the readers and the children (in both Samoa and Auckland) was the *PERFORMANCE ROUTINE.* In such a routine, the reader would read a word, words or a sentence or parts thereof, and the child duplicated what had been said. These exchanges can be described as the child echoing the reader's utterances. The process feature of the Performance Routine is that, whatever the reader reads from the text, the child repeats it.

Example 1 - Reader - I le tasi aso To'onai (One Saturday)
Child - I le tasi aso To'onai.

Repetition of parts of a sentence also qualified as a Performance Routine.

Example 2: - Reader - Ua fetalai mai Ieova ia Mose
Child - Ua fetalai Ieova.

These exchanges were initiated by the reader only. However, when a reader's utterances contained meanings and objects which were additions to those the book provided and the child imitated them, such a tutorial was not coded as a Performance Routine. Similarly, when a reader elaborated or retold what she had read in her own words and the child echoed it, that was also not a Performance Routine. Also, when the reader talked about the illustrations and the pictures in which the book displayed and the child repeated it, again it did not qualify as a Performance routine.

This particular routine can be traced back to many generations of Samoan families. It appears to have been operating in literacy activities since the arrival of the first missionaries in Samoa. Thus, the existence of the Performance routine in all four reading activities was intensive.

Since the process of the Performance Routine is a duplicate of how Samoan children are taught to learn their memory verses, it was appropriate to call such a routine; the *TAULOTO ROUTINE*. Reasons for such a claim will be elaborated and clarified in the Discussion section of this thesis.

i) Families In Samoa

The families observed in Samoa all practised the Tauloto Routine in their interactions. Although for few families on some texts, the Tauloto routine did not occur, it was still apparent that this routine was a very familiar feature of the verbal exchanges between the readers and the children.

Table 1.1 represents the individual and average frequencies with which the *Tauloto Routine* or the *Performance Routine* was used by the families in Samoa when engaged in the four reading activities. The percentage of the exchanges out of the total number of different routines is shown also.

One major result, was how the routines dominated the exchanges during the Bible Readings. In comparison to the other types of routines which will be described

later, the Tauloto routine was used almost exclusively within the Bible readings. But it occurred also very frequently in the other three readings.

In the Familiar storybook reading, five families used this routine with the last two families (Family I and J) producing a low frequency of 4 and 5 instances. When reading the first Unfamiliar text, only one family did not perform the Tauloto routine. This family was also the only family in which the Tauloto routine was absent during their reading of the second unfamiliar text and also the familiar text. Family B and E each performed 1 Tauloto routine in the reading of the first Unfamiliar text.

For the second Unfamiliar reading, five families used this routine frequently and Family A, E and F used it infrequently. Family D produced a total of 63 instances which was the most of any family. A noticeable feature across the activities, was that the families performed the Tauloto routine more frequently with the second unfamiliar text, producing an average of 22.6 instances.

In the Bible Readings, the extremely high frequencies from all the families of reading with Tauloto routines, was indicative of the traditional elements underlying the reader's expertise in the activity of Bible reading. Family C and D used the most Tauloto Routines, each producing 63 instances. The last family (Family J) used the routine 12 times. Only Family G did not used it at all. The recorded session shows that the reader from Family G would read a line and then asked the child questions based on what was read. Thus, the child did not ever repeat what the reader had read. This family chose the book of Proverbs. The reader from Family A committed herself to the routine despite the absence of the Tauloto routine in the Familiar and the Unfamiliar readings. It appears that Family A particularly had distinct ways of handling different types of texts, in which the Tauloto routine was reserved for Bible reading only.

In summary, the Tauloto Routine was not only strongly represented in the verbal exchanges between the readers and the children in each text, but it had an almost exclusive presence during the Bible reading activity, with an average of 33.5

times. In general for the four readings, it represents an average of 16.5 (50.22% Table 6.1) of all the routines used.

ii) Families In New Zealand

The Tauloto routine was used also in the families observed in Auckland. The averages from the four activities from New Zealand were similar to the ones obtained from the sample in Samoa. For example, the New Zealand families used the Tauloto routine 9.3 times in the Familiar reading while the Samoan families produced 5.6 instances. Table 1.2 describes the frequencies and percentages with which the *Tauloto Routine* was used by families from Auckland when engaged in the four reading activities.

In the Familiar reading, Family F used the Tauloto 30 times. Only three families A, C and H, did not use the routine. The average for the Familiar Reading was 9.0 instances.

On the first Unfamiliar reading, only three out of eight families (Family B, and H) used the Tauloto routine with Family B producing 24 instances. In the second Unfamiliar Reading, four families (Family B, D, F and H) used the Tauloto Routine producing an average of 19.1 instances.

Out of all the families observed in Auckland, Family B was the only family to use the Tauloto Routine in all four reading tasks. In the second Unfamiliar reading they used the Tauloto routine 76 times in their interactions. This frequency was the highest number recorded in not only the Tauloto routine, but in all of the other routines too.

In the Bible readings, all eight families used the Tauloto routine, again each producing high numbers of these routines. Family A used the Tauloto Routine 45 times while Family E used it 23 times. There were no exceptions for the use of the Tauloto Routine, with the families using this routine in the activity 100% of the time.

B. NARRATIVE QUESTION ROUTINE

The second distinctive exchange was called a NARRATIVE QUESTION ROUTINE. These involved questions which were specifically focussed on the narrative of the storybook and the Bible. The verbal exchanges between the reader and the child were based on the story or parts thereof. This included the use of the child's sharing of his/her former experiences or shared memories that were part of both the reader and child's lived experiences and social reality, which connected or elaborated the narrative meanings.

For example, in the first Unfamiliar text "O le Maile", a reader asked the child what colour the dog was. Instead of replying "white", the child said something else which was relevant and coincided with the colour white.

Example 1:	Mother -	Lanu a le maile lea?
		(What colour is this dog?)
	Child -	Lanu ofulotu
		(Church clothes colour)
	Mother -	Lanu paepae a?
		(White colour eh?)

Although the "church clothes" were not mentioned in the book, the child used his experiences to describe what colour the dog represented. This particular child's father was teaching at Malua Theological College in Western Samoa which provided a shared experience for the child to respond. Example 1 did not qualify as a Display question because the narrative of the text clearly mentioned the colour of the dog which is "O le maile pa'epa'e".

Other questions which helped elaborate the narrative were also categorised as Narrative questions, even though these elaborations were not mentioned in the text. That is, a reader would ask questions that were related to the text but were not exactly

within the text. Such questions seemed to be aimed at widening the child's vocabulary, and also drew from the child's experiences. For example:

Example 2:	Reader -	O le a le mea e fiafia le moa e 'ai?
		(What do chickens like to eat?)
	Child -	Alaisa.
		(Rice)
	Mother -	Alaisa a?

In this second example the book did not describe nor illustrate any rice except for the storyline which was based on Farm Animals. The mother's question appeared to be an elaboration of the child's understanding of the book content. This qualified it as a Narrative question.

All these questions and those which were strictly confined to the narrative alone were included in this first question routine. For example,

Example 3:	Mother -	Aisea ua tagi ai le teine?
		(Why is the girl crying?)
	Child -	Leiloa
		(Lost)
	Mother -	Ua leiloa a?...lelei tele.
		(Is lost eh?...very good)

Their functions appear to include clarifying what has been read and maintaining the child's level of interest. This type of questioning may relate to characters, events, meanings and experiences and were initiated by the reader only.

It is important to note that these questions were asked without the reader "reading" that part of the text to which the question referred first. However, presumably the reading was carried out silently, which resulted in their questioning of

the child about the narrative, which the reader had acquired from her silent reading. Sometimes with questions categorised as a Display type (see below), it was obvious that the reader had not read the text "silently" which resulted in producing such type of questions. But the important factor here for Narrative questions is that the reading was not done ALOUD. However, if a reader received an unsatisfactory answer it was then appropriate to read before questioning the child, which then qualified the exchange as a READING ROUTINE, because the children were being read to. And if the required answer was achieved, the reader would then move on to another separate routine or further elaboration might occur with the routine.

Prior to the commencement of the Narrative Question Routine, a reader would have just finished praising, reading, using another routine or repeating a childs' response. What followed was a pause indicating a silent reading of the text or no silent reading at all.

It is from these "silent readings" that the readers generated their questions. In Example 3, the routine ended when the facilitator had issued praises or repetitions of the child's answer.

In this routine, there were several variations in the sequences which followed the Narrative questions. In all cases, the routine would end with the reader either praising the child's response or repeating the child's answer. This is clearly illustrated in Example 3. Table 2.1 illustrates the number of Narrative-based questions asked by the readers of families from Samoa within the four reading activities.

i) Families In Samoa

There were two families whose readers did not ask any Narrative questions in any text, including the familiar text. These families, Family C and D, were engaged in other forms of conversational patterns, but did not use Narrative questions in any of the four reading activities.

Readers from Family E and J did not ask Narrative questions in the first Unfamiliar text. However, these two families asked the most narrative questions of all families in their Familiar readings, which could be indicative of the type of storybooks present in their households, as these two children had reading materials designated for their own use. The reader in Family J asked a total of 28 questions, one more question than the reader in Family G had asked.

Most of the families used the Narrative Question routine while reading the Familiar text and the second Unfamiliar book. The routines in Family H and I were very high in that 75% of all their routines in the Familiar text, were of this sort.

The first Unfamiliar text O le Maile was associated with a low number of 3.2 instances representing an average of 10% of routines. In the second Unfamiliar text and the Familiar text, the proportions were similar, close to a quarter of all the routines.

ii) Families In New Zealand

In Auckland, eight families were observed. It should be remembered that Families C to G did not use the first Unfamiliar text O le Maile as their unfamiliar text, because the children from these families were already familiar with the text. Thus Families C to G used the O le Maile text as their Familiar reading.

The averages and the proportions of the two groups of families (Samoa and NZ) were relatively close except for the ones produced by the first Unfamiliar text. That is, the families in New Zealand produced a higher mean of 8.3 instances of Narrative Question routines, in the first Unfamiliar reading, than the mean produced by the families in Samoa which was 3.2 instances. The families in New Zealand also produced a higher average of 8.8 instances in the second Unfamiliar text, compared with the 6.2 instance produced by the families in Samoa. The similar pattern of results was reflected in the proportions, in the first Unfamiliar reading. Families observed in New Zealand produced a higher percentage of 19; but the families in Samoa, the

Narrative Routine represented 10% of their routines. In the Familiar reading, the two groups of families were more similar. Families in Samoa produced 6.1 instances while 5.4 was completed by the New Zealand families. Their percentages were also similar in that the families from Samoa were engaged in the activity 23% of the time with New Zealand families producing 22%.

Family B asked the most Narrative questions even though the reader did not ask any narrative-based questions in the Familiar reading. Family D, produced the least amount, only 2 narrative questions, throughout the three reading tasks. This particular family was one of the five families who had only three reading activities as they were familiar with the O le Maile text. That is, they only read one unfamiliar text.

C. READING ROUTINE

The third routine that was used within the verbal exchanges of families in Samoa and in New Zealand, was called the *READING ROUTINE.* In this routine, the reader would initiate a conversation by reading the text. What followed the reading, was then similar to the Narrative Question routine. That is, the reader would then question the child based on what had been read. Depending on the answers received, the reader would either correct, praise or repeat the child's responses. These ***readings*** consisted of the reader reading between a line and a paragraph from the text. For example:

Example 1:	Reader -	"I le tasi aso To'onai..." Aso a?
		[faalogo] .."i le tasi aso To'onai"...aso a?
		("One Saturday.." What day?
		[listen] .."one Saturday.." what day?
	Child -	To'onai (Saturday)
	Reader -	Aso To'onai (Saturday)

In some families, when the reading was finished, the readers would recite what had been read in their own words. This process can be called the *re-telling* of what was initially read by the reader. Usually, this act of re-telling was a simplified version of the original line (s) which the reader had read. Such a practice can be linked with traditional features of oral narratives in Samoa called **Fagogo**. Fagogo is an ancient practice of story-telling by elder members of a family to the children. Milner G B (1993) defined fagogo as followed:

> *"tale..this kind of tale is only told at night and the exclamation 'aue is used by the audience to punctuate the story and assure the speaker that they are still awake and interested"*

These type of stories were usually imaginary and were sometimes based on the myths and legends which originated from Samoa.

If the fagogo or retelling component occurred after reading, the sequence was similar to the Narrative Question routine. That is, the readers would question the children based on what was read and re-told. This act of re-telling was included in the sequences of the Reading routine. For example:

Example 2:	Reader -	"I le tasi aso Toonai, sa o ai o'u matua e fagogota i le uafu. Sa ma nonofo ma lo'u tuagane matua i le fale"...o le tala lea a le teine lea e faamatala..o le a le aso lea na o ai matua o le teine e fagogota?
	Child -	O le aso Toonai (Saturday)
	Reader -	Lelei (Good)

However in other families, instead of re-telling what had been read, the readers would immediately ask questions of the children. These questions were focussed on the narrative of the text. The only difference between this and the Narrative Question routine, was that one commenced with the reading of the text. The Reading Routine was initiated by the reader only.

i) Families In Samoa

The families in Samoa were engaged in this routine during the reading activities. Table 3.1 illustrates the use of the Reading Routine by families in Samoa within the four reading tasks.

The results in Table 3.1 show that when reading the first three books, some families used the Reading Routine while some did not. In the Familiar reading, only one family out of the ten used the Reading routine - it happened twice. The average number for this reading was a low of 0.2 instances.

The average for all four activities produced low means and proportions. In the two Unfamiliar readings, the first text produced a mean of 2.4 instances, using only 4.8% of the total routines. As for the second Unfamiliar text, the families participated in the routine producing an average of 2.5 instances. The percentage of routine was only 7.4%. In the Bible readings, the Reading routine did not occur.

ii) Families In New Zealand

In comparison, families in New Zealand used the Reading routine more than those from Samoa. Table 3.2 provides the means and proportion of the Reading Routine, used by the New Zealand families within the four reading activities.

Family A and H used the Reading routine in the three storybooks, but not in the Bible reading section. The same two families and Family G were the only families who were engaged in the routine in the Familiar readings.

The means and proportions of all the storybook readings were higher than those produced by the families in Samoa. The mean frequency for the Familiar reading was 2.7 instances which was higher than the 0.2 instance which the Samoan families had produced. Reasons to the existence of such a difference will be discussed in a later section.

D. DISPLAY QUESTION ROUTINE

This particular routine is similar to the Narrative question routine, in that both routines start with a *question*, which is initiated by the readers. In this routine, the question demanded answers which were provided by the illustrations in the texts. Thus the routine is called the *DISPLAY QUESTION ROUTINE.*

The exchanges within this routine were focussed on the child's ability to label what was displayed by the illustration in the storybooks. The basic exchange was a typical IRE (Initiation-Response-Evaluation) sequence (Cazden, 1988) with the addition of praising and the repetition of the children's responses. Ninio and Bruner (1978) defined such a sequence as a three-part step routine, in which it included an optional attentional vocative before the first step of *query, a response* and finally *feedback.*

Such exchanges were initiated by the reader, which were focussed on either the illustrations or the print provided in the texts. That is, the reader may ask what the picture represented or how a word was spelt or any other concepts about print. An example of a typical Display Question was as follows:

Example 1 :	Reader -	O le a le mea lea e 'ai e le maile?
		(What is the dog eating?)
	Child -	Ponaivi (Bone)
	Reader -	Ponaivi, ia lelei
		(Bone, okay good)

Example 1 above was from the transcripts of the first Unfamiliar text where the readers asked about the "bone" although the actual mentioning of the bone was non existent in the narrative of this text. However, a picture of the bone in the dog's mouth was one of the text's illustrations, which caught the attention of the readers.

An example of the readers focussing on the print of the text, occurs in the following example:

Example 2:	Reader -	Ta'u le mea lea, o le a le mea lapotopoto lea?
		Say this, what is this round thing?)
	Child -	O le "O" (It is the "O")

Here, the reader was asking the child to identify the letters which spelt a particular word. Although this child could identify the letters of the alphabet, she was not able to sum up what she had spelt. That is, she could not pronounce the whole word.

The labelling of words was not categorised as a Display Question, because a word or words could easily describe or contribute to parts of the narrative on a certain page. The identification of the letters as illustrated in Example 2 was more obviously focused on the display of specific knowledge

i) Families In Samoa

This routine was very common within the conversational patterns of the families from Samoa. Table 4.1 summarises the frequency and proportions of Display Questions used by families in Samoa during the recorded sessions.

No Display Questions occurred within the reader-child exchanges in the Bible readings. Although the readers asked Display questions in all the storybooks, the Familiar readings produced the most questions, with an average of 10.7 instances. In the same reading, all the families were engaged in the Display Question routine amounting to 28% of the total routine. The second Unfamiliar text was associated with the least, families producing an average of 2.8 instances.

The Display routine was absent from the verbal exchanges in Family C and D in all of the four sessions. Family E asked 53 Display questions, in the Familiar reading. Thus, around 75% of the routines this reader used were Display routines. The reader from Family J employed only 4 display questions, when compared to the other families who were actively engaged in the routine

ii) Families In New Zealand

The eight families which were observed in Auckland, also used this routine. Table 4.2 presents the frequency and proportions of Display Questions in reading by families in NZ.

The results in the Bible readings, were the same as those families in Samoa. That is, the families did not ask Display questions in the Bible reading sessions.

In the Familiar readings, seven readers used the routine; Family B was the only family who did not. The reader in Family E asked a total of 21 Display questions (in the Familiar reading). This represented 70% of the total routines used by the families. The mean of this routine in the Familiar reading was 9.0 instances, representing an average percentage of 30%.

Only three families participated in the first Unfamiliar reading as the other five were already familiar with the text allocated for this particular reading. From those three families, only two (Family B and H) used Display questions. These two families produced a mean of 7.0 instances, which represented an average proportion of 12% of the total routines.

In the second Unfamiliar reading, five families used the Display routine. They were Family B, C, E, G and H. The families produced a relatively low mean of 1.8 instances, representing an average percentage of total routines of 5%. Compared to with the results from Samoa, the families in Samoa were more active in asking Display questions.

E. TAG QUESTION

The fifth routine which appeared in the readers' exchanges with the children, was called the *TAG QUESTION*. Such questions are also known as rhetorical or test questions.

Tag Questions were easily identified due to their function of providing the answer within what has been asked. These exchanges were usually short with the child finishing the routine by uttering an agreement statement.

Tag Questions were not categorised by what they had informed the child. That is, such questions may be focussed on the book's narrative or a display or on the child's experiences. All questions were categorised as Tag questions given that the way they were asked needed an answer. These exchanges were initiated by the reader only. Examples of a Tag Question included the following:

Example 1: Reader - E lelei le lanu lea a?
(This is a good colour eh?)
Child - I (Yes)
Reader - Lelei (Good)

Example 2: Reader - O le maile uliuli lea a?

(This is a black dog eh?)

Child - Sa'o (Correct)

Reader - Maile uliuli.

i) Families In Samoa

The families observed in Samoa were also using the Tag Question routine in their exchanges with the children. Table 5.1 provides the frequency and proportions of Tag Questions asked by the families in Samoa, in the four reading activities. The Tag questions did not occur in the Bible readings. However, in the other three texts, the Tag routine appeared with relatively high frequency.

In the Familiar reading, only three families did not ask any Tag Questions. Family A asked the most - 16 questions. These questions represented for this family 55% of their total routines on this book. The mean number of Tag routines produced by all the families was 4.2 instances, representing an average of 20% of the total routines.

As for the first Unfamiliar text, Family G asked a high number of tag questions - 25 questions. Four families out of the observed ten used the routine, producing a mean of 6.5 instances. The average percentage of routines this represented in the first Unfamiliar text was 17%.

The second Unfamiliar text produced a similar mean of 4.2 instances representing a proportion of 13% of the total routines. Two of the families did not use any tag questions in this reading. They were Family C and D.

ii) Families In New Zealand

The Tag Question routine also occurred in the verbal interaction of the New Zealand families. Table 5.2 describes the frequency and proportions with which the

Tag question was used by families from Auckland, when engaged in the four reading tasks.

No tag questions were used in the Bible readings. Within the Familiar readings, five families were engaged in the routine. These families (Family C, D, E, G and H) produced a mean of 1.3 instances, representing a proportions of 4% of the total routines.

In the first Unfamiliar text, the three families produced an average of 4.6 instances with a mean proportion of 9% of total routines. On the second Unfamiliar text, the frequency of use was higher. Only one family did not use the tag routine, which was Family D. The average use for all eight families was 5.8 instances, representing an average proportion of 14% of the total routines.

F. CHILD INITIATING ROUTINE

The sixth and last routine used by both families from Samoa and Auckland, occurred very infrequently. This routine was called the *CHILD INITIATING ROUTINE.*

In this routine, the child initiated the exchange using various formats. That is, the child would comment about the book (as a whole), ask questions or attempt to read. Initiations based on matters outside of the text were not coded as Child Initiating routines. These initiations were usually clarified or elaborated by the reader. For example;

Example 1:: Child - O le a le mea lea?
(What is this?)
Reader - O le maile
(A dog)

i) Families In Samoa

The families observed in Samoa showed competence in participating in the routine. Table 6.1 provides the frequency and percentages of Child Initiating routines used by families in Samoa within the four reading tasks.

In the Familiar reading, children in only two families initiated exchanges. These children were from Family B and J, with the former initiating 5 times and the latter initiating 9 routines. The remaining eight families did not engage in the Routine. This low frequency resulted in an average for the families, of 1.4 instances.

During the first Unfamiliar readings, five children from the sample initiated the routines, while the remaining five did not. The active participants were from Families A, B, F, H and J. This produced an average of 2.2 instances

Two of the children initiated their conversations with the reader during the second Unfamiliar readings. These children were from Family E and F. The child from Family E initiated only 1 routine. The mean frequency of this particular reading activity was low, an average of 0.5 instances. There were no Child Initiating routines in the Bible reading sessions.

ii) Families In New Zealand

In general, when compared with the families studied in Samoa, the routine was similarly very infrequent. Table 6.2 represents the frequency and proportions of Child Initiating routines used by families in Auckland, while engaged in the four reading activities.

In the Familiar readings, only two children initiated exchanges with their readers. They were from Family B and C. The child from Family C did this three times and the child in Family B once. The average of the two families was 0.5 instances.

With reference to the first Unfamiliar readings, one child from Family A initiated an exchange. Three children initiated the exchanges in the second Unfamiliar readings. Children observed in Auckland did not initiate during the Bible readings.

G. TABLE 7.1 & 7.2

These tables represent a comparison of similar routines in each of the three books, but not the Bible. The first section consisted of the Tauloto Routine, due to it's strong existence in all of the families. The Narrative and Reading routines were placed together because they seem to have similar functions. Similarly, Display and Tag Question routines were placed together because they required labelling or checking.

H. SUMMARY

In general, the similarities between the families is represented in the high rate of Tauloto routines, but there were two sorts of differences. The first is between the two groups of families (Samoa and New Zealand). Families observed in New Zealand had a tendency for a higher rate and higher percentage of Narrative and Reading routines. Secondly, there is a lot of individual variation within groups. In Samoa, two families (Family C and D) were using the Tauloto Routine exclusively and one extensively. One family was using the Narrative and Reading routines very frequently, (44% of the routines). In New Zealand, two families were using the Narrative and Reading routines very frequently (61% and 72.3% of the routines). Family B and D were using the Tauloto Routine extensively.

- *TABLES* -

TABLE 1.1

Frequency and percentage of TAULOTO ROUTINES on different texts. Families in Samoa.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	0	0	0	0	0	0	42	100%
B	12	27%	1	3%	21	56%	37	100%
C	18	100%	17	100%	63	100%	63	100%
D	17	100%	18	100%	63	100%	63	100%
E	0	0	1	5%	0	0	30	100%
F	0	0	4	18%	0	0	31	100%
G	0	0	4	7%	4	13%	0	0
H	0	0	9	25%	31	86%	34	100%
I	4	21%	11	33%	25	64%	29	100%
J	5	27%	9	52%	35	72%	12	100%
MEAN	**5.6**	**27%**	**7.4**	**38%**	**22.6**	**49%**	**33.5**	**90%**

TABLE 1.2

Frequency and percentage of TAULOTO ROUTINES on different texts. Families in New Zealand.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	0	0	9	47%	0	0	45	100%
B	95	98%	24	35%	76	73%	25	100%
C	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	0	32	100%
D	10	62%	n/a	n/a	23	74%	24	100%
E	5	13.8%	n/a	n/a	0	0	23	100%
F	30	65%	n/a	n/a	20	55%	28	100%
G	7	19	n/a	n/a	0	0	24	100%
H	0	0	14	42%	34	58	30	100%
MEAN	18.4	85.7%	15.7	41.7%	19.1	32.5%	28.9	100%

TABLE 2.1

Frequency and percentage of NARRATIVE QUESTIONS on different texts. Families in Samoa.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	4	13%	4	20%	11	64%	0	0
B	6	13%	4	13%	2	5%	0	0
C	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
E	11	15%	0	0	2	12%	0	0
F	6	24%	6	27%	6	3%	0	0
G	4	23%	7	12%	16	53%	0	0
H	9	75%	4	11%	11	30%	0	0
I	3	15%	7	21%	4	10%	0	0
J	18	32%	0	0	10	20%	0	0
MEAN	**6.1**	**23%**	**3.2**	**10%**	**6.2**	**19.7%**	**0**	**0**

TABLE 2.2

Frequency and percentage of NARRATIVE QUESTIONS on different texts. Families in New Zealand.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	6	61%	4	21%	13	35%	0	0
B	0	0	16	23%	17	16%	0	0
C	4	14%	n/a	n/a	4	17%	0	0
D	2	12%	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0
E	8	26%	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0
F	3	6%	n/a	n/a	3	8%	0	0
G	10	27%	n/a	n/a	9	27%	0	0
H	8	33%	5	15%	8	13%	0	0
MEAN	**5.4**	**22%**	**8.3**	**19%**	**8.8**	**23%**	**0**	**0**

TABLE 3.1

Frequency and percentage of READING ROUTINES on different texts. Families in Samoa.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	0	0	1	3%	1	2%	0	0
C	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
E	0	0	0	0	6	37%	0	0
F	0	0	1	4%	6	3%	0	0
G	0	0	20	35%	0	0	0	0
H	0	0	0	0	11	30%	0	0
I	2	10%	2	6%	1	2%	0	0
J	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MEAN	**0.2**	**1%**	**2.4**	**4.8%**	**2.5**	**4%**	**0**	**0**

TABLE 3.2

Frequency and percentage of READING ROUTINES on different texts. Families in New Zealand.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	4	30%	4	21%	16	43%	31.3	0
B	0	0	1	1%	0	0	0.3	0
C	0	0	n/a	n/a	5	29%	14.5	0
D	0	0	n/a	n/a	8	25%	12.5	0
E	0	0	n/a	n/a	1	4%	2	0
F	0	0	n/a	n/a	5	13%	6.5	0
G	10	27%	n/a	n/a	7	21%	24	0
H	8	33%	10	31%	4	6%	23.3	0
MEAN	**2.7**	**11%**	**3.1**	**17%**	**5.7**	**17%**	**0**	**0**

TABLE 4.1

Frequency and percentage of DISPLAY QUESTIONS on different texts. Families in Samoa.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	9	31%	10	5%	4	23%	0	0
B	19	44%	9	3%	8	21%	0	0
C	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
E	53	75%	1	5%	8	5%	0	0
F	11	44%	6	27%	0	0	0	0
G	6	35%	0	0	0	0	0	0
H	2	16%	3	8%	5	45%	0	0
I	7	36%	4	12%	0	0	0	0
J	0	0	1	5%	3	6%	0	0
MEAN	**10.7**	**28%**	**3.4**	**6.5%**	**2.8**	**10%**	**0**	**0**

TABLE 4.2

Frequency and percentage of DISPLAY QUESTIONS on different texts. Families in New Zealand.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	1	7%	0	0	0	0	2.3	0
B	0	0	16	23%	1	5%	9.3	0
C	17	60%	n/a	n/a	3	17%	38.5	0
D	3	18%	n/a	n/a	0	0	9	0
E	21	70%	n/a	n/a	3	12%	41	0
F	13	28%	n/a	n/a	0	0	14	0
G	7	19%	n/a	n/a	3	5%	13	0
H	10	41%	5	15%	4	6%	21	0
MEAN	**9.0**	**30%**	**2.6**	**12%**	**1.8**	**5%**	**0**	**0**

TABLE 5.1

Frequency and percentage of TAG QUESTIONS on different texts. Families in Samoa.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	16	55%	4	20%	2	11%	0	0
B	1	2%	9	30%	5	13%	0	0
C	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
E	6	54%	0	0	4	12%	0	0
F	8	32%	4	18%	4	20%	0	0
G	7	41%	25	44%	14	46%	0	0
H	1	8%	14	38%	7	19%	0	0
I	3	15%	9	27%	6	15%	0	0
J	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MEAN	**4.2**	**20%**	**6.5**	**17%**	**4.2**	**13%**	**0**	**0**

TABLE 5.2

Frequency and percentage of TAG QUESTIONS on different texts. Families in New Zealand.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	0	0	1	5%	7	18%	0	0
B	0	0	10	14%	9	8%	0	0
C	4	14%	n/a	n/a	4	23%	0	0
D	1	6%	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0
E	3	10%	n/a	n/a	5	20%	0	0
F	0	0	n/a	n/a	8	20%	0	0
G	2	5%	n/a	n/a	4	12%	0	0
H	1	4%	3	9%	9	15%	0	0
MEAN	**1.3**	**4%**	**4.6**	**9%**	**5.8**	**14%**	**0**	**0**

TABLE 6.1

Frequency and percentage of CHILD INITIATING on different texts. Families in Samoa.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	0	0	2	10%	0	0	0	0
B	5	11%	6	20%	0	0	0	0
C	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
E	0	0	0	0	1	6%	0	0
F	0	0	1	4%	4	20%	0	0
G	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
H	0	0	6	16%	0	0	0	0
I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
J	9	28%	7	41%	0	0	0	0
MEAN	**1.4**	**3.9%**	**2.2**	**9.1%**	**0.5**	**2.6%**	**0**	**0**

TABLE 6.2

Frequency and percentage of CHILD INITIATING on different texts. Families in New Zealand.

	TEXTS							
Families	Familiar		Unfamiliar 1		Unfamiliar 2		Bible	
A	0	0	1	5%	2	2%	0	0
B	1	4%	0	0	1	0%	0	0
C	3	10%	n/a	n/a	1	5%	0	0
D	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0
E	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0
F	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0
G	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0
H	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0
MEAN	**0.25**	**1.7%**	**0.3**	**0%**	**0.38**	**0%**	**0**	**0**

TABLE 7.1

Frequency and percentage of TAULOTO ROUTINES, DISPLAY AND TAG QUESTION ROUTINES AND NARRATIVE QUESTION AND READING ROUTINES on the 3 books. Families in Samoa.

	TEXTS					
Families	Tauloto		Display & Tag		Narrative & Reading	
A	0	0	15	70.4%	6.3	29.6%
B	11.3	34.2%	17	51.5%	4.7	14.3
C	27.3	100%	0	0	0	0
D	32.6	100%	0	0	0	0
E	0.3	0.9%	24	78.4%	6.3	20.7%
F	1.3	6.3%	11	53.4%	18.3	40.3%
G	2.7	7.5%	17.3	48.5%	15.7	44%
H	13.3	37.2%	10.7	30%	11.7	32.8%
I	13.3	45.3%	9.7	33.1%	6.3	21.5%
J	16.3	60.6%	1.3	4.8%	9.3	34.6%
MEAN	11.84	39.2%	10.6	37.02%	6.86	23.78%

TABLE 7.2

Frequency and percentage of TAULOTO ROUTINES, DISPLAY AND TAG QUESTION ROUTINES AND NARRATIVE QUESTION AND READING ROUTINES on the 3 books. Families in New Zealand.

	TEXTS					
Families	Tauloto		Display & Tag		Narrative & Reading	
A	3	13.9%	3	13.8%	15.7	72.3%
B	65	73.6%	12	13.6%	11.3	12.8%
C	0	0	14	68.3%	6.5	31.7%
D	16.5	70.2%	2	8.5	5	21.3%
E	2.5	8.1%	16	51.6%	12.5	40.3%
F	25	61%	10.5	25.6%	5.5	13.4%
G	3.5	11.9%	8	27.1%	18	61%
H	16	39%	10.7	26%	14.3	35%
MEAN	16.1	34.7%	9.5	29.3%	11	35.9%

CHAPTER FOUR
-DISCUSSION-

The objective of the study was to identify the significance of the Samoan culture (fa'asamoa) in the socialization of preschoolers' literacy skills; particularly in storybook and Bible reading. There were ten families which were observed in Samoa and eight families from South Auckland, New Zealand.

Although some proportional differences occurred between the two groups of families in the way they encountered the reading activities, the interactional patterns were similar in both groups. There were some specific variations in the results which were environmentally and culturally oriented, such as the natural setting of the child's environment in Samoa which was open spaced and free. Some variations emerged from the different socialising patterns which the extended family members had placed on the child, such as the caregiving duties. However, the similarities between the two groups reflected the survival of *fa'asamoa messages* in the process of how preschoolers acquire literacy skills.

A. ROUTINES - SIMILARITIES

i) The Significance of the Performance Routine (PR)

The Performance routine was the most popular routine which occurred in the verbal exchanges of the families in Samoa and in New Zealand. This routine can be well understood in the context of fa'asamoa if it is relabelled as the **tauloto routine**. The procedures towards achieving the Performance routine, duplicates how Samoan children are taught to memorise their *tauloto.* Tauloto, as a verb means to memorise, but as a pronoun it initially means a memory verse.

Such memory verses are usually associated with church related activities in which the children are involved. For example; it is a yearly event to celebrate White Sunday which is designated as Children's Sunday or Lotu Tamaiti. This special day brings out all the children of Samoa in their Sunday best, to quote verses from the Bible (tauloto), perform biblical dramas and to sing hymns in praise. In Samoa, a special holiday on the following Monday has been honoured by the Samoan Government to signify the importance of children in Samoa.

The procedures for guiding the child to be able to recall the tauloto without any assistance, parallelled the sequences of the Performance Routine. Thus, it was appropriate to name it as the Tauloto Routine

The Tauloto Routine dominated the contents of the verbal exchanges within the four reading activities. It (Tauloto Routine) occurred relatively higher than any other routine performed in the Familiar and Unfamiliar readings. The simplest result occurred in the Bible readings where this was the only existing routine.

The Performance Routine has been operating in Samoan families (during reading sessions) for many decades, except that the Samoan people were unaware that such a routine had a special name. In reply to questions of whether this was the usual way they would conduct their Bible readings with the children, the families replied that such a routine had been operating for many years. Their replies (Samoan and New Zealand families) indicated that it was a "traditional" way of learning to read the Bible, and had been passed on and handed down through many generations.

The strong presence of the Tauloto Routine in the Familiar and Unfamiliar readings is consistent with it's popularity in the Bible readings. This conveys an historical cultural significance. Education was a major programme of the mission in Samoa. Meleisea M (1987) indicated that:

"the policy was to educate men as pastors to take care of the parishes in the villages so that when every village had a Samoan pastor, the English missionaries could devote themselves to teaching the church schools...." (pg 59)

In the Pastor's schools, people were instructed to read and write in Samoan. The curriculum also consisted of learning basic arithmetic, scripture and church music.

Families in the study claimed that the methodologies and processes which were used in the Pastor's schools contained the sequence of the Tauloto Routine. They confirmed that the Performance Routine or Tauloto Routine operated as far back as the first arrival of the London missionaries. My father who has been serving the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa (CCCS or EFKS Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa) for more than thirty years, also supported how the Tauloto Routine was the common routine used in his Sunday and Pastor's schools of the past and in the current one.

Coming from a family with a strong church background, it was clear from my observations that the Sunday and Pastor's school classes for preschool-aged children have been practising the Performance Routine or Tauloto Routine ever since I can remember. I have also taught in our churches Sunday School for six years whereby I practised the Tauloto Routine/Performance Routine with young children when engaged in reading the Bible.

Although these confirmations of how the Tauloto Routine was an historical routine, came from those families observed in Samoa and New Zealand, it was clear that Samoan methods and customs have survived due to the strength of our **Oral Traditions**. If other structures of the Samoan culture have been preserved through the channels of Oral Traditions, obviously the Tauloto Routine has been maintained through the same way. That is, such a method of reading, was not recorded in any form of written documents. Instead, the Tauloto Routine is kept alive through the

practical experiences of the child and older members of Samoan families within Bible readings.

Another reason as to why the Tauloto Routine was the only routine present in the Bible readings, is that the Bible holds an authoritative position in the morals and beliefs of the Samoan people. To question the contents would be regarded as a disturbance of the peace which the biblical teachings had conveyed. This is not to say that the Samoan people do not question the Bible, because they do in an indirect and sometimes in a humorous manner. The Bible is regarded as a profound and sacred book, thus the contents hold such characteristics. People can interpret the scriptures to the extreme, but the original writings remain pure and untouched.

This argument is applicable to adults as well as children. When our church Youth Group conducts a Bible study session, each member is required to read the chosen passage before analysing the content. In reading the passage, it is an indirect imperative that they read exactly what the Bible displays. They can later share interpretations of what was read, but the reading of the Bible has to be done in the most correct pronunciation.

The same situation reflects on the children's encounters with the Bible. As the results had shown, the children echo exactly what the readers produce from the Bible. Also, the vocabulary used in the Bible is often too complicated for the children of preschool age to comprehend. Hence, narrative type questions were absent in the verbal exchanges between the readers and the children. The Samoan Bible does not contain any illustrations, thus questions based on the display of the Bible were also absent.

Tauloto Routines were present in the reading of the second Unfamiliar storybook. Both Samoa and New Zealand families produced high mean frequencies. The ten families in Samoa produced an average of 22.6 instances with the New Zealand families producing an average of 19.1 instances. These averages were higher than what the other two storybooks had produced. The possible reason for this was that the narrative in this particular text (Leiloa) was longer than the other texts.

Despite such a difference in the length of the three storybooks, all produced extremely high averages and proportions.

The dominating existence of the Tauloto Routine within the verbal interactions of the children and the readers is indicative of a cultural phenomena which has systems of ideas, knowledge and social order of the Samoan culture into which the children are being socialised. Thus, the children internalised the beliefs and behaviours of the readers which was evident in their expectancy to be corrected.

It is for such reason, that the Tauloto Routine also appeared in the Familiar and Unfamiliar readings. That is, the children have absorbed into their framework of mind the structures and procedures of the Tauloto Routine. The adults have been taught the same way of how to read, and have now transmitted such methodology to their children.

Valsiner's (1989) Co-constructionist model reflects similar implications in that development occurs as a result of children's interaction with their parent's environment. This view deals with the child developing within a context where adults endeavour to transmit their culture to their children. Thus, in any type of reading activity among Samoan preschoolers and their parents, the Tauloto Routine would eventually appear because it has been transmitted from one generation to the next.

Another major contributing factor to the similarity of how the two groups encounter the Bible readings, is the powerful influence of the families church backgrounds. It also goes to show how important the Christian faith is to the Samoan families. Meleisea M (1987) describes how:

> *"Christianity is one of the most paramount elements of the Samoan culture (fa'asamoa). Christianity has now become an important part of Samoan culture, and the motto of Samoans is Samoa is founded on God (Fa'avae Samoa i le Atua)" (pg:70)*

Each child in the study, attended a Sunday School and enrolled in a Pastor's school during the year. This particular routine (Tauloto Routine) contradicted the simple interpretation of the argument that Valsiner has supplied. He claimed that "when a culture is transported with elective immigration, it will experience transformations in the context of the new country" (1988). Both groups of families were heavily involved with the Tauloto Routine, a routine which emerged from the early encounters between the Samoan people and the missionaries. Maybe this implies that the Samoan adults have a special sequence which is the Tauloto Routine, to use when engaged in Bible reading activities. This reflects a very strong cultural process.

Church activities reinforced the links between the church teachings and parental behaviour. This is evident in the strong similarities of teaching methods that are used in the church and home of the children who were observed. Also, the usage of the Tauloto Routine in the Bible has been transferred to the other reading activities such as story books.

ii) Display & Tag Question Routine

From Tables 7.1 and 7.2, it is clear that both groups of families produced similar results. Although the families in New Zealand used texts which were written in the Samoan language, this did not prevent the readers from asking display-based questions to the children, unlike the natural assumption that the readers from the families in Samoa only asked Display Questions because they could not read the English texts which most of them used for the Familiar readings.

Again, this is a clear illustration of how the families in both Samoa and New Zealand share a collective culture. It also shows how the families could easily transfer from one routine to another, thus the pattern of interaction remained equally similar throughout the readings within the two sets of families.

Display and Tag questions were used by the readers as a control mechanism. To obtain the children's full attention in the reading tasks, the readers used visual effect

by asking questions based on the display of the texts. Since Tag questions only required an agreement by the child, it was effective in maintaining the child's level of interest in the tasks.

iii) Narrative Question and Reading

There was a tendency for the New Zealand families to use the Narrative and Reading routines more frequently. Although the results in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 showed some differences between the families in Samoa and in New Zealand, there were similarities. As noted earlier the texts used by the families in Samoa were written in English, this did not prevent the readers from asking Narrative Questions to the children. This is due to the type of English texts that were used. The texts contained stories extracted from the Bible. The readers were already familiar with such stories, which caused an equilibrium between the two groups of families in the Narrative Question routine. In some interventions, the readers would read first then conclude with the Narrative Question Routine. Thus, both routines produced similar results of 6.86 instances with 23.78 percent by the families in Samoa, while those observed in New Zealand produced 11 instances with a percentage of 35.9 in engaging in the routines (Table 7.1, 7.2).

This supports Igbo's (1990) argument at how people migrate, taking with them their culture to their new hostland. The transmission of cultural knowledge is strongly represented in the results. Rather than experiencing transformational forces by the dominant culture, the Samoan families observed in New Zealand have managed to maintain their cultural beliefs in acquiring literacy.

This leads to the different interaction patterns between Samoan and Pakeha middle-class families. In comparison to the Pakeha families, Samoan families showed a variation in their facilitation of the children. The Samoan readers in Samoa and New Zealand tended to shift from one routine to the other, which showed the strong similarity between the two groups of families.

iv) The Act of Story-Telling or Fagogo

This act took place within the Reading routines, where by the readers would "re-tell" what they had initially read to the child. It is somewhat a derivative of the Samoan traditional form of story-telling called the *fagogo*. Fagogo-telling emerged from Samoa's well known Oral Traditions whereby the myths and legends have been fore-told by word of mouth. Children adored listening to the old people telling fagogo, because such stories usually expressed the dynamics and strength behind the story-teller's imagination and memory capacity.

iv) Child Initiating Routine

Although the results indicated that the children in Samoa initiated more routines than those observed in New Zealand, both groups produced rather low means and proportions, thus the routine was described as a non-occurring event.

The similar patterns of both groups created an assumption that the children did not have authority over their reading tasks. That is, the readers had full control of what was required of the children. However, it was not an issue of who had more power and control of the activities. Both parents and children have already installed into their understanding of the turn-taking patterns that were expected of them. In other words, the children anticipated the adults to initiate such activities, while the adults felt a sense of responsibility to the children by taking charge of the situation. Samoan adults regard this initiation process as another way to show the children that they want to do the best for them.

The lack of Child Initiating Routines, could have derived from earlier encounters and experiences of both the adults and the children. Young Samoan children most certainly receive tremendous amount of attention with regards to affectionate gestures. Samoan caregivers cuddle, soothe and play with the children.

Despite such an attentive display to the social needs of the children, adults tend, totally unaware, to ignore their early utterances. Ochs (1982a) and Ochs & Scheifflein (1984) noted that " Samoan caregivers refer to infants often but do not engage them as conversational partners". At this point, it is appropriate to argue that maybe this is why Samoan children have an expectancy to not initiate the interactions with the adults. Such a routine is not expected of them because "in the early months of their lives, their gestures and vocalisations were treated as intentional and social" (Ochs E 1984). This does not mean that such a practice could be deficient to the development of the child's literacy skills, because Samoan children do acquire them at a later stage of their lives.

The Trackton community which Heath (1983) studied, reflected similar conversational patterns to those of Samoan families. Trackton adults do not see babies or young children as suitable partners for regular conversation. Children are expected to be information-givers. Thus, early utterances were not acknowledged by adults as labels but were interpreted by them as something of their own nature. Rather, they believed that utterances were just noises, not labels. As a result, Trackton adults lacked response to the children's early utterances, did not repeat the utterances nor expanded on a word.

Another important social and cultural factor which could have contributed to this lack of adult response to the children's utterances, may have been derived from the social organisation of the children's environment. Both studies by Heath (1983) and Ochs (1988) describe similar amount of human contact was considered to be more important. Thus, people mainly talked "about" the baby, but rarely "to" the baby (Heath 1983).

Such cultural practices were derivatives of historical and wider societal forces which created a special "cultural model" (Ogbu 1987) for each society. The low amount of routines which were initiated by the children in the two groups of families (Samoa & New Zealand) could be an aspect of the Samoan people's cultural model in handling literacy activities.

B. STRATEGIES TO MOTIVATE THE CHILD

i) Tag Questions

Although the means and proportions of the two groups of families were different at how they used the Tag Question routine, it is clear that both families (Samoa and New Zealand) used such a routine as a mechanism to motivate the children in doing the tasks. Tag Questions appeared to be responsible for maintaining the child's level of interest in the activities.

Sometimes, Tag Questions play the role of a *space-filler* due to its undemanding nature to respond, in that all it required, in that all it required was a mere agreement as to what the initial tag question had informed. This type of question does not demand in-depth answers, but just a simple verbal agreement.

Tag Questions were identified as space-fillers, because it gave the child valuable time to collect thoughts and knowledge of what the questions had informed. Thus, whatever occurred after the Tag question routine, the child would sure to respond productively and accurately due to their informative nature.

With such an advantageous input, Tag Questions can be naturally identified as *providers*. When a child verbally struggles to provide an answer, the reader would accommodate their own questions by answering them in a Tag Question format. These questions were answered by the children with a simple gesture of agreement by either nodding or uttering "I", which meant "okay" or "yes". For example:

Example 1: Reader - O ai for le tama lea?..O le tuagane o Ana a?
(Who is this boy again?...Ana's brother, isn't it?)

Child - I (Yes)

Tag Questions were also present as a *test of knowledge*. The readers used such a strategy as a tentative method in examining the children's capacity to memorise what has been asked as the questions contained information about the narrative or the display of the story books.

The Trackton community (Heath, 1983) ask a similar type of question to their preschoolers. The most prevalent kind of question is called the **analogy question.** This type of question demanded open-ended answers which drew from the child's experiences. Analogy Questions tested the children's abilities to see things which were present in their environment. Tag and Analogy Questions both request the children to admire his or her surroundings. The former familiarises the child with the text, while the latter notifies the child about his or her environment.

In fact, any repeated performance of a routine such as the Tag Question routine, could get the child to recognise that sociocultural context. It can familiarise the children with sociocultural expectations that certain activities demand.

ii) Praising

Praises generally, has a particular function. One can not just give praise without any awareness as to what and who is being praised; and most importantly why? From the transcripts analyses, the obvious reason as to why the readers praised the children, was because of the correct responses. By doing this, the child felt a sense of achievement. In other words, what has been accomplished is a response from the child, thus praised his/her efforts.

Ochs & Scheifflein (1984) argued that "vocal and verbal activities are socially organised and embedded in cultural systems of meanings". That is, the verbal interactions between the infants and mothers is a cultural phenomena which has systems of ideas, knowledge and social order of that particular culture into which the infant is being socialised. Thus, the child expects to be awarded with a praise while the adult naturally issues out appraisals as a reward for the child's efforts.

Examples of *praises*:

Example 1:	Mother-	A'o le ta'avale lea a ai?
		(Whose car is this?)
	Child -	Ta'avale a leoleo.
		(Policeman's car)
	Mother-	Ia, lelei tele (Okay, very good)
Example 2:	Mother-	O a mea e fai i le umu?
		(What is done in a umu/stone oven?)
	Child -	Saka
		(Saka)
	Mother-	Saka, ta'i poto si a'u tama
		(Saka, what a brainy child I have)

Despite the different types of praises, all were acts of complementing the responses that were received. This act of praising corresponds to Duranti & Ochs (1988) claim in how Samoan teachers and parents acknowledge and compliment their students and children. That such a behaviour accentuates the significance of individual achievement in literacy instruction. Duranti & Ochs (1988) also claimed that praises such as *lelei* (good) or *lelei tele* (very good) are common in an instructor's utterances.

Why do Samoan caregivers distribute praise to their children when engaged in reading activities? From personal experience and observation, Samoan parents do not only praise their children within literacy activities. However, praises are issued to the children in almost anything that the child succeeds in doing. Thus, when the children respond to their reader's questions or comments (regardless of whether it is correct or not), they are rewarded by compliments and praises. Here, I believe that the act of praising within Samoan families is "learned behaviour". This claim reflects Keesing's definition of culture as "learned, accumulated experience" (Keesing R 1985:p 68)

Praising has become a learned behaviour which not only the adults but the children have absorbed into their shared ways of behaving when they socialise with their peers.

The act of praising conveys a sense of *acknowledgment*. The exchanges within the routines are indicative of responses complimenting each other. That is, the child acknowledges the reader by responding, while the reader returns the favour by praising the child. Thus, the reciprocity of commendations demonstrates one of the most important feature of Samoan culture which is to *respect*. This is evident in how the readers did not demand or force a child to respond; and if a response was achieved, the child was still praised even if it was not the desired answer.

In the Familiar and Unfamiliar readings, the readers would sometimes provide the answers of their questions, rather than letting the child feel intimidated. In return, the children would attempt to answer the questions knowing that the answers will be incorrect. All were acts of respecting each other's efforts.

With the notion of respect within the verbal interactions of the readers and the children, there seems to be an element of *flattery*, which also contributes to why these readers praised their children. It is similar to the complimenting concept in that both are agencies of encouraging the child to respond. This clearly demonstrated the importance of the child in the home. Praising in the form of flattery is also an avenue to pursue and maintain the interest of the child.

iii) Role of Text

Familiar Text: Families in Samoa

The Familiar texts were chosen by the families according to the required conditions, that is personal familiarity. Thus, all the families used texts to which the children had been exposed and with which they had interacted during literacy-related activities. Other reading materials such as the Samoan Hymn book qualified as a familiar text as the child occasionally interacted with such a book during the evening or morning devotion (lotu).

However, most of the families in Samoa used texts that were written in the English language as their familiar readings. The level of English in such books was identified as complicated for the readers to read, but this did not prevent them from asking Narrative-based questions to the children.

The book which the families had selected as their familiar texts, most were books containing Biblical short stories such as *David and Goliath, Baby Moses* and many more. So, although the readers could not read the story, most of them were aware of the narrative. Also, all the children had attended a Sunday School at the time, thus they had already been told such Bible stories. These two characteristics perhaps contributed to the use of Narrative Question as well as the Tauloto Routine. Despite the complexity of the language in the texts, the readers could question the children about the narrative of the Bible stories and answers were likely to be correct.

Other families who used books such as *Farm Animals* and other texts which were not associated with the Bible contents, again could not read as the English language in these books was fairly complicated. Perhaps as a result, the readers focus more on asking Display Questions.

Familiar Text: Families in New Zealand

Seven out of eight families in New Zealand used books that were written in the Samoan language as their children's familiar readings. One of these books was the *O le Maile* text which was used with the families in Samoa as their first unfamiliar reading. Five families in New Zealand had used this particular text. The children in these families attended the same Samoan Aoga Amata (Early Childhood Centre), and the *O le Maile* text was one of the children's popular books in the Centre.

Two other families also used Samoan written texts, but not the same one as the book mentioned earlier. The remaining family (Family A) used an English written text, which was appropriate for the reader's level of English. As the book content was geared for preschoolers, the reader managed to translate it in Samoan to the child.

Hence, with seven families using Samoan texts as their Familiar readings, perhaps it was understandable that they read first and then questioned the child later.

Although the New Zealand families read and questioned their children on the narrative of the chosen familiar texts, they were still engaged in the Display Question routine. All the storybooks which were used as Familiar texts, contained appealing pictures. These pictures clearly accommodated the narrative of the book, thus it was relevant to use the book display as a mechanism for not only achieving a successful response, but to maintain the child's interest through visual effects.

Overall, the use of English-written texts by the families in Samoa as their familiar texts, resulted in their concentrated usage of Display type questions. The families in New Zealand used books that were written in the Samoan language which made the readers more attentive to the narrative of the texts.

Unfamiliar Text 1 (O le Maile): Families in Samoa

The Unfamiliar texts were provided by the researcher. This particular text is called *O le Maile* written by Leon and Fran Hunia (1991). The book illustrated and explained the different types and colours of dogs. However, the illustrations in this storybook was larger than the print. That is, if the picture represented a black dog, next to the display was a line saying *o le maile uliuli* (a black dog). In other words, the pictures in the book had more visual effect than the print. Also, the narrative such as the "o le maile uliuli", was less informative than what the immediate effects of the illustrations had to offer. Maybe, it was for such reasons as to why the clear distinction between the two unfamiliar texts occurred regarding the Narrative and Display Questions.

Unfamiliar Text 1: Families in New Zealand

Three families were engaged in this activity as the other five families were familiar to the first unfamiliar text which was the *O le Maile* storybook. The families in New Zealand displayed a different attitude to this particular text. Firstly, the readers

in the New Zealand asked more Narrative questions than the families from Samoa in this text. Lastly, the families in Samoa attracted more Display questions in the same text. Here, the distinctions was how the text played different roles to the two groups of families.

As the book itself concentrated on a visual impact on the readers, both groups of families (Samoa and New Zealand) asked a relatively high number of Display type questions.

Unfamiliar Text 2 (Leiloa): Families in Samoa & New Zealand

All 18 families used the same text. This text had a longer narrative than the first Unfamiliar storybook (O le Maile). Also, the narrative and the display of the book had a "balanced" effect on the readers and the children. That is, a child could not understand the display without the assistance of the narrative and vice versa.

The fact that the story was longer than the first text, may have attracted more narrative questions than the display in the verbal exchanges of families from Samoa. However, this text produced similar means (averages) of narrative and display questions for the New Zealand families.

Bible Reading

Despite each family choosing their own particular Bible scripture, the variation of choices appeared to have little effect as shown by the great similarity in the way they interacted. It is true that many families chose Psalm twenty-three but other families chose other scriptures. This similarly is symbolic of a unique strategy which Samoan families use when engaged in Bible reading. It is clear that the Tauloto Routine was the pre-eminent routine used by the families in their Bible reading sessions, which could have been transferred to the other storybook reading sessions.

iv) Summary of Discussion

How the Samoan children acquired literacy skills, were relatively similar and also rather different to reports in the literature. Differences existed due to cultural and social factors which the Samoan children were socialised in. Studies by Wolfgramm, McNaughton et al supported the psychological influences while Ochs, Duranti and Scheifflein upheld the cultural impacts on how children with a cultural background acquire literacy skills. The increased number of conversational exchanges that occurred between the children and the readers over the reading activities suggest that "scaffolding" did take place. The significance of the Tauloto Routine within the verbal exchanges is the consistency in all four readings, especially in the Bible readings.

Last but not least, this thesis challenges the pedagogical patterns existing within the New Zealand state schooling system, that creates a mis-match between the Samoan children's learning environment at home and at school. That is, it would be beneficial for the State schools to cater for the needs of every child, including those from minority groups.

This thesis truly supports the importance of the *fa'asamoa* in the development of it's children's literacy skills; particularly in storybook and Bible reading. The Samoan people are proud of their culture, and this study is proof enough that fa'asamoa does contribute to the chances of a child becoming literate. To the people of Samoa, remember God did not give us our culture and heritage if it was not beneficial to our children. Parents, we have got to take advantage of what our culture offers us. We are fortunate to have a culture that promotes child development in it's most natural sense. Fa'afetai tele lava.

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