

Evaluation of Te Kura Whānau Reo

Report prepared for the Ministry of Education

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Executive Summary

This report details the findings of an evaluation of Te Kura Whānau Reo, a programme designed by Te Ataarangi and funded for the past two years by The Ministry of Education. Feedback about the programme was provided by *pouārahi reo*, and parents who have participated in Te Kura Whānau Reo. The research involved a mixed methods approach, including focus group interviews (n = 29) and surveys (n = 53). A total of 82 individuals participated in this study. *Whānau* throughout each of the of the eight regions completed surveys. Focus groups with *whānau* were held in four regions, both rural and urban to explore the experiences of participants in a wide range of geographical regions.

There were a number of focus areas of this evaluation, including the educational experiences of children from the programme in both Māori medium and English medium education institutions, the impact of the programme of *whānau* use of te reo Māori, and the wider implications that resulted from *whānau* taking part in the programme. Both sets of findings indicated that Te Kura Whānau Reo had a significantly positive impact on education, language acquisition and use, cultural identity development and affirmation, as well as having an impact on community and iwi relationship development. The internal relationships that *whānau* developed with one another through their participation in this programme was possibly one of the most focal findings of this study. In fact, the correlational analysis undertaken demonstrated that the impact of participating in the various activities that are included in Te Kura Whānau Reo were more likely than any other factor tested to have a strong positive correlation with *whānau* connectedness. The connectedness that *whānau* gained while during this programme was partly due to the fact that they were encouraged to communicate with one another regularly, they had a shared goal of improving language proficiency, and their goals and *whānau* achievements were positively reinforced by their wider language community developed through Te Kura Whānau Reo.

Through participating in this programme, parents who had children enrolled in Māori medium education felt more enabled or entitled to engage more regularly with their kura, and also to engage in ways that created relationships with the wider kura that were based on mutual reciprocity. The confidence that parents gained to engage with their child's kura meant that they were more able to support the child in their child's educational aspirations.

The relationships that *whānau* develop with *pouārahi reo* was essential to the effectiveness of this programme. The types of skills that *pouārahi* bring to the role were diverse, and highly effective in their ability to keep *whānau* enrolled and engaged in the programme over the long-term. The individual care taken by each of the *pouārahi* in the way

that they chose to support *whānau* was identified as a key contributing factor to the success of the programme. Furthermore, the relationships that *pouārahi* are able to draw from within their own *iwi*, and urban centres are essential to the unique nature of this programme, and its ability to develop the *iwi/cultural identities* of its *whānau* members.

In many instances, there were a number of positive language acquisition shifts that had been made through *whānau* engagement with the programme. However, as the learner groups throughout the country were diverse (including older learners, or parents that needed to take maternity leave from the programme), despite having made significant language proficiency improvements, some participants would be unlikely to sustain their Māori language progress without the support of the programme.

Each of the findings from this report demonstrate that Te Kura Whānau Reo is a programme that is a worth while investment for educational purposes. As such, it is highly recommended that the programme be funded to continue past the initial pilot period. Furthermore, in order to sustain the effectiveness of the programme, it is essential that the programme designers of Te Ataarangi and the Ministry of Education consider ways to ensure that *pouārahi* are adequately remunerated for the important contributions that they make in supporting *whānau* to achieve their aspirations.

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Our sincere gratitude to the participants of this study who provided a great range of insights about their experiences of Te Kura Whānau Reo. Firstly, to the *whānau* members who shared with us not only their experiences of Te Kura Whānau Reo, but also some of the personal aspects related to learning their heritage language. We have endeavoured to treat the information that you all shared with us in a way that retains its intended meaning in our report back. Secondly, an acknowledgement to the *pouārahi reo* who also shared their experiences of the programme in an open and honest manner, we were very grateful for your shared contribution. Furthermore, to *pouārahi reo* throughout the regions who scheduled time to allow us with the opportunity to meet whānau who participated in the programme, this was appreciated. In all instances, *pouārahi reo* were overtly helpful and supportive of researchers in our attempts to understand more about the experiences of whānau in the programme.

To the programme designers, developers and CEO of Te Ataarangi, we are grateful that you entrusted us with the role of gathering and reporting back on the experiences of those involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo. Thank you to Dr Ruakere Hond for providing us with instructions and advice specifically during the development of the interview schedules and surveys. The feedback that you provided undoubtedly increased the quality of the data that was collected. Mike Eru, thank you for providing us with the opportunity to liaise with your team to produce an outcome from this evaluation that may be beneficial for supporting Te Kura Whānau Reo into the future. Thanks also to Hinerauamoā Chapman and Paratai Tai Rakena, our gratitude goes to both of you for your clarity in organising information and for liaising with *pouārahi reo* to arrange times to conduct focus group interviews. To Andrea Hall and Whaea Makere Roa, thank you both for your support during the focus groups also.

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It is our hope that as researchers, we have provided a well-rounded description of the experiences of those involved with the design and implementation of Te Kura Whānau Reo. It is our intention that the reporting of the results from this study will be of benefit to understanding parents' decisions about enrolling their children in Māori medium education and also for those involved in developing Māori and indigenous language revitalisation programmes in the future.

Nā mātou ko te tīma rangahau nō Te Kawa a Māui,



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Introduction

In the recent Ministry of Education strategy, *Tau Mai te Reo*, it is indicated that “*whānau* and community engagement in a learner’s education journey has a powerful influence on each learner’s education success. Parents, *whānau*, *iwi* and communities play a significant role in Māori language in education, as well as influencing a child’s education pathway and their learning, development, success and career opportunities” (Ministry of Education 2013, p. 10). The current Ministry of Education has indicated its desire to explore the positive impacts that *whānau*-based education programmes may have on the educational outcomes of their children. One such initiative that had been selected to support the educational pathways for *whānau* is Te Kura Whānau Reo. This initiative was implemented by Te Ataarangi in a number of regions to more closely align with the needs and values of *whānau*. In 2014, the Ministry of Education contracted Te Ataarangi, a well-recognised community-based Māori language institution to deliver the Kura Whānau Reo programme. This report outlines some of the achievements that have been made during the past two years that the project has been funded. This report also looks at ways in which the programme may be assisted to further improve the successful aspects of the initiative.

While there are a number of Māori language initiatives that have focused on developing Māori language proficiency outcomes of their learner groups, it appears that Te Kura Whānau Reo is unique in its programme aims. One of the distinctions between this programme and others is the desire to raise the proficiency levels of the *whānau*, rather than the individual. Furthermore, the outcomes that have been shown as a result of this programme, within a relatively short timeframe, are also commendable.

As the programme’s underlying values and teaching methods are closely aligned with those of Te Ataarangi, it is useful to describe some background information about Te Ataarangi, which is outlined as follows.

Te Ataarangi

Te Ataarangi began in 1979 as a community-based language revitalisation movement working with *whānau* to reverse the language shift that threatened te reo Māori. Developed by the late Dr Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira and Ngoingoi Pewhairangi, Te Ataarangi is modeled on The Silent Way method developed by Caleb Gattegno (Mataira, 1980). This method utilises Cuisenaire rods (*rākau*) and spoken language, and encapsulates Māori cultural imperatives which support a natural language learning environment. Te Ataarangi is steeped in *tikanga Māori*¹ and *te ao Māori*² (Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi, 2009b). Tutors traditionally conduct classes in communities primarily in people's homes, *marae*, *kōhanga reo* and community halls. These classes, commonly known as *kura pō* (night classes), were and continue to run on a voluntary or *koha*³ basis, making them accessible to a large range of communities around the country.

Prior to developing Te Kura Whānau Reo, Te Ataarangi had developed a strong philosophy that focused on working directly with *whānau* to embed te reo Māori in homes and communities, whereby securing the future of a living Māori language. Te Ataarangi recognises that speaker communities are the pathways for positive social change and self-determination through language revitalisation. It is an approach that would see Māori language speaker communities able to access Māori culture and language acquisition, integrated with language planning, activity, advocacy and language promotion objectives.

Te Kura Whānau Reo, a programme developed by Te Ataarangi, aims to strengthen the reo of school children by supporting *whānau* to establish their homes as Māori language environments. The programme aims to stimulate inter-generational and intra-generational transmission of reo Māori between all members of the *whānau*. The benefits of language transmission are significant for those who use the language with their children and within the *whānau* is the best place for this to happen (Chrisp, 2005). In this way, it is hoped that the home becomes the main platform for greater

¹ Māori customary practices.

² A Māori worldview.

³ Voluntary payment.

use of reo Māori with a deliberate link to the *kura*⁴ environment, which aligns with the Ministry's strategies, Ka Hikitia (2013) and Tau Mai te Reo (2013).

The programme targets the whānau of students involved in *kaupapa Māori*⁵ education. This includes mums, dads, grandparents, aunts, uncles, children, nephews, nieces and *mokopuna*.⁶ Kura Whānau Reo provides a foundation for language acquisition and includes extended vocabulary and theme-based language structure and knowledge. Specific *kaupapa* are woven with language learning to enhance the use of reo Māori within *whānau*-orientated situations. The intent is to grow the use of reo Māori thereby creating an environment that supports positive social change within the *whānau*.

Kura Whānau Reo was developed by Te Ataarangi as they recognised a gap that existed in relation to how parents engaged in their child's learning. Te Ataarangi helped to bridge that gap and sought to engage parents through their involvement in the Kura Whānau Reo programme. Focus is on building language skills and confidence of parents to enable them to support their children in. Bishop et al. (2007) recognised in their research the significant role whānau had in influencing the educational achievements of Māori students.

Following a course of discussions between The Ministry of Education and Te Ataarangi, a funding agreement to implement the Te Kura Whānau Reo programme, over a period of four years to 75 *whānau*, was signed by both parties in April 2014. Te Kura Whānau Reo was seen as a collaborative effort by Te Ataarangi and the Ministry of Education to achieve positive outcomes for Māori learners. According to programme designers from Te Ataarangi, the first three years of the programme are about normalising language use. The fourth year looks to take some *whānau* members on further to learn how to become language mentors for their *iwi*.

⁴ In the context of the report the Māori term *kura* is used to describe Māori medium education, and more specifically, compulsory education.

⁵ Māori education that is centred around Māori value systems.

⁶ Grandchildren.

National and International Programmes

There are a few other *whānau*-based language revitalisation programmes that have been developed at both an *iwi* level and a national level which include similar goals and outcomes as Te Kura Whānau Reo. A few of these initiatives include He Kāinga Kōreroreo, and Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata. He Kāinga Kōreroreo, also developed by Te Ataarangi, is a national network of *whānau* gathering strength as *whānau* through the cultural development inherent in *whānau* language development. *Whānau* are supported by an established network of mentors from within their communities who provide advice to *whānau* on methods and initiatives that facilitate intergenerational transmission of Māori language (Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi, 2009b). Independent evaluations of the He Kāinga Kōreroreo programme showed that increased knowledge of reo, culture and *tikanga* has a significant positive impact on the lives of the participating *whānau* (Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi, 2009a). One of the major differences with He Kāinga Kōreroreo and Te Kura Whānau Reo programme is the implementation of weekly language learning classes. By requiring *whānau* involved in Te Kura Whānau Reo to attend the same type of linguistic instruction, *pouārahi reo* are more likely to have a wider perspective about the types of language structures that are understood by the wider group.

Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata is a Ngāi Tahu family language based programme that also supports intergenerational language transmission, specifically for *whānau* who *whakapapa*⁷ to Ngāi Tahu. Recognising the importance of language use in the home, Kotahi Mano Kāika is based on reversing language shift, and includes the development of Ngāi Tahu dialect language learning resources for the home, cluster initiatives and online resources (Timutimu et al. 2011). “To date more than 1500 *whānau* are registered with Kotahi Mano Kāika and committed to learning and using te reo Māori. Around 50 *whānau* have committed to normalising and using te reo Māori as the language of choice in their homes and with their families” (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016). Programmes such as these are likely to have a positive impact on the intergenerational use of te reo Māori by *iwi* members.

⁷ Genealogical relationships.

International research shows a number of isolated pockets of families engaging in strategies that endeavour to return endangered languages to their homes and families. Of significance is a collection of stories in 'Bringing our Languages Home', which shares the experiences of a number of families in various stages of raising their children in their endangered languages. One of these is the Scottish Gaelic organisation Taic, previously known as CNSA from the Island of Skye, which resolved to save the Gaelic language and culture (Macleoid, 2013). Taic developed a number of programmes over the past 30 years to ensure the language was used on a daily basis. These programmes include Total Immersion Plus, the Family Language Plan, Gaelic in the Home Course and the Altram Course. Ongoing research and experience helps to guide the continued goal of bringing the language into "people's lives, their homes and their communities" (Macleoid, 2013, p. 209).

Another successful programme that has been used with endangered languages in the United States of America is the Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program developed in 1992 by the Native California Network, the initial design created by Leanne Hinton, Nancy Richardson, Mary Bates Abbott and others (Hinton, 2001). In the Master-Apprentice Program, elder fluent speakers team up with younger adult apprentices or those still learning the language in the range of 10-20 hours per week in activities that engage in language use together. Intensive immersion trainings are held periodically around language learning and teaching. Between training, teams return to their communities to work together using books as well as having access to telephone mentoring and visits from programme mentors (Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival, 2015). The ultimate goal of the Master Apprentice Program is to produce enough new speakers so that communities can develop their own unique strategies for the renewed use and transmission of Indian languages. An emphasis is on hearing the language used in real life activities such as cooking, shopping or practising traditional skills. The idea is for the apprentice to eventually become a teacher, especially one who can share the language with younger community members (Grant & Turner, 2013). A further development of the Master-Apprentice Program was the Kawaiisu Language at Home Program which worked directly with a family reviving their Kawaiisu language in the home and community.

Development and Delivery of Kura Whānau Reo

Prior to the signing of the contract with the Ministry of Education, Te Ataarangi personnel began a series of meetings within the *rohe*⁸ to inform them of the Kura Whānau Reo programme and to begin the process of engaging *pouārahi reo*⁹ (language mentors). *Pouārahi reo* were recruited from nine regions around the country. The skills and qualities required for the position were defined to align with the required outcomes of the Ministry of Education. Of paramount importance was the need to have teaching experience of Te Ataarangi methodology and to have knowledge of and be an advocate for the revitalisation of the Māori language. In addition was the need to have established networks within their communities, the ability to work collaboratively with *whānau*, be available to attend training *hui*¹⁰ and have knowledge of good administrative practices. It was the intention that *pouārahi reo*, through their connections to *iwi* and *hapū*, ensure that local content and *kōrero* is imbued within the programme.

Programme Aims

The aims for *whānau* participating in the programme include increasing knowledge and skills that assist them to become confident speakers of Māori by strengthening their use of language in a range of everyday activities and contexts, through strategies that work in the most appropriate way for *whānau*. The programme aims to build and maintain support networks for *whānau* within their communities to assist with the development of active speaker communities. Participation in the programme also aims to assist *whānau* to cultivate a secure worldview for children that nurtures a positive frame of mind as Māori. *Whānau* are also encouraged and supported to take an active role in their child's education as research shows that *whānau* engagement in a learner's education journey has a positive influence on their levels of achievement (Ministry of Education, 2013).

⁸ Regions.

⁹ Language mentors, and teachers.

¹⁰ Gatherings.

Whānau

Following the recruitment process, twelve *pouārahi* were appointed to deliver the KWR programme to 75 *whānau*. *Pouārahi* were allocated either five or ten *whānau* and in some regions chose to work collaboratively (such as in Ruatahuna). Following attendance at an induction training programme *pouārahi* were then able to recruit *whānau* into the programme. The process for recruitment of *whānau* was managed by the use of guidelines developed to assist *pouārahi reo* and to ensure the funders' contractual outcomes would be successfully met, one of these being to ensure a minimum of 75 *whānau* in the programme for a duration of 4 years. To ensure this, *pouārahi reo* were advised to recruit at least an extra 2 *whānau* each, to mitigate the risk of early exit from the programme.

Identifying potential *whānau* was done in a number of ways, including engaging with *whānau* involved in existing community classes, or known by the *pouārahi reo* through their established networks in the community. Interviews were held with each *whānau* wanting to take part in the programme and the entry criteria was explained in detail. The entry criteria and expectations for *whānau* participation in the programme ensured that each *whānau* had at least one child aged 15 years or under to ensure that intergenerational language transmission was occurring. Fishman (1991) identified intergenerational transmission as a key factor in reversing language shift.

A *poureo* was identified by each *whānau*, someone with a reasonable level of proficiency who was willing to commit long-term to support the *whānau* in their language journey and who maintained regular contact with *whānau* members, especially the children. Muller (2016) explains that the role (and desired impact) of a *poureo* is to motivate and encourage all *whānau* members to adhere to their agreed Māori language vision and goals. There was an expectation that all *whānau* must be willing to commit to fully participating in all activities together and that this programme was long-term (3-4 years). To confirm commitment to the programme, *whānau* were invited to sign a *whānau* agreement document, 'he whakapūmāutanga *whānau*'. A copy of this document is kept on file by the *pouārahi reo* and the original is retained by the *whānau*.

Language learning

There is an expectation for those *whānau* joining the programme that they will commit to regaining the use of reo Māori within their *whānau* and be willing to promote and strengthen the use of reo Māori in their homes and communities. Each *whānau* must have at least one adult committed to participating in up to six hours of regular weekly immersion activities and are required to be actively involved in the monthly immersion *hui tōpū*.¹¹ Consideration should be made to the time commitment required including travel. An important part of Te Kura Whānau Reo is the commitment by *whānau* to use the reo in the home and community between the generations. Therefore, there is an expectation by Te Ataarangi that each *whānau* must agree to take responsibility for their own language development and to participate in learning more about effective language learning activities and strategies that increase use.

Māori Language Community Support

Of importance in revitalising a language is the need for a pool of active speakers who converse with younger members. *Whānau* in the programme are encouraged to participate in some form of shared interest that will help to develop and foster speaker communities. These interests could be varied and may include activities around *marae*, *hapū* or *iwi* events, *kapa haka*, sports, *kōhanga reo* or *kura*. *Whānau* who have regular contact with each other will have better opportunities to interact outside of planned immersion activities and will be in a stronger position to support each other in practice. As highlighted in *Tau Mai te Reo*, (2013, p. 12), “communities ensure language vitality and authenticity and support the success of Māori language learners.” Creating supportive L2 (second language) communities through engaging in programmes such as Te Kura Whānau Reo could support the vitality of te reo Māori.

¹¹ *Hui tōpū* are gatherings where *whānau* come together in informal language contexts. These do not involve specific teaching of language structures which are covered during *kura pō*.

Programme Delivery

Whānau language development is delivered through three main methods: weekly language learning classes, monthly *hui tōpū* or cluster gatherings and individual *whānau* planning sessions. Language learning classes, typically *kura pō* are held each week to develop and increase language proficiency and are based on Te Ataarangi methods of teaching. *Hui tōpū* are monthly immersion gatherings that are focused on engaging *whānau* in activities and strategies that increase and normalise everyday language use. The one on one sessions with the *pouārahi reo* enable *whānau* with the opportunity to continually discuss issues and revisit their goals to assist them in making the language an everyday, normal part of their lives. Te Ataarangi have indicated that a range of resources are produced and distributed to *whānau* through their *pouārahi reo*. These resources include placemats, books, CDs and games.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Ongoing evaluation and monitoring of the programme happens through a number of approaches, including monthly *pouārahi reo* reports, *hui whakangūngū*¹² held 4 times a year, one-on-ones with the programme co-ordinator and monitoring visits. Regular contact is maintained with *pouārahi reo* by both email and phone.

Summary

The following sections of the report will focus on some of the outcomes that have occurred as a result of *whānau* participating in the programme. The results will also provide perspectives from *pouārahi* to gain a wider range of viewpoints about the programme, its design, and implementation. Furthermore, the impact that the programme has on Māori medium education, the use of te reo Māori in the home, the cultural identity development of *whānau* and the wider social outcomes of the programme will be a focus of the following sections of this report.

¹² Training hui for *pouārahi*.

Methods

Methodology

This research evaluation incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods. The field of mixed methodology aims to pragmatically join the strengths of both approaches (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Mixed methods research is distinct from both quantitative and qualitative research as it can provide information that is both exploratory and confirmatory in nature (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). A mixed methods approach was used in a complimentary manner in order to achieve the goal of understanding the programme objectives, and whether, or how well these objectives have been attained from a range of viewpoints.

Moewaka-Barnes (2006) explains that Māori researchers prefer the use of qualitative methods, as they are aligned with oral traditions. While there is surplus research conducted on L2 learning in globally dominant contexts, research pertaining specifically to Māori who are learning their heritage language in the context of the home is scarce. In this respect, this research was largely exploratory. In order to capture the wide variety of experiences, it was appropriate to initiate the research using qualitative methods.

A *kaupapa Māori* research methodology was also applied throughout this study. Our research practices were designed in a way that enabled both voice and empowerment to our research participants throughout the processes. Part of practising in ways that are consistent with *kaupapa Māori* methods include taking into consideration Māori cultural values, such as *kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* (Smith, 1999, p. 120). Furthermore, through this research, we attempted to engage in power sharing practices (Bishop & Glynn, 1999) to ensure that the relationship with participants was one that was mutually beneficial. These practices were conducive to a creating longer-term relationships between research participants and the research team. The ways in which these principles were applied will be further discussed in the procedure section that follows.

Participants

Qualitative research

A total of 35 participants provided information to the qualitative sections of this research. The majority of participants identified as Māori (n = 32), two identified as Māori and Pākehā, while one participant identified as Pākehā. Of the total 35 participants, 29 identified as female, with six identifying as male. Participants' ages were aggregated, as some participants felt uncomfortable providing specific details about their age. Of the interviews that were held, two were held using te reo Māori only, while two used te reo Māori intermittently (for instance, full paragraphs in Māori), and the remaining three groups chose to speak English with Māori words scattered throughout.

Interviews were held in four main locations, which included a total of two one-on-one interviews, and six focus group discussions with a minimum of three participants and a maximum of six participants in each group.

The majority of *whānau* indicated that their first language was English, and their first consistent introduction to learning te reo Māori was predominantly through Te Kura Whānau Reo.

The *pouārahi* who participated in this study were predominantly teachers of te reo Māori in a range of settings (mainly teachers of adults) prior to being approached as pouārahi reo. *Pouārahi* were also teachers of Te Ataarangi.

Quantitative research

A total of 53 participants provided survey responses from 10 different locations. (This is the total number of sites where Te Kura Whānau Reo are run from). The locations included: Kerikeri (n = 4), Te Kao (n = 9), Tāmaki-makau-rau (two sites) (n = 12), Tauranga (n = 2), Kirikiriroa (two sites) (n = 14), Ruatōria (n = 3), Ruatāhuna (n = 7), and Pōneke (n = 2).

Of the respondents, a total of 49 were Māori, two were Pākehā, and two did not provide a response regarding their ethnicity. The mean age for survey respondents was 42.7, with a total of nine who chose not to specify their age.

A total of 23 participants indicated that they had been a part of Te Kura Whānau Reo since 2014, while 12 had begun participating in 2015.

Materials

Consistent with *Kaupapa Māori* methodology, a collective approach was applied when considering the design of the research materials used in this study. After receiving a brief from the Ministry of Education about their expectations of the evaluation, our team met with the Ministry to ensure that there was a shared understanding about the evaluation objectives. Following this meeting, a set of questions were developed for both the qualitative and quantitative elements of this research. Copies of all research materials were then sent to our advisors from Te Ataarangi to ensure that the materials were consistent with the objectives that they wished to come from the project. Suggestions were made to the research tools and these were applied to the final set of research materials used in this study. A final set of research materials was also checked by the Ministry of Education prior to the commencement of data collection.

Qualitative research

Two semi-structured interview schedules were developed for this programme evaluation. An interview schedule for *whānau* was developed (see Appendix 1), as well as a focus group interview schedule for *pouārahi reo* (see Appendix 2). The questions to the interviews were developed based on knowledge of available literature in the field of second language acquisition studies based in the home. The questions were also tailored to the specific objectives that were being sought by the Ministry of Education to ascertain the impact of Te Kura Whānau Reo on Māori language development in the home, as well as the impact that the programme has had on educational outcomes. The Human Ethics Committee of Victoria University of Wellington approved this study.

Quantitative research

Survey items were also developed from previous studies that have investigated the change in L2 language acquisition developed by Te Huia (2013). Questions from previous surveys collected for monitoring reports that were distributed by Te Ataarangi to *whānau* were also taken into consideration when re-designing survey

questions for this report (see Appendix 3 for a full copy of the survey). The main areas of focus included a range of factors that were thought to occur as an outcome of *whānau* participation in Te Kura Whānau Reo.

Procedure

Whānau participants

Information about the focus group interviews were provided to *pouārahi reo* who then relayed information on to *whānau* prior to the focus group interviews. *Whānau* members who wished to participate in the study attended their regular *hui tōpū*, a meeting that is held specifically for *whānau* participating in Te Kura Whānau Reo. Consistent with *Kaupapa Māori* methods, the choice to hold the focus groups in a space where *whānau* members were comfortable was conducive to a power-sharing relationship between the researchers and the interviewees.

During discussions with the Ministry of Education, researchers recommended increasing the number of focus group sites from one (Tāmaki) to four (Tāmaki, Pōneke, Tai Tokerau and Kirikiriroa). As *whānau* were given a choice about whether or not they participated in the study, *whānau* in Te Taitokerau indicated to their *pouārahi reo* that they would be uncomfortable participating in a focus group interview. Therefore, a compromise was made to conduct a focus group interview in another remote area, namely Ruatōria. The range of locations provided researchers with a well-rounded scope of some of the lived experiences of *whānau* who participate in Te Kura Whānau Reo, from diverse regional backgrounds.

On three occasions, the *whānau* members from a particular location were split into two groups in order to provide each of the focus group members a greater amount of time to respond to the questions. The remaining focus groups were conducted by a single research interviewer.

Interviews were recorded using a Panasonic digital recorder. These were then transcribed. Participants were each afforded unique ID codes (participant numbers) in order to ensure that their true identities were kept confidential. Transcripts were then sent back to participants for checking prior to being imported into NVivo for further analysis.

Pouārahi Reo

Similar to the interviews with *whānau* focus group participants, *pouārahi* were informed about the study and were given the opportunity to participate in the focus group discussion. Two focus group discussions were held concurrently during their Te Ataarangi-led training weekend (held four times per year). The focus group discussion was held at Te Iti o Haua *marae* in Waikato. Each discussion was approximately 1.5 hours each, and were both conducted in Māori. These quotes have been left in Māori in the main body of the text. For non-Māori language speakers, the interpretive text surrounding the quote should provide the contextual information needed to understand the point being made in the quote. *Pouārahi* were also sent their transcripts for checking prior to analysis.

Quantitative research

Information sheets (see Appendix 4) were distributed to the *pouārahi reo* during the focus group interview at Te Iti a Haua. A verbal explanation was provided to *pouārahi reo* about the survey. *Pouārahi* disseminated the surveys directly to the *whānau* within their region. Paper based surveys were completed during their regular *hui tōpū*, or during the evening language classes. Surveys were then couriered back to the research team at Victoria University.

Analysis

Qualitative research

Transcripts were loaded into NVivo, a software programme that assists in processing large amounts of qualitative data. Thematic analysis, consistent with Braun and Clarke (2006), was the method used in this study. Thematic analysis provides researchers with the ability to create relationships between varying sets of transcript information.

Direct quotes in te reo Māori have been left as they were said. In many instances, quotes from *whānau* participants reflect both conversational language, but also a level of language expected of new learners of te reo Māori. In instances where a learner was speaking te reo Māori, the quote has been translated into English to accurately portray the intended meaning.

Quantitative research

The quantitative analysis of research findings in this study was largely restricted due to the number of survey responses. The statistical power that could be attained from the limited number of surveys meant that researchers restricted the analysis to reporting basic frequency data, and correlational data only. Further studies with larger samples would be in a better position to conduct more complex statistical analyses.

Results and Discussion: Study 1

Study 1: Quantitative results

In Figure 1 we measured the types of domains where te reo Māori is used outside of class. Domains include both people and places where the target language is used. Findings from the study indicated that the main group of people who participants in this study spoke to were their children. The second most common domain where te reo Māori was used was with their friends, followed by specific areas that were deemed to be Māori language speaking spaces. In contrast, partners and parents of participants were the least likely Māori speaking companions. In the case of parents, the findings below likely indicate that parents of participants are not speakers of te reo Māori, which is partly a reason why the participant enrolled in the programme. The second most uncommon speaking domain was the relationship between partners. This indicates that for half of the participants in this study, te reo Māori is not used with their spouse or partner, but instead, is relegated to the relationship with the children.

Figure 1. Mean scores of domains where te reo Māori is spoken

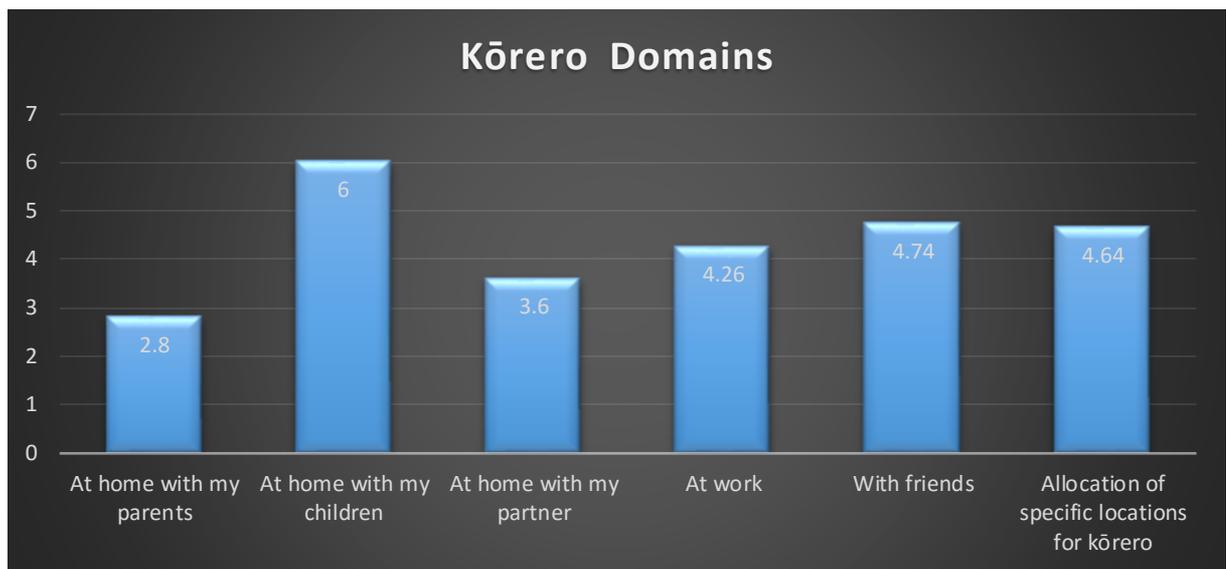


Figure 2 below indicates participants' responses to which types of topics are spoken about in te reo Māori. Given that te reo Māori was spoken mostly with children (Figure 1), it is not surprising that the most common topics of conversation for parents were parental tasks involving children, including praising children and giving them instructions. The second most common conversation topics were those set by the *pouārahi reo*. This finding indicates that parents are conscious to include the tasks set by the *pouārahi reo* into their language goals. Parents were then most likely to talk about things that happened during the day or topics of interest. These findings indicated that they were less likely to speak during formal occasions, which reflects also the level of language proficiency common for this level of learner.

Figure 2: Topics spoken about by participants by mean average

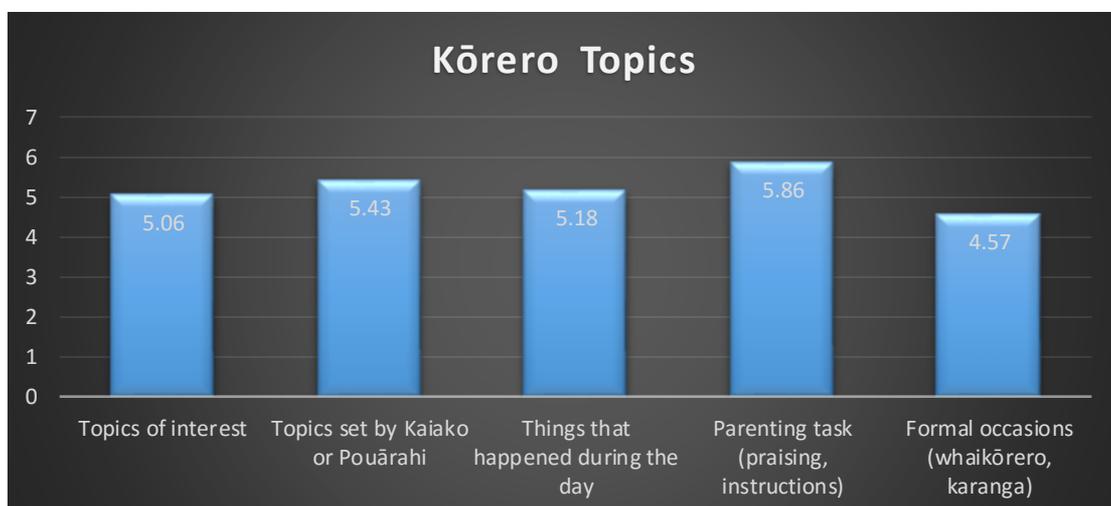


Figure 3 below highlights how many hours participants spoke te reo Māori for outside of class. This Figure demonstrates that participants were split into two main groups. One half of the group were likely to engage in a minimal amount of additional language learning activities, while the other half of the group were likely to spend at least 4 hours or more on practising using the Māori language. These results also reflect findings discussed in the following qualitative sections, which indicate that a number of participants were also enrolled in other language courses taught by their *pouārahi reo* (such as Te Pūtaketanga o te reo Māori offered by Te Wānanga o Aotearoa).

Figure 3: The number of hours spent practicing te reo Māori outside of class

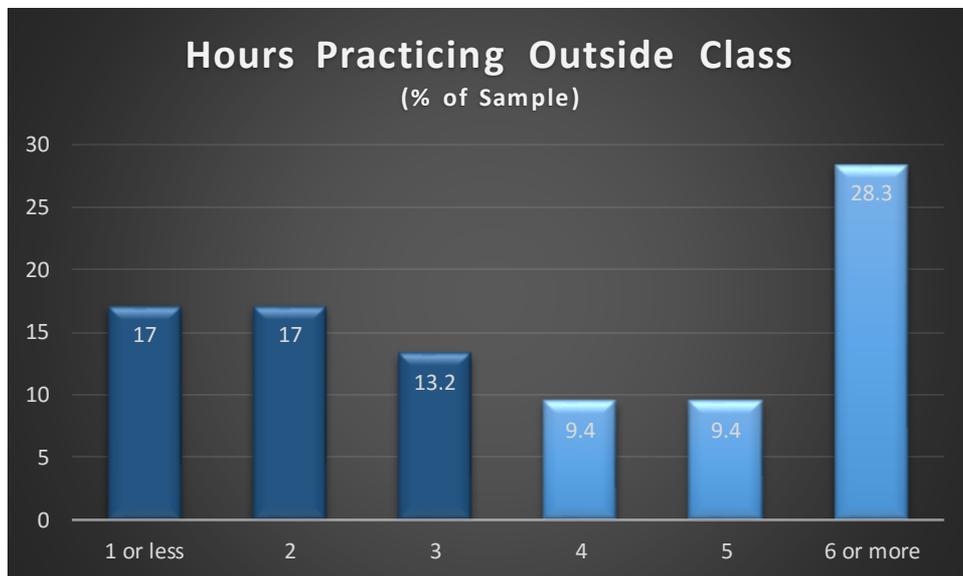


Figure 4 identifies which educational institutions that children of parents in this study were enrolled in. Of all participant responses, the majority of parents in this study indicated that their children were enrolled in *Kōhanga Reo*, significantly more so than enrolments in *Puna Reo*. Most school-aged children of parents in this study were either enrolled in *kura kaupapa Māori* or in a Māori immersion unit within an English medium school. Some parents in this study had some of their children enrolled in Māori medium education and some of their children enrolled in English medium education. Further still, some commented that their child began in one medium and moved to the other medium.

Parents in this study sometimes had children who were enrolled across multiple types of educational institutions. Some of the qualitative findings provide

explanations for why parents transitioned from one type of education to another. In some instances, as children did not attend *kōhanga reo*, they were unable to enrol in *kura kaupapa* as the child did not have adequate Māori language skills to cope with *rumaki*¹³ classes.

“My children ages 14 and 12 would benefit going to Te Kura Kaupapa Māori but unfortunately we didn’t live in an area close to kohanga when they were young. Therefore, their reo is not kaha. My 7 year old daughter started at kohanga at 1 and went until 4. She was enrolled at Te Kura Kauapapa. I also have an 8 month old enrolled in kohanga.”

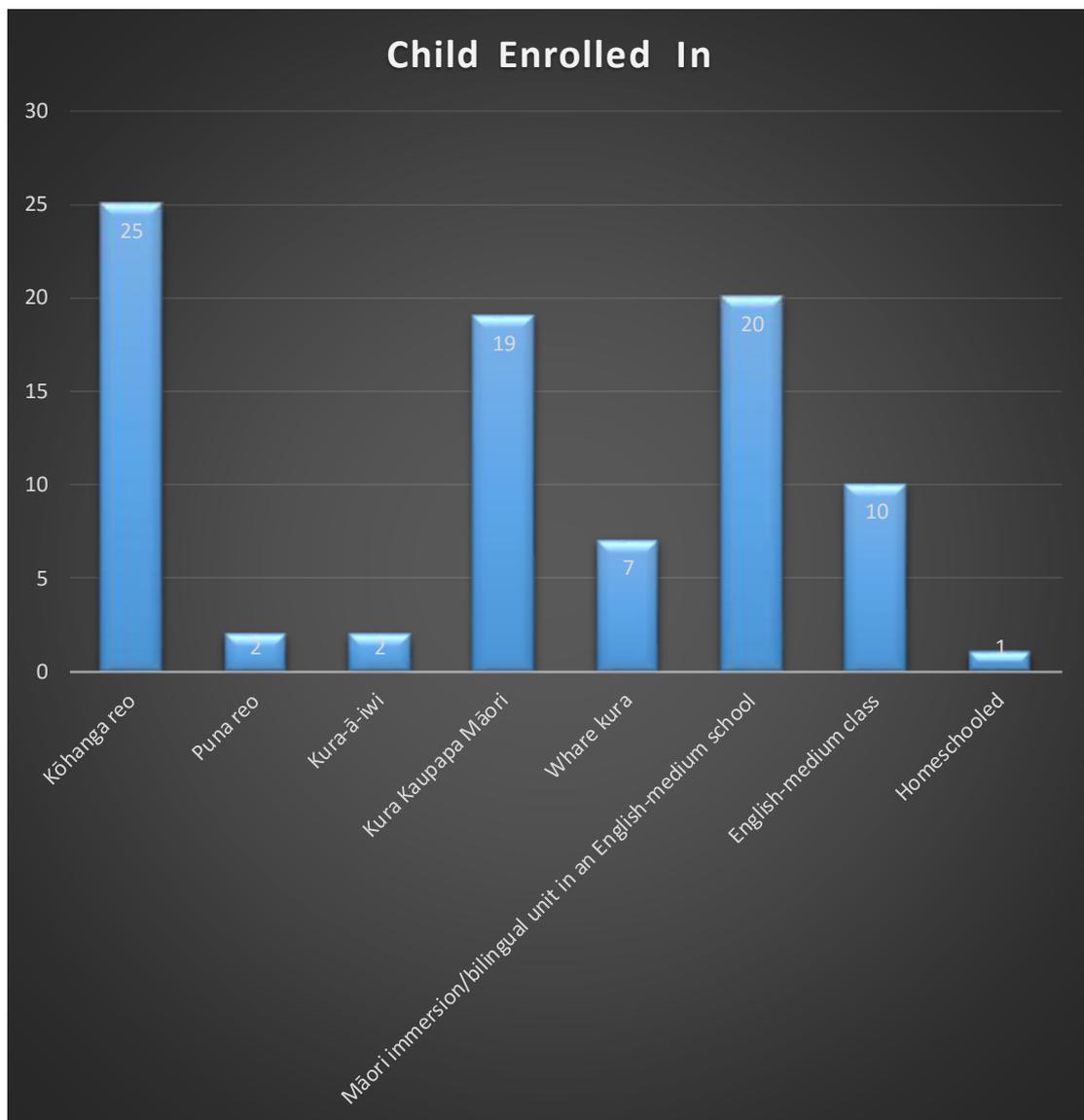
An additional response provides further insights into why parents were unable to enrol their children into *Kura Kaupapa Māori*:

“We have 2 children in an English medium school. When they were 7 and 6 we contacted the local kura kaupapa asking if our children could enrol but we were declined because they hadn't attended a kōhanga reo even though te reo is spoken in our home.”

This quote highlights that for children being raised in the same *whānau*, there are a variety of reasons for why the child may have been enrolled in one type of institution over another. Accessibility was another issue raised in the excerpt above, and in the qualitative research findings outlined in Study 2. The parents’ levels of spoken Māori was also a factor that prohibited some children from enrolling in Māori medium education, as highlighted in the above long answer survey response.

¹³ Classes that are conducted where te reo Māori involves 80% of instruction.

Figure 4: The types of educational institutions that children were enrolled in



Hypotheses for Study 1

Hypothesis 1: Proficiency

We expect Proficiency¹⁴ to be correlated with regularity of practice, the hours that they spend learning te reo Māori, the impact of the varying activities that participants engage in with Te Kura Whānau Reo, the number of domains where they can use te reo Māori and finally, whether they felt as though they had support from their community to learn te reo Māori. Furthermore, *Whānau Connectedness* is also

¹⁴ Consistent with APA format, the name of factors used in correlational analyses have been capitalised.

likely to positively correlate with Proficiency, as the more that *whānau* engage with one another, specifically with the shared goal of improving their Māori language skills, the more likely they are to report high levels of Proficiency.

Hypothesis 2: Educational Achievement

Whānau Connectedness is likely to be positively correlated with self-reported Educational Achievement. The impact of being involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo is likely to be positively correlated with the level of *Whānau* Connectedness, as is having a Supportive L2 Community. Similarly, how often (Regularity) *whānau* practise with one another is likely to impact on *Whānau* Connectedness. Furthermore, *Kōrero* Domains is also likely to be positively correlated with *Whānau* Connectedness, as the wider the range of areas where the language is spoken within the *whānau*, the more likely they are to report feelings of *whānau* connectedness.

Hypothesis 3:

Factors that are positively correlated with Proficiency, outlined in hypothesis 1, are likely to be positively correlated with Educational Achievement.

Findings from analysis of correlations as outlined in Table 1

Hypothesis 1: Proficiency

As we predicted, the self-reported level of Māori language Proficiency was strongly correlated with Regularity of practise, and also moderately correlated with Hours Spent Learning. Participants' current levels of Proficiency were also strongly positively correlated with the Impact of Te Kura Whānau Reo and the varying activities involved (including home visits, *kura pō*, and *hui tōpū*). Furthermore, results indicated that having a Language Community moderately positively correlated with reported levels of Proficiency. Finally, results confirmed that there was a positive correlation between *Whānau* Connectedness and Proficiency.

These results indicate that how often participants spend learning te reo Māori (and for how long) is likely to reflect how proficient they are, and potentially if the behaviour is sustained, how likely it will be that the participant will continue to improve their level of proficiency. Moreover, the activities that are undertaken by Te Kura Whānau Reo had a positive impact on language proficiency. Improving

proficiency was correlated with having a supportive language community. Particularly for endangered languages that have fewer speakers, and subsequently fewer domains where the language is spoken, having a language community that is supportive of Māori language use has a positive influence on the level of proficiency that adults can gain. Lastly, the fact that Māori language proficiency was positively correlated with the level of *whānau* connectedness experienced indicates that the more that *whānau* spend quality time with one another, with the shared goal of collectively improving their heritage language use, the more positive the outcome is for target-language proficiency attainment.

Table 1: Correlations between Proficiency, Regularity, Connectedness, Language Ability, Supportive Language Communities, Impact of TKWR Activities on Te Reo, Kōrero Domains, Out-of-Class Hours Spent Learning Te Reo, and Educational Achievement (N)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Proficiency	---								
2. Regularity	.617** (47)	---							
3. Connectedness	.516** (45)	.429** (47)	---						
4. Language Ability	.605** (45)	.403** (48)	.517** (47)	---					
5. Language Community	.496** (44)	.15 (48)	.455** (47)	.104 (47)	---				
6. Impact of TKWR on Te Reo	.647** (44)	.355* (46)	.65** (45)	.727** (46)	.486** (45)	---			
7. Kōrero Domains	.606** (38)	.611** (39)	.524** (38)	.523** (39)	.309 (38)	.628** (37)	---		
8. Hours Spent Learning	.517** (46)	.611** (39)	.387** (48)	.408** (49)	.361* (48)	.554** (47)	.609** (39)	---	
9. Educational Achievement	.517** (46)	.487** (49)	.737** (48)	.591** (47)	.226 (47)	.711** (45)	.626** (38)	.424** (48)	---

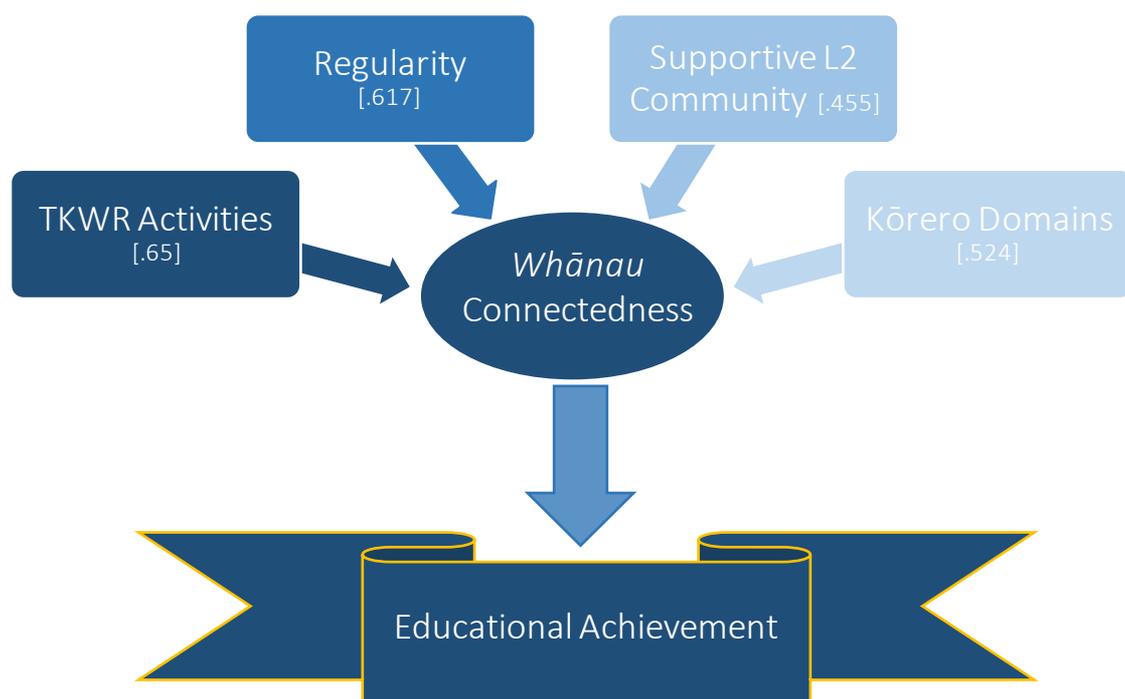
** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Analysis of Hypothesis 2: Educational Achievement

The second hypothesis outlined the prediction that Educational Achievement would be positively correlated with *Whānau* Connectedness. This hypothesis was correct. This hypothesis also sought to identify factors that would positively correlate with *Whānau* Connectedness. Findings indicated that the Te Kura Whānau Reo Activities (Impact of TKWR Activities on Te Reo) were strongly positively correlated with *Whānau* Connectedness. In fact, the Impact of Te Kura Whānau Reo was the factor that most highly correlated with Educational Achievement over and above all other factors. Findings also supported the prediction that Regularity (how often *whānau* chose to practise using te reo Māori with one another) positively correlated with *Whānau* Connectedness. Having a Supportive L2 Community was also positively correlated with *Whānau* Connectedness. Finally, having a range of *Kōrero* Domains was positively correlated with *Whānau* Connectedness.

These results can be interpreted to demonstrate that when *whānau* are meaningfully connected through engaging in a number of activities that support communication in the home, these activities all have a positive impact on educational outcomes. For *whānau* who are also encouraged by a wider support network (their L2 community), this is positive for creating greater levels of *whānau* connectedness. The outcomes of these results are presented in Figure 5 below.

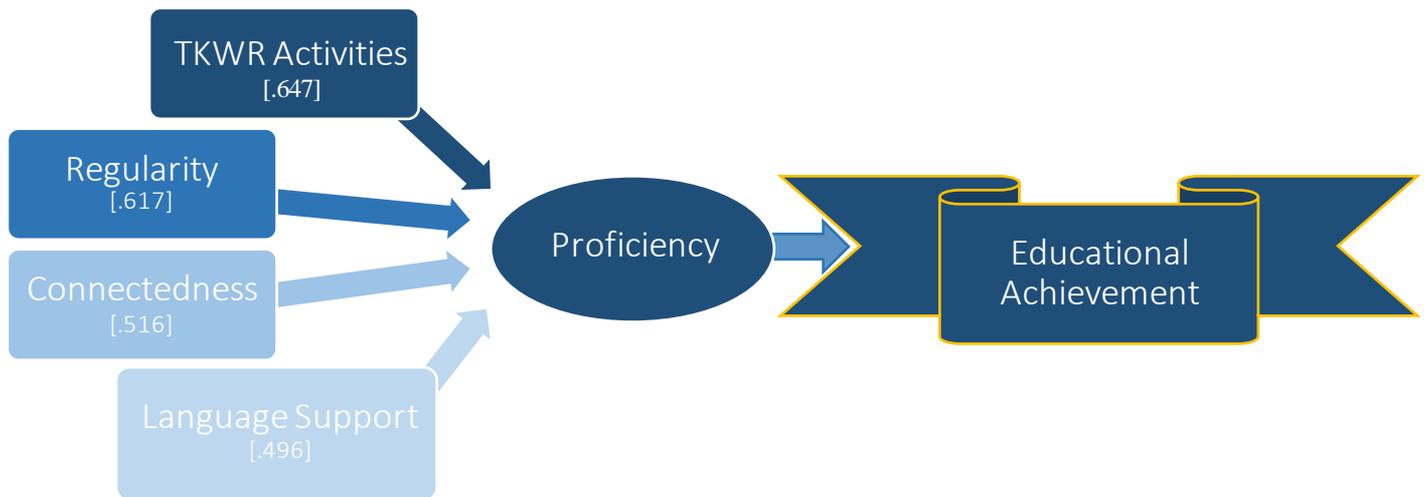
Figure 5: *Whānau* Connectedness positively correlated with Educational Achievement.



Hypothesis 3: Educational Achievement and Proficiency

Consistent with hypothesis 3, factors that impact on Proficiency outlined in hypothesis 1 were positively correlated with Educational Achievement. Findings from this study provide support for the hypothesis that when children are in families who are collectively working towards a goal, which is Māori language proficiency, this can have a number of positive flow on effects, one being educational achievement.

Figure 6: Proficiency positively correlated with Educational Achievement.



Study 2: Wāhanga Tuatahi: Education

Theme 1: Education in both Māori Medium and Mainstream

Subtheme 1: Decisions surrounding educational enrolments

For many parents, the decision to send their children to Māori medium education was one that was based on three main aspects. These decisions included the desire to improve their Māori language skills, a recognition of the Māori-centred learning environment, and also the encouragement that they received from others within their wider *whānau*.

Parents also commented on the fact that they were able to educate their children about Pākehā concepts, and the English language. However, Māori medium education provided their children with cultural and linguistic knowledge that was not so readily available.

P1: I feel that they're already surrounded by so many Pākehā influences um my mum's a teacher so you know she's –she's there as well. I just feel like the main thing they should focus on is their *Māoritanga*¹⁵ and that's what's most important to me.

The reasons why *whānau* chose to remain in *kura*¹⁶ were generally based on the positive outcomes that they had observed of their children.

M2: Our baby, she's five and she's in rumaki and she's just flourishing now, she comes home singing, can't shut her up sometimes. But then even just doing her homework with her, she picks it up just like that she's a parrot.

On a few occasions, parents spoke specifically about their decision to shift their child from bilingual schools (or units) into schools which had higher concentrations of Māori spoken (for instance, *rumaki reo*).

¹⁵ Māori identity.

¹⁶ When the term *kura* is used, this refers to *kura kaupapa Māori*, or a Māori immersion school.

P6: I had two [children who] went into *reo rua*¹⁷ but to me, it didn't feel like there was enough reo going on in those classes and when my youngest come I put him into *rumaki* and yeah, this year I've moved my middle on into *rumaki* and its he's definitely grown from it and doing this has helped a lot.

As the participant comment above demonstrates, some participants in this study viewed te reo Māori as a major priority and were willing to relocate their children to other education providers based on the Māori language content of the class.

Figure 7 below provides a visual demonstration of some of the educational shifts that took place for parents involved in this study. As their own levels of proficiency increased, they commonly made a shift for their children from *Auraki* (mainstream education), through to *reo rua* (bilingual education), and finally to *reo rumaki* (classes where instruction was 80% delivered in te reo Māori).

Figure 7: Shift from English medium education to reo *rumaki*



Theme 1: Subtheme 2: Confidence Māori children enjoy when being Māori is celebrated in Māori medium education

When asked about some of the benefits that are offered in Māori medium education, participants particularly noted the cultural identity benefits that their children were exposed to. A response to a question about the types of benefits that one participant enjoyed was expressed below.

P20: Everything! It is the only way to go. Truly everything ... well I'm speaking as a parent. You know I speak in a reo rua ... we are not ... *ehara i te kura kaupapa*¹⁸ but as a parent that's just so important

¹⁷ Reo rua in the context of this report generally refers to bilingual language contexts.

¹⁸ It is not a *kura kaupapa*.

because that ... te reo Māori education in that is ... its not just about learning te reo it's about learning who you are ... everything that you know, the culture ... your *tikanga*, your culture, who you are, *whakapapa* ... it's just your whole being because where else can you stand and be ... and learn who you are and all of that. So that you can then go out and be proud.

One of the perceptions that was raised during one of the focus group discussions was the observed differences between Māori children raised within Māori medium education and those enrolled in mainstream education. The discussion below highlights some of the views that parents shared when considering the educational options available to their children.

P18: Māori children that are brought up in the Māori world are like Pākehā children [who grow up in Pākehā centered domains], they learn and grow with confidence. Whereas the other Māori children that are in mainstream and haven't had anything to do with their *Māoritanga* he says they're very shy, they're very reserved. And I notice going around *kuras* and *kōhangas* that you see that. And you see the difference between [...] Māori children that are mainstream and Māori children that are [in Māori medium education]...the confidence and the kids at – at anything Māori and then a completely different child in mainstream and it's quite sad.

The participant below continues by using herself as an example to support the comment previously made by Participant 18.

P17: Well aw I could probably go off that you know um yeah my *whānau*'s Māori. My mum's Māori so you know we were brought up around Māori but I haven't been to *kura kauapapa* or *kōhanga reo*. I've only been to mainstream *kuras* and I was...I've always, And I'm still shy. You know I don't have the confidence or anything but in this time, in these years that I have been learning te reo I can feel that you know, that confidence is built up quite a lot. So you know yeah I can understand where you were saying how you know, that cause that's...

P16: Yeah no cause you were brought up in mainstream!

P17: Yeah I was brought up in mainstream...

P16: ...like me.

P17: ...so I was like really shy.

P16: Yeah. Ae! That's right!

The main points raised in the discussion above highlights the feeling that some individuals may have as a result of being raised in a system that is culturally dissimilar and in some instances dismissive of Māori culture. Participant 17 also indicates that te reo Māori contributed to her increased levels of confidence as an adult.

Theme 1: Subtheme 3: Views negating enrolments into Kura Kaupapa

There were a few reasons that parents gave as to why they had not chosen to enrol their children in Māori medium education, and these are outlined below. Some parents were unaware of the education options that were available as outlined in the participant quote below.

P3: I didn't know he had a choice or we had a choice at primary [because] I was just put into mainstream. When we got to Nawton, I put my son in mainstream and then about a year or two later I put him in *rumaki*.

The participant quote below provides an example of some *whānau* being unfamiliar with Māori medium education, and the impact that it can have on Māori language outcomes. Many of the *whānau* interviewed were also breaking social norms by enrolling their children in Māori medium education, as expressed in the excerpt below.

P5: I suppose [my children's language abilities] opened their eyes to – that it's possible? Aye. 'Cause none of the *whānau* ever thought to put their kids through total immersion, none of them have and so they're like, "Oh so what are they like?" You know, "What's their English like?" Doesn't matter you still understand them when they speak English.

An additional point raised above is the fact that *whānau* who had not been involved with Māori medium education were cautious about the impact that learning in Māori medium education may have on the child's English language abilities. The fear of children being inadequate speakers of English is likely to continue to be a barrier for some parents who chose not to enrol their children in Māori medium education.

Of the total number of respondents, only two participants openly disclosed their distrust in the quality of education that they perceive their child to receive if they were to be enrolled in Māori medium.

P14: I have a notion in my head that [my son] won't [receive] the same academic... that he won't actually get an academic education [in Māori medium]. [...] I would like to see where I sit within this *kura* to help, if there's room to help or [...] to switch that *whakaaro* 'cause it's a common *whakaaro*.

The participant response above indicates that there is a perception that Māori medium education is less focused on academic pursuits. However, this parent has been part of the *kura* to improve it in the future.

One of the participants whose child was raised in Māori medium indicated that the quality of te reo Māori offered by the *kaiako*¹⁹ was essential for student learning outcomes. There are detrimental impacts for students when the reo Māori of the *kaiako* is not at an appropriate standard for teaching in a *rumaki* environment, which is the point raised below.

P20: I fully support Māori medium but I really think it's about effective instructional practices so that if you're a *kaiako* of *kura kaupapa* or Māori medium that your reo is obviously at a good ... a great level and also that your effective instructional practices are ... correlate to really good learning for your students. I'll just give an example, so I sent my daughter to *kura kaupapa* [she then went to an English medium highschool]. I said, "How's it going there baby?" and she said, "Māmā

¹⁹ Teacher.

it's fantastic." She said, "It's the first time in Maths that I understand what Maths is." She said, "When I look back Māmā when I was at a certain school, a *kura kaupapa* [...] I never really understood what the teacher was saying". So using modern terms I guess to fit the mathematical curriculum. [...] So although I really support Māori medium but as long as the practices are effective instructional practices and that we have teachers who are really able to portray and to teach the subject ... I think that's really where it's at.

The participant below was the other parent who had worked with *kura kaupapa* in the region, and was unsure that the quality of the *kura* would support the learning needs of his child.

M1: I just think with my experience with *wharekura* and *kura kaupapa Māori* for instance it – the spectrum of excellent *kura kaupapa* and Māori schools and not too good *kura kaupapa* and *wharekura*... In [the location where I live] and in other parts of the country etcetera, it's given me a little bit of instability about whether I'd want my child to go to *kura kaupapa*. It depends upon which *kura* it is... I know for me and it could be totally wrong but for me and my feeling of what's going on here in the [X] area I don't have that confidence and so I – I keep my daughter in mainstream.

Perhaps due to the environment in which the focus groups with *whānau* were taking place were encouraging on Māori in general, participants may have felt uncomfortable disclosing negative views about Māori medium education. However, this was not overt during discussions. The majority of parents were content with the quality of education that their children received.

Theme 1: Subtheme 4: Other issues impacting on the decision to enrol in Kura Kaupapa Māori

Devaluation by outsiders of the quality of education within *kura kaupapa Māori* education was an issue that was raised:

P3: I have friends that um, say to me, "Aww what are you doing that for?", um, "Cause it's me, who I am, it's who we are". 'Cause when they

found out that I put my both my girls in *rumaki* they said to me—and I’m sure we’ve all heard this—“Aww why you putting them in Māori? Where’s that gonna get them?” and ooo I just got, saw red, I got all hot and I was like no. *Kia tau*.²⁰ [laughter] Be calm and [...] I said to her “man you need to re-evaluate yourself” and when I see her I say “kia ora whaea!” and that’s it ‘cause [...], I don’t wanna get angry at her.

The comment above provides an example of discrimination that the participant received as a mother for placing her child into *kura kaupapa Māori* education. The difficulty with this type of this particular form of discrimination is that the person passing judgment was also Māori, and someone in her immediate circle, which is likely to be more detrimental to the individual than if the discrimination was to be enacted by someone from her social outgroup.

Another issue for parents who had enrolled in *kura kaupapa Māori* was the limited levels of accessibility to *kura* in particular regions.

P1: So, we live in [location] ...and the *kura* that the girls go to is in [a distant location]. So that is about um a hours bus... drive. But I knew that’s what I had to do. That’s what my babies had to do to be able to go to the nearest *kura kaupapa* um...

M1: Wow!

P1: ...and that – you know I wasn’t gonna back down on that.

The parent above provides an example of the amount of time and energy that some parents and their children commit to attending Māori medium education. For some individuals who are less adamant about sending their children to *kura kaupapa Māori*, it may be an easier option to send their children to a local, mainstream medium education provider.

Theme 2: Te reo Māori and Māori medium education – Māori language skills expected within Māori medium education

An additional factor that impacted on enrolment into *kura kaupapa Māori*, particularly into *rumaki* situations, was the parents’ ability to *kōrero Māori*. In some

²⁰ Settle down.

instances, having a parent with the inability to speak te reo meant that children of these parents were encouraged not to enrol in *rumaki*.

P3: My big girl, I wanted to put her in *rumaki* but it was a *kaiako* who told me not to 'cause we don't speak it at home. So she said, "Oh you're just better off putting her in the *kapa haka* group". So I was like, "Oh ok". So I did that, and then I kicked myself ever since. So when I started our younger girl, I said to [our *pouārahi*] I want to stick her in *rumaki*. [...] [She said] "Just chuck her in there. She'll be all good. I'm here to help you, help your *whānau*." And yeah, and then we made the change for her.

In the instance above, it was the case that the *whānau* were encouraged to engage their children with cultural components offered by the *kura*, rather than enrolling their child in *reo rumaki* classes. In the instance above, the *pouārahi reo* was a conduit that allowed the *whānau* to enrol their child into the *rumaki* environment, while also offering language support to the *whānau* as a whole.

The decision to move to *rumaki* meant that *whānau* were committing themselves to learning te reo Māori also. This provided many *whānau* with a shared goal. *Kura* setting the expectation that parents are also engaged with some form of Māori language learning appeared to have a positive impact on *whānau* who participated in this study.

P3: [After enrolling my son in *rumaki*] I thought I may as well learn too and that's when I came to [*pouārahi's*] *whānau reo* classes.

P16: 'Cause my niece um had gone to *kura kaupapa* um yeah that persuaded me as well. That I thought no I want her to learn what I couldn't learn. Not knowing at the time they're gonna tell me when she gets to *kura kaupapa*, "Ahhh you gotta learn it too!" [laughter] I was like, "Ooo okay"

P15: [Enrolling the children in] ...*kura* and possibly *wharekura* you know [improving your own language skills] have got to be your long term goals before you even bother signing this form. So we had to sign on

the dotted line so we knew what was expected of us before we carried on.

The participant quotes above demonstrate that parents were fully aware of the language expectations that would be placed on them by enrolling their children in Māori medium education.

For many parents, enrolling their children in Māori medium education combined with learning te reo Māori through Te Kura Whānau Reo has positively impacted on the extent to which education is a central feature of their lives.

Theme 3: The impact of enrolling in Māori medium education on children and their whānau

Subtheme 1: Education as a motivation

The choice to educate children in Māori medium education was a central reason why many parents chose to participate in Te Kura Whānau Reo. Parents typically commented on their desire to maintain the level of Māori language that was equal to the level of language learned by their children.

P3: We just started learning more ourselves and then [name] and I went to do another course, [...] we wanted to do some more reo and then we did the Pūtaketanga just to help ourselves 'cause the kids they are getting older, their reo is getting a bit away on us so we needa kinda catch up to it, and help and yeah that's pretty much why we got involved.

Parents were keen to take an active role in the language developments of their children, particularly parents whose children had begun learning te reo Māori in *kōhanga reo* and continued through to *kura kaupapa Māori*, and *wharekura*.

P15: I started because my daughter was in *kōhanga reo* and then she carried onto *kura kaupapa*. I've always loved...um had a passion but that really strongly motivated me 'cause I had to be able to help her through.

P17: My daughter oh my son. [...] Once I had my second, my second child, she went through *kōhanga reo* and now at *kura kaupapa*. And I just

always wanted to know what she was talking about and no one else in the house knew what she was talking about so mmm it was me. I wanted to get out there and I love it! Yeah I really love learning te reo.

M2: For me anyway it was for our *tamariki*, but as it progressed I started getting interested even more, picking up on bits and pieces here and there. I wish I had this back when I was at school to be honest, like it was there but it wasn't.

As outlined in the excerpt above, parents commented on their desire to support the educational, linguistic and cultural needs of their children. Participating in Te Kura Whānau Reo provided them with an opportunity to achieve this goal. For a number of parents, te reo Māori was not readily available to them within compulsory education.

Subtheme 2: Kura becomes a central component of participants lives

Parents indicated that their lives had changed substantially once they began to engage more fully in the education of their children. Participants indicated that their lives had become centred around the *kura*, signifying the importance of education for the whole *whānau*.

P17: My whole life is around the *kura* um that's it. That's my life there. That's my circle. Home. *Kura*. Home. *Kura*.

Parents who did not have strong language skills prior to being enrolled in Te Kura Whānau Reo indicated that the skills that they gained from being a part of the programme had positively impacted on their levels of volition and empowerment to actively engage with their child's Māori medium education provider.

P16: Being a matua of my um tamahine. Just the whanaungatanga with you know everything with the *kura*. Anything to do with the *kura*. We're fundraising at the moment to go to Rarotonga and so it's like you know...um just you know putting yourself out there and helping um brings you closer together obviously. I don't feel um as, I don't know, ashamed as I used to feel like you know for not being able to *kōrero*.

The same participant indicated that it was easier to gain access to support from *kaiako* within the *kura* as she was actively engaged with the school.

P16: That's what it's done for me...while I forget..you know being at *kura kaupapa Māori*... 'cause I you know shy away cause I can't understand or anything but being in it now I'm getting a lot of support from like *kaiako* and...yeah and they know. And they'll *kōrero* to me.

Theme 3: Subtheme 3: Whānau connectedness and education

The qualitative findings in this study supported the quantitative results discussed in the previous quantitative section of this report. The sense of connectedness that *whānau* experienced as a result of their increased engagement with one another was aided by their participation in Te Kura Whānau Reo.

M2: The other kids they go to Rakaumanga and so they even come home with some out-of-it homework that we struggle with but it's good for all of us to investigate it. It's good *whānau* time to investigate online and see what the haps is and then it just brightens our minds even more.

Homework becomes a shared task within the *whānau*. The consequences of parents and children working on Māori medium education homework tasks together meant that the family as a whole were demonstrating to the children the value of education. Furthermore, engaging in Māori language homework tasks meant that *whānau* were likely to continue discussing the topic after it was completed.

Homework in te reo Māori also provided *whānau* with a shift from English to Māori.

The excerpt below is taken from a focus group discussion where both parents were describing interactions that happen in their home.

P4: 'cause if the boys are doing homework before tea and we're still like, *kōrero*

M2: during

P4: and then we'll start *kōrero* during tea

M2: yeah

P4: you know 'cause we're like talking about that same topic or homework stuff. So it just sort of just drags on without even knowing.

- M2: yeah
- P4: it's pretty funny
- M2: it's –that's, that's the best thing with kids' homework these days. Some of it we may not get and that's what we investigate and then it just pulls out all these all these questions and its, its good stuff we didn't even know.
- P4: yeah well sometimes, it's hard, homework takes ages.
- M2: yeah like it's...
- P4: yeah a couple hours
- M2: ...it's English, Māori, English, Māori, “What's that *kupu*?²¹ Aw yeah,” and then, it's just – but it's not every day so, but when it is it's mean. All of us on our devices going search, you look this up, search.

Having children enrolled in Māori medium education, coupled with their involvement with Te Kura Whānau Reo gave members of the wider *whānau* a broader perspective about education, and language achievements. The participant quote below demonstrates that the individual's involvement with te reo Māori and their decision to enrol their children in Māori medium education provided positive examples to their extended *whānau*.

- P18: Being involved in this and your...not so much your immediate family because they already know what you're doing but the extended *whānau* get to hear, and then they become...it peaks their interest and then they start questioning and then they start thinking about aw you know maybe I should look at a *kōhanga* for my *moko*. And you have that conversation. That's what I found yeah there's quite a few and I found there's a lot moving towards *kōhanga* whereas before they were looking at you know daycare, kindy...

²¹ Word.

Theme 3: Subtheme 4: Whānau feel more connected as language learners with a shared language goal

Although *whānau* connectedness may not have been specified as a programme aim, this was certainly an outcome that was achieved through Te Kura Whānau Reo. By participating in this programme, *whānau* were encouraged to engage in communication based tasks, which increased the amount of general dialogue that occurred within *whānau*. As outlined above in the quantitative section of this report, *whānau* connectedness had a positive impact on education. However, it also appeared to have more holistic outcomes.

P15: As a *whānau* I have to say it's brought us closer together. Um we...need to think about these things before I speak [laughter] it has definitely brought us closer together, we can relate more to each other. Even if at the different levels of learning that we are at. We can still, um I guess understand each other more and that we have all just taken that big step.

The shared decision to make te reo Māori a learning goal also had positive impacts on *whānau* levels of connectedness. The benefits of sharing a language goal has the dual influence of enhancing the time that *whānau* share together, whereby *whānau* are consciously communicating with one another. As outlined below, there are a number of benefits that have occurred for *whānau* involved in this programme.

P18: Yeah I think in our family it's...I think it's made us stronger as a *whānau*. You know you just...that spirituality all coming together. It's the wairua in the house is quite yeah it's definitely different because my husband he's Ngā Puhī but he was oh he thinks a lot...he's in the Pākehā world he looks at that world but even him. I've noticed his you know, he's changed over the time. And he even he sometimes comes out with the odd Māori word you know but yeah our family it's been...it's impacted....positive things for us.

Summary and Discussion

The decision to enrol children in Māori medium education was often a life-changing decision for parents. Results indicated that parents were not only making a

choice about their children's education, but also about the type of lifestyle that the *whānau* as a whole would need to commit to. A common experience of participants whose children were enrolled in Māori medium education was that as their Māori language abilities increased, parents tended to want more Māori language instruction for their child in *kura*. This finding may be generalised to imply that parents' levels of language proficiency are also tied to the types of enrolments that *kura* receive. The more proficient that parents as a whole become, the greater capacity *kura* may need to have in order to cope with the demands of Māori language speaking *whānau*.

A major finding from the results in this section is the desire of parents to enrol their children in education settings that were beneficial for the Māori cultural identity development of their children. Te reo Māori was reported as being a central component of having a secure cultural identity. For a number of parents, ensuring that their child or children's cultural identity needs were taken care of was more important than the potential downsides of enrolling their children in Māori medium education. The results also indicated that in all cases, they were content with the *kura* and their ability to provide their children with an education that was uplifting of Māori identities. These findings indicate that as parents become more involved with their own Māori cultural identity through increasing their participation with the culture through te reo Māori, the greater their desire for an education that is affirming of their children's cultural identity becomes.

Some of the factors that limited the uptake of Māori medium education by some parents in this study was the lack of accessibility to *kura*, the uncertainty about the educational options that are available, a devaluation of *kura* by others in their immediate environment, and a lack of confidence in the quality of education that is offered. These factors were not commented on nearly to the extent to which participants discussed the positive impacts of Māori education. However, they were still notable concerns, which require consideration.

One of the outcomes that resulted from parents enrolling their children in Māori medium education was the expectation that *kura* had of parents to also improve their own Māori language skills, and their subsequent use of te reo Māori in the home. This policy requirement appeared to have one of the most substantial impacts on parents' motivations to learn te reo Māori. The increase in motivation is partly due to

the desire that parents had to support the educational aspirations of their children in Māori medium education, but also the fact that parents were making a formal commitment to the *kura*, a larger institution, to improve their language skills. The dual nature of this commitment, for instance the voluntary decision to commit to their children coupled with a more formal type of commitment to an external body, may have contributed to its success in driving Māori language changes in *whānau*.

A central benefit that occurred as a result of parents engaging in Māori language studies through Te Kura Whānau Reo was the increased levels of confidence that they had to engage with the *kura*. These findings can be interpreted to suggest that for parents whose children are enrolled in Māori medium education, having Māori language skills is necessary for some parents to feel entitled to participate in the life of the *kura*. While this is positive for parents who have begun learning te reo Māori, engaging with *kura* may be challenging for parents who would like their children to be educated in Māori medium education, but who have struggled to learn te reo Māori. Pathways for parents who are in the beginning stages of their language journey to engage with Māori language learning is likely to be beneficial for increasing parental engagement (specifically, those without confidence in te reo Māori) in Māori medium education.

Furthermore, children enrolled in *kura*, whose parents are not proficient in te reo Māori, are likely to be disadvantaged two fold. Firstly, they are likely to have less linguistic support to complete their homework and *kura* based educational tasks at home, and secondly, their parents are less likely to want to engage with the *kura* based on fear or anxiety about their limited Māori language abilities. When parents become disengaged with the *kura*, this is likely to have a detrimental impact for children.

An additional point to consider is the fact that parents reported being discouraged from enrolling their children in *rumaki* classes due to the lack of Māori language used in the home. While the logic of such a policy is reasonable, the implications of this may mean that children of parents without Māori language skills continue on an English-only education trajectory. Parents in this study were at an advantage from other parents with limited Māori language skills, as their participation in Te Kura Whānau Reo often meant that their *pouārahi reo* was able to support their

whānau in the decision to enrol in *rumaki reo* classes. Some *pouārahi reo* were also based in *kura* and were able to have an influence on the acceptance of enrolments. However, for children whose parents do not have such support, they are likely to be turned away from enrolling in a type of education (*rumaki*) that could have positive outcomes on their Māori language skills, and their education.

From the point made previously, a recommendation to the Ministry of Education is to invest in supporting programmes that prepare parents who are interested in enrolling their children in Māori medium, prior to the enrolment phase. Preparing parents through improving their own language skills is likely to be beneficial in a number of ways, as it relieves *kura* of the additional work that they need to put in to bring the children up to the standard that is expected of children who speak te reo Māori in the home. Preparing parents early (or even soon-to-be parents) is also likely to increase their levels of confidence to engage with the *kura*, and therefore better support their children's educational achievement. Also, the children are likely to be better prepared to be immersed in *rumaki reo* language environments if they are already comfortable in Māori language speaking spaces prior to enrolling in Māori medium education.

One of the limitations of this study is the fact that the interviews were all based on the views of adults rather than those of their children. Future studies could include the views of children, to see how their experience of the programme had impacted on their experiences of education, in both Māori medium environments, and mainstream.

The final point that this section of the study makes is that learning te reo Māori as a *whānau* is a shared challenge. The shared nature of this challenge tended to be positive for *whānau* connectedness. Parents were often learning new information at the same time as their children, which made learning a shared journey. Results further suggested that the shared goal of Māori language learning brought them closer together, as it increased the time that they were communicating with one another. This was a positive outcome for both parents and children involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo.

Wāhanga tuarua: Factors influencing the uptake and use of te reo

Māori

Theme 1: Motivations: Why are participants engaged with Te Kura Whānau Reo?

Subtheme 1: Cultural identity of children as motivation

The participant below raised a few important points, highlighting that she wanted a future for her children that was clearly enculturated in *te ao Māori*. Having an education that was encouraging of *ngā āhuatanga Māori*²² was important for parents, particularly given that the majority of parents had not received a bicultural education.

P3: Well for me and my *whānau* it was just to be immersed, in my own culture. And like growing up I was brought up through *kōhanga* and that but then went to mainstream, and is it intermediate, and kinda just never ever, followed through in learning the reo and *tikanga* and all that and so once I had kids, I really wanted, and like going back to the *marae* and you know knowing all how to do the work stuff and but then listening to the *kōrero* it was like aww, I didn't really understand.

One of the factors that was important for some parents were the value systems that being involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo offered their children, which is noted in the excerpt below.

M1: It's not so much the nuts and bolts of learning that language but more the value system around being Māori and Māori things.

One mother noted that she had lived in Australia at the time that her child was born. Her motivation to raise the child with te reo Māori, and Māori cultural values was important enough for her to relocate back to Aotearoa.

P14: I taua wā i noho au i Ahitereiria. I whānau mai taku pepe tuatahi, um, ko ia te take, kua hoki mai ia ki Aotearoa, ki te whai tō mātou reo, tō

²² Factors that prioritised Māori values, worldviews, and behaviours.

tātou Māoritanga.²³

This was similar to a participant who was non-Māori, but was a parent to a Māori child. Parents were conscious of the cultural identity implications that being familiar with te reo Māori would have for their children.

P2: I think coming to terms with the fact that I'm going to have Māori children. And being part of this group I think I've met a lot of adults who have something missing in their lives for a long time and they didn't learn the language younger or – have all those things in their lives and so I don't want my children to have this gap. And try and yeah, let them live it. Right from day one.

Participants clearly indicated that the reasons for learning te reo Māori were based on a desire to support the intergenerational use of te reo Māori.

P5: I think I wanted to, what I want is to be able to speak fluently. But for my, my kids and my *mokos*. My *mokos*, to see that they are comfortable in their own skin, proud of who they are, speaking the reo, and who gives a shit about anybody else. [laughter] Yeah I think that's the main goal. It's about my kids and my *mokos*.

Comments below highlight that the desire to communicate with their grandchildren was also a motivation for wanting to improve their Māori language skills.

P15: But yeah that's really what strongly motivated me. I've wanted to learn all my life but I was forced to "hurry up". 'Cause I want to be able to speak te reo to my *mokos*.

The comment above indicates that participants noted a time pressure for learning te reo Māori. A number of participants noted that they had a goal to learn te reo Māori, but the act of raising children enhanced the level of urgency to achieve this goal.

P18: As I've gotten older, I've felt a need to know more about what it is to be Māori...that's sort of driven me. And the fact that we didn't have much

²³ At that time, I lived in Australia. My first baby was born, he was the reason that I returned to Aotearoa, to learn our language and about being Māori.

in my growing up era. To say [inaudible] it was kapa haka that was [inaudible]. Yeah so it's just the need and now I have a *moko* and I sort of pushed them to *kōhanga* so that he can help me and I can perhaps help him at some stage.

Theme 1: Subtheme 2: Establishing an understanding about the level of language proficiency of whānau

The majority of parents who came into this programme Te Kura Whānau Reo largely reported being introductory level learners. Participants also commented on the improvements that they had experienced as part of this programme:

P1: I've gone from very limited and feeling quite frustrated 'cause my vocab was really limited, um to now actually being able to conversate with an adult. So not just babies. Um but it's still limited but I can conversate with an adult um so yes it has changed.

For parents, having the ability to converse regularly with other adults was important for their language development as noted above.

Following from the proficiency data provided in the qualitative report, it is clear that the majority of participants enrolled in Te Kura Whānau Reo were introductory learners of te reo Māori. The language developments that occurred while they had been involved in the programme appeared to be significant for the amount of time that they were actively learning te reo Māori as a second language.

P17: I've picked up you know from knowing nothing I've picked up heaps. Learnt heaps. I, sometimes I have to say the Māori word because I don't remember what the Pākehā thing is. So you know that's a cool thing um I talk Māori to my kids at home a lot. I talk Māori everyday um yeah so I can see I'm picking up every day and I hear new *kupu* every day.

Parents were becoming active users and speakers of te reo Māori. Their ability to speak te reo Māori to their children also meant that they had regular contexts to practice using their newly acquired language skills.

P3: I've come a long way too. Prior to this I couldn't understand it like I would just pick out a word, another word and make the conversation or

the sentence. Now I can actually like when people speak to me, I'm like aw I actually know what you're saying to me.

The participant quote above indicates that their auditory language skills had also improved. This observation was shared by the participant below who noted being able to participate more in culturally significant occasions such as *tangihanga*.²⁴

M2: I knew pretty much next to nothing, aww a little bit, little bit. [...] But I think if we are at a *tangi* or at the *marae* and if the, they, they're having a *kōrero*, I'm the same I can pick up bits and pieces now, and then sort of put it together, like aww ye, and then if I don't understand some words, then, then I'll ask [the *pouārahi*] and then it's, aww ye. But then I might have to ask a couple more times before it actually sticks, but I think I've come a long way. I know I can go further.

One of the points of interest in the excerpt from M2 above was the ability to participate in conversations in Māori language domains, such as *tangihanga*. He further notes that he has an intention to 'go further', indicating that the language goals continue as the individuals progress.

The comment from the participant below highlights the observations that she made about her peers language developments while she had been away from classes on maternity leave.

P15: I noticed when I came back, the progression of my peers, how fast they'd progressed from where we'd left off. So I would say even though you don't realise...that you're learning at a quick rate, you are. You don't even know that you're learning. It's amazing!

The point above further highlights, that while some individuals may not be able to recognise their own language progressions, it is highly noticeable to others, particularly after not being engaged with the group.

²⁴ Māori ceremonial grieving processes.

While most individuals noted a change in their general ability to speak te reo Māori, one participant indicated that he preferred more reo *rumaki*, which was not a norm in his particular location.

M1: I've sort of really plateaued. I sort of need something to break through um, the – you know – at the Wānanga o Raukawa we had immersion weekends etc. You know immersion weeks sometimes and that would just completely change that so complete immersion environment really helped me.

Having a limited level of understanding about te reo Māori had an impact on how long the language was able to be used for. For instance, the participant below explains:

P5: Usually if I ask it in Māori then [the kids] will reply in Māori um, but yes not – not a lot, not a lot at all. 'Bout 5 minutes. [laughs]. Um but I don't think, that's them – that's me. Yeah it's on me.

Theme 2: Factors supporting Māori language use

There were a number of critical factors that reportedly supported the use of te reo Māori for participants and their *whānau*. These are largely grouped into three main themes. The first factor that had an impact on language use was the influence of Te Kura Whānau Reo and the varying activities, and personal relationships that were created within this domain. A number of subthemes were included in this theme, including: the impact of classes (including *kura pō* and *hui tōpū*), the support provided by *pouārahi reo* (including home visits), and finally, the impact of learning te reo Māori using Te Ataarangi methods of teaching. The second subtheme related to the language environment was having a supportive language community.

Theme 2: Subtheme 1: The influence of Te Kura Whānau Reo on Māori language learning and use including classes, kura pō and hui tōpū

One of the notable features of Te Kura Whānau Reo was the *whānau*-centred learning environment. Classes are focused around the *whānau*, and therefore *whānau* are naturally included in their process of language learning. One of the issues of some *whānau* who have attempted to use te reo Māori as their main form of communication is the lack of interaction with other Māori language speaking *whānau*. The

programme was commended for its ability to connect multiple *whānau* who shared the goal of being Māori language speaking. This point is made in the excerpt below.

M1: Coming together as a *whānau* is excellent. I – I just, for me it's more about the connection and the opportunities to practice the reo um but it's not so much the structure that helps my reo it's about the ability to kōrero and see other people and have a practise and things. It's been really good.

The learning that occurs during classes is also supportive of all members participating. This positively impacted on the enjoyment that learners experienced during their classes.

P14: I think with this *kaupapa* which I haven't got from any other *kaupapa* is that um ... it's not just the *kaiako* that teaches me, because we do that whole, everyone sort of has a turn at saying it, I learn from, we all become facilitators and that really enstrengthens, that really enstrengthens the *whānau* connection. But it's beautiful 'cause the learning just happens everywhere. To the point where you're actually helping someone else too, it's empowering.

The point made above is the empowerment that this style of teaching provided to participants. In the case above, the *kaiako* plays the role of facilitator whereby she allows participants to guide the conversation. This teaching method is likely to have the impact of building confidence in her learners as they practice taking on the role of leader.

M1: What I really liked about this *kaupapa* is the *whakawhanaungatanga*²⁵ actually when we get together and stuff, so for me it's less about the reo and more about our *tikanga* and practices etc. And being with other people who are on the same *waka*²⁶...learning, that's what I've really

²⁵ Interpersonal familiarity.

²⁶ Used in this context to denote a language learning journey.

enjoyed.

P13: He pai, he pai ki au ki te ... ki te noho, i waenganui i te whānau. Ngā whānau katoa, ōrite mātou, tātou haerenga ... i te ako, i te kōrero Māori. Āe.²⁷

The participant quotes above also note that learning alongside other *whānau* members who share similar language goals provides a shared purpose. This is highlighted as a core component of *Kaupapa Whānau* (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). *Kaupapa Whānau* have been highlighted as core contributors to sustained heritage language motivation for Māori in other studies also (Te Huia, 2015b). For *whānau*, having a shared goal with others is likely to positively influence their desire to continue to progress in their personal language goals. Part of learning with individuals who have similar goals and struggles is the support that the group provides one another. This is exemplified in the excerpt below.

M1: *Kura pō* for me really does that. Yeah it does get me 'cause you're around a whole bunch of other people coming too – and listening to other people with the same issues etc and they're fighting, it really helps me.

The *hui tōpū* were also opportunities for *whānau* to interact with one another in a range of spaces. For instance, occasionally, *hui tōpū* would be held in public domains. This provided the opportunity for *whānau* to socialize in public and also practise using te reo Māori together. These types of activities are likely to normalise the use of te reo Māori in public spaces for children.

P14: That *hui tōpū* too, the whole concept of normalising te reo out in public with a group of like-minded [people]. [...] [Last time we] took the kids to the pools, did a barby there. Our men did the barby. We played with

²⁷ I really enjoy being amongst other whānau. All of the families, we're the same, we're on the same journey to learn and to speak te reo Māori. Yes.

the kids and just hung out like you would with a normal family.

Whānau were also able to utilise the information that they learned during their *hui tōpū* gatherings in their home lives. For instance, the participant below describes the application of learning about gardening.

P1: The Owhiro gardens. When we went there for one of our *haerenga*²⁸ we were able to bring some of that, what we learnt there, how they do the plants, and bring it back and do our own *mārakai*,²⁹ at home...

A further point that was raised was the enjoyment that participants received from attending classes. Part of the enjoyment for attending the class was also related to the fact that the environment was inclusive of children as well as their parents. This point is expressed below.

P14: For me ... um ... there are classes that I go to to learn te reo and then there are classes that I go to 'cause I love. This is one of those that I go to 'cause I love, and this is the only one that I get to bring my kids to.

A feature from class that was positive for learning were the types of activities that were set by the *pouārahi reo*.

P18: There's three of us on this course and [our *pouārahi*'s] sort of gotten us into having a competition amongst ourselves like um one gets a bedroom, one gets a um the dining room. You have to sound out the words and spell the words and the one with the most has to make cup of tea or something like that [laughter] and that's been, when we can do that that's been quite...quite fun. And because it's a competition I suppose you – we want to win [laughter].

Creating games was a learning technique that sat well with the students. Parents indicated that the games created an atmosphere that induced competition in a safe and friendly way.

²⁸ Trip.

²⁹ Garden.

As a side note, while researchers attended *hui tōpū*, it was clear to see that children gained from interacting in te reo Māori through the use of games. These games were set at a level that was age appropriate.

Theme 2: Subtheme 2: The impact of having pouārahi support

One of the most significant points that *whānau* participants commented on was the influence that the *pouārahi reo* in each of the regions played in their enjoyment of the programme. *Pouārahi* were consistently praised for their abilities to support *whānau* to achieve their cultural and linguistic goals. *Pouārahi* also support the development of Māori language plans within the wider community through the influence that they had on their students. This is demonstrated in the following quote:

P20: We have done some strategic planning and goal setting. We've written those down and we've looked at those and that's been continuous throughout our time with Matua [*pouārahi*]. He's very focused and he has expectations of ... that it's not just during our Kura Whānau Reo times that we will *kōrero*, it's that we will take it out into our homes and what have you and he gives us ideas and the different lovely activities that we can take with us. We've been blessed.

Setting goals and tasks to be achieved or completed each week was one of the strategies that assisted *whānau* to maintain their language progress. These goal setting sessions tended to occur during one on one time, between *whānau* and *pouārahi* during home visits. This point is made in the excerpt below.

P16: *Whānau hui* when she comes to our [home]...I find um...she – you know she tries to set goals for us there or for me anyway. I'm sure she does for everybody.

Each of the language plans and goals that were established were individualised to suit the needs of the *whānau*. The one on one approach appeared to work well as demonstrated below.

P4: She sets us *mahi*³⁰ to do or asks us how we're getting on. [...] I'll tell her [...] we've just been, I've been doing up – just some homework for

³⁰ Tasks.

everybody to do. That's either around the kids' homework or – stuff that we do anyway like *waka ama* or something so we'll make I don't know a *rauemi*³¹ about something like *waka ama*.

The *pouārahi reo* were praised for their ability to explain concepts, both culturally and linguistically, at a level that suited the participants.

P3: I've come a long way from where I've started and that's down to [our *pouārahi*], I know a lot more, understand a lot more and, yeah and the *tikanga*³² behind *kōrero*.³³

Furthermore, participants were encouraged by the style of teaching that was enacted by their *pouārahi reo*. Some *pouārahi reo* were viewed as being strict with students, but also gentle. This method of teaching is consistent with best practice techniques for working with Māori students outlined by Bishop et al (2002).

M2: [Our *pouārahi*] seems to know how to push you without pushing you [laughter] it's that, that is an art. That is a damn art. But she puts things on the flip side how, you see it in a different, in a different way. She doesn't tell you to actually do it. But she is telling you to do it.

P5: Yes. It's the same thing with [our *pouārahi*] too. You know she's got that non-aggressive approach. And some people you can't [laughter] approach them aggressively. But yeah I find with her, because she has to be direct with me, and I don't like to muck around and then I end up putting myself in [new language learning situations] without her telling me too [laughter] and then afterwards I've just gone "what have I done?!" [laughter] and so yeah I like that form of, her way of teaching as well.

Pouārahi had the ability to push the comfort levels of their students. For instance, in the quote about from Participant 5, the *pouārahi reo* was responsible for the student taking on additional Māori language challenges, which included enrolling in a short

³¹ Resource.

³² Meaning.

³³ Topics of discussion.

rumaki reo course.

An additional benefit that occurred from the types of lessons that *pouārahi reo* taught was the direct transferability of the lesson to the home environment. The participant below explains.

P11: If I come into class and I learn something and I think of a way how can I [use] it ... and she gives it to us to express it with our tamariki.

Whānau reported that *pouārahi reo* were consistent in their communication with each of the *whānau*. Having consistent communication meant that *whānau* were better kept on track with their learning goals.

P1: Definitely [...] our *pouārahi reo*. Just her constant communication with me, with our *whānau*. It's the communication checking in, how – how am I? Coming to see me and just checking that well do you still want to continue on this, you know, *whānau reo* thing and just seeing where I'm at and at that particular point in my life and she's just encouraged me to keep going. And so she's been a very big support.

P5: We meet, try to meet every Friday and um, and it's to look at, extending ourselves aye on our own.

During *hui* with the *pouārahi reo*, *whānau* were encouraged to create new challenges for themselves as outlined in the participant quote above. The participant below indicated that he enjoyed the support from the *pouārahi reo*; however, he would appreciate firmer deadlines.

M1: yeah um yeah definitely [our *pouārahi*]. Good communication. She's very good with that. Just letting us know we're on board. What needs to be done. Could be a bit more of that. I'm bit more of a deadlines kind of person. Or else I'll just slacken right off...

Something that was raised by both the *pouārahi reo* and the *whānau* participants was the need that *whānau* had for cultural guidance. Many *whānau* were recently re-familiarising themselves with Māori culture, and having the support of the *pouārahi*

reo to fulfil this role was important. The quote below highlights this point.

P14: Having [our *pouārahi*] available for me when I was in doubt with some of the things I was learning has enabled me to go there. Yeah because my parents aren't here anymore, my grandmother. I don't have a single person that I can go and ask. I think [our *pouārahi*] also, sitting where she sits and being open to all the different *kaupapa* Māori out there, um ... I trust in her ability to guide me in the direction. I trust in her wisdom within the *kaupapa* and her knowledge within *te reo*.

An additional factor that *whānau* raised about their *pouārahi reo* was their expertise and ability to provide guidance in both *te reo* Māori, and in *tikanga*. Participants were able to trust the advice that was provided to them by their *pouārahi reo*.

P20: Because *he matanga reo a Matua [pouārahi]*,³⁴ so we ... *ka noho ki waenga i te kounga o te reo. Tērā te mea nui ka puta mai, mai i a Matua [ingoa] ko te kounga o te reo, te mea rawe rawa atu.*³⁵ It's just lovely. And again just giving that confidence, that's the biggest thing for me out of KWR it's been given that confidence to *kōrero* and not being afraid to be wrong 'cause it's a big thing.

The relationships that were created between *pouārahi reo* and the *whānau* participating in Te Kura Whānau Reo had an influence on the level of commitment that they gave to their learning. For instance, some *whānau* indicated that their decision to continue with their learning was tied to their relationship with their *pouārahi reo*.

P3: She's always been there for me and my girls so I feel that I need to *whakamana*³⁶ that and give back to her and support her.

P5: For me the Friday nights, is too um, it is about her as well because, how we look is a reflection on her, and so yeah I think I'm pretty bad at the moment so um, you know I want to do better, not only for myself but

³⁴ Our teacher is a Māori language expert.

³⁵ So we are able to be situated amongst good quality language use. That is a central positive feature that's come from this, from our *pouārahi*, is that he has an excellent grasp of the language.

³⁶ Acknowledge/reciprocate.

for her as well. And her, and – and her, having that appreciation for her time as well.

Participants recognised that by investing in their own learning, they were contributing to the goals of their *pouārahi reo*.

M1: Definitely about the *kaiako* and their care. Yeah it's really about care 'cause there's been times where I've thought, "Argh I'm just too busy, I'm going to give this up." But [our *pouārahi*] just always sort of drawn me back in.

Particularly in instances where individuals were losing motivation to continue with their language goals, having a secure relationship with their *pouārahi reo* was central to learners' decisions to progress.

M1: 'Cause of her care and that relationship that we have, I don't want to let her down so she's picked me back up really. 'Cause of that good relationship.

It was not always the case that *pouārahi reo* were able to visit homes. This varied across regions. In some regions, particularly those in more rural areas, it was uncommon to receive guests in the same way that was acceptable in urban centres. *Pouārahi* also indicated that there were cultural reasons for why it was uncomfortable to *pouārahi reo* to work in some homes. This will be discussed further in the section of discussions from *pouārahi reo*. For *whānau* who were comfortable having the *pouārahi reo* in their homes, this tended to be beneficial.

P14: For me definitely the home visits they strengthen our house, because it's an opportunity for my son, 'cause he doesn't always come to *kura pō* ... and the rest of my household to ask those questions, and for us to make it relative to our home. If we wanna talk about, okay let's concentrate on how we use te reo in the bathroom. That's brilliant, that's been helpful. [Our *pouārahi*] does an extremely massive job to centre all of this around *whānau*. [...] Everything that she does is around *whānau* orientation. [...] 'Cause she knows our family in the house. [...] So when she's teaching me, she's teaching me to get to [my son], and I don't get

that anywhere else. This is what the *whānau* thing does for me.

As indicated in the quote above, some participants appreciated the opportunity to develop language skills for specific domains. The programme appears unique in that the language structures that are taught to parents are specifically focused on interactions between parents and their children. Furthermore, participants in urban centres tended to be comfortable having a *pouārahi reo* instructing them in a non-invasive way about new language strategies that they could apply in different areas of the house.

P11: Oh when we um, when we started off with this programme we started off in the kitchen. Speaking oh like having the reo, and our main *kaupapa*³⁷ around *kai*³⁸ and um, cause um my partner didn't know a basic *karakia*,³⁹ so we learnt one all together to *whakapai te kai*,⁴⁰ and then slowly we would have turns and try ... and try to *kōrero* [inaudible]. Now we've moved from the kitchen to the ... *te tēpu, ki te nohomanga, e mātaki mātou ... or tākaro he kēmu, ētahi o ngā wā*⁴¹ we try and take it outside but now other times it's too cold to go outside and play around.

Theme 2: Subtheme 3: Influence of Te Ataarangi methods of teaching

The Ataarangi methods of teaching were consistently commented on as being conducive to language acquisition. Participants articulated that the '*rākau* method' allowed them to engage with new language structures in a way that used a range of skills. This was particularly useful for kinaesthetic learners, as the *rākau* provided learners with physical objects to grasp during the process of learning.

P20: Being visual, the kinesthetic and the ... and so its visual, auditory and kinesthetic and you know Matua is very clever you know to make a ki or i in just that visual ... it's really great so that it can consolidate. I feel my synapses are connecting when you're manipulating the *rākau*, the synapses are connecting with the sentence structure and what I'm hearing.

³⁷ Topic of conversation.

³⁸ Food.

³⁹ Prayer.

⁴⁰ Bless the food.

⁴¹ The table, to the living room, we watch together, or play games sometimes.

- P15: It was a lot easier to remember all of the new *kupu*.⁴² If you wanted to make a sandwich or something like that and then you know how to [say] put the butter on in Māori and things like that. So when you do the Ataarangi with the um *rākau*, that is amazing you know. To learn it that way because it was visual.
- P11: It took me a little bit to get the concept of the *rākau* but once I got the hang of it, it was just like aww... I was able to see pictures, that I wasn't able to see before to help me *kōrero* and with me well my thoughts I could understand it but I could never speak it, but now seeing it in the concept of the *rākau* how it's set out to be. It comes more naturally if you practice it all the time.
- P14: Yeah I think it ... 'cause it allows you to engage with the *rākau* and play with them, it's more kinaesthetic. So it seems to be easier for you to maintain it. I would learn a *karakia* through *mahi ā rākau*⁴³ faster than I would actually reading it off the board.

The participant quotes above highlights that as well as the *rākau* method helping to learn new sentence structures, it was also helpful for learning largely sets of information, including *karakia*.

Participants appreciated the Ataarangi teaching methods. They also indicated that they enjoyed learning te reo Māori in a way that was conducive to 'whakaaro Māori' or learning how to think in ways that were consistent with a Māori worldview. These are embedded in the participant quotes below.

- P15: Yeah school cert and stuff like that. Coming through here it's better because we have um aw we get to speak it to one another more and don't learn out of a textbook so we learn a lot more ahhh *te ao Māori* as well. So we start to learn to switch off the Pākehā mind and switch on the Māori. So um yeah learning the *tikanga* and different things and the aspects of things is pretty cool and just the whole *wairua* of learning it that way as opposed to the textbook way of learning it that gets taught

⁴² Vocabulary.

⁴³ Using rods.

in schools, um I've found there's been a huge progress from what I knew and what I've learnt now.

P14: Had it not been for Te Ataarangi, I don't think I would've got the concept of standing in *whakaaro Māori*.⁴⁴ [...] Through the method of Te Ataarangi ... um ... it enabled me to get '*whakaaro Māori*' and um ... it changed my journey in learning te reo, to learning *te ao Māori*. Having it be *rumaki* reo.

Participants also expressed that learning with the *pouārahi reo* and using the Ataarangi methods of teaching were beneficial for gaining confidence in the use of new vocabulary and language structures.

P20: Throughout this journey being with Matua [*pouārahi*] and the Kura Whānau Reo programme probably has given me is the confidence and not to be scared to be wrong and because of the beauty of Te Ataarangi and there's the structure, *ngā kupu*, I see it like a cake, its layered and as you go through and add another layer a sentence structure that maybe added. Most importantly being given the confidence to give it a go and developing and extending vocab. He really enticed them [our elders] to give us *kupu hou*.⁴⁵

Theme 3: Language community support

Subtheme 1: Whānau support

Of the participants in this study, the majority indicated that their *whānau* were mainly passive supporters of te reo Māori. However, there were a couple of participants who had supportive Māori language speaking *whānau* members, and this was positive for encouraging them to use the language. It is notable that in many cases, learners were reliant of their peers (classmates), children and *pouārahi reo* as their main language speaking community. Outside *whānau* member of learners who were involved in Te Kura Whānau Reo varied in the levels of support that they were able to provide. The level of support varied from being passive supporters, through to

⁴⁴ To think in a manner that is consistent with a Māori worldview.

⁴⁵ New words.

active users of the language. Examples of wider *whānau* who were passively supportive of the learners' decision to engage with the programme are outlined below.

M1: [Whānau are] all supportive of – just different levels yeah.

P14: It's not that [my brother's] against it. It's just that he doesn't understand it and over time he's gotten used to knowing that that's what our journey is, and has gradually started accepting it more and more than what he did at the start. [...] Still, you know the gateways are beginning to open [for him].

Wider *whānau* members who observed the changes in the language use of participants in this programme were often encouraged to consider learning te reo Māori themselves. There tended to be a cultural shift that occurred for other *whānau* members as they witnessed people who they were close to progressing in their Māori language and cultural skills. This is also noted in the participant quote below:

P1: I've got a sister who was very closed off to [things Māori] and now she's doing law and now she's actually wanting to know her Māoritanga you know and that was a big change so it's – it's affected um my wider *whānau*.

Following on from the point that is noted above, the participant below provides an example of a family who have three generations of learners involved in Te Kura Whānau Reo. The excerpt below highlights the point that learning te reo Māori with her mother and babies has also provided inspiration for others.

P1: Obviously we want to learn together as a *whānau*. Now my mum's on board um and it's kind of reaching out to my siblings. You know they're starting to look, "Oh look – look – look what mum and [name] are up to" um so it's kind of like a – it's been a bit of a snowball effect um for our wider *whānau*. Which is a good positive for all of us.

Participants also demonstrated how learning te reo Māori had been embraced by the wider *whānau* of participants. Rather than closing off to the use of te reo Māori, some *whānau* were overtly embracing of its use despite not having the language skills to reciprocate or engage in the language.

P20: My sister who doesn't speak Māori ... she knows little *kupu* ... um ... the other day when we went there for the holidays ... so when my daughter's with me we'll kōrero Māori and then I might have a sentence or a *kupu* but I'll speak English to her and I was thrilled cause she said to me, "No, no, no, no, please don't speak English, I only want you to speak Māori," and I said, "Oh but sister I don't want to be rude because I want you to be able to engage and understand what we are talking about," and she said, "No, but I want to learn." And she is 67 and she said, "But I want to learn," and I thought that was so cool ... *ka pai my tuakana*⁴⁶... oohhh.

While the majority of *whānau* involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo did not have *whānau* who they were able to communicate with using te reo Māori, there were a few participants who were motivated to learn te reo Māori in order to engage with Māori language speaking *whānau* members as outlined in the quote below.

P12: *Nā te mea i tupu ake au kāore au, kāore aku ... ōku tūpuna i ako i te reo ki a mātou. Tino pōuri tērā whakaaro ki au. Nāianeī e maha aku ... maha ōku kaihangā, i ako i te reo Māori, ināianeī ... i ... ki a rātou ngā kaiako ki ngā kura kaupapa ki Kirikiriroa, ki Otara, ki Kaikohe. Āe ... so ... i kite au ki aku ... ki ōku ... ki ōku kaihangā. Āe, tino hiahia au ki te mahi tērā mahi, nā te mea ko au anake, kāore e mōhio ki a ia.*⁴⁷

For *whānau* who were fortunate enough to have a Māori language speaking parent, this resource was invaluable as a source of encouragement and feedback. The participant below outlines that she has support from both her partner and her mother, which appeared to be highly beneficial for this learner.

⁴⁶ Well done my older sibling.

⁴⁷ Because, when I grew up, those in older generations did not teach us to speak Māori. That's something that I find sad. Now, I have a number of cousins who are learners of te reo Māori. Some of them are teachers in *kura kaupapa* in Hamilton, in Otara, in Kaikohe. Yes, so I observed my cousins. I really wanted to join in with those types of (Māori language) activities, because I was the only one who didn't know how to speak.

P19: My mum speaks a lot at home as well so I guess that helps. And also that helps with my partner as well cause we're feeding out little bits of words and um slowly building him up as well and so I guess, I guess yeah it is helping. Helping me reach the goal that I'm wanting for myself yeah.

When discussing how the participants' *whānau* responded to the language improvements participants made, some *whānau* appeared to support the language goals of the learner. Having a support system who are encouraging of the individual's language achievements are also likely to be valuable. The participant below answers a question about how her *whānau* had responded to her language progress:

P19: One word, amazed. Amazement. They're proud. And then they start asking questions like...um, 'How do we go about getting involved as well?'

Theme 4: Supportive learning/speaking environment and peer support

A common experience for Māori who are heritage learners of te reo Māori is a fear of 'getting it wrong' (Pohe, 2012). Part of language learning involves making mistakes, which are usually only highlighted once spoken to an audience. Individuals who are focused on avoiding errors may tend to divert their energy into this space. A fear of making linguistic errors generally contributes to language learners' feelings of language anxiety (MacIntyre, 1995). This is a particular type of anxiety that is relegated specifically to learners of second, or in this case, heritage language learners. One of the negative impacts of language anxiety is that it influences all stages of language processing from input through to delivery (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994). Learners in this study reported the presence of language anxiety. An outcome of students experiencing language anxiety, or in this case, a culturally specific concept of *whakamā*,⁴⁸ was often to codeswitch from the target language (te reo Māori) to English.

While *rumaki* was challenging for some learners, others found that this method of teaching assisted them to break through the anxiety that they had about the productive use of the target language.

⁴⁸ A culturally specific sense of embarrassment.

P14: Too *whakamā* and I think my thing is ... is as confident as I am, the confidence to speak te reo always saw me to revert back to English.

P20: It's a big thing whether you're scared to be wrong or scared to say the wrong *kupu* your sentence structures are all *wiwi wawa*,⁴⁹ so you won't speak. [...] you don't want to offend or say it wrong and I don't feel that, I feel confident to give it a go.

Participants indicated that feeling *whakamā* about their incorrect language use was sometimes what pushed them to use English. Not wanting to offend people due to potential language errors that learners make in their speech was one reason that participants gave for choosing not to use te reo Māori.

In order to overcome the negative impacts of language anxiety, it was important that individuals felt supported by those in their Māori language domain. The excerpts below demonstrates this point.

P11: Before I started learning the reo I was really shy and unsure of myself and I know my ... my thoughts is, if I know what I'm talking about I won't go wrong. But sometimes I may forget a *kupu* or like it's there, *kei hea?*⁵⁰ And I lose it and then I just yeah and then I'm able to have those that can *awhi* me and I can *awhi*⁵¹ them in the same way ...

P4: The only downfall for me is I get shy or not as confident 'cause I don't like, aw I'll just get shy if I get it wrong. But I'll ask them anyway if I need to know something. Yeah I'll just ask them, and my sister-in-law I'll ask her little things aww how to put things.

The manner in which learners were assisted to correct their language errors made a difference to the ways in which they took on board the feedback that they were given.

⁴⁹ All over the place.

⁵⁰ Where?

⁵¹ While the term *awhi* translates into English to mean 'to hug', the intended meaning here is consistent with the Māori word *āwhina* which translates into English to mean 'to support'. This is the case further on in a subsequent quote also.

P3: ...and support me in speaking it. Then tell me that I'm wrong but they tell me without telling me like they'll just repeat what I say but repeat it the right way and I'll be like, "Ohh". Whereas others will go, "No! that's, that's not how you say it."

For some individuals, using te reo Māori in non-Māori spaces was also a source of language anxiety. Participants reported feeling fearful that they would be negatively judged for their use of te reo Māori.

P1: Um, I only tend to use it when I'm around other Māori and I feel safe in the environment. Um it's...I don't use it outside that much because I feel other people's judgments and it's negative.

Some productive learning strategies that were applied were simple tasks, such as increasing the vocabulary:

M5: You just got to work on confidence, build confidence up, build the vocabularies.

For many participants, the home was a safe environment for them to practise using te reo Māori.

P1: I feel most comfortable doing it around home around my children because I know they're not going to, well they do critique me. But it's not as scary [laughs] yeah when strangers [are] around. And um that's where I feel most comfortable. And in kōhanga. Cause I do mahi there too.

Peer support tended to be important for learners within Te Kura Whānau Reo, particularly as peers generally had similar levels of language abilities to those of the learners involved with the programme.

P3: I have a cousin who we kōrero a lot but I can't really, converse with other people in my *whānau* 'cause they, they're not on my level of reo. [...] I just turn to my friends and [our *pouārahi*] and my workmates.

The relationships that are established during classes were especially important. It appeared that participants were not only invested in their own language goals, but also in the language progress of their fellow classmates.

- P20: Just to see Aunty [P21] progress is is unbelievable. From our first lessons that we have been together at Mangahanea and then *i hunuku atu ki Pariaka*⁵² and just seeing Aunty ... that Aunty is wonderful but now ... like I wanted to cry this morning when [P21] stood to do her *mihi*⁵³ [...] that's just wonderful.
- P21: What was going to make you cry?
- P20: Because *I tū koe ki te kōrero i te reo and i makere mai tō reo*⁵⁴ and it was wonderful, I actually got quite emotional 'cause I just thought back to when we first speaking.
- P21: We were never brought up to speak Māori and um when I taught at the high school there was so many who were fluent, that was their first language.

For older participants, having peers who were able to support their language progress was important, particularly given the limited support to learn te reo Māori through compulsory education while they were younger.

Gaining a cohort of learners who were at a similar language level was also important for maintaining the right balance between challenge and ability. If the learner cohort was significantly more advanced than a particular learner, this tended to have the impact of reducing confidence.

- P3: They were so advanced they were picking out each word and why do we say it like this and when do we say here. I was just sitting there like – doodling, like, “Oh my gosh I want to go home.” Mmm didn't know anyone and I just stuck with my manager. I was just so far out of my depth and, 'cause their reo was like up here, everything was up there.

Furthermore, for some individuals, entering into *rumaki* reo situations created stress for those who appeared to be unprepared for this level of language immersion.

⁵² Moved to Parihaka.

⁵³ Self-introduction.

⁵⁴ You stood and spoke in Māori, and your language came out so fluidly.

P17: It felt really hard. I felt I felt the pressure. Cause I didn't know much reo when I went to *Takiura*.⁵⁵ It was a full immersion for us. And a lot of people that were there, they knew a lot. And I was learning and it felt like I was drowning.

Being in a context where speakers were significantly more advanced was an unpleasant experience.

It was not the case that learners could not be surrounded by more advanced level learners. When speakers with greater levels of proficiency were supportive of learners, this had positive language outcomes as demonstrated in the following excerpt.

M2: Yeah it depends 'cause we have good mates that are so up there it's not funny but, you can talk to them and they won't judge you on how you say it. So it, yeah or they'll correct you because they're teachers.

Theme 5: Te reo o te kāinga

There were a few main themes that came through about how it was possible to re-establish norms and behaviours that promoted the use of te reo Māori in the home. One of these factors was the establishment of a *poureo*. This is a practice that is required of *whānau* who are participating in Te Kura Whānau Reo. Prior to beginning this programme, they were each asked to identify a person who would be able to support the *whānau* in their use of te reo Māori. In many cases, this was a parent. However, a number of parents indicated that the children also became *poureo*, or individuals who primarily encouraged the *whānau* to switch to or maintain the use of te reo Māori.

Theme 5: Subtheme 1: Incremental changes in the use of language in the home

Karakia were frequently commented on as language behaviours that were introduced into the home. Having a routine where the language switch is made through a regular behavior, such as the inclusion of a karakia, enhances the chances that the target language will then be used subsequently.

⁵⁵ Polytechnic.

P3: One thing we do in our *whānau* is we do karakia, so either do it in the morning, if we get up, or on time [laughter] or if not then we do it at night um and that is just fully in te reo so we start and finish that in te reo. We carry it on but for my big girl aww she's still learning so she'll just switch. She's like broken Māori so that's like half and half but um, yeah, it would be karakia is one of our main things and – just in the morning getting ready. Instructions. Commands, for my kids. We do all that. Um, and at work. For the kids. It's always in reo.

The point raised above is that parents are able to begin and/or end their day using te reo Māori through the inclusion of karakia. A common point also raised is the use of instructions and commands in te reo Māori.

M1: There are domains but they're not so much reo, they're more *tikanga* so we do karakia for kai, or we'll do karakia before we go to sleep, we'll do our pēpēhā for instance before we go to sleep ahhh things to do with [inaudible] we're reading a – a Māori book etc. So we're doing te reo [...] but it's not so much around the language we're just more um *tikanga*...doing things. But of course, you're doing the language as well.

Each *whānau* varied in the amount of language that was used regularly. However, as mentioned above, the use of karakia was helpful for encouraging code switching.

Theme 5: Subtheme 2: Establishing social norms for language use

Setting tasks that can be worked on while the *poureo* is not present was helpful. Parents were consciously aware that they wanted their children to work on language tasks that enhanced their auditory and spoken use of te reo Māori.

P4: But yeah if it's not initiated it won't carry on. [...] Our girl she's pretty good, she will take our baby away and play games with her and just *kōrero* to her 'cause I keep telling her to *kōrero* to her all the time when they're playing games and stuff. Just even basic questions. She's not too bad. To carry it on – a task that I've set them.

Once again, as mentioned in the excerpt above, games were a fun and engaging way that children used te reo Māori.

P1: I do try and engage in a bit more conversation with the children when I'm speaking Māori to them. 'Cause I want to hear them speak more Māori back to me so I guess in a way yeah I do try and kōrero more to them just to get them talking.

One *whānau* used cooking as a time where they would provide the children with the opportunity to speak. These daily activities were a time when parents and children could use the activity as a non-invasive way of communicating using te reo Māori.

P4: When I'm cooking, big girl when she help me cook and I'll just kōrero to her just about everyday stuff or I'll ask her how her day is and she'll start in English and "I'm like *he aha?*"⁵⁶ And then she'll be like, "Oh," oh and then like and then she'll just be and that could be just an hour of her telling me of her day. But she'll have to tell me, so far, but then she gets muddle up 'cause she doesn't know how to say something so I'll tell her and then I'll, just yeah just conversation about her day and I take her into other stuff and that's about an hour conversation there.

M2: Yeah she tries to broaden what she's speaking about. Instead of just plain Jane.

P4: But now we can all have a convo in, at home and have a crack up. He even narks, he would nark on her in Māori.

The parents above comment on the language shifts that had occurred in their *whānau*, whereby they provide the example that the children 'nark' on one another in Māori. This behaviour indicates that the language is being used in informal 'normal' contexts.

One of the factors that supported *whānau* to keep on track with their reo Māori was the *poureo*. For some parents, they had recently become aware that within their immediate *whānau*, the person who was going to carry te reo Māori was themselves. This realization had the impact of increasing their language learning motivation for the benefit of the *whānau*.

⁵⁶ What?

P5: I came to the conclusion that it was me. That if I wanted the reo in the home, I had to, well, my partner could but he's Pākehā. So you know I had to be the one to drive it. [...] My family are not very, ahhh I won't say Māori oriented. [inaudible] but not with the reo and so, um, if anybody was going to do something regarding it, it was always going to be me in my family.

P3: Now yup, since my koros passed away. So he was our key, *pou*,⁵⁷ in our *whānau* and then once he passed away no one really stepped into his shoes so, I thought – that was me.

Theme 6: Understanding children's language behaviours

Subtheme 1: Children resistant to the use of te reo Māori by their parents

Some parents reported that their children's resistance to the use of te reo Māori was simply due to their limited understanding of te reo Māori.

P3: I speak reo at home with my girls um, my eldest girl is, 'cause this is her first year in *rumaki* so, when I *kōrero* to her she be like, "Ohhh whaat, what are you saying mum," so I will just give her the key words and she will be like, "Aww ye ye I getcha." She won't *kōrero* back but she understands and that's a lot. Um my little girl she's ... sometimes I say to her, "Aww what did you say?"

In some instances, children who had greater levels of language proficiency in te reo Māori than their parents disliked the use of te reo Māori by their parents. There are a number of possible reasons for this, including the fact that the parent, who is usually an authority figure, is possibly viewed by the child as a learner. This may contradict the normal roles that are present in a household. Secondly, a parent who has recently begun learning te reo Māori may be attempting to establish new cultural and social norms, which children may have a natural response to.

P5: If there's someone I'm weary about speaking around it's my son. Aye. [laughs] My 20-year-old son. He thinks he knows it all. Um, he has his, what shall we say, open moments where I'll say something and he'll go,

⁵⁷ In the context of this quote, *pou* refers to a person who is able to carry the responsibilities associated with Māori language use.

“Oh dahdahdah.” The good thing about it is he can explain himself well where I can understand. But he doesn’t do it very often to me, with me.

Similarly, the participant below indicates that the older child is more resistant to the language changes that are occurring in the *whānau*.

P3: At the moment I’ve got the oldest sons at home. I think if they were more supportive then it would flow a lot easier. Because the young ones are easy aye. You know ’cause I can say, you know “*kōrero Māori anake*”⁵⁸ aye.

The participant below indicated that his child was attending mainstream education, and was also between two houses. The participant’s house was one where te reo Māori was actively used, while the other domains (mother’s house, and school) were both domains where the language was not used.

M1: It’s this constant battle though because sometimes even with [daughter’s name] she will just say, “Oh no don’t speak te reo Māori” and I’m like I’m always trying to push it and balance that too with not pushing too hard so yeah, I do feel that I’m sort of like the *pou* and yeah that’s quite hard sometimes but you just battle on.

The participant in this case needed to work hard to re-establish norms and behaviours that were appropriate in the home.

An additional struggle that was recognised was the code-switching from Māori to English between school and home respectively.

P1: So I find when my girls come home they just automatically switch into English. ...and I have to verbally tell them to *kōrero Māori*⁵⁹ to me um and they will and then they’ll slowly start going back to English and I just have to remind them again “*kōrero Māori, anake*”. Um. And it’s just the constant reminders. It’s constant. [...] They just get home and they just, *kōrero Pākehā*!⁶⁰ And it’s like okay ’cause when I’ve been to their *kura* and I’ve seen them and they’re just, *kōrero Māori*! You know

⁵⁸ Only speak in Māori.

⁵⁹ Speak in Māori.

⁶⁰ Speak in English.

and it's like a shock like it's a different child at *kura* and then a different child at home. I'm like what's going on here?

Interpreting the findings above, it may be possible that the child perceives the home and school as two separate language domains. Prior to the participant engaging with Te Kura Whānau Reo, the language of the home was English. A task for the parent is to change the language expectations of the home. The parent above was also the sole Māori language speaking parent in the home. This meant that the language norms that were being re-established may have been difficult to achieve.

For parents who struggled to have their children engage in te reo Māori at home, bringing the children to class (*kura pō* and *hui tōpū*) was beneficial. These classes provided an environment where there was a social expectation that the children would use te reo Māori without compromise.

P3: It was a lot easier [having the child come to *kura pō*] because at least they would, [the *pouārahi*] would participate with her and they would join in. Whereas if I tried to teach them at home we wouldn't get very far 'cause everyone sort of didn't like my teaching. [laughter]. So then they would come to class and it was good.

Theme 6: Subtheme 2: Children who had taken on the role as poureo

In contrast to the parents whose children were resistant to the language changes in the home, there were a number of children who were actively supportive of the increased use of te reo Māori. The parents discussed how it was good to learn alongside their children, and also how quickly the children managed to grasp language content.

P2: It's nice to learn together. And whatever [inaudible] brings into the house we do it together and stuff like that but, it's frustrating cause she needs to hear a word twice I need to hear it like fif- twenty to fifty times to lock it in you know.

Some children who were more proficient than their parents with using te reo Māori often helped their parents to understand contextual information when they were listening to other Māori speakers, and also helped their parents with vocabulary. The

excerpt below provides an example:

P4: Out and about or when I'm cooking and our girl is helping me, I'll ask, kōrero to her off at the *marae* stuff and she sits by me and just helps me. I'll kōrero to her. And just listen to all the other reo going on around me I'll sort of [...] listen to what they're saying.

While there were children whose proficiency superseded that of their parents, some parents were also aware of placing too many expectations on their children. Having an awareness about the child's language capability is also likely to be positive in the sense that they are not creating unrealistic expectations of their children.

P15: I'll start speaking Pākehā um but because I have a *poureo*. She's my seven year old. [...] AKA my dictionary. I usually ask her the *kupu* of things. But sometimes I ask her, "What are they saying on TV?" and I can see what they're saying. But I want to know if she knows what they're saying and then she goes, "Some of those *kupu* are a bit hard for me mum." So I gotta be careful ...of what I expect my expectations of her as well.

One of the interesting points that was raised by a few respondents was the fact that children tended to monitor the language behaviours of other children, and occasionally the adults too.

P12: *Āe, i mauhara taku moko. I rongō ia ki ahau, or ētahi tangata ki te kōrero te reo tauīwi, i kaha ia ki a mātou ... "Kaua kōrero Pākehā ... kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa." [...] And tana tungāne e kōrero, "Kaua e kōrero Pākehā, kōrero Māori."*⁶¹

An additional benefit of asserting te reo Māori as the language of the home meant that children were socialised to learn about the importance of intergenerational

⁶¹ I remember my grandchild. She heard me, or someone else speaking English, she's very staunch to us: "Don't speak English, speak Māori all of the time." And to her brother she'll say, "Don't speak English, speak Māori."

transmission of te reo Māori. The excerpt below highlights this point.

P15: Yeah [laughs] so 'cause that was her goal. She said, "When my baby comes I'm not going to speak Pākehā to her". So yeah she's pretty *kaha*⁶² that one.

Theme 7: Barriers to Māori language use

Participants described that when they were in situations where they were unfamiliar with other Māori language speakers, this was a cause of language anxiety. Participants further noted that their discomfort with using te reo Māori also came from being around more proficient speakers of te reo Māori.

P15: It's usually when I don't know what I'm talking...when I get to an area where it's too out of my um comfort zone.

P17: I do that with um fluent speakers.

P16: Mmm when you know that they're more matatau than you – than you know aye.

P17: Yeah.

P16: That's how I am too, if – if I know that they know more than...oh you know they're on a higher level.

P18: New groups. [laughs] You know outside my comfortzone.

For others, the difficulty with speaking te reo Māori came from having a limited Māori language vocabulary. Furthermore, as te reo Māori was their second language, a number of participants noted that they experienced cognitive strain from engaging in te reo Māori. These were two reasons why individuals reverted back to English.

P3: Getting so deep into a conversation in reo and then tryna come up with the words, where I need to carry the conversation on, but then it's easier for me to just, argh, it's just easier for me 'cause it's in Pākehā 'cause it's just faster.

⁶² Staunch.

Participants were generally open about the amount of Māori that was spoken at home. For some participants, increasing their confidence levels was connected to their use of te reo Māori.

P6: I only know a little. Not enough really. Um. Usually probably only just during homework time. Which is probably I don't know probably half an hour to an hour.

The participant below explains that he does not actively engage a lot in te reo Māori. However, he is supportive of the language, and he attempts to bring other Māori cultural aspects into the home, including *waiata*.

M2: I speak very little at home. To be honest, but we sing it, lots. Hakas. Hakas, hakas, hakas. Kids sing it. [...] But um, just the confidence to speak. Oh I don't mind getting up to speak anymore – but I have to be sure I know what I'm saying is right otherwise I will just shut down. If I don't have it right – what's the use in speaking? That's how I feel anyway. Um. Forgetting the sentence structures around the wrong way, or just even getting the sentence structures right. I just like to do everything, right. [laughter]

A further point raised in the quote above is the fact that learners are often wanting to achieve perfection with their language skills. Learners who are able to recognise that they may get some language structures wrong during their initial learning phases are likely to find this helpful.

P6: I've found that maybe for me it's just a bit of a fear from whether I'm structuring the sentences right yeah.

Having limited *whānau* support for learning te reo Māori was in some cases a factor that the learner needed to deal with. Some *whānau* members indicated to participants that they felt excluded from social situations when te reo Māori was used, which negates the goals that some learners may have had for wanting to use te reo Māori across all contexts.

P1: ...regardless um. I mean, yeah like I said sometimes he feels left out. But I think well that's your choice. That's what you decided. Um. I have, two brothers, well three brothers sorry, but one of them in

particular is very closed off to it. Um, I get quite upset about that, but, he's not walking in that world so, just...*hei aha*.⁶³

The wider *whānau* of some participants vocally indicated their disregard for the use of te reo Māori. The main reasons for this was the lack of understanding by non-Māori speakers, and perhaps an expectation that all communication should be understood by all.

P13: Um ... *ki te kōrero tūturu ... ki tōku whānau, kāo! Kāore rātou i te whakaae ... oh ... te nuīnga o tōku whānau ... “He aha te kōrero?”* [...] *Āe, 'cause, “He aha ai, kāore au i te mārama”. [Ko tāku ki a rātou,] “Haere ki te ako i te reo Māori.” Āe, [ko tā rātou], “Hoki ki te reo Pākehā.” ... Kāo! Kaore koe e mārama ka noho ... ka kōrero māua. Ki tōku whānau.*⁶⁴

Some wider *whānau* members were passive supporters of te reo Māori, and would attempt to support the participant's family in their decision to use te reo Māori. However, for older *whānau* members, there was a fear associated with being in Māori language speaking spaces. The fear was generally described as being due to having Māori speakers engage with them in te reo Māori and not being able to respond appropriately. These points are raised in the excerpt below.

P17: Yeah my dad is real Ngāti Pākehā ia.⁶⁵ When my kids try and kōrero Māori he'll try and say some *kupu*. [...] He doesn't mind us talking te reo. My mum, she gets a bit shy. She doesn't even pick up my son from *kōhanga* because you know they *kōrero Māori* and she doesn't understand. You know she doesn't, so short answer my older kids go pick them up.

The anxiety of the participant's mother described above is notably a factor that prevents her from engaging with her grandchild's education provider (*kōhanga reo*).

⁶³ Never mind.

⁶⁴ If I'm to speak frankly, in my family, no! They don't agree [with me using Māori], oh well, the majority of my family [would say], “What are you talking about?” Yeah, because, “Why [are you speaking Māori], I don't understand.” [My response to them is], “Go and learn te reo Māori.” Yes, [they respond by saying] “just speak English”. No! Just because you do not understand. So, it's only us two in my family.

⁶⁵ He's very Pākehā.

This was a shared experience that some participants felt prior to being learners of te reo Māori.

Participants discussed the fact that in their *whānau* they may be the only speaker of te reo Māori, and therefore, their language community was not their *whānau*.

P6: I don't really have anybody in particular. I mean my family aren't speakers of – I've been the only one that's doing it. It's probably just a whole confidence thing about speaking it around other speakers or mmm. Yeah, nah. Nothing really. Nobody.

The point raised below is that for some *whānau*, they are unable to use the language with others in their wider *whānau*. Moreover, some participants' *whānau* were unable to see the value of learning te reo Māori.

P4: I just don't really speak to my mum and dad 'cause they don't know what we're on about. My other mum she sort of knows, bits and pieces. [...] We'd like to [speak with others in the *whānau*], and we sort of try and encourage them or talk to them but they just can't grasp it. I suppose they reckon, "Nah, why?" Never learnt it back when they were kids and, but they – they still support us. They're like good on yous.

For some individuals, having a non-Māori speaking partner meant that they were carrying the responsibility to shifting social/linguistic norms in their family as a sole parent. Not only were some mothers having to carry this responsibility, but they were also needing to ensure that their partner did not feel excluded, whereby increasing the pressure on the mother.

P1: ...it does make it challenging because sometimes I feel that he feels left out. But I've you know tried to encourage him but, he's Samoan so he's all about his culture. Which is funny because he's taken a step back and allowed Māori to be the main culture in our children's lives. So he knows some *kupu* but he's not actively wanting to learn it. And I don't push it. As long as I'm learning it, and my babies, I'm fine.

One of the causes of why some individuals were the sole Māori language speaker was due to the role of historical trauma that was experienced in the education

system as outlined in the Waitangi tribunal report (1986).

M2: In my *whānau* there's not very many Māori speakers anyway. I can probably name them on one hand, fluent. So, which is sad, it is sad. But, I think in like, under my mum and dad I'm the only one who's probably doing something about it. Mum and Dad don't speak it. Dad's mum, Mum's mum does, they fluent, fluent as. [...] But they were the ones [who] were beaten. Not to speak the reo. So, you can see probably why my parents never spoke it. Which is sad. It's really sad.

For older generations of speakers, having parents who were unable to speak te reo Māori appeared to be a common experience.

A factor impacting on the ability to maintain te reo Māori in the home was the influence of non-Māori speaking guests. Participants who used te reo Māori in their home often faced a conflict when dealing with non-Māori speaking guests. An outcome of having non-Māori speaking guests was often to revert to using English.

P14: I think well at the moment well actually all the time my house has got so much foot traffic that comes through whether it's my brother, whether it's the partner or what not. None of whom speak Māori, so it's a natural for us to revert to Pākehā in the house.

Some participants were conscious about others opinions, particularly when they were in public domains. The participant below provides an example of why she viewed others to be unsupportive of her using te reo Māori in public domains.

P1: I think for me um when I didn't have any knowledge of te reo whenever I heard other people speaking another language I didn't like it. I thought how rude. I don't understand what you're saying and I yeah I didn't like it and so I'm more I've still got that kind of mindset when I'm talking Māori to my kids and other people are around me who don't understand, it's like I feel what I used to think and I don't wanna make them feel uncomfortable.

Participants also indicated that they did not want to be rude by speaking te reo Māori in the presence of non-speakers, which was something that encouraged the use

of English.

P20: Having people there that don't have any reo and so we are not wanting to be rude or to be exclusive. So for an example so say sister or whoever comes up not to be exclusive, that's the only thing.

Summary and Discussion

Cultural identity

Whānau who participated in Te Kura Whānau Reo were clear about their central motivations for wanting to be a part of the programme, and also their motivations for learning te reo Māori more specifically, which was to support the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. Furthermore, participants highlighted that they were dedicated in their desire to support their children and grandchildren to produce Māori children who were confident and proud of their identity as Māori. This identity was one that included knowledge of te reo Māori.

The degree to which parents were willing to make changes and sacrifices in their own lives to meet their language goals and cultural identity goals that they held for their children was extensive. One parent had physically relocated from Australia in order to improve the chances that her son would have to be raised as Māori, surrounded by Māori language speakers, including his mother.

For some parents, although a minority, the reason for their participation in Te Kura Whānau Reo appeared to be less about their child's linguistic abilities, and more about achieving their cultural identity goals. It may be useful to understand that cultural identity goals rather than language goals are a priority for some *whānau*, as these differences in goals may have an impact on how much language individual *whānau* are willing to use in classes and at home, depending on their varying motivations. If *whānau* are less motivated to attend for linguistic reasons, this is likely to have an impact on the overall proficiency outcomes that are eventually achieved by this sub-group of individuals.

While there were few Pākehā participants who took part in this study, these parents also raised their desire to raise Māori children who were confident in their identity as Māori. The awareness of Pākehā mothers about the identity needs of their

children is positive, and reflects findings of other research (Kukutai, 2007).

Language proficiency and language support for whānau

This programme was established for learners with little Māori language ability. The findings from both the quantitative and qualitative sections of this report indicate a positive shift towards gaining higher levels of language proficiency as a result of their participation in this programme. Some of the shifts in language abilities meant that parents were able to engage in culturally relevant events more meaningfully.

The support that Te Kura Whānau Reo provides to the participants had variety in the style of support. Combining classes with home visits and *whānau*-based *hui tōpū* allowed *whānau* to participate in a range of contexts in te reo Māori. Furthermore, taking part in Te Kura Whānau Reo allowed parents to socialise with other parents, and children to socialise with other children in a context where te reo Māori was the main focus of the interactions. This helped to normalise the use of te reo Māori in contexts outside of the home. Seeing te reo Māori used both outside of the home and classroom is likely to demonstrate to children that te reo Māori is not relegated specifically to private domains. Increasing the domains where the language is used is likely to be positive for Māori language revitalisation, particularly when the responses to the target language use are also positive.

The relationships that learners developed with both *pouārahi reo* and their classmates were helpful for their language and cultural identity development. Learners indicated that they had created *kaupapa whānau* (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010) by participating in Te Kura Whānau Reo. Part of creating *kaupapa whānau* includes working towards a shared goal or vision. The language proficiency goals, coupled with the goals that *whānau* had to be Māori language speaking meant that they were able to understand the challenges that each *whānau* faced. Having a support system of people who were able to understand the challenges that are involved with heritage language learning meant that *whānau* were better equipped to overcome obstacles when they arose.

The teaching style that *pouārahi reo* applied was described as interactive and engaging for learners. A general description of the teaching approach is that the educators were strict; however, they were also warm in their ability to usher learners

through new material. They also pushed and challenged learners in a way that was effective for promoting learners to take on new challenges. These new language challenges often resulted in an improvement of their language abilities and/or their cultural engagement. Furthermore, learning occurred in a *wānanga*-style environment, consistent with *mātauranga Māori* perspectives on education best practices (Metge, 2015). The students were not merely recipients of knowledge from the teacher, but instead, learners were encouraged to share their own perspectives, and grow collectively as a unit. Findings from this study may be applied to other Māori-centred learning contexts, whereby the role of the teacher is to provide sound guidance, while allowing learners to facilitate their own learning.

The relationships that *pouārahi reo* developed with their *whānau* participants was central to the success of the programme, and subsequently, the language progress that the participants achieved. Central factors that contributed to *pouārahi reo* being effective were: the consistency of their communication with *whānau*, the types of personalised resources that they used to support individual *whānau* aspirations, the cultural and linguistic guidance and pastoral support that they provided; and in some locations, the home visits.

The relationships that are developed in this programme had a major impact on the motivation of *whānau* to continue with the Te Kura Whānau Reo and also on their personal language aspirations. Consistent with other research (Rātima & Papesch, 2013), the concept of *utu* was a common way that participants described the relationship that they had with their *pouārahi reo*. Participants felt a sense of respect and responsibility to put effort into their language studies, knowing that the *pouārahi reo* had dedicated time and energy into ensuring that participants enjoyed a positive learning experience.

An additional factor that appeared to contribute to participants' successful learning experiences in the programme, was the application of the 'rākau method'. As explained in the introduction section of this report, the rākau method applies a learning approach that engages kinaesthetic learners. This teaching method was particularly useful for learning a range of Māori language structures, and also karakia.

As learners of a heritage language, findings confirmed that support from their language community was critical for achieving their language goals. Each *whānau* in

this study varied in terms of the amount of support that they received from their *whānau* in their language pursuits. However, a common experience described in this study was that the wider *whānau* of participants were not generally their language speaking community. In many instances, participants were either one of a few language speakers, or the only set of speakers in their *whānau*. The limited number of speakers among *whānau* of new learners of te reo Māori highlights the importance of programmes such as Te Kura Whānau Reo. Such programmes provide a Māori language environment for children and their parents that emulates what we would hope to occur within a *whānau* environment. However, given the state of the current number of Māori language speakers, that being that less than one in five Māori are able to converse with complexity in te reo Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), the experiences of *whānau* in this study (i.e being isolated speakers of te reo Māori) is, unfortunately, not uncommon.

Although many of the wider *whānau* of participants in this study were not proficient in te reo Māori, many of those related to participants who took part in Te Kura Whānau Reo were inspired to begin looking into Māori language and culture. For many *whānau* members, engaging with te ao Māori was a new experience. This finding demonstrates that while some Māori may feel closed off from their Māori identity, they may be encouraged to explore that side of themselves through being shepherded by others who they are comfortable and familiar with.

Being supported in a safe learning environment was also important for learning outcomes in Māori language settings in this study. This is a finding shared with other studies (Muller, 2016; Rātima, 2013; Te Huia, 2013; Young, 1991). As heritage learners of te reo Māori take on a number of identity risks to engage in te reo Māori, it is important that their *mana* is upheld by those in their surrounding environment. A way in which learners are able to be supported is through the affirmation they receive from their peers and educators, and for those with outside support, guidance from their wider language community. Learners in this study were mainly comfortable using te reo Māori with those who they had pre-established relationships with. New speaking environments often intimidated this set of learners, particularly those with limited or intermediate levels of understanding of te reo Māori. This finding suggests that although learners continue to improve their language skills, during the foundational stages of language development, it may be important to provide a sheltered

environment to solidify their language skills prior to being exposed to unfamiliar settings where the learner is expected to interact.

The shifts in Māori language spoken in the home were incremental changes, and reflected the level of familiarity that each *whānau* had with te reo Māori. In cases where individuals lacked Māori language skills to engage in full conversations, small shifts had occurred, such as the inclusion of *karakia*. While this may be viewed as a minor shift, any code switching that occurs in the home from English to Māori increases the amount of Māori language observed in their home.

When shifting the language in the home from English to te reo Māori, the language norms were generally instigated by parents. However, this was not always the case; in many instances, children were identified as the *poureo* and were responsible for monitoring the language used in the home. In instances where the parent was the *poureo*, some of the behaviours that were positive for changing language norms included: the allocation of tasks; actively requiring children to discuss their day in te reo Māori while completing normal chores, such as preparing dinner; and prompting children to speak te reo Māori. These results highlight that shifting language norms in a home that has already pre-established communication patterns is a challenging task, and requires constant attention.

In instances where the child was identified as a *poureo*, it was important for *whānau* that the child did not carry too much responsibility. When *whānau* set about to re-construct the language behaviours in the home, and the child is more proficient than the adult, it is undoubtedly a shift in role responsibilities. For children, being more apt than their parent at a given skill may be daunting.

The role of children in Māori language revitalisation initiatives

Some children reacted negatively to their parents' use and uptake of te reo Māori in the home. Given the role reversal that occurred in response to parents learning te reo Māori, often at the same time, or after their children had acquired Māori language skills, this response is not particularly surprising. Children become enculturated into the norms and behaviours that have been pre-established in their home, and having the

introduction of a new norm or behaviour is likely to be uncomfortable in some cases.

For some children in this study, they were comfortable and capable using te reo Māori in school, but were disinterested in using the language at home. This finding is consistent with that of Fishman (1989) who indicates that when a language is relegated to the domain of schools, this can be detrimental for the language. Children were reportedly comfortable using te reo Māori in school, or with *pouārahi reo*, but not as comfortable with their parents. This is likely to be due to a number of factors, including the fact that teachers (including the *pouārahi reo*) are authority figures, and whose main language of communication was established from the outset, as Māori. The social environment of both school and *kurapō* indicate to the child that the expected language of communication is Māori. However, when children return home, they may rely on their understanding about the norms of the home as being English speaking. This is perhaps one of the major challenges that parents who begin learning te reo Māori after their child is in school have in re-creating new language norms in the home.

Barriers to Māori language use

Fear of not speaking te reo Māori correctly was a common concern for participants in this study. This perhaps reflects the language level of participants. For instance, those with fewer language skills were more likely to be concerned about this. A concern of parents in other studies (Te Huia, 2015a) is that their incorrect Māori language behaviours may be detrimental for the language outcomes of their children, and as a result of this limitation, the parents choose one of two avenues. Some parents decide to improve their language skills in order to feel confident in the language that they are using, while others revert to the use of English as a means of responding to this insecurity. A benefit of programmes such as Te Kura Whānau Reo is the fact that parents are able to bring the sentence structures that they are struggling with to their weekly gatherings, which is likely to help parents overcome their fears by assisting them with the language skills that they need support with.

As observed in a case study of Māori language speaking *whānau* (Muller, 2016), English speaking visitors who came into the home had a direct impact on the ability of parents to sustain Māori language speaking norms. The desire that *whānau* have to

*manaaki*⁶⁶ their guests by making them feel comfortable in some cases contradicts the decision to create Māori-specific language spaces. This finding is likely to be a shared dilemma held by Māori language speakers and learners who wish to maintain te reo Māori in their private domain of the home, but cannot restrict non-Māori speakers into such spaces.

In some instances, wider *whānau* of participants were uncomfortable with the use of te reo Māori in their presence. This was not a shared experience across all participants; however, it does demonstrate that although Māori are attempting to improve their heritage language skills, this is not always a shared goal of those who share their *whakapapa* ties. The challenge that Māori language speaking *whānau* have when they are discouraged from speaking te reo Māori to their children, or more broadly, is that it is more difficult to distance themselves from these discouraging views.

A final observation that prevented *whānau* from using te reo Māori in public domains was the fact that they were aware of some of the negative perceptions that mainstream New Zealand holds about Māori. Furthermore, some newly proficient speakers of te reo Māori recalled perceptions that they themselves held prior to learning te reo Māori which were disparaging of speakers of languages other than English in public spaces. It appears that the monolingual nature of New Zealand discourages the use of diverse languages more generally, which has a detrimental impact on all languages other than English, and particularly on te reo Māori.

In summary, these results provide an insight into some of the factors that support and inhibit learners of te reo Māori. The specific impact of Te Kura Whānau Reo on Māori language use in their home is positive for a number of reasons outlined above. However, there are societal factors that cannot be controlled by the programme that have a negative impact on Māori language production and use. The following section describes some of the wider impacts that Te Kura Whānau Reo has had on participating *whānau* in the programme.

⁶⁶ Care for.

Wāhanga tuatoru: Wider impacts of Te Kura Whānau Reo

There were a number of impacts that the programme has had on *whānau* who participate in Te Kura Whānau Reo. These impacts can be broken into three specific themes, including: an increase in their Māori cultural connectedness; community building including an increased and hapū participation; and increased educational aspirations of parents.

Theme 1: Increased Māori cultural connectedness

Subtheme 1: Being able to understand what is happening in cultural spaces increases meaningful engagement

A factor that was noted across focus group discussions was the fact that prior to being involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo, a number of participants felt that they lacked the skills to feel comfortable in Māori cultural spaces.

P1: I used to shy away from pōhiri ahhh especially the whaikōrero bit. I was usually looking up at the roof or down at the ground. Um but now better able to understand bits and pieces. I'm finding I'm focusing more on what the speakers are saying and actually being interested in what they have to say. Um whereas before I didn't. [...] It makes me feel a part of it. Like I'm a part of this pōwhiri and what these speakers are saying um because I understand. And it's only little bits though but I still feel included.

Participants noted an increase in confidence that they felt as a result of their recently acquired Māori language skills. This allowed participants to engage with cultural events more fully.

P3: Like when I go back home, like pōwhiri whakatau everything I know, I know what's going on. I can sit there confidently and just go, yes.

P4: I manage to sit there and listen to the convos going on at the *marae* and stuff and we can actually sit there and go mmm mmm ae, tika tika,

[laughs] and then they're like, "Ahahaha,".

Being able to follow the conversations that occur in Māori language spaces are likely to increase the level of participation that learners feel when they are engaging in such spaces.

It was also common for participants to comment on their increased understanding of Māori cultural values through their participation in the programme. The participant below makes this point.

P15: I used to know some things before but nah my eyes are wayyy open now. So yeah I wanna make sure we hold those values and things. Even though we're not even taught it sometimes that stuff but it just comes naturally because we are switched on and we are in tune with our Māori I guess.

Theme 1: Subtheme 2: Increased connection to te ao Māori through te reo provides pathways

Findings from focus group interviews clearly demonstrated that for many participants Te Kura Whānau Reo had had an impact on the cultural identity development of both the parents, and subsequently, their children. This point was expressed in the feedback below.

P1: It's given me a clearer picture of where I've come from. So it's made me want to learn more about my pēpēhā and it's given me more of a direction on where I want to go, in my life. And as long as it's anything to do with Māori.

The cultural identity of participants' children and their grandchildren were central drivers for their decision to remain involved with *kaupapa Māori*, including Te Kura Whānau Reo.

P5: But my children I, what I, I wanted for my children was that pride in who they were, their Māori side. And I actually believe they do have it. It's not, people ask, you know when people say, "What do you get out of it?" The benefits aren't on a piece of paper, you know in a certificate

or whatever. It's to do with your wairua your āhua.

The point made above also indicates that individuals outside of the programme question the reason for parents' decisions to invest time and energy into learning te reo Māori. While participants do not gain a certification for their involvement with Te Kura Whānau Reo, they gain a set of resources (including those previously mentioned), which outweigh the value of a formal qualification.

Individuals noted an increase in their general motivation to extend their knowledge about Māori values, and perspectives as a result of their participation with the programme. This point was demonstrated below.

P4: I wasn't really into my Māori side when we moved here. I was, but not reo. And since learning I sort of delved into a whole new perspective of our – our culture and I think what else got me learning too is other - other stuff, Māori stuff started happening to – to me, from growing up and stuff, and I didn't understand it until learning about it and I'm like, "Ooooh alright, that explains a lot."

Similar to the results of other studies, for instance those of King (2007), Pohe (2012) and Rātima (2013), participants enjoyed a sense of spiritual connectedness through increasing their understanding of *te ao Māori* mediated through te reo Māori.

P15: ...when you first start that journey you feel it like um it's like you're awakening your soul and you go home and you're buzzing like, "Wow! I learnt a..." You know something even if you've learnt um a *mōteatea*, a new one or something like that and you've got all the *ihi* and the *wehi*⁶⁷ and everything coming out of it and you go, "Wow! That's my Māori side I'm getting in touch with now."

An additional challenge for some of the older participants in this study is that there were only a few other elders in the community who were able to carry out particular cultural roles that required te reo Māori. Having Te Kura Whānau Reo to support these elders was positive.

⁶⁷ In this context, these terms are used to describe an emotional response to learning more about one's culture.

P21: Oh really when you think about it you know we're getting ... I'm getting to that stage where we are it! We're it, those of us now. We're it and gee there are so few. So many *tauhou*⁶⁸ of us ... that our older people have gone or they're all in Te Puea now. They're unable to go out ... there's hardly anybody.

The types of knowledge that participants gained from being involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo extended past a basic knowledge of structures and vocabulary. *Mātauranga Māori* was encouraged through the programme also. These types of knowledge were transferred from parents to their children.

M1: I've noticed as my knowledge for *tikanga* and say *whakapapa* increases or say *ngā atua*⁶⁹ for instance or us obtaining this sort of space for – for māra and connecting those and like we're learning the months of the year in Te Ataarangi and how the months relate to gardening so that these natural things connect and so suddenly the doors are opening for my learning and so I'm wanting to connect to [daughter's name]. Teach her about those connections so, as different things combine and how not just the language but other things like *whakapapa* that naturally I think connect to our language.

P21: My understanding of things is so much better than it ever was ... oh I tell you ... I didn't have a clue about lots of things. But now I can confidently say, this is *tikanga*, this is what you should do and those sorts of things. I mean I don't go out there and espouse it ... but sometimes somebody might be a bit divided about something and I say I think this is what you do. I can do that now whereas once ... oohh nooo ... yes.

For older participants, learning more about *tikanga Māori* was of particular value, especially given the many responsibilities that kuia and kaumātua are expected to take on as a result of their status as elders within the community (Waldon, 2004).

⁶⁸ Unfamiliar or new.

⁶⁹ The gods.

Te Kura Whānau Reo allowed participants of all age groups to learn more about *tikanga Māori* in a non-threatening environment.

A further point that was made was that engaging with Te Kura Whānau Reo challenged participants to extend themselves to engage in behaviours that were typically outside of their comfort zone. These activities had an impact of increasing their confidence outside of Māori-specific contexts as expressed in the excerpt below.

P16: I'm bit more confident than I would be um yeah. It's hard just to stand up and speak in English let alone Māori you know so yeah. [laughter] yeah. And the more you hear the more you do it and it just becomes normal aye? *Te Ao Māori* so it's just like harden up and get used to it [laughter] yeah.

An additional benefit of participants using te reo Māori was that they reported feeling that they were representing Māori in a positive light. Given the discrimination that many Māori face in public domains (Harris et al., 2006), feeling that their Māori identity was viewed positively by outsiders was beneficial. The participant below provides an example.

P18: I took my *moko* to the doctor the other day and I was telling him you know, "*e noho ki te tūru*"⁷⁰ and different things and he was really well behaved and the atmosphere and the doctors um...I think – I got the impression or the vibe that these people were thinking well you know that's, that's a different side of Māori. You know, what a really nice little boy and his nana is...

Participants in this study discussed discrimination that Māori face from mainstream New Zealand. Learning more about te reo Māori, and Māori cultural values more broadly, had a positive impact on *whānau* and their ability to protect themselves from the harmful effects of racism.

P3: Um. Yeah and just making sure that wherever the kids go they're proud of your identity, your culture. Don't let anyone put you down. You know you hear the, the comments, the rude comments, you might hear them

⁷⁰ Sit down on the chair.

in public or on TV but I just tell my kids, oh that's the mass media, don't be influenced by the Western mass media. [...] And be proud of who you are, and where you've come from.

Similar to research findings of Gregory et al. (2011), the point above further highlights that the mainstream media are consistent in their negative framing of Māori. Parents are able to provide their children with perspectives about what it means to be Māori, which are positively framed.

Theme 2: Community building including increased iwi and hapū participation

The opportunities that have arisen for participants due to their increased skills in te reo Māori and *tikanga Māori* have been overtly beneficial for some participants.

P14: Over about 2 months ago I got a call to ask if I would conduct the *tikanga* side of *whakawhanaunga* at a *wānanga* for the Independent Māori Statutory Board. I have been *tono'd*⁷¹ and put into the board of trustees for our *marae* late last year ... I'm the youngest on there of the nine. It shifted my spaces dramatically, cause I come from quite a, I've got a Pākehā tongue I'm pretty academic and I'm pretty wise. I wanna ... my thing is about being able to stand very firmly in both worlds. Having that ability now being strong in *te taha Māori* has just opened up massive things for me ... and I carry it well, I own my Māoritanga now ... more than I did before. Like her, I was Māori before, now my Māori outside, inside, upside down, round and round. Not just me my whole *whānau*.

As demonstrated in the participant quote above, learning more about her culture and language through Te Kura Whānau Reo has been highly influential in her ability to take on leadership roles within her *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. This experience was also demonstrated in the excerpt below:

P3: Um I think from doing this, these classes, I'm a lot more staunch. Like going out in the public and back home. I'm a lot more confident, in knowing, knowing things. Um I sit on our committees although

⁷¹ Requested.

sometimes it can be a bit of a headache, I just like to listen to what's going on back home. Um, I also I'm the secretary for our women's welfare, Māori women's welfare league. That was one of my goals, and this sort of pushed me.

Te Kura Whānau Reo also had an impact on *whānau* levels of engagement with their communities. This increased level of community engagement tended to be a result of an improvement in confidence, particularly with engaging in Māori domains.

P17: And like um [name] was saying...it's the engaging of life in the um hāpori.

P1+2: Mmm āe.

P17: You know being a part of that community. Engaging and not being shy.

P16: It's not just the *kura* aye? Yeah.

P17: It's the big picture of..

P16: ...the whole community yeah...

P17: ...when something's happened, we you know *awhi* and go to help with *tangi* and any...you know gala days and things like that...help out and....

The excerpt above demonstrates that participants felt more inclined to support a range of *kaupapa* including Māori specific occasions (such as *tangihanga*) but also school and community events (such as fundraising and gala days). This increased level of participation in community events is likely to have a positive impact on wellbeing, particularly for Māori who value such contributions (Mead, 2003).

P21: I think it has impacted on me and my family greatly. Like I will go and represent us at *tangihanga* and it may not be so much my whanaunga but it might be [name] *whananunga*⁷² and he'll go, we should go and I want to go. And um I noticed that ... I'm passionate about *whakapapa*.

⁷² Relation.

[...] I'm delving, delving, delving all the time into *whakapapa* [...] I'm really shocked that I would have gone to school with this one and I didn't know how closely related we were and I didn't know all those people at Hiruharama and we all came off the same tree.

An additional benefit of participating in this programme as demonstrated above by P21 is that as individuals begin to engage with te reo Māori, they begin to explore their *whānau* relationships, and their *whakapapa*. This is likely to be due to the fact that as learners begin to engage more with the language of a culture, they tend to become more invested in the cultural values of that culture. For Māori, being connected with *whakapapa* relationships is important (Mikaere, 2010). In the excerpt below, the participant explains how learning te reo Māori was able to be shared with her wider *whānau* at a *whānau* reunion. This was a side of her *whakapapa* that she had not previously engaged with.

P21: [Our *whānau* reunion] was wonderful, yes it was really wonderful. You came down. So that's where I was able to show what little I knew about *tikanga* to those family ... it was wonderful, really wonderful.

One of the benefits of Te Kura Whānau Reo was the fact that *whānau* from a range of differing educational backgrounds came together to share a common goal. Participants indicated that while they had been involved with the programme, they had either enrolled in other programmes to gain qualifications, or had developed a desire to engage with higher education. The participant quote below highlights this point.

P1: It's kind of made me put my goals up a bit higher. Umm wanting to actually go onto university and learn Māori ah um through this course so I guess it's my aspirations have climbed a bit. [...] It's through education and doing this made me think you know to get to where I want to get I need to educate myself. Um to a higher level too. You know wanting to aim for university. Um not just staying where I am right now. So it's been a motivator being a part of this *whānau* you know 'cause I'm – I'm around other people who are quite educated and um you look up to them.

A further benefit of this programme was that participants who were also teachers were able to apply what they are learning in *kura pō* and *hui tōpū* to their teaching practices. There were a number of participants who were either support staff within *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa*, high-school teachers, school principals, and university lecturers who had taken part in Te Kura Whānau Reo. Some of the programme benefits are outlined below.

P2: I'm a teacher for alternative education so I can take quite a lot of what I learn on Tuesday back to my own classroom [...] all the real basic stuff that I know I'll teach correctly [laughs].

Some of the skills that are taught through Te Kura Whānau Reo have been implemented at a wider scale within the schools in the community. One of the participants, who is a school principal at a local English medium school has demonstrated how her involvement in Te Kura Whānau Reo has impacted on the uptake of te reo Māori by staff and students within her school.

P20: As a result of this [KWR] [...] we have implemented Te Ataarangī at school within our three senior classes ... and that's ... the confidence has come from this. So therefore we have been able to go back to school and share it with our other teachers and they are learners ... second language learners as I am and we are all at varying levels of where we are at with learning te reo Māori. But it's given us the confidence to go with it and I'm so excited because one of our *kaiako* who perhaps was at a level of perhaps just single words is actually now so keen and running his own little Te Ataarangī group, he has a group cause we have five little groups that rotate. He has a group and so exciting to see the confidence that has then been transferred even to him and to the children. I remember one day, *kī mai pāpā Bill ki ahau*, "*Kōkā [name]*⁷³, what's happening, what's happening, all these children are speaking Māori, what's happening?!" But he was being funny but also giving ... in a nice way saying ... you know he can see the confidence in the children now out in the playground beginning to

⁷³ Pāpā Bill said to me, aunty.

kōrero and use what they're learning through the little classes that we have.

The information that participants learned during *kura pō* was directly transferable to classroom situations. Moreover, participants indicated that some of the methods of teaching were able to be applied to their own teaching practices.

M1: This programme and the methods of rākau for instance, object-orientated kind of learning, it's definitely made me more um – having the tools to actually teach them in a colourful way that people enjoy.

The same educator indicated that learning while being a part of Te Kura Whānau Reo allowed the participant the space to reflect on his own teaching practices. The act of reflection is likely to have positive learning outcomes for other students who engage with participants of this programme.

M1: It's made me reflect on my practice actually. [...] About how I teach etc. or about how I lecture and about the process through Te Ataarangi which is actually sort of experiential doing waiata for instance, less book work. Doing things and making it fun and so that's directly impacted the way I lecture and tutorials, all those things that are quite hard to get across...those Māori concepts but by doing, you know...

Participants also commented on how the programme had helped influence changes in schools through the support that *pouārahi reo* provided participants to develop language planning strategies.

P20: We've done our strategic plan and we did our goal setting and we all had to write our ... *he rautaki, he mahere mō te whakarauora i tō tātou reo Kamehameha*.⁷⁴ I remember at the very beginning we had to do our strategic plan and set our goal and then we had to look at ... matua [*pouārahi*] would also give us ... we've had robust discussions around what it would look like outside when we go to support our children for sport and of course well implementing it at school. That's all because of the support that Matua has given. Um so really it's not just been

⁷⁴ It's a strategy, a plan for our prestigious language.

through osmosis we hope things will happen, we have done some strategic planning and goal setting.

Through being involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo, some *whānau* also became engaged with other community related events. Some participants from Hamilton had been involved with the commemoration Ōrākau, which took place in 2014. Engaging in these activities had the impact of creating a greater level of awareness about the local history where they lived, whereby increasing their sense of connection to the *whenua*.

P4: It taught us a lot about Maniapoto that we didn't even know... Lived there all our lives and didn't even know, didn't really know much about – about its history and it's pretty sad. Or even when we were involved with the Ōrākau commemoration. And when he was teaching our kids back then, he was involved in that, our kids were involved, and I went along with them, so I was involved, and we're on – standing on the *whenua* that our *tūpuna* was on and it was just mean. Being involved in stuff like that. Didn't even know it was there. That's pretty ratshit [laughter]. You know living in Hamilton to find out Ōrākau is just down the road from where we lived all our lives. So yeah, learning the reo, is definitely, opened our eyes to, a lot.

Theme 3: Programme improvements and the continuation of the programme

As Te Kura Whānau Reo was initially funded as a pilot programme, a few focus groups were asked how they felt about the possibility of the programme coming to an end. Participants were clear that they were unwilling to think about the closure of the programme as they had not yet reached a state of confidence with te reo Māori to continue using it in the home or socially without the structure that Te Kura Whānau Reo provides.

P13: Engari he pātai pai ... mea pātai matakū ki au⁷⁵ ... 'cause I don't wanna think about not having anything around [laughter]. So I don't think

⁷⁵ But it's a good question, [even if] it's a scary question for me.

about it.

For a number of *whānau*, particularly those whose children were not enrolled in Māori medium education, Te Kura Whānau Reo was one of the only spaces where they could interact with other *whānau* members in a space where te reo Māori was a main medium of communication.

P2: I was just going to say that the learning happens for me on Tuesday nights but um it would be really sad if this discontinued for the children because like this is like we say where [daughter's name] sees the other kids and like she does her pēpēhā each night but she – you can see her going, “Oh other kids are doing their pēpēhā, ohhh.”

Some of the improvements that could be made to the programme from the perspectives of some *whānau* participants was an increase in Māori language resources that were provided.

P2: I wouldn't mind some like really basic resources of just really basic sentence structures. And things you know like cue cards and things that I can practise right from the beginning like I'm quite good with my rākau but take those away and I freak out. [laughs]

While the rākau method of teaching was positive, some learners needed written resources to support their learning during the times when they were alone, or without a *pouārahi reo*.

M1: Yeah we had these great resources at the start around kai for instance. We were, “Wow look at these placemats and things!” I was like, “This is great,” so we had a big influx around kai time and then I was thinking, “Ooo what other contexts?!” and then it just – there was nothing and so yeah, I sort of asked about that but it was to do with the resources and the [inaudible] etc or not filtering through or whether there was any resource etc and because it was a pilot programme but that was awesome...

It was not clear as to whether the resources that were provided to each of the *whānau* in the varying locations were prepared by a national co-ordinator, or whether

they were prepared by the individual *pouārahi reo* from each of the regions. For instance, in contrast to the participant quote above, the participants below from a separate location indicated that they had found a resource book useful.

P15: Yeah I found the book to be a resource so you can go to it...

P16: Yeah.

P15: ...but we learn a lot without the book.

Some participants who were more comfortable with formal education preferred classes where their language skills were formally tested. This was not a sentiment that was generally shared across any of the other groups; however, it does suggest that for some learners, testing their language skills may provide them with feedback about their progression.

M1: I think it's more about me practising on my own etc and increasing my actual proficiency which um but again it gives me that engagement and energy from other people to push on with that work that I need to do. Um but for instance within the *kura pō* we're supposed to...there's all these sort of criteria of things that we should know etc but we're never really kind of tested. You know so I know that I'm supposed to know two *karakia* by this time and I know one and the other one sort of but if I was you know had to get up in front of everybody and do that *karakia* I would learn it. I would just learn it.

Summary and Discussion

An outcome of participating in Te Kura Whānau Reo was that individuals attained language skills that they felt were necessary to take on roles and responsibilities in their communities. As well as *whānau* reporting that they were more confident to engage in Māori language spaces, they were also more likely to take on roles and responsibilities in contexts where te reo Māori was not used the majority of the time, but was deemed to be an environment where Māori cultural norms dominated. The skills that individuals gained from being in Māori language contexts included the art of public speaking. While individuals were not always confident to publicly speak, they were constantly expected to practise this skill, as it is a necessary skill to have in a number of Māori language environments. Gaining competencies in public speaking was also positive in non-Māori language domains.

Similar to the Māori identity migration model proposed by Rata (2015), for some Māori, having greater feelings of connectedness with their Māori culture through acquiring cultural knowledge (and language proficiency), allows some Māori with a greater ease to ‘migrate’ between or travel between domains. Participants in this study, both Māori and non-Māori, were aware of how to operate in mainstream domains, and the skills and relationships that they developed through their involvement with Te Kura Whānau Reo assisted them to transition readily between both spaces. This is likely to have positive outcomes for the participants’ wellbeing.

By participating in the programme, *whānau* were introduced to a set of values. While they may have been aware of these previously, being part of this programme helped to solidify their understanding of Māori cultural norms and values at a deeper level. Having a greater understanding about the cultural values of their heritage culture was useful in terms of their feelings of engagement and ability to interpret their social surroundings.

Learning more about te reo Māori, and the cultural values that underpin *te ao Māori* and *mātauranga Māori*, encouraged some participants’ feelings of spiritual connectedness to their culture. These findings are similar to those of King's (2007), whose participants also noted that learning te reo Māori was as much about a spiritual engagement, as it was an intellectual exercise. Individuals in this study discussed feeling as though they had experienced an ‘awakening of the soul’ which is far more profound than the experiences of learners of other second languages, which are not the individuals’ heritage languages.

It is perhaps the increase in individuals’ understanding, feelings of connectedness and confidence in engaging in Māori cultural spaces that contributes to the sense of pride that tended to be observed in some of the participants of this study. Developing pride and confidence about their Māori identity was positive for individuals.

Individuals who gained confidence to use te reo Māori in public domains commented on the pride that they felt when they used te reo Māori, particularly when their child was well-behaved. The fact that parents commented on being conscious of how they were being judged by non-Māori as parents in public reflects the fact that Māori parents are juggling a number of responsibilities, especially in public spaces.

Negative representations of Māori in the media, particularly including those related to child-abuse involving Māori (Nairn et al., 2011), increase the sense of pressure that Māori parents experience when they are in public spaces. Parents who are afraid that their children's behaviour is unfavourable in public spaces may choose not to use te reo Māori as a means of distancing their child's behaviour from their child's Māori identity. For instance, in the eyes of the public, the child's unfavourable behaviour may be more likely to be attributed to their identity as Māori, particularly when a parent uses te reo Māori around the child, as opposed to the behaviour being attributed to an external attribution, such as illness, or the child having a bad day. These social pressures that are specific to Māori parents need to be taken into consideration when interpreting the language behaviours of Māori language speaking parents.

Although there are a number of challenges that many Māori parents cope with, there are also a number of benefits that participants gained, particularly from their Māori community. The wider relationships that participants developed in response to their participation in Te Kura Whānau Reo meant that they were more likely to feel needed by their community. The idea of reciprocity, or *utu* is one that was raised also in the previous section. The fact that parents were able to engage in Māori spaces meant that they could be called on and relied upon to take part in community events, such as fundraising activities, or *tangihanga*. Feeling as though individuals are able to contribute to their community, particularly on occasions such as *tangihanga* is positive for wellbeing (Edge, Nikora, & Rua, 2011).

Programme improvements

While participants in this study were generally satisfied with the current structure and running of the programme, there were a couple of improvements and suggestions that *whānau* made.

Firstly, although this is a pilot programme, participants have not yet reached a level of proficiency that is advanced enough to ensure the sustainability of Māori language use in the home. Participants were fearful that the programme would no longer be funded, and were not yet confident that they had the necessary skills needed in order to maintain or improve their current level of language use without the support of the programme.

As stated in this section, and in previous sections of this report, *whānau* were reliant on the relationships that were developed in this programme to be their Māori language community. Parents who had children who were not enrolled in Māori medium education were particularly vulnerable should the programme be discontinued, as they were unable to rely on the support of the *kura* to provide their children with normalised Māori language use.

There was one main improvement that was requested by a few participants in this study – an increase in the number of physical resources that could be placed around the home. Examples of resources that they enjoyed the use of from the programme included place mats, and other visual posters that were helpful in the kitchen. These resources helped to prompt the use of te reo Māori in the home. Although we understand that Te Ataarangi provides participants with resources, which are distributed by their *pouārahi*, it may be worth considering the development of additional such resources in the future.

Perhaps one of the difficulties for *pouārahi reo* is that although Te Ataarangi had provided them with resources, sometimes they needed to develop additional resources to cater for the specific regional needs of their students. There are pros and cons to this approach. The individualised resources that were developed in some locations were highly valuable. However, individualising resources takes a great deal of energy for *pouārahi reo* within each region. If the programme is to continue past the pilot programme end-date, it may be worth Te Ataarangi investing additional time into creating additional such resources.

Wāhanga tuawhā: Perspectives from pouārahi reo

Theme 1: Pouārahi attributes and motivations for engaging with Te Kura Whānau Reo

Subtheme 1: motivations for joining the programme

Pouārahi were motivated to join Te Kura Whānau Reo for a number of reasons, many of which were related to their relationships with the programme designers. Wanting to contribute to the revitalisation of te reo Māori was also a core motivation that *pouārahi reo* identified. Furthermore, *pouārahi reo* were aware of some of the challenges, particularly related to *whakamā*, that Māori heritage language learners experienced and saw their role as one that could support *whānau* to overcome such challenges.

M3: He aha ngā pūkenga kei a au hei patu i te whakamā kei hiki noa atu anō te whanonga kei roto i ō rātou ngākau, kia kua e mataku ki te kōrero i te reo Māori, koia anō.

Pouārahi participants were also interested in supporting the goals and values of Te Ataarangi, which was based on relationships that they themselves had developed over the years, as either students or educators within the programme.

M3: Engari i roto i ngā torotoro kāwai a Te Ataarangi me ana mātāpono koia anō hoki hei kawē, kia mau pū tonu ki tōna tūāpapatanga.

P26: Ko te kaupapa, taku tino hiahia, ka whai ahau i te kaupapa o Te Ataarangi, koia te mea nui ki ahau. Kātahi ka rongō, tērā pea, ka taea e māua te āwhina i ngā whānau.

The relationships that *pouārahi reo* had with the programme designers was also essential for gaining agreement from prospective *pouārahi reo* to take up their roles. Furthermore, these relationships also had an impact on the long-term commitment that *pouārahi reo* felt towards achieving the programme outcomes.

M5: Nō reira, he tūpono taku urunga, māku e kī atu, engari he tūpono pai. Waimarie. Um, nā runga anō i te tohutohu o Ruakere pea ki te

ngākaunui ana ētahi o mātou ki tēnei kaupapa, koia i kī mai me te kore whakamārama, nō reira, āe.

P24: Āe, nā runga i taku aroha ki a [programme designer], i uru mai.

Theme 1: Subtheme 2: Characteristics of pouārahi reo

Pouārahi were selected to take on their positions due to their passion for Māori language revitalisation within their respective communities. All of the *pouārahi reo* were long-standing members of their community. This is likely to have an impact on their roles, particularly in situations where *pouārahi reo* wished to call on the expertise of other esteemed members of the community.

P7: Kua roa ahau e noho ki Tāmaki, kei ahau hoki taku hapori. Nō reira, i runga anō i tērā ... yeah, ka rawe tēnei kaupapa, whakaae ahau kia tū tētahi kaupapa, kia hāngai tēnei kaupapa ki te whānau, kei reira hoki te reo e ora ai, e kōrero ai.

One of the factors that was raised by participants was in order to create an authentic programme, it required the expertise of other *iwi* members to participate. *Pouārahi* indicated that they felt a responsibility to include the kaumātua from within their community to assist their learners in their language learning.

M3: “ko ngā mōteatea, koia e pā ringa atu ki a Kōka [ingoa], nā te mea, ko ngā pukenga o te iwi, kei ā ia ērā pukenga. Ka toia mai ērā āhuatanga, kua ako atu.”

On some occasions, the outside support from within the community that *pouārahi reo* sought was a ‘favour’ to be repaid at a later date. This often meant that the *pouārahi reo* themselves carried the responsibility to reciprocate the services offered by *iwi* members, as these were not generally covered by costs from the programme. However, the fact remains that the *pouārahi reo* of this programme were well-regarded enough by their community to have esteemed *iwi* members participate in the programme.

M3: “Ko au te utu. Kua tonu mai ki ahau, kua haere au. Ahakoa ko wai, ahakoa he aha te kaupapa, kua haere, nā reira mehemea ka riro i ahau tētahi āhuatanga, ka karanga atu “he kaupapa tāku, haere mai.” “Oh, ka

pai,” kua haere mai. Kua haere, kua waiho ake, anei kē o koutou kaiwhaikōrero, kua hoki whakamuri, kua riro i a rātou ngā painga o tērā mahi. Ko tō rātou pukenga, kei a rātou tērā, kāore i ahau. Ko ia te tangata tika ana mō tērā. Engari, ko ā māua whiringa kōrero, kei a māua. I te mutunga iho, hei te wā ka karanga mai [rātou] ki ahau, kua haere au.”

Pouārahi were not particularly uncomfortable with the fact that they needed to reciprocate their services to others who supported them in Te Kura Whānau Reo, however, it does provide insight into the fact that pouārahi reo are carrying the responsibility to reciprocate the services offered to them to improve the programme.

Theme 1: Subtheme 3: Establishing and maintaining relationships important

Pouārahi discussed how it was important to establish relationships with members of their *whānau*. These relationships have been discussed in previous sections as being key motivators as to why *whānau* remained in the programme over the long-term. *Pouārahi* were conscious about how to effectively engage with *whānau* while they were in the home. Consistent with culturally Māori appropriate ways of behaving, the approach of *pouārahi reo* was to engage in *whakawhanaunga* activities in the first instance in order to create a comfortable interaction prior to discussing the specific content for why the *pouārahi reo* had come.

P7: Kātahi kua tae atu, kotahi me te hawhe haora koe e noho atu ki tēnei whānau. Nā te mea, he kapa tī, whakatau i te whānau, te tamaiti oma oma haere, ko pāpā kātahi anō kia hoki atu ki te kāinga. Tērā momo āhuetanga, nō reira, me tau. Kia kua e kuhu noa me te, ānei ngā pātai.

Part of establishing respect from *whānau* in the programme was through modelling ideal behaviours that *whānau* could aspire to. *Pouārahi* indicated that they were conscious of the fact that they were being observed and attempted to meet the expectations of *whānau*.

P23: I ngā wā katoa he tangata āwhina, te tūmanako he tangata tauira ana ki a rātou, kia kite, he aha ngā hua e kite rātou i roto i ahau. Nō reira, ka kite te painga, ki te kōrero, ki te āwhina, ki te tautoko ahakoa te kaupapa. Āe, he tangata pai?

Theme 1: Subtheme 4: The role of the pouārahi reo in establishing language behaviours

Pouārahi were aware that *whānau* found transitioning their homes from English speaking domains to Māori speaking domains challenging. This was particularly difficult in situations where there was only one parent who was a speaker or learner of te reo Māori. Secondly, the level of Māori language proficiency that had been attained also impacted on transitioning language use in the home. The challenge outlined below, however, refers to *whānau* who are comfortable using te reo Māori outside the home, but find it difficult to transition to the use of te reo Māori in the home.

P7: Pai noa iho te kōrero i waho i te whare, ā, ka kuhu atu ki te whare kua rerekē te reo i tīmata ai i tō rātou nā tipu, tō rātou noho tahi koirā te reo kua ū ki tērā whare, ki tērā whānau. Nō reira, ko tō tātou ko te, oh taihoa ake, kōrero Māori nāianeī. Ko tērā momo huri ki te reo, koia te mea uaua ai.

The role of *pouārahi reo* was extensive. They often often took on a number of roles in the family, that in situations where language endangerment was not present, would be shared by a range of *whānau* members. For instance, the *pouārahi* explain that in some instances, they take on the role of the mother, the father, the aunty and the grandparents. This was highlighted in the following excerpt.

P25: I roto i te whānau, kei reira a māmā, kei roto i taku whānau me kī, kei reira a mum, a māmā a pāpā, a nanny, me ngā kōkā, ngā matua kēkē. Ka riro i a ia tangata āna mahi nē. Ahakoa te aha kei roto i te whānau. [...] Engari, tēnei mahi a te pouārahi, ka riro i ahau aua mahi katoa i ētahi wā. [...] I tēnei wā, kua tino um, ako ahau te tuku, kia kaua e riro i ahau aua momo tūnga.

Theme 2: Benefits of Te Kura Whānau Reo from the perspectives of pouārahi reo

Subtheme 1: Wider support provided by pouārahi reo

Pouārahi indicated that the programme had been going for three years now, and they were constantly searching for ways to improve the programme.

M3: Kua toru tau nāianeī e kawē ana, kei te whakaaro tonu au mehemea ko au te tangata e tika ana hei kawē atu tēnei āhuatanga. [...] Ka titiro atu ki ngā rautaki whakaora ... ehara i te mea whakaora reo anake engari ko te rautaki whakaora whanonga a te tangata kia āhei a ia ... ki te kōrero. Heoi anō.

One of the benefits of the programme that was outlined in the excerpt above was the fact that the focus of Te Kura Whānau Reo is not solely focused on language revitalisation, but instead on developing the health and wellbeing of the individual and their community.

The *pouārahi reo* of this programme were strong advocates of the benefits from Te Kura Whānau Reo. Having facilitators who are confident about the learner outcomes of their students is likely to be a positive indicator of the programme's effectiveness.

P7: He taonga tō te kaupapa nei. Kāore he kaupapa tū atu i tēnei kaupapa ki te whakaako tangata ki te reo Māori. Ahakoa te rawe rawe o ērā atu kaupapa, kua kite ahau kāore he kaupapa tū atu ki te whakaako pakeke.

An additional benefit of this programme, as outlined by the *pouārahi reo*, was the ability to empower learners who may have been previously on the periphery of language learning. The quote below highlights this point.

M3: He maha ngā tāngata e mōhio ana ki te reo. Kāore au e kī atu he matatau rawa engari he kaha nō rātou ki te kōrero. Engari arā anō atu ētahi o tātou kei waho ake o tēnei kaupapa e titiro whakaroto nei e kimi ana, i ngā mahi hē, ngā mahi kāre i te tika. Mā reira anō ka puia anō te whakamā i roto i aku whānau. Nā reira koia anō tētahi rautaki hei whakaora i te reo, kia patu tēnā āhuatanga mehemea he karawhiutanga tō tētahi, tō ētahi rānei hoki waho kē atu o tēnei kaupapa.

Pouārahi also affirmed the perspectives of the *whānau* participants, in that one of the central goals of the programme was to increase the positive relationships between *whānau*, and also within their wider community.

P24: Whanaungatanga ... whanaungatanga, koira te tino mea o te kāinga. Ki te noho a whānau kei roto i ngā hui tōpū ... te noho ā whānau, ā, ka mōhio ai koina te mahi ... ka tino pai tērā.

Developing the connection to a Māori cultural identity and an *iwi* identity were goals of *pouārahi reo*. *Pouārahi* discussed how familiarising their students with *marae* environments was part of their role as *pouārahi reo*. This allowed *whānau* members to engage in Māori cultural domains where te reo Māori was used in a range of contexts, rather than only being exposed to *marae* during *tangihanga*, which can be highly emotional. Allowing *whānau* to learn the roles in *marae* also assisted them to feel more connected to their identities as Māori as outlined in previous sections of this report.

P24: Ko tā māua noa iho, he kōrero mō ngā āhuatanga, he hari i ngā whānau, kia pai te noho i waenganui i runga i ngā marae, kia, kia aaa, tū pakari rātou i roto i ngā āhuatanga i mahia ana i runga i te marae, āna, kei roto i te kauta, aaa, kei waho, kei hea rānei, engari, ki te whakamātau ki te kōrero, ki te kōrero noa iho. Ko te, ko tā māua tino mahi ko te noho tonu, kia ngākau nui tonu mai ngā whānau ki te reo. Nā te mea, he uaua, i te nuinga o ngā whānau, kua noho ko rātou anake, ko noho hei huringa. [...] Ko te tūmanako kia huri katoa mai ngā pakeke o roto o te whārua, ngā mea kei te ora tonu, ki te kaupapa. Kei te tautoko rātou i te kaupapa, engari, ka tautoko mai i tawhiti. [katakata koina!]. Kāore e āta uru mai, ki te āwhina i ngā kaupapa.

As outlined in the excerpt above, *whānau* who participate in this programme are often carrying a number of responsibilities to uphold the Māori language and culture of their *whānau*. *Pouārahi* support *whānau* in their efforts to see the benefits of learning te reo Māori.

An additional outcome of the programme was that *pouārahi reo* encouraged *whānau* to extend their language learning to their wider community. The excerpt

below highlights how *whānau* are choosing to engage with their *whānau* outside of the programme. It also demonstrates how *whānau* are encouraged to use the language.

P26: Ko taku ... ko tētahi o aku whānau kei te tino aro atu rātou ki tō rātou ake, ko tō rātou iwi. Ia marama ka hui rātou. Koira tētahi. Ko tētahi atu whānau kua piri rātou ki a rātou hoa kei te noho tata ki a rātou, he reo tō te whānau. Ia wīki ka haere mai tērā whānau ki tōna whare, tētahi wānanga ka reo Māori tērā i roto i tōna whare.

Theme 2: Subtheme 2: Language specific support from pouārahi reo and observed improvements in whānau language use

A number of positive language shifts were observed by *whānau* who participated in the programme. These included the improvement of children to use te reo Māori in class with their parents, and a general shift in their productive language skills. *Pouārahi* were all responsive to the question posed about whether they had noticed language changes:

Te katoa: Oh āe.

P9: Mārama ... mārama rātou ki te reo.

P10: Kua puāwai, kua pakari ahakoa iti, ā, ētehi, engari kua, kua piki. Ehara i te mea ko te katoa heoi anō, ētehi o rātou kua puāwai, kua piki ... iti. Engari, mmm.

Pouārahi were also responsive to the requests and desires of their *whānau* and often personalised the learning tasks to the needs of the *whānau*. For instance, the participant below outlines one example of how she would support a mother in their learning. The outcome was to provide the parent with the language skills needed in order to prepare the child for school. These settings were then expanded on as parents became more familiar with the language structures.

P7: I te mutunga mai i pātai ahau ki a rātou he aha ngā hiahia i roto i tō whare? Ā, he pēpe hou. Nō reira, kei te hiahia horoi te pēpe, nō reira, pai kia kōrero a māmā ki a pēpe i a ia e horoi ana i a pēpe, nō reira, ānei ngā rerenga kōrero. Arā, kei te whakarite a pēpe i tana pēke kura, nō reira anei ngā kōrero. Nō reira, whāngaia ērā momo horopaki. Kia

pai a māmā me ana tamariki ki te kōrero i a ia e tiki atu tana peke kura, arā, tīkina atu ... tērā momo.

Making sure that the learning objectives of Te Kura Whānau Reo were closely tied to the goals of the language learning community was one of the features that was impressed upon them by the programme designers also.

M5: Ka whai atu ki ētehi o a Ruakere whakamārama mai, tirohia tō hapori, whiriwhiringia ko tētahi kaupapa e ngākaunuitia ana e taua hapori, whakamāorihia taua horopaki.

Following from the comments from *whānau*, *pouārahi reo* provided *whānau* with weekly activities, which as seen from the quantitative results indicated that these tasks were one of the main language activities that *whānau* focused on that helped to improve their language skills.

P10: Whakarite, ah whakarite mahi kāinga mā rātou ia wiki kia hoki mai ki te kura, ana, ka rapua tētahi whakataukī i mua kia mutu ai te karakia me te mihi tū mai ki te whakamārama i tērā whakataukī. Etehi rerenga kōrero, he aha ngā mahi i mahia nei e koe i ngā rā whakatā ka whakarite wā i mua i ngā mahi rākau ka tū tū mai te katoa ka whakakōrerohia nei i a rātou ... ka kōrero. Ana tētahi [inaudible], ana, ka hoatu mahi kāinga ki a rātou ngā mahi kua mahia nei e rātou, ānei te mahi i ngā rā whakatā. Kia hoki mai ki te kura me kōrero mai tētahi rerenga kōrero me tētahi whakataukī ki roto nō te mea kua mahia nei ko tā rātou haratau nei te mahi i te kāinga, parakitihī i te kāinga kia hoki mai kia tū tū mai te katoa ki te kōrero. Ko te whakakōrero i a rātou.

As outlined above, the goal of the language tasks that *whānau* were assigned by *pouārahi reo* each week was to increase spoken use of te reo Māori, while extending their knowledge of vocabulary, whakataukī and other language features that would strengthen their Māori language development.

Theme 3: Challenges for Pouārahi and Whānau Participants

While there are a number of benefits of this programme, *pouārahi reo* highlighted a few challenges that they needed to cope with in their respective locations. Challenges for *pouārahi reo* included the development of a wide set of learning resources and lesson plans to suit all age groups and levels of language learners. There were also challenges for some *pouārahi reo* who were unable to conduct home visits. These were mainly due to the distance taken to travel, and secondly, the fact that in some regions it was less appropriate to enter into another's home with the intention of changing their social/linguistic norms. Challenges that *pouārahi reo* identified when working with *whānau* was the fact that children, rather than their parents, in many instances were either more proficient users of te reo Māori, or were more avid promoters for the language use in the home. In some cases, a main obstacle to achieving language changes in the home was a lack of behavioural change by the adults who hold the authority in the home.

Subtheme 1: Challenges for Pouārahi

On occasions, it was difficult for *pouārahi reo* to create topics that were enjoyable for the whole group. This point is outlined in the excerpt below:

- P8: Ko te uauatanga kāore rātou ... ko tā rātou hiahia ko te reo engari ki tēnei whānau oh ko hī ika, ko tēnā whānau māra kai, he rerekē.
- P7: Ka pātai hoki mātou ki a rātou, māua ki a rātou. He aha kē e hiahia ana ki tēnei tau ... oh mārama? Oh hākinakina, ahakoa ko te tunu keke, well pai tērā mā ngā māmā engari ka kore ngā pāpā e whakaae kia tunu keke. Nō reira, me rapu ahau i tētahi horopaki e pai ai ki te katoa.

Participants further expressed that some of the tasks that were enjoyable for the mothers were not shared by the fathers. Furthermore, *pouārahi reo* needed to design specific tasks for the children on top of the tasks for the adults. The resources developed often took a great deal of energy to prepare, which is why in some instances, *pouārahi reo* found it useful to delegate roles to *whānau*.

- P25: Engari i te tīmatanga o tēnei mahi I think, he āhuatanga o Te Ataarangi ay, tēnei mea te ngākau mahaki, kia ngākau māhaki koe ki tēnā ki tēnā,

um engari, i ētahi wā, kāore he oranga mōku ake. Nō reira, te tau kua hipa, kua tino ako au me pēhea te tuku kia kua e riro i ahau ērā momo tūnga. Te tuku me te pono, kei a ia wana ake pūkenga, kei a ia wana ake pūkenga, tēnā tukuna. Ko tāku noa, ko te tautoko. Engari, tērā pea, i roto i koina ahau i arotake i aku mahi, um, tēnei mea te tuku, i runga anō i te mōhio, kei a ia, māna tonu wāna mahi e whakarite, kia kua e riro i ahau ngā mahi whakarite katoa mō te hui tōpū, mō te aha, mō te aha, mō te aha. Nō reira, ērā o ngā momo āhuatanga o tēnei mea te pouārahi reo, ētahi wā he taumaha rawa. Tatai ana ahau me pēhea te tuku, nō reira, kua pai ngā mahi ināiane i.

The point above also highlights a few things. Firstly, *pouārahi* are cognisant of the fact that *kaiako* of Te Ataarangi are expected to teach in a manner that is considered *ngākau māhaki*, or good willed (see Browne, 2005; Pohe, 2012). Because of this, they were sometimes hesitant to be too directive about re-allocating tasks to *whānau*. However, in order for *pouārahi* to manage their workload effectively, they needed to learn to delegate some of the task management to their students.

Pouārahi also indicated that they received helpful resources from Te Ataarangi to assist their classes. However, in some instances, pouārahi proffered to personalise some of the resources, making them more *iwi* specific or relevant to their learners.

M3: “Kua homai e Te Ataarangi ngā pukapuka, um, engari, i roto i te āhuatanga o tō mātou kaupapa whakaako, i hoatu hei rauemi noa mō rātou engari, anei kē o mātou nei mahi hei kōkiri atu. Engari ka tūwhera atu ērā pukapuka, ērā mahi, kātahi ka purei i ngā kēmu, i ngā kāri, kua haria e ngā whānau ki ō rātou kāinga, whakangūngū ngā tamariki ki reira. He kēmu, ētahi kāri kōrero mō te whakatakoto rākau, ērā kēmu ā tīnana e taria ana te whakamahi i ngā tamariki, ngā mātua. Nā reira, ko aua rauemi katoa, kua tohaina atu. Me te wero atu ki a rātou, he aha ētahi mahi hei waihanga mā tātou ake. Ā tātou kupu ake.”

Although a number of *pouārahi reo* were able to travel to the homes of participants, others were unable to do so for a number of legitimate reasons. Some *whānau* were uncomfortable with hosting the *pouārahi reo* due to their limited financial resources. For other *pouārahi reo*, particularly in smaller communities, it

was seen as unusual to enter into others' homes, especially when the purpose of the visit was to instruct them on how to change the norms (or language *tikanga*) of their home. Male *pouārahi reo* also found it uncomfortable, or inappropriate to enter into the homes of their *whānau* participants, as they were also aware of gender roles between *whānau* participants (the majority of whom are female) and themselves as male.

M3: “E kōrero pono ana ahau, i ahau e tipu ake ana, koina kē te tohutohu o tōku kuia kia kaua koe e haere ki tērā whare ki tērā whāre, you know, tērā āhua. He uaua mōku. [Kua tutuki tikanga] especially o konei, koina anō tāku, kōrero pono ana ahau te wā e tono mai e haere i roto i ngā kāinga, meanga atu, “ooh..”, nō te mea, kāore mātou o konei e tipu pērā ana. E taea ana te haere ki ngā whare, engari me tono te tangata i te tuatahi. Me te mea anō, ka noho puku, nō te mea ko āna tikanga, ka ū tono ki tōna ake. Engari ka kuhu ki runga o te marae, kei te mōhio au ngā tikanga marae, me ērā tāngata e whakaae ana ki ērā tikanga marae. Ki reira anō, ka āta takoto ana i ngā painga, i ngā pukenga kei a koe, kei a wai rānei, kei reira tōpū katoa.”

For smaller communities, particularly in the far North, the distances that *pouārahi reo* would need to travel to reach the homes of each of the *whānau* were too vast. Having *whānau hui* in the centre was preferred. In many instances, *whānau hui* would occur on *marae*, or within educational centres, such as *kōhanga reo* or *kura kaupapa*.

M4: He āhua rerekē, āhua rerekē aku whānau inā kei te noho hapori noa mātou, um kotahi noa iho, kotahi noa iho te marae, kotahi noa iho te kura, he hapori āhua iti mātou. E kore hoki au e haere ki te tūtaki i ngā whānau i te mea kei roto katoa ngā mokopuna o ngā whānau i te kōhanga reo, kei reira au e mahi ana. So ia rā ka tae mai ētahi o ngā whānau. Kō reira au e tūtaki i ngā whānau, patapātai inā pēhea ana koutou? Pēhea ana te reo i roto i te kāinga?

M3: Oh, katoa, katoa kei runga i te marae, ko aku whānau nō roto mai i tētahi hapori.

As outlined below, *pouārahi reo* do not expect *whānau* participants to provide an explanation for why they prefer them not to enter their homes; instead they seek solutions to find alternative ways to give individual feedback.

P10: Kāore au e haere ki ngā kāinga o ngā whānau nā runga i a rātou tono, ā, kia haere tahi ai rā ki te kura mō te hui whānau. [...] Ka whai i o rātou hiahiatanga. Kāore au i te pātai he aha te take e kore rātou e hiahia kia uru au ki roto i o rātou kāinga, engari ka waiho. Koinā ā rātou tono, ā, kia haere tahi te katoa ki te kura haria ngā tamariki ki reira, kei reira te hui whānau.

Theme 3: Subtheme 2: Challenges for whānau as outlined by pouārahi

Changing the language behaviours of the participants in this study was a challenge that *pouārahi reo* faced. As outlined in the excerpt below, in a number of regions, the difficulty was changing the language behaviours of parents, rather than their children, in the home. For a number of *pouārahi reo*, they had observed that the language skills of some parents was at a conversational level, yet they chose not to use the language. Instead, the children were highlighted as the active language users. These points are outlined below.

P10: Mō ngā mātua mā, ētahi o rātou he uaua kia mau ki te reo Māori i te kāinga, koia, ngā mea i roto i te kura.

P7: Ahakoa te pai o te reo.

Awanui: Ohh, nō reira kua pai te reo?

P7: Kua pai te reo o ētahi, engari kua haere atu au ... tae atu ahau ki te whare, kei reira te reo Pākehā. Arā, ka kuhu au ki te whare nei kei te kōrero Pākehā mai.

Awanui: Atu ki a koe?

P7: Mmm hmm ... kātahi ka huri atu ki te reo Pākehā, ka ū taku kōrero. Ka kōrero au te reo Māori kātahi ka huri. Nā te mea ki a rātou ka pai kē atu ka tere kē atu te whakautu aku pātai inā kei reira te reo Pākehā. Heoi anō, ka ngana au ki te kōrero Māori [...]. Kua ahau e tohutohu

ki tō rātou ake whare. Ko wai ahau te kī atu, kōrero Māori, kōrero Māori mai. Engari ka kuhu mai ngā tamariki ka kōrero Māori, ka kōrero Māori mai ngā tamariki. Ka noho ahau ki te whare kei reira, "oh kia ora Whaea [ingoa] ... lalalala" nā te mea kua waia kē engari ka huri atu ki a māmā, pāpā rānei kei te kōrero Pākehā.

As demonstrated in the last section of this excerpt, *pouārahi reo* were also aware that they were manuwhiri when they visited the participants' homes, and indicated that they needed to take great care when providing guidance and instruction about changing language behaviours of parents. One strategy that they applied was by role modelling the positive Māori language behaviour with children to demonstrate their point.

The point that some children rather than their parents act as the main speakers of te reo Māori in their homes is demonstrated in the following quote.

M4: Mehemea i a au te tikanga ka tohu au mā ngā tamariki ... ko ngā tamariki te Poureo.

All: [Laughter]

P9: Āe, kei te tika.

M4: [inaudible] i te mea ko ngā tamariki kē ngā mea e kōrero Māori ana i ngā wā katoa, ehara i ngā wā katoa but te nuinga o te wā ko ngā tamariki. Mehemea i a au te tikanga ka tohu kei a rātou te poureo, i te mea ko māmā rāua ko pāpā kē e ako ana.

A reason provided for why children, rather than their parents, make more effective *poureo* was due to fact that parents had already established English language norms in the home, and therefore it is difficult to change these language behaviours, especially by someone who does not reside in the home.

P7: Heoi anō, ko te kuhu atu ki tō rātou whare, nō rātou anō te whare nō reira, ko te reo e whakaaro ana ko te reo Pākehā nō reira he uaua tērā te huri ki te reo Māori mēnā kua tō kē te reo Pākehā. Nō reira, i a ia e mahi ana ko te whakaaro Pākehā kei te whakararu i tō rātou reo.

One of the reasons why it is difficult for *whānau* to maintain their language use in the home is that only one parent takes part in the programme. This is usually the mother, as expressed below.

P7: Ko te uaua ... kei te kōrero mō aku whānau ko te nuinga o aku whānau, he māmā me ana tamariki. Nō reira, ko māmā te mea ka kōkiri tēnei kaupapa engari ko te raru inā ko ia anake te pakeke i te whare ko wai kei te tautoko i a ia? Ko tērā, he mokemoke tērā momo tū.

P10: Ko te hunga wahine te mea kaha i te nuinga o ngā mahi ... ki te kōrero.

While mothers were the most consistent member of the *whānau* to attend Te Kura Whānau Reo, there were regional variations. For instance, in Northland (Te Kāo), men were active participants in the programme.

M4: He rerekē i te Kao, he kaha ake ngā tāne ki te haere mai ki ngā kura i te mea kei tā rātou, oh I don't need to tiaki tamariki i tēnei pō.

In instances where both mothers and fathers were active participants in the programme, this tended to have the most effective outcomes for creating language shifts.

P7: Ko ētahi he kaupapa kē. Ko tētahi o aku whānau ko te māmā me te pāpā, te tāne me te wahine. Tautoko rāua i a rāua, koirā te rawe o tēnei. [...] Ako tahi rāua, kōrero tahi rāua, kei te ako tonu rāua tahi engari kei reira tērā momo tautoko, nō reira kua kaha tēnei whānau. Engari ko ētahi anō kāre i reira te kaha, te tautoko, nō reira ka waiho mā te māmā anō tērā e ārahi, e kōkiri. Nō reira, me kaha ahau ki te tautoko i tērā momo hunga.

Theme 4: Programme support and challenges

This theme discusses ways in which *pouārahi reo* could be supported to continue to provide the range of services that they currently do in a way that is sustainable over the long-term. Ways in which *pouārahi reo* were supported included the *Hui Whakangūngū* which provided them with an opportunity to share their experiences as *pouārahi reo* with other professionals in the role. An area that *pouārahi reo* were learning more about during this pilot programme was how to teach a diverse

range of students (including ages, genders, and language proficiency levels) concurrently. These *Hui Whakangūngū* allowed *pouārahi reo* with the opportunity to express challenges that they faced and gain support. One of the additional issues raised during interviews with *pouārahi reo* was the fact that the remuneration that they received for their role did not reflect the amount of work that was required. There was an indication that in some cases, the role of *pouārahi reo* needed to be made into a full-time position. A final point raised in this section was the level of reporting that was required of *pouārahi reo*, and Te Ataarangi to the Ministry of Education. These factors are outlined in more detail below.

Pouārahi indicated that they needed to be supported in their roles as *pouārahi reo*, and one of the most essential forms of support had come through the *Hui Whakangūngū* which ran four times per year over a weekend. These *hui* were run by the programme designers at Te Ataarangi.

P22: Ki ahau nei ko tētahi o ngā tino mahi tautoko ko ēnei momo wānanga [hui whakangūngū]. Kua mārama ki te take o ēnei wānanga kia whai mātou te kōrero, te whakaputa i ngā kōrero ... he rongoā tērā mō ētahi, he rongoā nui ... koina tētahi o ngā tino mahi tautoko i ahau i roto i ngā mahi.

Pouārahi were also learning how to teach in a different style from their usual classes. The classes across regions are all diverse, with diverse learning needs. *Pouārahi* were needing to adapt their teaching methods to accommodate the various learner levels across their student groups.

P7: Kei te ako hoki mātou i tēnei āhuetanga, i te whakaako i te whānau. Kei te pai kē te whakaako pakeke, he rawe tērā, engari mō te whānau me ngā tamariki. I te mea kei reira ngā tamariki, kei reira a pāpā a māmā, kei reira a nan ...

It was essential that *pouārahi reo* received training and support in their roles as the programme is still in its infancy. Training was seen as important as it assisted *pouārahi reo* to achieve the vast range of goals that were set by the programme designers.

P25: Kei te whakapakari i a tātou anō i roto i tēnei kaupapa hou, he ākongā tātou o mua rā, kua haere ki tērā taha o te tēpu, he kaiwhakaako, nāianeī he rerekē tō mātou nei tū. Nē, ko te whakakōrero me te hāngai atu ki ngā reanga. Ki tā Te Ataarangi ko te whakaako ko te pakeke engari ko tēnei kaupapa ko ngā reanga katoa ... te *whānau*. He pīki piki ... he pīki peke.

Pouārahi often relied on other *pouārahi reo* to provide them with guidance about how to best approach the role.

P24: Ko ēnei hui [whakangūngū] ko te wawata kia tae māua nā te mea kāore anō māua ... ka tīmata māua ka noho ana māua i roto i te, me kī, te pōuritanga pea (laughter). I tēnei wā koinei ngā hui um mō māua hei whakapakari i a māua, ā, [...] kia tae māua ko ērā hui hei ako tonu i a māua. Āe, so i tēnei wā ko ēnei o ngā hui ko te noho i te taha o ngā mea mārama i te kaupapa ki whakarongo i ō rātou kōrero i te mea he rahi ngā kōrero kei roto i a rātou ... kei roto i a rātou hei āwhina i a māua.

Pouārahi agreed that the programme needed to run for longer than three years in order to see sustainable language outcomes. However, they also indicated that it might be worthwhile switching *pouārahi reo* on a three yearly basis in order to provide *whānau* with a different set of experiences from varying *pouārahi reo*. Furthermore, *pouārahi reo* who did not intend on remaining as *pouārahi reo* indefinitely could transition out of the role during the time of transfer.

One of the issues that *pouārahi reo* raised was the fact that the remuneration that they received did not match the amount of work that was required. The participant quote below highlights how they exerted effort and energy to achieve positive outcomes for the *whānau* who they were working with; however, this was not made up for in the pay that they received.

P22: Kāore i te eke [te pūtea ka whakawhiwhia mō te mahi], nō reira, kua kōrero kē mō ngā āhuatanga te whakautu i ngā pātai. Kei aua kōrero ka kite kāore e rite ana te mahi me te pūtea. Kei raro e puta ana engari nā runga anō i a tātou motivators kia mahi ēnei mahi ka mau tonu ki te

kaupapa nei. Koina tētahi āhuatanga me tirohia anōtia ki te taha pūtea kia eke. [...] Ka whakapau ngoi, ka whakapau whakaaro, ka whakapau kaha kia tutuki, kia noho tūwhera te ngākau ... ērā momo āhuatanga. Koina tētahi āhuatanga me tirohia anōtia. Me haere tonu tēnei kaupapa ahakoa ngā piki me ngā heke i te mea kei te ako tonu tātou katoa i ngā āhuatanga hou. Ko te momo tautoko ... tautoko mai ā pūtea kia rite, kia eke. He mahi whakahirahira tēnei mahi, tēnei mea te whakarauora reo ehara i te mahi māmā.

In order to accomplish some of the duties that are expected of the *pouārahi reo* role, some individuals suggested that the role of *pouārahi reo* be made a full-time position. While this was not a comment shared by all, for some *pouārahi reo*, they needed to seek employment elsewhere to cover their financial short-comings. Allowing *pouārahi reo* the opportunity to be employed in the role full-time would be beneficial in a number of regions.

P22: Ko ngā hāora e tika ana ko te wā kikī. Rite ana ki ngā tāngata e mahi wā kikī. Nō reira, ahakoa te kirimana mō te e hia kē nei ngā hāora, kāo ko ngā wā ka whakapau kaha, ka whai whakaaro, rite ki te tangata e mahi wā kikī ana. Nō reira, kei te mahi tēnei kirimana me tō mahi ake. Ko ētahi o mātou he mahi anō i te mea kāre eke tēnei.

M5: Mēnā he wā kikī ka noho mai hei tūranga matua tēnei kua wātea taku wātaka, ā, koia.

One of the responsibilities that created a lot of work on top of their *pouārahi reo* responsibilities was the reporting of project outcomes back to the Te Ataarangi head office, which were required by the Ministry. The reporting was identified as a major contributor to the workload of both *pouārahi reo* and the programme administrators.

As previously mentioned, *pouārahi reo* were also expected to customise a range of course materials for a variety of learner levels and age groups. Furthermore, as *pouārahi reo* teach the same cohort each year, they were not able to recycle their lesson plans, which meant that they were constantly updating their resources. A solution for coping with these additional tasks could be to include support from a

kaiāwhina who may be able to support the *pouārahi reo* with these additional jobs, particularly given that the role of *pouārahi reo* is only part-time.

All: Tuhi pūrongo, kai whakarite akomanga, kimi akomanga.

P24: Kia mōhio mai koe e hia te roa e ... e hia tō roa e noho ana ki te āwhina i ngā whānau kia āta eke rātou ki te taumata e taea ai rātou te whakahaere ēnei momo kaupapa. Ka mōhio ai koe kāre e taea ai te rima ... te rima tau ... nē? Kia tū pakari rā anō ngā whānau e mōhio ai rātou kei te angitū tā rātou tū ka taea ai e rātou te kawē i te kaupapa. Ki te kore e pērā ka pēnei ... ka matakū.

Furthermore, an assistant would be useful in allowing *pouārahi reo* with the time to give attention to each *whānau*. This was difficult in situations where the language abilities of members of the class were substantially lower than the average language level of the cohort.

P10: Pai kia noho tētahi hei kaiāwhina māku ētehi tāima nā te mea ki te hui tōpū, whānau ... hui tōpū, hui whānau me ngā mahi ia wiki, kei roto i tōku nei rōpū he mea pōturi. Atu ki ēnā mahi ka whakarite wā anō ahau ki tōku whare mō ngā mea pōturi hei āwhina i a rātou kia piki ki te taumata o ngā mea āhua kakama. Mehemea he kaiāwhina, ana ka tukuna atu tērā ki te taha o ngā mea pōturi ka mahi au i te taha o ngā mea āhua kakama ana hei āwhina i roto i te wā o te kura. Atu i tērā, ka whakarite wā anō ahau i tōku kāinga mō ngā mea pōturi hei āwhina i a rātou kia piki ki te taumata, kia kore e noho ki muri.

Overall Discussion

The findings of this report detail an initiative that has greatly benefited the communities that it has set out to assist through the provision of Māori language learning. Specifically, this programme has provided a range of services, including *kura pō*, *hui tōpū*, and home visits to assist *whānau* who would like to improve their Māori language skills. A wide range of positive social, educational, linguistic, and cultural outcomes have occurred subsequent to the decision of *whānau* to engage in the programme. Some of the implications and applications of the findings from this report are detailed in the following overview.

Findings from this study demonstrated that as *whānau* gained more Māori language skills, *whānau* were enabled and empowered to participate more fully in the lives of their children, particularly when their children were enrolled in Māori medium education. As outlined in the introduction section of this report, supporting parents whose children were enrolled in Māori medium education was a core aim of Te Kura Whānau Reo, and the results indicate that this goal has been successfully achieved. As parents became more confident in their own language skills, they were more likely to seek enrolment of their child with an education provider who used te reo Māori more frequently. For instance, parents with greater Māori language skills were more likely to want their children to enrol in *rumaki* classes (or classes where 80% or more of instruction was in te reo Māori). These findings indicate that the types of education providers that some parents seek for their children are partly limited to their own ability to care for the linguistic needs of their children. If parents are unable to support their children's Māori linguistic development, they may feel less able or feel less entitled to enrol their children into schools (or units within schools) where Māori language is taught. This is particularly so when the language level taught is at a level greater than the level of proficiency achieved by the parent. This finding could have implications for understanding the choices that some parents make to not enrol their children in Māori medium education at levels higher than early childhood education (i.e. *kōhanga reo*, *puna reo*).

The reasons for why some parents choose not to enrol their children in Māori medium education are likely to be compounded by the Māori language expectations placed upon them by Māori medium education providers. This policy appeared to

have a two-pronged outcome. On the one hand, the policy that required parents to learn te reo Māori in order for their children to be entitled to enrol in *kura* had the outcome of motivating parents in this study to learn. This was a major factor that influenced motivation to learn te reo Māori. Requiring parents to learn te reo Māori in order to allow their children to be enrolled in Māori medium education provided parents with a sense of urgency for learning te reo Māori (often observed in situations where there is an instrumental motivation for learners of second languages of global languages, which is based on employment opportunities, or travel (see Noels, (2001))). The second way that this policy influenced parents' language motivation was due to the fact that they were supporting their children (consistent with 'good parenting'). Finally, parents were motivated to learn their heritage language (or the heritage language of their child for non-Māori parents). The benefits that occurred for parents who enrolled their children in Māori medium education, and subsequently learned more Māori themselves, were substantial both culturally and socially. However, it must be noted that parents who do not have Māori language skills and who do not have the support of programmes such as Te Kura Whānau Reo are far more vulnerable than those who have such support.

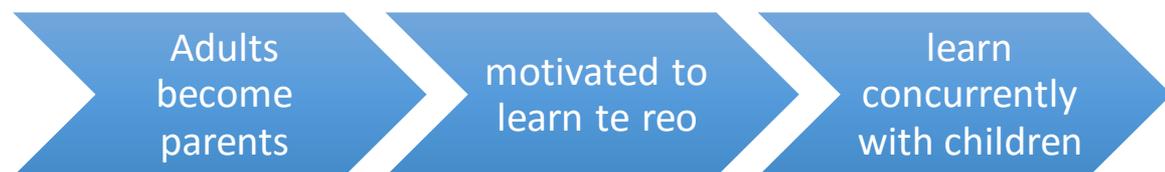
From the perspective of *kura*, children who are not speaking te reo Māori at home are put at a greater disadvantage than those children who are able to rely on a Māori speaking parent in the home. Parents with fewer Māori language skills are less likely to be able to support their children with homework, or school based tasks where te reo Māori is a medium, which is likely to be detrimental for some children's learning. It is perhaps for these reasons that *kura* demand that parents engage in some form of Māori language learning. However, for this to be achievable, programmes such as Te Kura Whānau Reo must be adequately supported and resourced to continue to provide their services.

One of the major findings of this study was the importance of *whānau* connectedness for educational outcomes. These were found across data sets, both quantitative and qualitative. This study demonstrated that when *whānau* share a common goal, and part of achieving the goal is an increased level of verbal communication, there are positive outcomes for the wellbeing of the *whānau*, and subsequently, the perceived educational achievements. Through programmes such as Te Kura Whānau Reo, *whānau* are encouraged to spend more time with one another.

Activities that centre on the *whānau* also encapsulate values that are shared by their new community (Te Kura Whānau Reo). When *whānau* engage in positive *whānau*-based activities (such as speaking together about education), they are positively reinforced for the behaviour from their wider community during class or by the *pouārahi reo* during home visits. Positive reinforcement (through praise) is likely to enhance the motivation to continue to engage in behaviours that are positively regarded by their community. This finding emphasises the benefits that are achieved by programmes that are informed by Māori cultural values, and that have these values affirmed by a wider support system (the new language community).

One of the difficulties that was highlighted by this programme is a dilemma for the intergenerational transmission of Māori language from parents to children. Parents in this study tended to see urgency in learning te reo Māori only after their child was born, or subsequently to their child/children being enrolled in Māori medium education, which required them to use te reo Māori (outlined in Figure 8).

Figure 8. Motivation process of Māori-language learning parents



One of the difficulties with this model of language motivation is that parents are having to learn te reo Māori at the same time as their children, which may result in a few challenging outcomes. Firstly, the child may be limited in their exposure of te reo Māori due to the language abilities of their parents, which may be equivalent to their own Māori language abilities. This means that parents are less able to improve the incorrect language use of their child, and therefore, are less able to extend their child's Māori language abilities through the use of more complex language structures or vocabulary. Secondly, there is a possibility that when parents and their children are learning concurrently, the child supersedes the parents' level of Māori language acquisition. The child, therefore, becomes responsible for being the language expert in the home, which is an unusual arrangement, particularly in households that prefer the parents to be in control of social interactions and behaviours. Finally, a challenge

for parents in this study was re-establishing te reo Māori as a language in the home after the English language had become normalised.

A solution for this dilemma raised in Figure 8. would be to provide programmes similar to Te Kura Whānau Reo to those aspiring to become parents in the near future. Providing language support to soon-to-be-parents would allow parents to learn some of the language skills that are needed prior to the arrival of the child, equipping the parent with the tools needed to create a Māori language speaking environment in advance. However, a difficulty with this suggestion is that the urgency to learn te reo Māori may not be as pressing to soon-to-be-parents, as it is for parents who already have children, particularly those who are enrolled in Māori medium education. Furthermore, soon-to-be-parents are less likely to understand the types of linguistic challenges that may arise once the child is born; for instance, the language created in classroom learning contexts would be hypothetical until the first child is born.

A further recommendation for the Kura Whānau Reo programme is to create a layered approach to those who are accepted into the programme. It appeared that one of the ultimate challenges for some *whānau*, after they had gained intermediate levels of language proficiency, was the fact that they needed to normalise the use of te reo Māori in the home. A way that the programme could develop could be to accept already proficient speakers of te reo Māori into a second group within the programme, with the understanding that the main goal would be to assist the *whānau* to re-normalise the use of te reo Māori in the home. While there are many benefits to assisting *whānau* with limited Māori language skills into a programme such as Te Kura Whānau Reo, it may also be helpful for the revitalisation of te reo Māori to re-invigorate and normalise the use of te reo Māori by those who are already familiar with it, but have not chosen to instate te reo Māori as a normal language of communication in the home. Borrowing from Higgins and Rewi (2014), in their Zero-Passive-Active (ZePA) model which attempts to explain the processes that may shift individuals from not using the language, to becoming active speakers of te reo Māori, a programme that supports *whānau* who are passive users of te reo Māori to become active users would be of great benefit. Furthermore, as individuals who are already familiar with te reo Māori may require less language instruction than introductory

level learners, they may need fewer resources than learners with fewer language skills.

An additional factor that is likely to support the use of te reo Māori in the home is the requirement (or strong suggestion) of both parents in the home⁷⁶ (as opposed to one parent) to participate. It was clear that in instances where both parents attended Te Kura Whānau Reo, it was easier to normalise the use of te reo Māori in the home. A difficulty for parents in this study was that the majority of parents enrolled in Te Kura Whānau Reo were mothers, and were the sole Māori language speaking parent in the home. Furthermore, the main people individuals in this study reported speaking with were their children, to a much greater degree than with their partners. This finding indicates that in many instances Māori language behaviours are not being modelled between parents in the home. Children may begin to view te reo Māori as a language that is not used by adults, and therefore, view the Māori language as something that a person grows out of as they mature. Additional attention must be given to investigate how to change the Māori language behaviours (and intentions to learn) of fathers. When fathers are enabled to become more involved with the Māori language planning in the home, this is likely to create greater language shifts than in homes where fathers are resistant or apathetic to Māori language use.

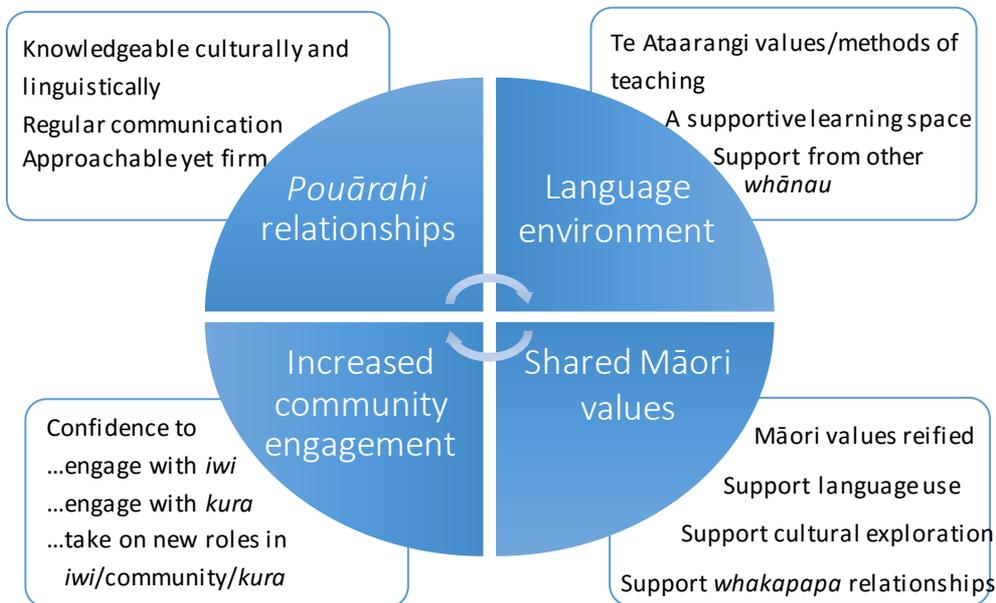
An additional gender observation from this study was that males, particularly in the qualitative section of this report, tended to be more focused on creating home environments that were underpinned on Māori cultural values. While this is positive, males tended to be less focused on the Māori language outcomes of their children. As there were so few males who participated in this study, these results cannot be generalised to the wider public. However, they do provide an insight into why some males, as opposed to mothers, may not be overly focused on improving their children's Māori linguistic outcomes, and therefore, may not see a pressing need to improve their own language capabilities. This observation could be explored in future research.

⁷⁶ Clearly, in one-parent homes, this would not be suggested. The issue is more related to having a non-compliant/committed parent in the home who may inadvertently (or in some cases, actively) contribute to developing an environment where speaking the Māori language is not encouraged.

Components that supported the outcomes of Te Kura Whānau Reo

Factors that support the running of this programme are numerous. However, a few factors are outlined below in Figure 9 and include the relationships that *whānau* have with *pouārahi reo*; the language environment that is created within the programme; the fact that the programme is underpinned by Māori values; and the way in which the programme supports *whānau* to become more engaged in their community/*iwi/kura*.

Figure 9. Factors supporting the outcomes of Te Kura Whānau Reo from the perspectives of whanau



The relationships that were established with *pouārahi reo* were possibly one of the central components that contributed to why *whānau* engaged with the programme, and maintained their engagement over the three-year period. As the programme is not one that motivates its participation by the provision of a qualification on completion, motivation to continue engaging with the programme is derived from the tangible benefits that they receive.

The language environment was a second key component which supported *whānau* in this programme. The language norms and behaviours that were established in *kura pō* tended to resonate well with *whānau*. Particularly for introductory-intermediate level learners of te reo Māori, learning without fear or anxiety of being

reprimanded for incorrect use of te reo Māori by their peers and educators was important for target language learner outcomes.

The third component that supported this programme and its retention of *whānau* was that the programme was affirming of Māori cultural values. Participants in this programme were encouraged to view Māori cultural values, such as the centrality of *whānau* connectedness, the importance of *whakapapa* relationships and the use of te reo Māori as of fundamental importance. When *whānau* demonstrated their application of Māori cultural values in positive ways, these behaviours were then positively reinforced by their social support system, which in many cases were those who were involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo.

The final component contributing to the benefits of Te Kura Whānau Reo was the confidence that it provided *whānau* with to take on more roles and responsibilities within their communities and *iwi*. In many instances, participation in this programme provided *whānau* with the *taituarā*⁷⁷ (including support from *pouārahi*, other *whānau* members and, in many cases, increased support within their *whakapapa* relationships) that was necessary to feel confident enough to take on new roles. As with other cultures that prioritise the concept of relational selves (for instance, a self-concept that relies on a series of relationships with significant others (Brewer and Chen, 2007)), in many instances it is not culturally preferred to pronounce one's own sense of worth to their community. Instead, many Māori prefer to have their positive qualities affirmed by the wider community (as outlined in culturally mandated proverbial sayings such as *e kore te kūmara e kōrero mō tōna ake reka*, and *waiho mā te tangata koe e mihi*).⁷⁸ Participating in Te Kura Whānau Reo provided *whānau* with a community who were able to identify their positive qualities, whereby the individual was free to be of use to the community. Participating more in *iwi/community/kura* events allowed individuals to create reciprocal relationships with their *iwi*, which had the impact of increasing individuals' feelings of self-worth.

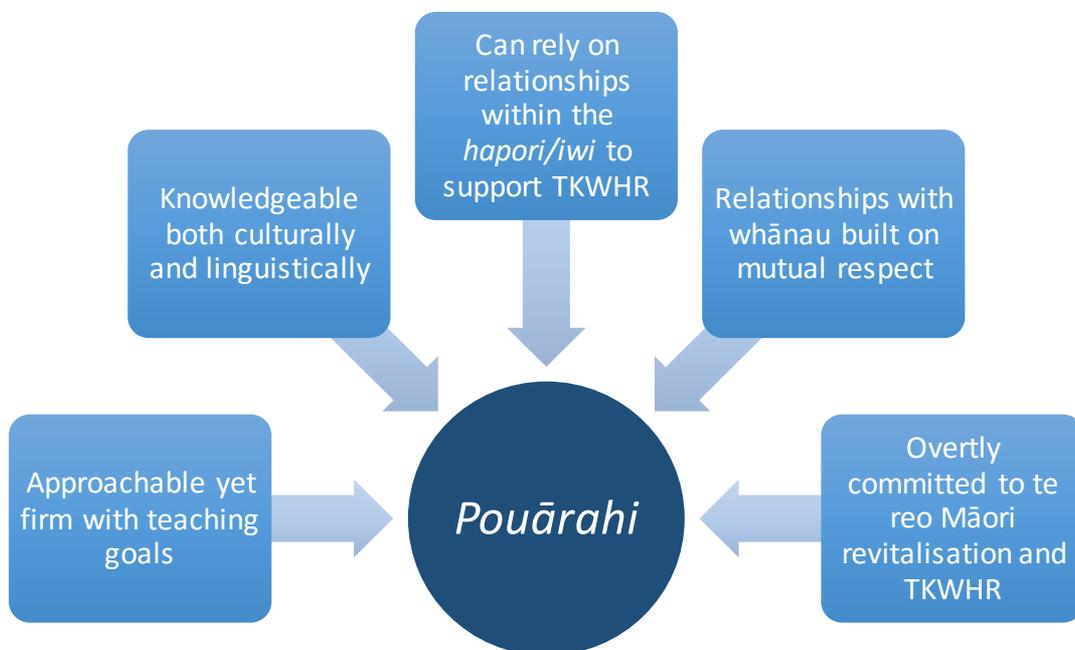
⁷⁷ In this context, *taituarā* is used to refer to the individual's social, cultural and linguistic support system.

⁷⁸ "The kūmara does not speak of its own sweetness," and, "Leave it for others to grant praise".

Qualities of the pouārahi reo:

As highlighted multiple times in this report, *pouārahi reo* were essential to the running of this programme. Figure 10 below outlines some of the central components that contributed to an effective *pouārahi reo*. These included their style of approaching *whānau*, which was approachable yet firm; their cultural and linguistic knowledge; the pre-established relationships that *pouārahi reo* have within their *hapori* (urban centres) and *iwi* (rural centres); the fact that relationships with *whānau* were built on mutual respect; and finally, the commitment that *pouārahi reo* had to improving the goal of Māori language revitalisation.

Figure 10: Factors contributing to the effectiveness of *pouārahi reo*



Parents in this study came into Te Kura Whānau Reo having had a range of previous experiences with education. Some parents held PhD level qualifications, while others had not engaged with higher education to the level of a bachelor's degree. In order to create a positive learning experience for learners across the board, *pouārahi reo* needed to provide a learning space that accounted for these differences in experiences. A key quality that was highlighted by parents in this study was that *pouārahi reo* were *ngāwari*: they could be approached with a range of linguistic and cultural issues, but also held learners accountable for their learning. This is consistent with Te Ataarangi principles of teachers being *ngākau māhaki* whereby educators are expected to be kind-natured in their language instruction (Pohe, 2012).

Whānau in this study varied in the extent to which they were able to rely on others for cultural and linguistic support from their *whakapapa whānau*. Therefore, in many instances, the *pouārahi reo* became a central person who supported the cultural wellbeing of *whānau*. Providing *whānau* with advice on *tikanga* in both *ōpaki*⁷⁹ and *ōkawa*⁸⁰ situations was a role that *pouārahi reo* undertook. This was highly beneficial for *whānau* in the fact that they could engage in unfamiliar situations with the understanding that they could rely on their *taituarā* or *pouārahi reo* for support.

As outlined in the introduction section of this report, *pouārahi* were appointed to their roles partly based on the pre-established relationships that they had within their *iwi/hapori*. These relationships meant that *whānau* also gained access to the expertise of others within their *iwi/hapori*, which increased their net of relationships that *whānau* had access to. Furthermore, these relationships provided additional authenticity to the programme, by gifting participants (*whānau*) access to cultural and linguistic knowledge that was held only by particular *iwi/hapori* members.

The relationships that *whānau* and *pouārahi reo* developed significantly contributed to the motivation that individuals had for improving their language achievements. For instance, individuals were more likely to be motivated to achieve their language goals as a means of reciprocating the effort that *pouārahi reo* had invested in the learner. The nature of reciprocity, or *utu* is a cultural concept that has also been recognised in other language studies (see Rātima, 2013; Te Huia, 2015 a). When *whānau* feel that their *pouārahi reo* has invested personally into the language outcomes of their *whānau*, they were more likely to continue engaging in the programme, and in some cases, push themselves to exceed the expectations that the *pouārahi reo* had of them.

Finally, *pouārahi reo* were also appointed to their roles due to their commitment to the revitalisation of te reo Māori. *Pouārahi* role modelled the value that they saw in te reo Māori. Furthermore, *pouārahi reo* reported that they *believed* that the programme, Te Kura Whānau Reo, was one that would significantly improve

⁷⁹ Informal.

⁸⁰ Formal.

the language outcomes of *whānau* in their community. These factors combined provide some of the qualities that were demonstrated by *pouārahi reo*.

From the *pouārahi reo* perspectives, the support that they received during the *Hui Whakangūngū* from Te Ataarangi was useful. These *wānanga* provided *pouārahi reo* with opportunities to share their teaching experiences with other professionals, and work together to find solutions for the challenges that they may have been experiencing. Furthermore, the *Hui Whakangūngū* allowed participants with the opportunity to communicate directly with Te Ataarangi, which was positive for conveying challenges. The *Hui Whakangūngū* also provided *pouārahi* with a time where they were provided with resources and tools that supported them in their respective roles.

One of the factors that would help support *pouārahi reo* and perhaps administrators from Te Ataarangi was the level of reporting that was expected of them from The Ministry of Education. The reporting seemed to be a factor that appeared to use a lot of resources, particularly from *pouārahi reo* who already were managing high workloads. Further negotiation between The Ministry of Education and Te Ataarangi about how to most efficiently report back on project outcomes is recommended.

It was outside of the scope of this evaluation to know the financial details of what *pouārahi reo* were paid for their services, or how the founding for the programme was managed. However, *pouārahi reo* indicated that the hours worked and the pay that they received were not equitable. Given their knowledge base and the vast range of responsibilities that *pouārahi reo* are expected to take on, it is recommended that the programme re-evaluate the remuneration that *pouārahi reo* receive for their contribution to the programme. The Statistics New Zealand General Social Survey (2009), involving 8,000 respondents, indicated that Māori were more likely than any other ethnic group in the study to take on unpaid work. These statistics may be applied in this study to indicate that in some instances, *pouārahi reo* are taking on additional unpaid hours as it may be considered a cultural norm to do so. Furthermore, given that *pouārahi reo* are overtly committed to te reo Māori revitalisation, the relationships that they have with the programme designers from Te Ataarangi, and the relationships that they have formed with *whānau* in their respective

programmes, it is unlikely that they would refuse to work unpaid hours. While these behaviours mean that the programme is able to provide more support for *whānau* than is paid for, it also means that in some instances, *pouārahi reo* may become ‘burnt out’ which may result in them discontinuing their services over the long-term. *Pouārahi* who are not appropriately remunerated also need to seek additional supplementary employment to ensure that they receive a full-time income. This means that these *pouārahi reo* are unable to give their total attention to developing the programme to the extent that they may wish and are capable of providing.

Limitations:

There are several limitations to this study. Due to time and funding restrictions, it was not possible to collect qualitative data from each of the regions. This meant that as researchers, we relied on the quantitative surveys to inform us about the experiences of some *whānau* across the regions, which were not interviewed. While it would have been useful to document a wider range of experiences, it would have been very difficult to include more qualitative data into the report than was already incorporated.

In terms of methodology, it may have been useful for researchers to receive the quantitative data prior to interviewing participants. This would have allowed us with an opportunity to explore some of the quantitative findings further through the qualitative focus group interviews. However, this was not the case, and the final sets of surveys were only received after all qualitative data collection had taken place.

An additional area that could have been useful to explore would have been the perspective of the Ministry of Education, and the administrators of Te Ataarangi. Having interviews with both these groups may have provided a broader picture about the programme design and development. Furthermore, the interviews were largely restricted to parents in the programme. Had time allowed and ethics approval granted, experienced personnel could have been appointed to include the experiences of children in the study. At present, the perspectives of children were told from the viewpoint of their parents.

It may have also been useful to capture the views of some of the *kura* where children attended to assess whether the teachers had observed a shift in language use,

or academic behaviours in the children. Ethical restrictions also meant that it was not possible to gain actual educational achievement data, so researchers in this study needed to rely on the parents' opinions of the child's academic performances. In the future, it might be useful to seek permission, without pressuring parents or children in the study, to allow the programme to collect aggregated achievement data (i.e data that is not attributed to a particular child, but provides the programme designers with a set of general information about student achievement). Connecting this student achievement data with the progress that parents and children make in Te Kura Whānau Reo may provide further evidence to support the educational impacts that the programme makes.

In conclusion, this programme contributes to the wellbeing of *whānau* and their communities in a number of ways, which have been highlighted throughout the report. For te reo Māori to become a normal means of communication in our homes, it is of central importance that programmes such as Te Kura Whānau Reo continue to be funded and recognised for the unique contribution they make to the goal of Māori language revitalisation.

Recommendations

Recommendations to whānau

1. Continue to use education as a topic of conversation when code-switching;
2. Consider ways to include both parents in the journey of Māori language learning;
3. Continue to introduce repetitive language tasks throughout varying domains in the home;
4. Continue to engage in culturally unfamiliar tasks that may have a positive impact on cultural engagement;
5. Consider relying on the Kura Whānau Reo language community for linguistic support, and gathering in public spaces to normalise the use of te reo Māori in public spaces;
6. Continue to engage with *kura*; and
7. Soon-to-be parents, consider learning te reo Māori and establishing Māori language norms in the *whānau* prior to the introduction of children.

Recommendations to Pouārahi

1. Consider sharing resources that are not *iwi/hapori* specific across *pouārahi reo*;
2. Continue to design and develop new ways to support *whānau* to use te reo Māori in varying domains throughout the home; and
3. Continue to work with *whānau* towards their Māori language goals.

Recommendations to Te Ataarangi

1. In conjunction with *pouārahi reo*, continue to design, develop and/or facilitate the process of sharing a set of teaching resources that can be shared by *pouārahi*;
2. Consider ways to reimburse *pouārahi* for guest lessons taught by expert *iwi* members;
3. Consider re-evaluating how many hours are needed in order to adequately fund *pouārahi reo* to provide their services, and feed this information back to The Ministry of Education if funding is inadequate;
4. Consider extending the criteria for entrance into the programme to include soon-to-be parents and/or parents who have not yet enrolled their child in Māori medium education;

5. As a means of supporting children in Māori medium education with parents who are proficient speakers, but do not speak te reo Māori in the home: Consider expanding the programme to include such parents as they are likely to require less direct language instruction, but are likely to benefit from engaging in Te Kura Whānau Reo; and
6. Continue to provide support during *Hui Whakangūngū*.

Recommendations to The Ministry of Education

1. Continue to fund, or seek funding from other agencies, to allow Te Kura Whānau Reo to continue to provide its services post the agreed pilot phase;
2. Reconsider the amount of reporting and monitoring that is expected of Te Ataarangi, as this filters down and has the impact of creating greater workloads for *pouārahi reo*;
3. Consider increasing the amount of funding provided to the programme to allow proficient Māori language speakers to gain benefits from the programme;
4. Consider how other non-Māori speaking *whānau* may benefit from programmes such as Te Kura Whānau Reo as a means of increasing enrolments in higher levels of Māori medium education; and
5. Recognise the educational, social, cultural, and linguistic benefits that programmes like Te Kura Whānau Reo provide to communities throughout Aotearoa.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule with Whānau

Topic: Te Kura Whānau Reo

Part 1: Introduction to the study (approx. 5 min)

Introduction (state objective of the study, procedure of the interview and ground rules, questions from the participant regarding the research)

Part 2: Interview (approx. 60-90min)

1. Demographics:
 - a. Age:
 - b. Gender:
 - c. Ethnicity:
 - d. Tribal affiliations:
 - e. How many members are in your whānau (ages of members of each whānau)
2. Motivation:
 - a. Can you describe some of the reasons why you decided to take part in Te Kura Whānau Reo?
 - b. Reflecting back since becoming involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo, have you managed to achieve some of the goals that you'd initially set out to achieve?
3. Te reo Māori exposure, domains of use, and other's perceptions:
 - a. How much Māori language did you know prior to becoming involved?
 - i. Have you noticed a change in your language abilities since being involved in Te Kura Whānau Reo?
 - b. Which domains do you feel more comfortable using te reo Māori in since being involved with Te Kura Whānau reo?
 - i. For instance, do you speak Māori at home? What are you usually doing when you speak te reo Māori?
 - ii. Who do you speak with? Are there some members of your whānau who choose not to kōrero Māori?
 - iii. Is switching from English to te reo Māori usually instigated by your whānau Poureo? Is te reo Māori spoken when the Poureo is not around?
 - iv. What do you usually do to transition into Māori from English?
 - v. How long does your whānau usually speak te reo Māori for in a given setting? Is it a daily practice?
 - vi. Which language areas do you feel you need most support?
 - c. How have Pouārahi helped to establish and maintain specific Māori language domains?
 - d. How have the additional classes that you attend at members of Te Kura Whānau Reo impacted on your language abilities?

- e. Do you participate in any other reo activities outside of Te Kura Whānau Reo? If so, has your participation in these activities changed since you became part of Te Kura Whānau Reo?
 - f. What have others (whānau or wider community) responses been like to your whānau's decision to become part of Te Kura Whānau Reo?
4. Inhibiting factors
- a. What are some of the factors that limit whānau from using te reo Māori with one another?
 - b. How has your whānau gone about dealing with those factors?
 - c. If you're speaking te reo Māori together, what are some of the things that might make you switch back into English?
5. Communication
- a. Can you describe some of the types ways that your communication may have changed as a whānau since becoming part of Te Kura Whānau Reo?
6. Cultural/Whānau Identity
- a. Has your identity as a whānau been impacted by being part of Te Kura Whānau Reo? If so, how?
 - i. Have you noticed a change in your identity as Māori, or as iwi/hapū members since being involved with this programme?
7. Education:
- a. As a whānau, how has being part of Te Kura Whānau Reo impacted on your views towards education?
 - b. Did you have any specific educational goals (for yourself, or your children) prior to engaging with Te Kura Whānau Reo?
 - c. How accessible is Māori medium education to you? Has this changed since becoming part of Te Kura Whānau Reo?
 - d. If Māori medium education is available and accessible to your whānau, would you prefer this over other educational options? If so why? If not, why not?
 - e. Can you think of some of the factors that have supported your whānau to reach your educational goals?
 - f. In cases where your educational goals were not met, what are some of the barriers that prevent your whānau from reaching their educational goals?
8. Support from Te Kura Whānau Reo
- a. Which aspects of Te Kura Whānau Reo have supported your language goals? For instance, other whānau involved, Pouārahi, other.
 - b. When you have needed support to ensure that your language/educational goals are met, who do you usually seek support from?
 - c. Are you happy with the current level of engagement, and type of support that you receive from Te Kura Whānau Reo?
9. Future focus:
- a. Looking into the future, how do you think your whānau will maintain the Māori language habits that have been developed during your involvement with Te Kura Whānau Reo?
 - b. Is there anything else that you think your whānau would benefit from which is not currently provided by Te Kura Whānau Reo?

10. Overall impact

- a. Do you have any other comments about the impact that being a part of Te Kura Whānau Reo has had on your whānau?

Part 3: Post interview/post discussion (saying thank you, reiterating confidentiality, if applicable, and debriefing) (approx. 5 min)

Appendix 2: Interview Schedule with Pouārahi

Topic: Te Kura Whānau Reo

Part 1: Introduction to the study (approx. 5 min)

Introduction (state objective of the study, procedure of the interview and ground rules, questions from the participant regarding the research)

Part 2: Interview (approx. 50-70min)

11. Demographics:

- a.* Age:
- b.* Gender:
- c.* Ethnicity:
- d.* Tribal affiliations:
- e.* How many whānau do you support? (ages of members of each whānau)

12. Motivation:

- a.* Can you describe your decision to become a Pouārahi?
- b.* How would you describe your role as a Pouārahi?

13. The role of Pouārahi:

- a.* What are some of the changes in whānau reo use that you have observed since working with whānau?
- b.* When thinking about the strategies that you've encouraged when working with whānau, which have been most successful and why?
 - i.* Have these strategies had an impact on improving daily use of te reo Māori? If yes, how have these strategies improved daily use?
 - ii.* What measures have you used to assess the increase in daily use?

14. Support for whānau:

- a.* As Pouārahi, how do you support whānau to establish and reach their language goals?
- b.* Are whānau encouraged to set specific educational goals as a whānau? If the educational goals are not specific, but rather an outcome of the programme, can you explain some of the positive educational outcomes that you may have observed?
- c.* Do you find that whānau have enough resources, or access to resources to meet their language/education goals?
- d.* What are some of the factors you observe that may prevent them from meeting their goals?
- e.* In your role as a Pouārahi, what types of things have whānau needed the most support with?
- f.* How are whānau supported to strengthen their Māori/iwi/hapū identity?

15. Support for Pouārahi:

- a.* How are you supported to do well as Pouārahi?
- b.* Did you receive an induction? Was this helpful for understanding your role?
- c.* Are there factors that sometimes prevent you from being able to perform your role well? If so, could you please explain?

- d.* Do you feel that you have enough reo Māori abilities to support whānau in the way that they need support? If so, which strategies have you applied to ensure this?

16. Reo revitalisation

- a.* As a method for Māori language revitalisation, can you comment on whether the language changes that are implemented in the home will be enduring over time?
 - i.* What are other factors that may support or hinder whether whānau are successful language users in the future?
- b.* How do you think language behaviours (i.e. speaking te reo Māori, reading etc) are maintained? For instance, what are some of the strategies that you (or participating whānau) encourage whānau to adopt?
- c.* How is this programme distinct from other programmes?

17. Education:

- a.* Have there been targeted practices in place to support whānau to develop educational plans or to improve education outcomes more generally?
- b.* Do you feel that this is a goal of Te Kura Whānau Reo? (Or) Do you feel that having education goals may be helpful?
- c.* How do you support whānau to improve their education outcomes?
 - i.* Do you view this as part of your role as Pouārahi? If so, why, or why not?

18. Future focus:

- a.* Do you feel that the programme could be developed further in any way to improve whānau daily use of te reo Māori? If so, what support would be needed in order to achieve this goal?
- b.* Is there anything else that you think whānau would benefit from which is not currently provided by Te Kura Whānau Reo?

19. Overall impact

- a.* Do you have any other comments about the impact that being a part of Te Kura Whānau Reo has had on whānau?
- b.* Do you have any other comments about the impact that being a part of Te Kura Whānau Reo has had on you?

Part 3: Post interview/post discussion (saying thank you, reiterating confidentiality, if applicable, and debriefing) (approx. 5 min)

Appendix B: Survey

Date of Birth: / / Gender (tick one): Female Male

Region:

List the ages of all participating whānau members in Te Kura Whānau Reo:

Please circle the year/s that you have participated in Te Kura Whānau Reo: 2014 2015 2016

Instructions: This survey is anonymous and will not be linked to you, please answer as honestly as possible. Read each question and indicate (by circling one number) the degree to which you believe the statement is true. If N/A is given as an option, you may circle it if the statement does not apply to your situation.

	Strongly disagree	Unsure	Strongly agree
1. As a whānau, we will generally speak Te Reo most days of the week.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
2. When we speak Te Reo together, it usually lasts longer than 10 minutes at a time.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
3. We will generally speak Te Reo on a daily basis.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
4. I am able to use most of the words I need in order to participate in simple Te Reo activities that I have practiced.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
5. I am able to use most of the words that I need in order to have a general conversation in Te Reo.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
6. I can speak Te Reo Māori with ease to other members of my whānau.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
7. When Māori speakers speak to me in Te Reo, I can understand them well.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
8. I can read aloud in Te Reo confidently.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
9. I know most words that I need in order to have:			
a. a basic conversation in Te Reo.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
b. a complex conversation in Te Reo.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
10. Topics that I usually speak about in Te Reo Māori are:			
a. About things that I'm interested in	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
b. About topics set for me and/or my whānau by kaiako or Pouārahi	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
c. Activities that happened during the day	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
d. Parenting tasks (praising, giving instructions, etc)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
e. Formal occasions (whaikōrero, karanga, karakia etc)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
11. I usually speak Te Reo:			
a. At home with my parents	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	N/A	
b. At home with my children	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	N/A	
c. At home with my partner	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	N/A	
d. At work	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	N/A	
e. With friends	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
f. We generally allocate specific locations for speaking Te Reo (for example, during dinner or driving).	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		

Instructions: ALL survey participants are to answer this section. The survey now focuses on your experience since being a part of Te Kura Whānau Reo.

	Strongly disagree	Unsure	Strongly agree
Since being a part of Te Kura Whānau Reo:			
1. Our whānau speaks with one another more regularly.	1	2	3
2. We do more than we used to together as a whānau.	1	2	3
3. We share our thoughts more freely as a whānau.	1	2	3
4. We discuss school/education with one another as a whānau.	1	2	3
5. I feel that my ability to speak te reo has improved.	1	2	3
6. I feel that I have a greater range of language structures that I can use to speak te reo.	1	2	3
7. Overall, my teo Māori vocabulary has definitely improved.	1	2	3
8. The pouārahi have supported our whānau to improve our language use.	1	2	3
9. The monthly wānanga that we attend have improved our language use.	1	2	3
10. The classes that I attend as part of Te Kura Whānau Reo have improved our language use.	1	2	3
11. Other whānau involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo have helped to improve our language use.	1	2	3
12. There has been an improvement in my child's/children's desire to learn.	1	2	3
13. There has been an improvement in my child's/children's confidence.	1	2	3
14. There has been an improvement in my child's/children's educational achievements.	1	2	3
15. Outside of class time, how many hours do you spend learning te reo Māori?	1 or less	2	3
16. I have support from other people in the Māori speaking community.	1	2	3
17. My wider whānau/family supports my learning of te reo.	1	2	3
18. My friends support my learning of te reo.	1	2	3

Instructions: Depending on your answer to the below question, you will only need to complete either Section A or Section B that follows.

1. Do you identify as Māori? Yes No

Instructions: If you answered Yes, please answer Section A only. If you answered No, please answer Section B.

Section B

Instructions: Answer this section ONLY if you have a child/children who are NOT enrolled in Māori-medium education. If you wish to expand on your answers, a comment section is provided below.

	Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly agree
1. I would choose to enrol my child/children in Māori-medium education if the option was available.???									
2. Māori-medium education is available and accessible to us in our area.?									
3. I feel that my children would achieve well academically in Māori-medium education.??									
4. I feel that my children would benefit culturally from attending Māori-medium education.??									
5. I am satisfied with the quality of education that my child receives in mainstream education.???									

Comments:

Instructions: ALL Survey participants are to answer this section. The survey now focuses on your experience since being a part of Te Kura Whānau Reo.

	Strongly disagree	Unsure	Strongly agree				
Since being a part of Te Kura Whānau Reo:							
1. Our whānau speaks with one another more regularly.	1	2	3				
2. We do more than we used to together as a whānau.	1	2	3				
3. We share our thoughts more freely as a whānau.	1	2	3				
4. We discuss school/education with one another as a whānau.	1	2	3				
5. I feel that my ability to speak te reo has improved.	1	2	3				
6. I feel that I have a greater range of language structures that I can use to speak te reo.	1	2	3				
7. Overall, my teo Māori vocabulary has definitely improved.	1	2	3				
8. The pouārahi have supported our whānau to improve our language use.	1	2	3				
9. The monthly wānanga that we attend have improved our language use.	1	2	3				
10. The classes that I attend as part of Te Kura Whānau Reo have improved our language use.	1	2	3				
11. Other whānau involved with Te Kura Whānau Reo have helped to improve our language use.	1	2	3				
12. There has been an improvement in my child's/children's desire to learn.	1	2	3				
13. There has been an improvement in my child's/children's confidence.	1	2	3				
14. There has been an improvement in my child's/children's educational achievements.	1	2	3				
15. Outside of class time, how many hours do you spend learning te reo Māori?	1 or less	2	3	4	5	6 or more	
16. I have support from other people in the Māori speaking community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. My wider whānau/family supports my learning of te reo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. My friends support my learning of te reo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Instructions: Depending on your answer to the below question, you will only need to complete either Section A or Section B that follows.

1. Do you identify as Māori? Yes No

Instructions: If you answered Yes, please answer Section A only. If you answered No, please answer Section B.

Section A

Instructions: Answer this section only if you identify as Māori. The survey now focuses on learning Te Reo Māori as Māori. The scale has been designed so that you will probably find that you agree with some statements but disagree with others to varying degrees. This is because we want to measure a wide range of different opinions about what people think it means to be Māori and learn Te Reo as Māori. **There are no right or wrong answers.** Please try to answer all the questions as honestly as you can. The best answer is your own opinion, whatever that is. If you wish to expand on your answers, a comment section is provided below.

	Strongly disagree	Unsure	Strongly agree				
1. I choose to learn Te Reo Māori because I'm Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Te Reo is important to me because it is part of my cultural heritage.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Te Reo Māori is important to me because it connects me to my whakapapa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Te Reo Māori is important to me because it allows me to speak to people who are important in my community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Learning Te Reo Māori is important because it will allow me to understand cultural practices (i.e. whaikōrero and karanga).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Learning Te Reo Māori is important because it will allow me to conduct cultural practices (i.e. whaikōrero and karanga).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Learning Te Reo Māori means that I can speak to others in our whānau.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Learning Te Reo Māori means that I can/will be able to speak to my children.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Since learning Te Reo, I feel more confident in my identity as Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Comments:

Section B

Instructions: Answer this section only if you do not identify as Māori.

1. Please state your ethnicity:

Thank you very much for your participation, you have completed this survey!

Appendix 4: Information Sheet for Whānau Completing Survey

Topic: Te Kura Whānau Reo

Who is conducting the research?

- A team of researchers in the School of Māori Studies at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW), including Dr Awanui Te Huia (Principal Investigator, Ngāti Maniapoto), Maureen Muller (Ngā Puhī), research assistants Anne Wāpu (Ngāti Kahungunu), and an external research assistant named Anahera Herewini (Ngāti Kahu/Ngāti Kuri). This study has been approved by VUW's Human Ethics Committee.

What is the purpose of this research?

- The purpose of this study is to look at your experiences as whānau who have participated in Te Kura Whānau Reo. We are interested in finding out how (or whether) being part of Te Kura Whānau Reo has had an impact on your Māori language use and perceptions towards education. We are also interested in whether your cultural identity has been impacted by your increased exposure to te reo Māori.

What is involved if you agree to participate?

- If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete a series of questions. The questions asked will include questions about your perspectives on Te Kura Whānau Reo and the support that you have received. An example of a question you may be asked includes: "When Māori speakers speak to me in te reo, I can understand them well."
- You will be asked to rate your agreement with a number of statements on a scale of between 1 (strongly disagree) and 7 (strongly agree).
- You will be given hard copies of the survey during your regular class time by your pouārahi, who will also collect the surveys once they have been completed.
- The interview will take no more than 35 minutes. You are free to withdraw at any point up during the survey.

Privacy and Confidentiality

- All information collected will be combined, and no specific information pertaining to you will be traceable.
- All information from the surveys will be held in a secure location by the lead researcher.

What happens to the information that you provide?

- The results of this research will be fed back to the Ministry of Education as part of an evaluation of Te Kura Whānau Reo. Raw data will be kept in a secure space by the lead

researcher. The results may be published in research journals or be presented at conferences.

Feedback

Results of this study will be available by approximately 15 September 2016. You can provide your email address or postal address, if you want us to notify you of the results of this research.

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact me. You can also contact A. Prof Susan Corbett, who is the Human Ethics Committee convenor if you have any ethics queries. Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz, telephone +64-4-463 5480.

Thank you for your participation.

Ngā mihi nui,

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