

Intersections

Intersections:
Applied Linguistics as a Meeting Place

Edited by

Elke Stracke

CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS

P U B L I S H I N G

Intersections: Applied Linguistics as a Meeting Place,
Edited by Elke Stracke

This book first published 2014

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2014 by Elke Stracke and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-6654-7, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-6654-5

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	viii
List of Tables	ix
Foreword	x
Terrence G. Wiley	
Acknowledgements	xii
Elke Stracke	
Applied Linguistics as a Meeting Place: An Introduction	xiii
Elke Stracke	

Part I

Chapter One.....	2
Joining a New Community of Workplace Practice: Inferring Attitudes from Discourse	
Janet Holmes	
Chapter Two.....	22
Being Heard: The Role of Family Members in Bilingual Medical Consultations	
Louisa Willoughby, Simon Musgrave, Marisa Cordella and Julie Bradshaw	
Chapter Three	43
Hospital Humor: Patient-initiated Humor as Resistance to Clinical Discourse	
Suzanne Eggins	
Chapter Four.....	67
Linguistics in Law: Improving the Cross-examination of Child Witnesses	
Kirsten Hanna	

Chapter Five	87
Who is ‘We’?: Anniversary Narrative as Collective Memory Farzana Gounder	
Part II	
Chapter Six	112
Where the Academy Meets the Workplace: Communication Needs of Tertiary-level Accounting Students Stephen Moore and Hui Ling Xu	
Chapter Seven.....	129
Learning Spaces as Meeting Places: Academic Literacy is Everyone’s Responsibility Angela Ardington	
Chapter Eight.....	149
The Development of L2 Academic Literacy through Online Intercultural Networks Hiroyuki Nemoto	
Chapter Nine.....	171
Expressing Oneself through Digital Storytelling: A Student-Centered Japanese Language Learning Project Carol Hayes and Yuki Itani-Adams	
Chapter Ten	189
Integrating Literature and Cooperative Learning in English Language Teaching Wan-lun Lee	
Chapter Eleven	208
The Importance of Writing in Mathematics: Quantitative Analysis of U.S. English Learners’ Academic Language Proficiency and Mathematics Achievement Rosalie Grant, Rita MacDonald, Aek Phakiti and H. Gary Cook	
Chapter Twelve	233
Aboriginal English and Bi-dialectal Identity in Early Childhood Education Elizabeth M. Ellis	

Chapter Thirteen	253
Meeting Place of Cultures: Aboriginal Students and Standard Australian English Learning	
Ian G. Malcolm	

Part III

Chapter Fourteen	270
Anomalous Data about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Language Ecologies	
Denise Angelo and Sophie McIntosh	

Chapter Fifteen	294
Making an Example of Arizona: Analyzing a Case of Restrictive Language Policy for Language Minority Rights	
Karen E. Lillie	

Chapter Sixteen	312
Mother Tongue Education as a Legal Right for Indigenous Children	
Molly Townes O'Brien and Peter Bailey	

List of Abbreviations	330
-----------------------------	-----

Contributors	334
--------------------	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

5-1 Causal chain for Part 1	99
8-1 Integration of LMT into L2 Socialization	153
9-1 DS Project Teaching Schedule	178
<i>Figures 9-2 through 9-20</i>	<i>See Color Centrefold</i>
9-2 to 9-4 Student A images	
9-5 to 9-6 Student B images	
9-7 to 9-11 Student C images	
9-12 to 9-13 Student D images	
9-14 to 9-15 Student E images	
9-16 to 9-20 Student F images	
11-1 Structural model, Grade-level Cluster 3-5, Tier B, School Year 1 (N= 3,590).....	219
11-2 Structural model for Grade-level Cluster 3-5, Tier B, School Year (N=3,590).....	222
11-3 Schematic representation of SEM relationships	223
11-4 A writing activity focused on precision in naming entities	227
14-1 Responses categorized as “Australian Indigenous Languages” and “English only” to “language spoken at home” at Yarrabah, as a percentage of total residents.....	274
14-2 Responses to “Speaks other language” at Yarrabah, as numbers of residents, by age (in 2006 and 2011)	275
14-3 Responses categorized as “Australian Indigenous Languages” and “Other” languages to “language spoken at home” at Kubin Village, as a percentage of the total number of residents	276
14-4 Responses categorized as “Indigenous languages” and “Other” languages to “language spoken at home” on Poruma Island, from 2001 to 2011, as relative percentages.....	280
14-5 Responses categorized as “Indigenous languages” and “Other” languages to “language spoken at home” on Saibai Island, from 2001 to 2011, as relative percentages.....	282
14-6 All responses to “language spoken at home” at Kowanyama, excluding overseas languages (apart from English), shown as relative percentages, from 2001 to 2011.....	286

LIST OF TABLES

2-1 The participants.....	27
3-1 Contrasting “clinical” and “everyday” discourses.....	52
6-1 An example of misunderstood speech acts.....	118
8-1 The results of the questionnaire survey (n=305).....	157
11-1 ACCESS variables: English language proficiency standards across language domains	214
11-2 Number of students in each cohort.....	215
11-3 Percentages of eligible students within each cohort.....	216
11-4 Indirect effects of productive language constructs on mathematics achievement, Grade-level Cluster 3–5, Tier B, School Year 1	221
13-1 Level of association for Aboriginal listeners.....	262
14-1 Responses to “language spoken at home” (other than “English only”) at Kubin Village, as a percentage of the total number of residents, in 2006 and 2011, languages identified.....	278
14-2 Responses to “language spoken at home” on Saibai Island, as percentages of the total number of residents, in 2006 and 2011, languages identified	283
14-3 Responses to “language spoken at home” at Kowanyama categorized as “Australian Indigenous Languages,” as a percentage of total number of residents, from 2001 to 2011	286
16-1 International Covenants and Declarations relevant to the Right to Education	315

FOREWORD

TERRENCE G. WILEY

As noted in the introduction to this collection, there have been a broad range of definitions offered of applied linguistics. According to Wilkins (1999), one of the earliest published uses of “applied linguistics” can be traced to a 1931 publication by Lockhart titled *Word Economy: An Essay in Applied Linguistics*. Grabe (2002) suggests that a realistic history of the field can be marked with the publication of the journal *Language Learning: A Journal of Applied Linguistics* in 1948. In the early years, as Grabe notes, there was a tendency to see the field as an application of insights from structural and functional linguistics to second language teaching.

Wilkins (1999) notes that the relationship of applied linguistics to other disciplines is often as applied linguistics “in” another discipline. So it may be construed as a sub-discipline within others, although it is not uncommon to construe applied linguistics as having its own sub-fields. Wilkins (1999) contends that it is evident that “the term ‘applied linguistics’ is too broad in its potential application to be interpreted literally” (p. 7). So he places emphasis on applied linguistics *in* language teaching and learning as the domain where the field has “generated the greatest body of research and publication” (p. 6). Even so, as Grabe observes, since the 1980s—if not much earlier—applied linguistics had expanded well beyond the domains of teaching and learning to encompass “language assessment, language policy and planning, language use in professional settings, translation, lexicography, multilingualism, language and technology, and corpus linguistics” (p. 4). This list has expanded to include a wide range of systemic analyses and discourse studies, as well as foci dealing with linguistic accommodation, discrimination and language rights in a wide variety of societal contexts. Add to these new emphases on critical postcolonial and postmodern studies and those related to language identity and language as performance. Even with this expansion, applied linguistics has tended to be grounded in situated, contextualized, real-world, problems-based foci even as it is concerned with theorizing.

The metaphors of “intersections” and a “meeting place” chosen for the contributions of this volume are fitting therefore to underscore “the role of applied linguistics as a mediating discipline and applied linguists as mediators” (Grabe 2002, p. 9). The organization of this volume highlights applied linguistics as a mediating discipline as it intersects with other disciplines and its own internal sub-disciplines and specializations.

The contributions in Part I, dealing with workplace interaction, medical contexts involving cross-cultural mediation and translation, understanding the contextualization of humor in doctor-patient interactions, and appropriate approaches to the cross-examination of children in legal settings illustrate the power of applied linguistic analysis in real-world daily interactions. These contexts are often sites where language and cultural differences require special sensitivity among interlocutors.

The contributions in Part II illustrate the importance of bringing the expertise of applied linguists to a variety of educational contexts involving not only the learning of languages but the increasing importance of language as a skill for teaching and learning subject matter.

The contributions in Part III highlight the significance of applied linguistic work in the domains of documenting endangered languages and protecting the rights of language minorities. They demonstrate the importance of intersecting applied linguistics with advocacy. The breadth of the contributions of this volume is both multicultural and transnational in scope. The volume as a whole extends the boundaries of the field while providing spaces for mediating within it and between other disciplines.

Terrence G. Wiley
Center for Applied Linguistics
Washington, D.C.

References

- Grabe, W. 2002, “Applied linguistics an emerging discipline for the twenty-first century”, *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-12
- Wilkins, D.A. 1999, “Applied linguistics”, *Concise Encyclopedia of Educational Linguistics*, Amsterdam: Elsevier, pp. 6-17

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the time of preparing this volume I have been encouraged and helped by many people. First and foremost, I would like to thank all contributors to this volume for answering my call for chapters and submitting their excellent proposals and manuscripts. Special thanks go to Terry Wiley for making time to write the Foreword to this book. I would also like to thank those colleagues whose work I could not include in this volume for submitting their proposals as well as the reviewers whose valuable feedback unquestionably improved the overall quality of the book.

I have been very fortunate to have the professional assistance of Meredith Thatcher, who took care of the project management and all the editorial work that such a volume requires before it can be submitted to the publisher. My warm thanks go to her for her generous support over the time that we have been working on this volume together. My thanks also go to Cambridge Scholars Publishing for agreeing to publish this book.

Preparation of this manuscript was facilitated by the financial assistance that the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia (ALAA) and the Faculty of Arts and Design, University of Canberra, provided me with and for which I am grateful. Without their support this book might not have come to fruition.

I sincerely hope that the chapters in this book will make a contribution to the ever-expanding field of Applied Linguistics. For me, editing this book has been a rewarding learning experience; my understanding of applied linguistics has certainly grown through my engagement with the ideas presented by the authors in this volume. I now hope to share this experience with a larger audience.

Elke Stracke
University of Canberra
Canberra

APPLIED LINGUISTICS AS A MEETING PLACE: AN INTRODUCTION

ELKE STRACKE

Applied linguistics is an interdisciplinary field and often described as hard to define. Traditionally, applied linguistics focused on language teaching. Today, it attracts researchers and practitioners who are concerned with the numerous practical applications of language studies. This book makes a contribution to its developing and expanding scope through understanding applied linguistics as a *meeting place*. It presents 16 papers¹ by key researchers working in various countries around the globe. The volume focuses on the many junctions within applied linguistics and its intersections with other disciplines and areas of practice as diverse as *Education, Indigenous Issues, Language Development, Literacy, and Social Interaction*. Applied linguistics also has connections with broader areas such as the *Arts, Law, Medicine and Health, Society, Politics and Policy, and Technology*.

Like all metaphors, thinking in images allows us to develop our own images and stories around the idea of the *meeting place*. My own understanding of the term is intimately linked with the popular understanding of the name of the capital of Australia, Canberra. Canberra's name is often thought to mean *meeting place*, derived from the Aboriginal word Kamberra, reminding us that Australia's capital is located on the lands of the indigenous Ngunnawal people.² Even though this meaning is most likely academically unsustainable (Koch 2009) it has become generally accepted, perhaps because the federal parliament resides in Canberra. The *meeting place* emphasizes Canberra's role as the capital where people from Australia and the world gather, connect, share and

¹ All chapters in this volume are original studies, appearing in print for the first time. The authors presented earlier versions of their papers at the 2nd Combined Conference of the Applied Linguistics Associations of Australia and New Zealand in Canberra in December 2011 before they submitted them as chapter proposals for this book. All proposals and manuscripts went through a rigorous double-blind peer-review process.

² See www.visitcanberra.com.au/Visitor-Info/Facts

develop ideas. So the idea of using this popular understanding of Canberra as a *meeting place* transpired quite naturally when developing the conference theme, *Applied Linguistics as a Meeting Place*, for the 2nd Combined Conference of the Applied Linguistics Associations of Australia and New Zealand in Canberra in December 2011, as the main goals for the conference were to focus on the intersections between applied linguistics and other disciplines and areas of practice. This book brings together 16 outstanding pieces of work from this conference.

A brief overview of this book

The 16 chapters in this book are grouped within three broader areas. Part I has chapters that focus on the intersections between applied linguistics and a variety of workplaces or public spheres in multicultural and multilingual contexts. All studies in this section are concerned with enhancing the communication between members of these various workplaces and communities and show how applied linguistics can contribute to such an improvement.

Janet Holmes' chapter (Chapter 1) presents a study that analyzes the attitudes of New Zealanders towards skilled migrants with overall positive results, namely consistently positive attitudes to skilled migrants in New Zealand workplaces. This chapter shows how applied linguists can work with the community to reflect on how to better accept diversity in the slow advance towards a multicultural society. In a world that is increasingly multicultural, such work is critical. Louisa Willoughby, Simon Musgrave, Marisa Cordella, and Julie Bradshaw (Chapter 2) examine bilingual medical consultations in suburban hospitals in Melbourne, Australia. Their study shows the need to carefully research multiparty medical consultations (patient, family member, doctor, interpreter) to ensure that the multiple voices get heard and effective communication takes place so that the health and wellbeing of the patient are assured. Suzanne Egging (Chapter 3) also examines hospital discourse in the Australian context. She argues that applied linguistics research into humor can help improve the communication and interaction between clinicians and patients. Her research shows how patients initiate humor as an appeal to clinicians to speak to them in a more inclusive everyday mode of interaction. Applied linguists play an important role in understanding and improving the discourse needed to empower patients in talk about their health. Kirsten Hanna (Chapter 4) looks at the intersection of law, linguistics and psychology in the cross-examination of child witnesses, drawing on evidence from New Zealand courtrooms and other adversarial

systems. She convincingly argues that applied linguists can, and indeed must, help improve the courts' interactions with child witnesses for fair cross-examination of children and other vulnerable witnesses. In the last chapter in this part of the book (Chapter 5) Farzana Gounder presents the intersection of linguistics with media studies, history and narrative analysis through the careful analysis of a public Fiji-Indian radio commemoration of Indian indenture. Yet again, the role of applied linguistics is seen in its potential to help us understand how discourses work and shape us, ultimately constructing identity and society.

While Part I of the book focuses on the intersections between applied linguistics and a variety of workplaces or public spheres in multicultural and multilingual settings by reporting on studies conducted in such contexts, the chapters in Part II report on research conducted in educational contexts. All chapters emphasize the role that applied linguistics play in the various educational contexts (from early childhood education to tertiary education) studied. Chapter 6 provides a useful transition into this group of papers, with its focus on the intersection of higher education and the workplace. Stephen Moore and Hui Ling Xu are concerned with the communication needs of international undergraduate accounting students in Australia, who are often not adequately prepared for the accounting workplace. Based on their study in a university accounting program, they suggest ways to improve these students' communicative skills needed in the accounting workplace. Angela Ardington (Chapter 7) focuses on the communication needs of undergraduate engineering students in Australia from her perspective as an academic language and learning practitioner who works at the intersection of applied linguistics, sociocultural theories of learning, and discourse studies. She convincingly argues for a pedagogical shift towards the integration of academic literacy in the core curriculum of these students, with the ultimate goal of making their learning experiences more valuable.

The following four chapters (Chapter 8 to Chapter 11) focus more explicitly on the traditional priority area of applied linguistics, language teaching, and its connections with the development of academic literacy and proficiency in various educational contexts. Hiroyuki Nemoto (Chapter 8) is concerned with the development of L2 literacy through the examination of the role of online intercultural activities. Integrating the perspective of Learning Management Theory he shows how, in an email exchange project, learners of English in Japan and learners of Japanese in Australia become socialized into L2 academic literacy through various language management actions triggered by identity transformation. In Chapter 9 Carol Hayes and Yuki Itani-Adams develop the theme of

identity formation through an eLearning project (the Japanese Digital Storytelling Project) that they conducted with learners of Japanese at an Australian university. This project gives learners opportunities to express themselves and calls for a more holistic view of communication in language education. Wan-lun Lee (Chapter 10) argues for the integration of literature and cooperative learning in university English language education in Taiwan and provides rich evidence of students' perceptions of the benefits of such integration. The following chapter by Rosalie Grant, Rita MacDonald, Aek Phakiti and H. Gary Cook (Chapter 11) discusses the interesting intersection of English language teaching and mathematics. The authors show how cross-disciplinary collaboration between applied linguists and mathematics educators can provide English language learners in U.S. elementary and high school classrooms with essential practice to improve their writing when articulating mathematical problems, so contributing to students' academic mathematics achievement. The following two chapters (Chapter 12 and Chapter 13) examine the links between applied linguistics and language education among Aboriginal people in Australia. In Chapter 12, Liz Ellis brings together applied linguistics and early childhood education and argues compellingly for a better understanding of Aboriginal ways of talking and of effective preschool pedagogies for young indigenous learners in Australian preschools. The recognition of Aboriginal English as a valid variety—along with Standard Australian English—plays an important role in improving outcomes for these students. Ian Malcolm (Chapter 13) continues the discussion of Aboriginal students' use of Aboriginal English and Standard Australian English through an integration of cultural linguistics. Cultural schema theory is presented as a powerful tool to make the educational setting for Aboriginal students more culturally inclusive, so overcoming unacceptable hierarchies of languages and cultures.

The chapters in Part III discuss important issues around language documentation, policy, and language rights that lie in the public domain and at the heart of all language communities. In Chapter 14 Denise Angelo and Sophia McIntosh carefully examine Australian Census language data and find disturbing data inaccuracy. Their chapter focuses on the data about languages spoken by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Queensland, Australia, and shows that language data is not always accurately collected and disseminated. Through their case studies they show the important contribution that applied linguists can make to communities and governments through community-based and academic research. In Chapter 15 Karen Lillie discusses language policy and language rights for language minority students in Arizona. Her analysis of

U.S. legal history and the events in Arizona shows the detrimental effect that language policy can have on English language learners, and serves to remind applied linguists—and indeed all disciplines—to protect and support language rights so that future language minority students receive an equal education, regardless of their first language. The last chapter in this volume (Chapter 16) further underlines the important role that applied linguists play in shaping educational policy and curriculum. Molly Townes O'Brien and Peter Bailey show how indigenous children in the world are often deprived of their sense of cultural identity and value. For the Australian context they argue that some statutory protection of the right to bilingual education will be required to secure an appropriate education for children who speak indigenous languages.

As seen from this brief overview, this volume's contributors write from a variety of perspectives and use various methodological approaches in their exploration of the contributions of applied linguistics across disciplines and areas of practice. I am pleased to present this book that shows how these researchers understand the influence of applied linguistics in the world. Naturally, this book cannot cover all disciplines and areas of practice that applied linguistics intersects with. I hope that it inspires researchers and practitioners to explore more and new intersections of applied linguistics so as to allow the understanding of applied linguistics as a *meeting place* to further mature.

References

- Koch, H. 2009, "The methodology of reconstructing Indigenous placenames: Australian Capital Territory and southeastern New South Wales". In H. Koch and L. Hercus, eds, *Aboriginal Placenames: Naming and re-naming the Australian landscape*, ANU: E Press and Aboriginal History Incorporated, pp. 115–74

PART I

CHAPTER ONE

JOINING A NEW COMMUNITY OF WORKPLACE PRACTICE: INFERRING ATTITUDES FROM DISCOURSE

JANET HOLMES

Keywords: attitudes to migrants, workplace discourse, discourse analysis, intercultural communication

Abstract

Over the last few decades, New Zealanders have increasingly perceived their country as a relatively diverse and multicultural society. Yet people migrating to New Zealand often find that their experiences do not always live up to this rhetoric. Drawing on a theoretical model developed to analyze workplace discourse in its wider sociocultural context (Holmes, Marra & Vine 2011), this paper examines research evidence of the attitudes of New Zealanders towards skilled migrants as they enter the professional New Zealand workforce. The concepts of “new racism” (Barker 1981; van Dijk 2000), and “benevolent racism” (Lipinoga 2008, p. 47; Villenas 2002) are critically examined and rejected as inapplicable. While majority group norms and values underlie much of the advice given to skilled migrants, the discourse analysis provides evidence of “benevolent patronage” rather than harmful prejudice. The paper concludes with reflections on ways in which applied linguists can work with members of the wider workplace community to identify and research such areas of mutual concern, presenting research which is paradigmatically “applied linguistics applied” (Roberts 2003; Sarangi 2002).

Introduction

Over the last few decades, New Zealanders have increasingly perceived their country as a relatively diverse and multicultural society. New migrants often find, however, that their experiences do not always live up to this rhetoric. Responses to their attempts to learn English, to find work, and to demonstrate that they have something to offer in their new work

environments sometimes suggest that they are perceived through a lens of cultural and linguistic deficiency.

Research on attitudes to migrants in England and the United States has introduced the concepts of “new racism” (Ansell 1997; Barker 1981; Hanson-Easey & Augoustinos 2010) and “benevolent racism” (Lipinoga 2008, p. 47; Villenas 2001) to describe covertly negative or overtly patronizing attitudes to newcomers to a country. Such attitudes can act as severe impediments in the newcomers’ attempts to gain respect and recognition for their knowledge and skills in their new workplaces. These concepts provide a useful basis for evaluating evidence of attitudes to migrants in spoken workplace interaction. Talk at work is multifunctional and provides a wealth of information, not only about the transactional requirements of the job, but also about the relationships between participants (Holmes & Stubbe 2003), including subtle and not-so-subtle indications of attitudes. Every time we speak we convey our perception of the relationship between ourselves and our addressees, and provide clues about our attitudes. Making use of data from authentic spoken workplace interactions, this paper examines talk at work, and especially advice-giving, for evidence of the attitudes of New Zealanders to skilled migrants in New Zealand workplaces.

The first section of the paper outlines the broad theoretical framework and concepts used in the analysis. The methodology used to collect the data is then described, followed by the analysis of this data. The final section discusses the implications of the analysis and considers what host society speakers can learn from the opportunity to interact with professionals from different countries and cultures.

Theoretical framework and analytical concepts

In every society, people operate within institutional and social constraints that influence their talk in each context. We construct our social relationships and social identities within the limits of culturally available, sense-making frameworks or “discourses” (Ehrlich 2008, p. 160). In other words, our talk is constrained by the parameters of broad societal norms and “inherited structures” of belief, power, opportunity, and so on (Cameron 2009, p. 15). We have developed a theoretical model to analyze workplace discourse in its wider sociocultural context. This model suggests (Holmes, Marra & Vine 2011) that these social constraints operate at a number of different levels, from the encompassing societal or institutional level to the specific levels of the Community of Practice (CoP) or workplace team (cf. Hecht, Warren, Jung & Krieger 2005; Wodak 2008)

and face-to-face interaction.¹ In the analysis of attitudes, this model highlights the hegemonic impact of majority group interactional norms, such as English as the normal, expected language of workplace interaction, egalitarianism as a value that inhibits self-promotion, and New Zealand-born Pākehā as the experts on matters of sociocultural interaction.

Cross-cutting these potential components is the influence of Māori discourse norms. Material from our database suggests these norms are relevant, taken-for-granted, background norms for many New Zealand interactions. For instance, most New Zealanders are aware that Māori discourse rules for appropriate interaction differ from those of the majority Pākehā group. The difference is especially noticeable in formal greetings, which tend to be elaborated by Māori but minimized by Pākehā (Holmes & Marra 2011a; Holmes, Marra & Vine 2012). Yet most relevant for the analysis below is that Pākehā and Māori do share the view that self-promotion is culturally unacceptable, though the roots of this value are different in each culture. Among Pākehā, egalitarianism is based on a belief that social standing should depend on achievement and not on birth, and that achievement is appropriately assessed by somebody else, not by the individual concerned (Lipson 1948, p. 8). Consequently, Pākehā New Zealanders do not comfortably tolerate explicit demonstrations of power, or boasting, and people often seek ways to reduce status differences and to emphasize equality with their colleagues. For Māori, avoidance of self-promotion is not based in a philosophy of egalitarianism but rather in the priority of the group over the individual, and the perception of a leader as a servant of the group. Māori leaders are expected to demonstrate concern for others and to avoid focusing on their own attributes.²

Overall, then, given this range of relevant sociocultural components, the model we have developed provides a useful macro-level background framework for critically examining how different norms, values, and positionings are conveyed, sometimes explicitly, and sometimes less consciously, at the micro-level in face-to-face workplace interaction.

The concept of “new racism” (Ansell 1997, Barker 1981, Hanson-Easey & Augoustinos 2010, van Dijk 2002) provides a further useful analytical tool to examine attitudes to migrants in the workplace. Overt racism is typically easy to identify, institutionally proscribed, and socially unacceptable in New Zealand as in most other Western democracies.

¹ See Holmes, Marra and Vine (2011) for a detailed discussion of this model and how it can be applied in New Zealand workplaces.

² See Holmes, Marra and Vine (2011) and Metge (1995) for further discussion.

However, as van Dijk (2002) points out, institutional and social intolerance of explicit racism has driven racism underground to manifest itself more covertly as “hidden racism,” “xenoracism” (Del-Teso-Craviotto 2009) or “new racism” in contexts where racism is no longer tolerated. New racism refers to cultural and symbolic discrimination where “a politics of difference is used to claim legitimacy for dominant cultural practices” that result in subtle injustices (Tilbury & Colic-Peisker 2006).

This less blatant form of prejudice, “distant, cool and indirect” (Zick, Pettigrew & Wagner 2008, p. 240), has been identified and validated by the West (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998; Condor, Figgou, Abell, Gibson & Stevenson 2006; Foster 2009; Santa Ana 1999), and infiltrates many mundane settings without attracting comment. In particular, it often serves as a subtle and invidious means of discriminating against immigrants (De Fina & King 2011). For example, by drawing attention to cultural and national differences it constructs migrant workers as a threat. This is subtle, covert racism, expressed and experienced in everyday discriminatory practices (such as workplace talk) which reinforce stereotypes and prejudices. Identifying such indirect prejudice means examining everyday interaction for evidence of opinions that betray covertly negative attitudes and imply potentially racist ideologies. Clearly it is important in a study of attitudes to migrants to be alert to the possibility of such subtle prejudice and discrimination.

The third component in our analytical toolkit derives from House’s (2005, p. 21) framework for analyzing intercultural interaction. Her model provides five potentially universal dimensions for analyzing cross-cultural differences:

1. degree of directness
2. degree of explicitness
3. the degree to which communication is oriented towards self rather than other-oriented
4. the degree to which communication is oriented towards content rather than the addressees
5. the extent to which the discourse is characterized by verbal routines as opposed to unplanned formulations.

This framework provides a useful guide for considering the ways that different interactional norms are negotiated in intercultural workplace interaction, and for identifying potential sources of misunderstanding. The analysis below focuses on the different ways that advice is given in workplace interaction. In the context of this study of attitudes to migrants, the dimensions of degrees of directness and degrees of explicitness proved

particularly useful when analyzing advice-giving between migrants and their mentors.

Methodology and dataset

The data used to analyze attitudes towards migrants in New Zealand workplaces was collected as part of the research of the Wellington Language in the Workplace Project (LWP). The LWP team has been recording and analyzing workplace interactions since 1996. Most of this data has come from white-collar environments, including government departments and large and small corporations (see Holmes & Stubbe 2003).³ In total our 2-million word database comprises more than 2,000 interactions, involving around 700 participants from more than 30 workplaces. The interactions range from brief telephone conversations to lengthy strategy meetings. In the last four years we have also collected data involving intercultural interaction in the workplace between New Zealanders and migrants from professional backgrounds.

The workplace interactions analyzed below were collected by volunteers in a 12-week communications skills course with an internship component. The course is one of a number of courses offered in New Zealand cities to professionals who do not speak English as their first language, and who have found it hard to find suitable employment. All the participants have relevant expertise in their chosen profession, but do not know about or have experience with New Zealand culture. Because of employer attitudes, this lack of knowledge and experience tends to limit the participants' opportunities for employment. The participants include accountants, lawyers, judges, doctors, financial analysts, and engineers. They come from a range of countries, including China, Germany, India, Japan, Malaysia, and Russia. After five weeks of intensive classroom teaching and learning, focused on developing awareness of sociopragmatic aspects of communication in the New Zealand workplace, the participants spend six weeks in supported internships in a New Zealand organization matched to their area of interest.

The 12 volunteers (5 women and 7 men) who agreed, with their workplace mentors and colleagues, to record their everyday workplace interactions during their internships came from a wide range of professional backgrounds and countries. Using the standard methodology of the LWP team, the volunteers carried small devices that recorded their normal workplace interactions for the first two weeks and last two weeks

³ See the project website www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/lwp for more information.

of their internship. They were in control of what was recorded, and they provided a range of material from one-to-one sessions with their mentors to morning tea and social interactions with a wide array of workplace colleagues. These recordings and recordings between New Zealanders from the wider LWP database selected for comparison purposes provided the data used in the analysis below.

Analysis of data

Giving advice has some similarities with giving directives.⁴ While directives are attempts to get someone to do something, usually for the benefit of the speaker, advice is more specifically other-oriented, with the addressee's welfare as its distinguishing characteristic. Bach and Harnish (1979, p. 49) define advice as follows: "what the speaker expresses is not the desire that H [hearer] do a certain action but the belief that doing it is a good idea, that it is in H's interest." The addressee is not obliged to comply, but it is generally regarded as in their best interests to do so (Vine 2004; Koester 2006). Given the situation of the skilled migrants during their internship, it is not surprising that they were the target of a good deal of advice from their mentors. Much of this advice was intended to help them work well with their colleagues and fit into the workplace. This relationally oriented advice was the focus of the analysis, that is, advice oriented to how the new workers should manage their workplace relationships.

Direct and explicit advice about interactional norms

The most obvious feature of the interactions between the skilled migrants and their mentors was the remarkable directness of the advice given at every level, from general advice about New Zealand sociocultural norms to more specific advice about how to fit into a particular CoP. Of course, this is not very surprising since the role of the mentors was precisely to provide such guidance to their mentees, and they frequently did so very clearly and firmly. In a number of interactions, the mentors explicitly described "the way New Zealanders talk" for the benefit of the skilled migrant.

⁴ This section draws on Vine, Holmes and Marra (2012).

Example 1

[Transcription conventions are at the end of this chapter.]

Context: Henry is a Chinese accountant. Simon, Henry's workplace mentor, gives him advice about New Zealand ways of interacting.

1. it doesn't work that way in New Zealand...
2. I know that you've a diff- different culture
3. a different you know language
4. so people will be more understanding
5. they will be more understanding um
6. but you need to say things with energy
7. that's a New Zealand thing very much
8. that we like en- energy we like enthusiasm
9. we like keen people...
10. when you want to say something
11. you have to say it with a bit of energy ...
12. really, really important that when you speak to people
13. that you get your voice level up

Simon here first acknowledges that Henry's cultural background and language are different, but then explicitly asserts the need for him to conform to New Zealand norms by saying things with *energy* (lines 6, 8 and 11) and *enthusiasm* (line 8). These features of interaction are presented as generalizations about national norms, which Simon clearly feels qualified to present.

In the context of assessing attitudes to skilled migrants, it is important to note that Simon does not assume that Henry lacks linguistic proficiency, but rather assesses Henry's reticence as a cultural phenomenon. Even so, when compared with ways that New Zealand born speakers are addressed, this excerpt illustrates a number of features in our data that characterize talk to skilled migrants, such as repetition (lines 4, 5, 6, 8 and 11), the use of syntactically simple clauses with parallel structures: e.g. *we like energy, we like enthusiasm, we like keen people* (lines 8 and 9), and paraphrase: e.g. *say it with a bit of energy, get your voice level up* (lines 11 and 13). There is little mitigation or hedging; the clauses are simple and direct and there is no evidence of negotiation.

The specific message that Simon conveys here is a common theme in our data: skilled migrants from Asia are regularly encouraged to speak up, to speak louder and more confidently. The content, directness and explicitness of this advice contrast with advice-giving sequences between native-speaking New Zealanders where such features were never the focus of advice, and repetition was rare (see Vine 2004; Holmes 2005). A

similar pattern was observable in advice focused more specifically on the norms of a particular CoP.

Example 2

Context: Helena is a Chinese accountant from Hong Kong. Trish, her workplace mentor, is giving advice about the norms of this particular workplace.

1. the way WE react to people (3)
2. WE help people that come and ask us questions +
3. we help the ones that talk the loudest (laughing) ...
4. if you were gonna [going to] start prioritizing things
5. it's a whole (lot easier to)
6. get rid of the loudest one first

Again the message is characterized by repetition and paraphrase, with syntax that involves relatively simple structures: *we help...we help...* (lines 2 and 3). The repeated pronoun *we* (lines 1, 2 and 3), stressed in lines 1 and 2, emphasizes that repetition and paraphrase are being presented as the local CoP norms: drawing attention to yourself by asking questions and talking loudly is a strategy that is recognized as effective in this CoP.

Similarly, in example 3, Leo gives Isaac advice about how to behave socially in their CoP.

Example 3⁵

Context: Isaac is a Chinese accountant. Leo, his workplace mentor, is giving advice about the norms of their particular workplace.

1. try and integrate yourself more with everyone
2. ... but also the learning is
3. to sit with people at lunch time
4. and learn the language and listen to the jokes
5. and the and participate so sometimes ...
6. for your development I think
7. you need to work harder at that ...
8. ... just listen to people ...
9. and participate ...
10. so you get more confident ...

⁵ This example is discussed from a different perspective in Vine, Holmes and Marra (2012).

Leo is encouraging Isaac to join in more with social interaction in the workplace, so that he gets more practice and becomes more confident in speaking English. This is very direct language characterized by explicit imperatives such as *integrate yourself, sit with people, learn ..., listen..., participate....you need to...; just listen...*(lines 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9). Again there is a significant amount of repetition (lines 5 and 9, and lines 4 and 8) and paraphrase. Yet again it is worth noting that this kind of advice from interactions between New Zealanders is completely absent in our data. Perhaps it seems too face-threatening to comment on a person's social competence and suggest they behave differently.

In summary, the advice that mentors gave the skilled migrants about how to behave appropriately when interacting in New Zealand workplaces was typically direct, relatively unattenuated and repeated. Also it was reinforced, often with elaboration over an extended session of interaction. The remarkable feature of this advice was the degree of explicitness compared to how our larger database showed advice was typically conveyed between New Zealanders. We analyzed comparable mentoring situations between managers and subordinates, where the manager provided advice to the mentee. The analysis clearly showed that advice about practices that needed changing was typically hedged and often negotiated or phrased as a suggestion for consideration (see Holmes 2005), especially if it related to managing relationships with other colleagues.

Indirect advice about New Zealand interactional norms

Another perspective on this type of information was provided by comments on how the skilled migrants' behavior differed from the behavior of New Zealanders. Often in such cases, while the surface message was clear and explicit, and related to behavior to be avoided, there was an underlying message that required some inferencing on the part of the intern. One such case involved a skilled migrant from Russia whose workplace interactions were characterized by a significant amount of self-promotional talk—something discouraged in New Zealand society. Yet his mentor focused instead on an aspect of the migrant's interactional style as he perhaps found discussing the style easier or more comfortable.

Example 4

Context: Andrei is an events manager. Emma, his workplace mentor, is giving advice about his interactional style.

1. about um communication style

2. um you're quite clear in what you say
3. and your English is very good
4. and you seem to understand pe- perfectly well
5. so I have absolutely no issue with that
6. but um the only thing I'd say is that
7. um you can be very direct
8. you need to think constantly about
9. how can I just tone it down a bit
10. do you know what I mean?

The feedback consistently given to Andrei is that his style is too direct. Again the mentor starts with positive feedback about Andrei's English proficiency before raising the issue of directness.

There are two interesting points to note. First, Andrei is told not that New Zealand colleagues experience his style as too direct, but rather *you can be very direct* (line 7), and then *you need to think constantly* about how you can *just tone it down a bit* (lines 8 and 9). In other words, New Zealand norms are taken for granted and the possibility that Andrei's colleagues might react differently or be more tolerant is not considered. Second, our analyses of the recordings of Andrei's interactions in his workplace show that another underlying cultural issue exists that none of his mentors or colleagues mention. This cultural issue is Andrei's tendency to talk explicitly about his high status and standing in his former occupation in Russia at every opportunity. Example 5 is one example from a number of instances.⁶

Example 5

Context: As stated, Andrei is an events manager. Camille is his manager. They are discussing the parameters of Andrei's job in the organization. [XXX] is used to protect the identity of the organization where Andrei works.

1. And: I er [clears throat] I was involved in the same
2. similar to the similar similar work back in Russia
3. Cam: oh right
4. And: er but for international er financial er institutions
5. like international monetary fund //and the World\ Bank
6. Cam: oh wow\\
7. And: and the European Bank for Construction and Development
8. Cam: oh

⁶ A longer section, which includes this excerpt and the related issue, is discussed in more detail in Holmes and Riddiford (2010), and is analyzed from a different perspective in Holmes and Marra (2011b).

9. And: and for our () of ch- chairman and deputy chairman
 10. and deputy director of some of the departments
 11. were [XXX] departments not just [XXX] /but\<\
 12. Cam: //mm\<\
 13. And: [XXX] and then financial [XXX]
 14. Cam: right yes
 15. And: banking supervision and accounting
 16. Cam: that's quite big work
 17. And: yes //really big\ the whole um
 18. Cam: /yeah\<\
 19. And: I was a team leader
 20. Cam: mm
 21. And: and five people reported to me ++
 22. and I w- and I coordinated the (role) for the first deputy
 23. chairwomen missus [NAME] she was right hand
 24. of chairman of the European bank bank of Europe
 25. Cam: oh
 26. And: chair govern Reserve Bank
 27. Cam: oh okay one of my brothers is going to Moscow next week

Andrei begins appropriately here by linking what he wants to say to the current context in which his responsibilities are being outlined. In lines 1 and 2, Andrei indicates that he has relevant previous experience. He then goes on to describe his previous position in considerable detail. In a typical interaction between New Zealanders, the information in the first two lines would almost certainly be considered enough. Most New Zealanders tend to play down expertise; it would be unusual to hear someone elaborate their experience in Andrei's level of detail. Andrei mentions the banks he has worked for (lines 4, 5 and 7) and lists the important people he has worked for (lines 9 and 10). He then provides a detailed account of his role as a team leader of five people (lines 19 and 21), and finally his role working for an important woman—the right hand to the chairman of the bank of Europe (lines 22, 23, 24, and 26).

Camille's responses show that she finds this elaborated, explicit professional identity construction somewhat excessive. Her responses become progressively less encouraging until, finally, she takes over firmly *oh okay* (line 27) and changes the topic. Considerately, she selects a social topic that Andrei can likely contribute to: *one of my brothers is going to Moscow next week* (line 27).

Research with Russian immigrants in Israel (Zaldman & Drory 2001) and research on Russian requests (Larina 2008; Ogiermann 2009) suggests that the amount and level of detail Andrei supplies about his experience and competence would be perfectly appropriate in a Russian context. A