WHĀIA TE ITI KAHURANGI, KI TE TUOHU KOE ME HE MAUNGA TEITEI: ESTABLISHING PSYCHOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR HIGHER LEVELS OF **MĀORI** LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

BY

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Abstract

This thesis explores the motivations, enablers and inhibitors that occur for heritage language (HL2) learners of te reo **Māori**. Rather than applying commonly used integrative/instrumental or intrinsic/extrinsic dichotomies (Gardner, 2007), a relational framework for language motivation was applied as **Māori** are typically represented as being interdependent/collectivist (Durie, 2001). In interdependent cultures, the self is given meaning through relationships with significant others (Brewer & Chen, 2007) and the boundaries of personal goals and the goals of a group/significant others are less distinct (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). It was predicted that HL2 learners would be motivated to learn **te reo Māori** in response to the relationships they held with significant others, and that these relationships with significant others would enable learners to reach higher levels of language attainment. The investment language-learners received from peers and mentors was expected to contribute positively to the learning process. Thus, a relational and interdependent approach to **Māori** HL2 learning is articulated.

A mixed methods approach was applied to examine the variety of motivations, enablers and inhibitors associated with HL2 learning. Qualitative aspects of the research involved two groups of language-learners. Undergraduate students (beginner to intermediate level language-learners) enrolled in language courses at Victoria University of Wellington participated as well as advanced level learners who were graduates of Te Panekiretanga o te reo Māori. All participants in the qualitative aspects of the study identified as **Māori** HL2 learners. The quantitative components included both **Māori** and non-**Māori** undergraduate students who were predominantly 100 level learners from Victoria University of Wellington.

Findings revealed that **Māori** HL2 learners were motivated to learn the language due to relationships they held with specific significant others. Responsibilities provided significant motivation for language improvement at higher levels. The relationship between **te reo Māori** and identity was prominent. Societal factors impacted on both **Māori** and **Pākehā** learners separately. For instance, **Māori** were less likely to instigate learning te reo **Māori** when they were embedded in environments that were discriminatory toward **Māori**. Quantitative results supported qualitative findings,

whereby **Pākehā** learners who perceived **Māori** to be negatively discriminated against by the mainstream experienced high levels of language anxiety. Survey data indicated that **Māori** HL2 learners were more tenacious, and less disorganised with their language studies when they had language community support, and were engaged with other **Māori**.

Findings from this study led to the development of **Te Mauri ka Tau**, a model that attempts to describe the factors that are necessary to create a psychological platform from which **Māori** HL2 learners can seek empowerment during times of potential risk. This model also describes the multiple positive outcomes for HL2 learners who reach this psychological space. This study was designed to provide an indigenous perspective to the highly emotional process of HL2 learning. The journey for **Māori** HL2 learners is complex and relationally interdependent. Through an improved understanding of HL2 learner experiences, the wider goals of language revitalisation can be achieved.

Dedication

For my **Koro** Jack (Te Whakataute) Te Huia, Grandad Martyn Sanderson, and Nanny Pēti Kaihau Maniapoto

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I am indebted to a great number of people, many of whom I do not have the words to appropriately thank within the limitations of this thesis. First, it is my absolute privilege to have shared the stories and experiences of those who gave their time and effort to participate in this research. Without each and every one of your stories, this thesis would not have been as enriched. Listening back on our discussions alone in my office, your stories made me laugh aloud, and on occasions brought me to tears. I am ever so grateful for the clarity, openness and honesty you contributed to this research. I hope that I have done justice to those experiences within this thesis.

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He Paku Whakamāramatanga[1]

One of the major factors that contributed to the development of this PhD was the decision I made to follow my older cousin (Hinekura Maniapoto Aranui) and uncle (Jamie Sanderson) to Japan. During one year in Japan, I learnt to speak Japanese to a rather basic, but functional, level. I reflected on the issues that had inhibited me from using **te reo Māori** after having attended kōhanga reo in **Waimarama**, enrolled in bilingual **Māori** language classes at primary school in **Ahipara**, attended classes for four years at a mainstream high school in **Kapiti**, and graduated from university with a **Māori** language major. Despite these years of exposure to **te reo Māori**, I could not speak **Māori** at a level of confidence with which I spoke Japanese after only one year. This issue was perplexing, as I had always put my lack of confidence with **te reo Māori** down to an issue of language aptitude. However, my experience in Japan negated this theory.

Returning to **Aotearoa**, I made a conscious decision to be an active learner (and speaker) of **te reo Māori**. One of the first steps into this process was the decision to attend a Kura Reo with friends of mine. This was the first time I had used **te reo Māori** for a longer period than one day. This experience led me to a tutoring position at Victoria University of Wellington. Taking on a role as a teacher of a language that I had only just become comfortable speaking was challenging both linguistically and from an identity perspective. However, I knew that unless I up-skilled, I would consistently be in a space of apprehension. After continuous attendance to Kura Reo for the following two to three years, I began to develop confidence in myself as a learner and also as a teacher. I also developed a set of friendships and relationships with mentors who I felt comfortable speaking with and asking questions to without feeling that my ignorance was the utter height of personal and cultural incompetence.

This year, I took on a permanent lectureship position at Te Kawa a Māui as a member of the language team. Without the support of my colleagues and language community, this dream would never have become a reality. My students continuously challenge me as both a teacher and second language-learner, helping me to develop both personally and professionally. I am indebted to Te Ripowai Higgins, Winifred Bauer,

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[1] A brief introduction.

Kārena Kelly, Rawinia Higgins and Tutawhiorangi Temara for the stream of questions I constantly hound them with. Without cultural and linguistic guidance, teaching **te reo Māori** as a second/heritage language-learner would have been far less plausible.

Looking back on these experiences, I understand that being born in 1984 meant that I was lucky enough to be a recipient of the **Māori**-led initiative Te Kōhanga Reo. I was also fortunate to be born into a bicultural family. My **koro** (Jacko Te Huia) was a native speaker of **te reo Māori**, yet he was a speaker stunted by the years of colonisation, which ultimately influenced his decisions about when and why he would use **te reo Māori**. My mother was fundamental in my language-learning decisions. As a **Pākehā** woman, she made decisions for me that set in stone the fact that being **Māori** was a something to be proud of. My story is not uncommon; it is clearly possible to be **Māori** and **Pākehā** concurrently, and receive the benefits of both cultures. However, mediating the relationship between the two cultures is something that requires energy and relational support from members of both cultures.

As a child I grew up mostly in communities where **te reo Māori** was valued and being **Māori** was normal. However, there were some instances where it was not 'good' to be **Māori**. For instance, for a few years my family lived in a very rural community in Hawkes Bay (Rissington) where all but one of the families in the community were New Zealand European. In this community we were the caretakers of a Girl Guide camp. I remember my mother being made fun of by one of the fathers at school, a New Zealand European farmer, for being the caretaker of the "Brownies". It was within this community and during my intermediate school experiences that I first developed a sense that being **Māori** was not the norm. Although I was *mostly* always assertive of the fact that I was **Māori**, being surrounded by negative imagery of **Māori** was difficult to close off.

The process of developing a secure **Māori** identity meant surrounding myself with people who affirmed that it was positive to be **Māori**. This came largely during the latter part of my adolescence. The relationships I have with my own **whānau**, my peers and cultural mentors provided me with encouragement and support that led me to a place where I can say I am comfortable to claim ownership over my cultural identity. I still have a long journey ahead in terms of language learning and identity development. However, I have begun the conversation, and that makes room for positive potential. My hope is that the stories and ideas expressed in this thesis will assist **Māori**, irrespective of

what part of their identity development they happen to be in. Language is our window to our ancestors' world. When we are able to access a glimpse into this window through our heritage language, the feeling is overwhelmingly satisfying. It is my firm belief that the more we empower others to experience the feelings associated with knowing our language, the more we will grow as a people.

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HL – Heritage language

HL1 - Heritage language speaker

HL2 – Heritage language learner

L2 – Second language

MHL2 – Māori heritage language learner

MMM-ICE - Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement

PCL2 – Post-colonial language learner

PSM – Public Sector Māori

Chapter 1 – Introduction and Overview

Introduction

Languages are multifaceted. They allow us to communicate with others, transcending barriers of time and location, securing the longevity of information across generations (Padilla & Borsato, 2010). The methods we have developed through song, written texts and oratory all act as storage mechanisms that allow the continuation of cultural practices, histories and identities (Biggs, 1968; Ngata, 2004; Wa Thiong'o, 1986). Languages provide us with symbolic resources enabling us to form meaningful social groups (Janse & Tol, 2003). Psychology has focused on language learning through developmental, cognitive, educational and social perspectives (Padilla & Borsato, 2010). However, few studies have focused on how identity influences the process of language learning for indigenous language-learners who have a heritage connection to the language in question. More specifically, there is very little research into how various **Māori** identity positions interact with **Māori** language learning goals, motivations, enablers and inhibitors.

This thesis aims to focus on cultural and social factors that contribute to learners' development, as these aspects appear most pertinent for language-learners who have a personal **whakapapa**[2] connection to the language. **Māori** second language-learners with **whakapapa** connections to **te reo Māori** will be referred to as **Māori** HL2 (heritage language) learners. This distinguishes **Māori** from learners of languages where no **whakapapa** connection exists.

It is a well-known fact that indigenous languages continue to decline at a phenomenal rate and this is a globally recognised issue. Krauss (1992) predicted that "the coming century will see either the death or doom of 90% of mankind's languages" (p.7).

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[2] Genealogy.

Note: Translations for **Māori** words or texts will be bolded and provided as footnotes as not to distract those who understand the meaning of the **Māori** words. This practice is consistent with other theses (see Pihama, 2001; Rata, 2012,). Names will not be bolded (including names of books, theories, authors or organisations). Furthermore, **Māori** words will be formatted in accordance with the heading titles. If a translation is not provided, for instance in the acknowledgements section above, this has been done deliberately, as the author is writing specifically to a **Māori** language-proficient audience. The reader can refer to the Glossary. Quotations and words of stress will be italised, while English text will appear as normal text.

Unfortunately, Krauss's predictions made over twenty years ago appear to be on track. Using longitudinal data, Harmon and Loh (2010) found that from a sample of 1,500 languages globally, 20% of those languages had declined between 1970 and 2005. Similarly, Simons and Lewis (2013) found that of 7,103 current living languages, 19% of those languages are not being learned by children. The breakdown of intergenerational transmission is a major sign of language endangerment (Fishman, 1989).

In 1981, **Māori** language Professor Bruce Biggs predicted that "the language, already greatly confined in its use, will be used increasingly only in formalized, non-casual situations." Language death is very much a real threat to **Māori** as the number of speakers in New Zealand is still not large enough to ensure that the language is safe from being moribund. The Health of the **Māori** Language Survey indicated that, in 2006, 14% of **Māori** spoke **te reo Māori** well or very well, an increase from 9% in 2001 (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006). Of these speakers who were able to speak well or very well, the largest proportion (26%) of speakers were in the 55 and over age group. Effectively, these results indicated that, in 2006, 86% of **Māori** are unable to effectively communicate in their HL2.

Analysing these statistics further, Bauer (2008) assessed whether the positive shifts in language-speakers as indicated by Te Puni Kōkiri between the years 2001 and 2006 were accurate. Unfortunately, the findings of Bauer's (2008) analysis painted a grim picture, suggesting that the interpretations of the data released by Te Puni Kōkiri were too inaccurate to suggest a positive shift. At present, the low number of **Māori** language-speakers resulted in **te reo Māori** being classified as 'definitely endangered' (Reedy et al., 2011), whereby language is no longer intergenerationally transmitted by parent to child in the home. In order to understand how to increase language use, we must understand the psychological processes that underpin a learner's decision to learn, use or distance themselves from their HL2.

The pressures surrounding language decline presumably intertwined with **Māori** motivations to maintain their cultural heritage (May, 2006). Desires to preserve a cultural heritage through language need to be accompanied by the view that languages are not ornamental but, rather, functional mediums of communication. May (2006) made the observation that it is not in the interest of the minority (or in this case indigenous)

language to be viewed solely as a carrier of tradition, rather, the language needs to be viewed as a language of functional communication.

When analysing the unique processes that are involved with HL2 acquisition, there are a number of competing complexities to consider, including individual, historical, societal, cultural and environmental factors. Through combining the array of dynamics involved with HL2 learning, the current generation of potential and active language-speakers can be better understood.

Research has tended to focus on individuals' social-cognitive motivations, which are divorced from emotional connection to the target language they are learning (Norton & Toohey, 2001). Learners have personal connections to language through the people who speak or spoke the language. Furthermore, the language provides HL2 learners with an identity connection to those speakers. In circumstances where the target language is threatened, different sets of experiences are produced than in situations where the linguistic vitality is secure. Therefore, the language environment of both sets of learners cannot be treated equally. The cultural experiences of learners who are in a threatened language environment are likely to be more tied to the continuation of culture as well as cultural membership.

This thesis focuses on the experiences of **Māori** as the indigenous people of New Zealand. Smith (1999, p.6) acknowledged that, "The term 'indigenous' is problematic in that it appears to collectivise many distinct populations whose experiences under imperialism have been vastly different." While this thesis does not suppose that the experiences of **Māori** are synonymous with other indigenous peoples,[3] it does provide an opportunity to explore how our experiences of HL2 acquisition are different from learners of non-heritage, non-indigenous languages. In this context, the term **Māori** is used to describe the **tangata whenua**,[4] the indigenous people of **Aotearoa**.[5] Although indigenous peoples' experiences with colonisation cannot be simplified, there are similarities in the

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[3] Smith (1999, p.6) also acknowledges that there are a number of terms that Indigenous Peoples choose to be referred to including First Peoples, Native Peoples, First Nations, People of the Land, Aboriginals or Fourth World Peoples. The term used to describe these collective groups in this thesis will be *indigenous*.

[4] People of the land.

[5] New Zealand.

context of HL2 loss. It is these similarities that will be referred to through the use of the term 'indigenous'.

If we consider languages to be connected to the people who speak the language in question, in the case of indigenous peoples, the trauma and social stresses that have been imposed are by no means disengaged from the language struggles. As outlined in the Waitangi Tribunal reports (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, 2011), loss of **te reo Māori** is coupled with the impacts of colonisation. The loss of sacred places through land confiscation, the imposition of alien laws used to incarcerate **Māori**, loss of access to cultural knowledge, alongside an assimilationist education system all contributed to the deprioritisation, and discontinued use of **te reo Māori**. The loss of language cannot be viewed in isolation and its ability to be revived is also one that is interwoven with the historical context in which its loss occurred. Although the history of language decline is not explored specifically within this thesis, the impacts of colonisation cannot be divorced from the current language behaviours of **Māori** today.

Cultures that have suffered the annihilation of language continue to experience an inability to share emotions that are best described with the subtleties and nuances that only the language can accurately convey. Fishman (1996) explains, "A language long associated with the culture is best able to express most easily, most exactly, most richly, with more appropriate over-tones, the concerns, artefacts, values, and interests of that culture" (p.71). Languages not only convey messages, they portray meanings providing insights into histories of people (Wa Thiong'o, 1986). When a language can provide a connection to those living who have a shared history with their ancestors, the value placed on the mediator of this connection is heightened.

For native speakers of **te reo Māori**, they are able to create their world using the imagery of their ancestors. Furthermore, **te reo Māori** offers them positive distinction from others (Brewer, 1991). **Māori** language expert Dr Kāretu QSO (1993, p. 226) explained "I have been mistaken for many other nationalities – even here in **Aotearoa** – but what makes me **Māori**, apart from the blood of my **Māori** ancestors which courses through my veins, is my language, the key to the song, proverb, legend, philosophy and rhetoric of my **Māori** world." In order for current generations of HL2 learners to experience the benefits associated with being highly proficient in their HL2, it is presumed that they need to: a) see the language as something worth wanting or investing

in; b) be supported to attain their HL2; and c) have occasions to use the language over a sustained, long-term period. These factors correspond with Higgins and Rewi's (in press) Zero, Passive, Active (ZePA) model, which articulates a strategy to shift individuals from being unengaged, to becoming passive supporters of **te reo Māori**, through to being active users of **te reo Māori**. This thesis attempts to articulate the psychological processes and relational support needed for **Māori** HL2 learners to progress to higher stages of language proficiency. Each of these factors can be thought of as distinct phases in the learning process.

Language is something that is valued (pre-actional)

Seeing the language as something worth investing in is likely to come from a place of identity and connection to the language and the culture (Norton & Toohey, 2001). Durie (2001, p.54) recognised that "Identity is a necessary pre-requisite for mental health, and cultural identity depends not only on access to culture and heritage but also on opportunity for cultural expression and cultural endorsement within society's institutions." The point Durie makes is relevant to **Māori** HL2 learners, in that for a cultural identity[6] to develop, it is necessary to have access and opportunities to practise their culture with the support of society's institutions.

For **Māori** who continue to experience rates of discrimination proportionately higher than the mainstream, reaching a place where the language and the culture are seen as valuable may be a struggle in itself. Harris and colleagues (2006b) reported that **Māori** are 10 times more likely than **Pākehā**[7] to experience multiple forms of social discrimination in their lifetime. Discrimination is not only perpetuated in interpersonal encounters, but also dispersed widely through mainstream media (Nairn et al., 2012), which makes discrimination unavoidable for most **Māori** living in New Zealand. **Māori** high rates of discrimination have been directly linked to poor health outcomes, including poor physical functioning, cardiovascular diseases, and poor wellbeing (Harris et al.,

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[6] A cultural identity is distinguishable from ethnic identities. Cultural identity is used in the context of this thesis to describe the identity of an individual as a member of a 'cultural' group distinguishable by its language, values and culture. Individuals can have a ethnic identity, which is inherited, however, their level of commitment or identification with this group varies.
[7] New Zealand European – at times **Pākehā** is used as a means of defining New Zealand Europeans who are more invested in their relationships with **Māori**.

2006b) The fact that **Māori** experience such high rates of discrimination compared to the mainstream[8] it is understandable that **Māori** would avoid accentuating their **Māori** cultural identity when they are operating within an oppressive environment.

It is likely that **Māori** who are contemplating making an investment in their language need to be in a psychological space where it is conducive to view their culture positively. Highlighting one's **Māori** identity may not act in the favour of **Māori** who are isolated in geographical regions, or in institutions where **Māori** are commonly viewed negatively. **Māori** who are socially isolated from positive descriptions of their culture or positively affirming relationships with others may accentuate other aspects of their social identity in order to view themselves in a positive light. Self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987) suggests that we hold multiple representations of our social self, and depending on the environmental circumstances, aspects of our identity become more or less salient. For **Māori** who are in the process of deciding to identify as **Māori**, this choice is likely to be highly informed by their environmental settings.

Social identity theory posits that individuals wish to view themselves positively and one way of achieving this goal is through finding ways to view one's own group as favourable in contrast to another's (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). If this goal cannot be achieved, then depending on how permeable the group boundaries are, an individual may choose to leave their low status group in favour of a higher status group. Alternatively, individuals from the low status group may attempt to compare themselves with another group, or assign a new set of criteria from which to compare themselves. When individuals view their group as adding positively to their self-concept, they are more likely to invest in the group.

Developing on the theories put forward by social identity theorists, Giles and Johnson (1987) developed ethnolinguisitc identity theory, which aimed to explain why some groups enhance linguistic aspects of their social identity, while others do not. Furthermore, ethnolinguisitic identity theory posits that in order for a person to make their ethnic language a distinctive part of their identity, they must highly identify with that culture (Giles & Johnson, 1987). This theory may be helpful in describing why those who experience discrimination may not choose to learn or use their HL2. **Māori** who are

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[8] The term 'mainstream' is used to describe the dominant culture, in the case of New Zealand, the mainstream being referred to in thesis is Pākehā dominant culture.

surrounded by discrimination may not be seeking to make their **Māori** identity a salient feature of their 'self' concept.

Although most of these factors relate to wider social aspects that impact on the individual, there are likely to be intragroup factors that promote or supress desires to learn **te reo Māori**. It is likely that **Māori** who hold personal relationships with specific others from within the cultural ingroup are supported to make decisions that lead them to become highly fluent language-speakers despite mainstream discrimination. While outgroup discrimination is likely to have a highly influential role in the depriorisation of **te reo Māori** for **Māori** who are surrounded by discrimination toward **Māori**, factors that shield **Māori** from discrimination are likely to come from relationships with those who are affirming of **Māori**. In order for **Māori** to reach a psychological place where they are considering learning their HL2, being surrounded by others who view being **Māori** as positive is likely to be a vital contributing factor for those considering to learn their HL2 to take the step towards language engagement.

Language-learner is supported (initiating engagement phase)

The choice that **Māori** make to learn their HL2 is likely to be a choice that is tightly interwoven with their **Māori** identity, and a desire to strengthen relationships they hold with significant others. **Māori** have been described as typically relationally oriented, in the sense that our histories have emphasised the role of specific relationships with particular groups over abstract collectives. Durie (2001, p. 89) provides a number of examples of **Māori** preference for inter-relatedness, noting "identity is also a function of conscious and unconscious relationships with the environment and the group, kept alive by encounters that reinforce the links and strengthen the bonds." While **Māori** identities are diverse, **Māori** traditional values toward maintaining specific relationships are likely to influence motivations, enablers and inhibiting factors. Enablers are factors that support the development of language acquisition, while inhibitors describe factors that act as barriers for HL2 learners.

Relationships **Māori** have with their peers, teachers and wider language community are likely to be central to the extent to which **Māori** language-learners persist in their language-learning efforts. Bishop and colleagues (2009) have demonstrated the importance of relationships between students and their teachers for **Māori** student achievement outcomes in compulsory education. Extending the generalisability of this

research, the relationships that **Māori** develop with one another within HL2 environments are likely to be important for adult HL2 learners in the extent to which they continue to learn their HL2. Once the learner begins learning **te reo Māori**, their community is likely to become a heightened source of linguistic and cultural support.

In order for psychological theories to be applicable to **Māori** HL2 learners, the learner and their diverse realities need to be considered. **Māori** cultural realities are constantly changing and cannot be thought of as homogenous. The diversity of **Māori** identities will be explored in Chapter 4. Understanding how to support the HL2 learner who has begun their journey of HL2 acquisition involves exploring factors that enable or inhibit the acquisition and use of their HL2. It is likely that **Māori** desires to retain their culture, and be viewed as valid members of their culture, enhance their desire to continue through to higher levels of language acquisition.

High-level language abilities are sustainable (maintenance phase)

It is plausible that as **Māori** HL2 learners become more proficient, they develop relationships with others in that environment who hold language-specific goals as well as the desire to attain cultural belongingness. Rather than viewing identity goals and language goals as mutually exclusive, it is likely that when both of these goals are held concurrently, individuals are able to reach their linguistic potential under the shared assumption that their culture is valuable and valid.

As individuals become more fluent, they are likely to take on more culturally specific leadership responsibilities. Many **Māori**-governed customs and protocols require high levels of **Māori** language fluency. It is not to suggest that the language alone permits individuals to become cultural leaders. However, due to the shortage of highly proficient language-speakers, it is likely that these roles will fall on the shoulders of those who have invested in their culture through learning **te reo Māori** (Ngāpō, 2010). Leadership responsibilities are likely to be a key source of motivation for those who have attained high levels of language proficiency.

Other commonly acknowledged source of motivation is the role of parents (Chrisp, 2005). As parents, adults make choices about the language that they speak to and around their children. Parents who have chosen to raise their children as **Māori**-speaking or bilingual children are likely to have sustained motivation to use the language. If both

parents are speakers of **te reo Māori**, the language is given a secure domain in which to grow and be sustained (Bauer, 2008).

However, the family alone is unlikely to be sufficient enough to sustain language use. The relationships that **Māori** HL2 learners hold with others from within their language community are likely to become a crucial source of support once learners develop competence in **te reo Māori**.

Factors preventing high-level language progression

One of the issues for the survival of the language is that there are so few highly-proficient speakers (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006), and the highly proficient speakers are geographically spread throughout New Zealand. Earle (2007) conducted an analysis of **Māori** language-learners of tertiary education institutes. He noted "Since 2001, there has been an unprecedented level of engagement in learning **te reo Māori** through tertiary education. This involved over 100,000 learners" (Earle, 2007, p. 3). Despite these positive enrolment numbers, the majority of enrolments were represented in level 1 and 2 courses. Furthermore, there does not appear to be a recorded count of how many of these students eventually reach high levels of language proficiency. There are a number of reasons why a **Māori** may or may not reach high levels of language proficiencies. These issues will be explored in depth in the chapters to follow.

Earle (2007, p. 4) indicated that while there have been substantial growths in the number of tertiary students enrolling to learn **te reo Māori**, he stressed that "Tertiary education courses are not sufficient on their own to build conversational proficiency in **te reo Māori**." The language community is where the language is improved through its use, which makes access and relationships to language communities crucial in the development and maintenance of high levels of proficiency.

Language revitalisation initiatives

Māori-developed language revitalisation initiatives have focused on the holistic development of the learner as an embedded member of their **whānau** and community (Smith, 1989). Although the picture of **Māori** language-speakers is not positive, its decline could have indeed been far more substantial without the support of **Māori**-led initiatives (Royal-Tangaere, 2012). Perhaps one of the most widely acknowledged language revitalisation initiatives is Te Kōhanga Reo. After years of assimilation-based

educational policies and practices, which excluded the use of **Māori** language (Simon, 1998), **Māori** as a community were disillusioned by the education system on the whole. Smith (1989, p.8) explained: "Te Kohanga Reo reasserted in a visible way the validity of **Maori** language, **tikanga**[9] and **ākonga**.[10]"

Another prominent **Māori** led initiative is Te Ataarangi, which preceded the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo, whereby adults came together to learn conversational **Māori** directly from native speakers/teachers (Higgins, In press). It is perhaps the fact that **Māori** initiatives view the learner and their **whānau**, and wider community inclusively that separates **Māori** designed learning initiatives apart from other institutions.

Pākehā learners of te reo Māori

While this thesis mainly intends to focus on the experiences of **Māori** HL2 learners, part of this thesis will explore **Pākehā** motivations alongside those of **Māori** HL2 learners. Through the processes of colonisation, **Pākehā** and **Māori** histories create a somewhat intricate set of issues for **Pākehā** learners of **te reo Māori**. **Pākehā** are attempting to learn a language that was actively oppressed by their ancestors. Due to the complexity of the relationship between **Pākehā** and the **Māori** language, grouping **Pākehā** language experiences with other non-**Māori** groups is unfitting. It would also be inappropriate to use the term HL2 learner for **Pākehā** learners of **te reo Māori**, as their relationship with the language is by no means similar to the historical relationship or **whakapapa** connection that **Māori** have with **te reo Māori**. However, the relationships **Pākehā** have with **te reo Māori** is one that is linked with their colonial history. The term Post-Colonial Language (PCL2) learners seems more appropriate due to the colonial relationship that **Pākehā** have with **te reo Māori**. It is likely that **Pākehā** learning **te reo Māori** are seeking to form relationships with **Māori** and the culture through **te reo Māori**. **Pākehā** have commonly been positioned as the coloniser and **Māori** the

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[9] Definitions for **tikanga** include: correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention. (Moorfield, retrieved November 29, 2013.

[10] Students, pupils.

colonised. Meredith (1998) explained that this dichotomy does not adequately describe the multifaceted nature of our history.

The term **Pākehā** has been somewhat contested. Some **Pākehā** prefer to be described as New Zealand European, 'just **Kiwi**',[11] or New Zealander (Liu, 2005). The degree to which **Pākehā** support **Māori** language and culture varies considerably. It appears that those who prefer the categorical ethnic label **Pākehā** are more invested in their relationship with **Māori**. For instance, research showed that those who identified as **Pākehā** over the label 'New Zealand European' were more likely to allocate higher levels of funds to settle Treaty settlement claims than those who identified as New Zealand European (Liu, 2005). Furthermore, **Pākehā** (rather than New Zealand Europeans) were more likely to take personal responsibility for the past injustices caused by their ethnic group to **Māori**.

Jellie (2001) explored **Pākehā** identity through the use of **te reo Māori** and **te ao Māori**.[12] In her thesis, she explored how "**Pākehātanga**"[13] develops as a result of **Pākehā** learning **te reo Māori**. An interesting finding from this study was that those who identified as New Zealand European (83%) were less likely than those who identified as **Pākehā** (66%) to agree with the statement "you do not need to be bilingual to be bicultural"[14] (p. 49). It appears that **Pākehā** who self-identify with the label "**Pākehā**" are more invested in their relationship with **Māori** and **te reo Māori** is a means of strengthening this relationship.

For both **Pākehā** and **Māori**, **te reo Māori** appears to act as a means of creating an identity. The relevance that **te reo Māori** has for **Pākehā** is quite separate from the relevance that it has to **Māori** who share a **whakapapa** connection to **te reo Māori**. These distinctions will be explored in Chapters 6 and 7.

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[11] Although '**Kiwi**' is a **Māori** name for a bird native to New Zealand, its usage has a range of meanings for positioning New Zealand identities. In this context, it has been used to describe New Zealand Europeans who perhaps have adopted a neo-colonial position that assumes 'we are all one' irrespective of the discrepancies in resources and political power that favour the majority group.
[12] The **Māori** world
[13] **Pākehā** identity
[14] Biculturalism in this context does not refer to a dual heritage identity, but rather the inclusion of both **Māori** and **Pākehā** cultures.

Conclusion

One of the more cliché metaphors for language learning is that it is a journey (King, 2007). Despite the unoriginality of this metaphor, it does provide imagery for the processes that learners go through prior to reaching a state where they are both psychologically comfortable and confident using their HL2. The **whakataukī**[15] in the title of this thesis is a highly recognised proverbial saying signifying the importance of goals, or more specifically, the endurance that is required in order to achieve goals. In order for language learners to begin to consider learning their HL2, they must firstly overcome a number of identity and resource barriers prior to even entering into the language classroom. Once learners become language-learners, they face an additional set of factors that both enable and inhibit their use of the language. All these factors are likely to occur before individuals reach "**te iti kahurangi**" or in this context, near-native levels of proficiency.

There are a number of Western psychological theories that provide information about the process of second language acquisition. Although many of these theories have been developed without the indigenous HL2 learner in mind, it is possible to make connections between some of these theories and the experiences of **Māori** HL2 learners. Through the methodological process of triangulation, multiple sources of information will be used to better explore the experiences of learners of **te reo Māori**. Both **Māori** experiences and **Pākehā** experiences will be explored in this thesis. However, the emphasis will be placed on the experiences of **Māori** HL2 learners.

Research questions:

Given the urgency of language revitalisation, it is crucial that educators and language planners understand the psychological processes underpinning language motivations, enablers and inhibitors of HL2 learners. These questions are largely derived from the overarching question: What are the psychological factors that will support the current generation of **Māori** to attain high levels of language fluency?

1. What factors contribute to or detract from the psychological foundations for creating higher levels of language proficiency?

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[15] proverbial saying

2. How are language-learners influenced by or protected from historical devaluation and contemporary mainstream discrimination of **te reo Māori**?

3. What factors contribute to **Māori** HL2 learners feeling justified in their identity position as **Māori**?

    a. How do (identity) authenticity beliefs influence **Māori** HL2 learner decisions and learning from beginner through to advanced stages of proficiency?

    b. How do **Māori** HL2 learners view the role of **te reo Māori** in their descriptions of possible **Māori** identities?

4. What are the core motivations of **Māori** HL2 learners at varying levels of language proficiency and how do cultural orientations and values influence motivation?

5. What factors influence motivational change in **Māori** HL2 learners as they progress to higher levels of fluency?

6. What is the relationship between language fluency and cultural engagement?

7. What factors influence (enable and inhibit) the ability of **Māori** to reach high levels of language fluency?

An eighth comparative sub-question below.

8. What are some of the key differences in motivation between **Māori** HL2 and **Pākehā** PCL2 learners?

    a. Are **Māori** and **Pākehā** enabled or inhibited in their learning of **te reo Māori** by separate factors?

Chapter 2: Literature Review of Heritage and Second Language-Learning Motivation

Introduction

There are many reasons why people learn a second language (L2). When we begin to ask questions about why individuals initiate and sustain language-learner behaviours, the concept of motivation is useful within the field of psychology. Goals and motivation both contribute to a wider framework for understanding human behaviour. While there is an abundance of research into L2 motivation of dominant and migrant groups, indigenous HL2 acquisition has been largely marginalised in the research. In order to successfully provide insights into the learning processes and outcomes of **Māori** HL2 learners, it is important that L2 motivation research is framed in a way that considers the intricacies associated with indigenous learners where there is a heritage connection to the language.

Goals and motivations are likely to be influenced by a number of factors, such as ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997), ethnolinguistic identity (Giles & Johnson, 1981; Gudykunst & Schmidt, 1987), cultural values distinguishable by independence versus interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), relational ties (Brewer & Yuki, 2007), or more specifically, the **whakapapa** connection that a person has with their language. This chapter will investigate the concepts that influence learners of heritage languages to engage in language-learning. To inform the current thesis, experiences of indigenous HL2 learners will be explored alongside mainstream motivation research. Mainstream research will be analysed within the localised contexts of **Māori** language-learners at the forefront.

In order to understand the differences in motivation for heritage learners of te reo **Māori**, it is important to define who is a heritage language learner. Fishman (2001) identifies HL2 learners as those with a family connection to the language. However, this category is broad, including immigrant languages, indigenous languages and colonial languages (for instance, German in the US). In this sense, the term is inclusive of indigenous populations as well as migrant populations who are studying the language outside of their own region or nations of origin. Similarly, Valdes (2005) describes a variety of complexities in the terms applied to heritage language-learners including the learner's mother tongue, first language, second language, dominant language and home

language. Further, the term 'heritage language' has been applied to non-majority languages spoken by linguistic minorities where language maintenance or revitalisation is often a concern (Valdes, 2005). A common feature of heritage languages is that they are endangered, for example Gaelic (Scotland), or Basque, or indeed **te reo Māori**. The history of the language is intrinsically connected to the speaker population. Similarly, Schmidt and Watanabe (2001) explain the term 'heritage learner' as a student who is studying their first language in a school setting, including Spanish classes for Spanish speakers. Furthermore, heritage learners may include second or even fourth generation immigrants who still refer to their nationality as being tied to their ethnic heritage, for instance, ethnic Japanese in Hawai'i.

Research about L2 motivations in psychology have largely been based internationally where studies are centred around L2 learners who are learning a dominant international language (such as French, Spanish or English), by those intending to travel abroad (Noels et al., 2003). Furthermore, dominant literature has focused on L2 acquisition as a tool for increasing intercultural communication (Clément, Baker, & MacIntyre, 2003), rather than indigenous cultural maintenance on which the current study is focused. Key distinctions between L2 learners wanting to learn a globally dominant language and HL2 learners of indigenous languages include the number of speakers (linguistic vitality), and secondly the ability of the learner to distance themselves from the learning process, as they do not share a heritage connection with the language. While non-HL2 learners may experience language anxiety when learning the language, their anxiety is likely to be solely based on the avoidance of demonstrating inadequate personal capability, rather than on their inadequacy in demonstrating their cultural practices. The motivations that drive **Māori** HL2 learners to excel in their language-learning are likely to be connected to how well HL2 learners manage the variety of cultural and linguistic expectations imposed by others, and the expectations they place on themselves.

Where indigenous languages differ significantly from other minority language groups is the historical assimilation of the people, the culture and the language as part of the colonial process. Wa Thiong'o (1986, p. 16) notes in order for colonisers to gain control over resources, the "most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world… The domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the

colonised." When the indigenous are complicit in their assimilation into the dominant culture, the language may be discarded along with other markers of prior cultural identity (Memmi, 1965). For indigenous HL2 learners, the history of their language is tied to their story of colonisation. These issues are not addressed in mainstream L2 motivation research. However, the historical relationship indigenous HL2 learners' communities have with their language is likely to influence motivations and language decisions.

Carreira (2004) notes that HL2 learners can have two separate types of relationships with the heritage language-speaker population (HL1). These relationships position learners as having primary or secondary membership in the speaker population. Primary membership is defined by having detailed "knowledge of the norms of interaction of a community" (p. 5). That is, they are connected with the HL-speaker community. Secondary membership is considered to involve "partial knowledge of the ways of communities one is not intimately connected with" (p.5). These definitions are largely interconnected with concepts of cultural efficacy and personalised relational ties. In the case where individuals have primary membership, individuals' motivation to learn the HL stems from a desire to connect at a more indepth level. Whereas secondary membership describes individuals who are trying to connect with a language community they may not have yet made ties with.

Carreira (2004) describes those with secondary membership as individuals who are physically removed from the speaker population (i.e. living abroad). However, for **Māori** who have been largely marginalised for a number of years or indeed generations from their HL community, their situation could also be described as secondary membership. While they are still living in their own country, a number of social and historical factors may have prevented them from engaging with the **Māori**-speaker population. They are likely to be creating ties with their **Māori** community through learning the language, but to a large extent are learners of both the language and the norms of the culture. In comparison, **Māori** who may have been socialised around the **Māori** language-speaker community may already feel as though they have ingroup membership with the community, but lack in their linguistic ability. Their motivation to develop language proficiency is potentially less about the process of creating links with the language-speaker community and more about strengthening membership or belonging through language.

While indigenous and migrant groups may face similar pressures in terms of linguistic assimilation, the historical connections indigenous people have with their linguistic oppressors are starkly different from the relationships that migrant groups have with their new host culture. A fundamental difference is the history of oppression inflicted upon indigenous people by the colonising (dominant) group. In addition, inter-cultural contact between migrants (with the exception of refugee groups) and the majority culture is voluntary, which is most certainly not the case for indigenous groups (Berry, 1995). Furthermore, for many migrant languages, such as Spanish in the United States, or Arabic in France, the language of the migrant community is alive and well in their nation of origin. Migrant groups are not necessarily faced with the same issues of urgently requiring language revitalisation. These points are notably different from an indigenous position. For instance, although Spanish speakers may indeed be in a linguistic minority in the US, they are still the linguistically dominant group in Spain and other countries, including those within Latin America. Many indigenous populations have been assimilated by Spanish language dominance. Therefore, to class Spanish in the same class or categorical group as the indigenous population is a theoretical conflation. Indigenous populations globally are faced with a separate set of issues linguistically, economically and socially. For the purpose of this study, HL2 will refer to indigenous language-learners learning **te reo Māori** where a **whakapapa** connection exists.

Ethnolinguisitic vitality theory

For indigenous languages, as well as other minority languages, ethnolinguistic vitality research provides insights into language use. Ethnolinguistic vitality theory was developed in an attempt to understand linguistic factors involved with intergroup relations (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). Language choice and use was posited as being tied to group level factors including social status (political and economic prestige), demographics (age, location, critical mass of speakers), and institutional support (recognition from government, media support, education providers). This theory is relevant because it highlights the role of factors outside the control of the learner. For instance, the political prestige and government support contribute to whether individuals choose to prioritise **te reo Māori**. An observation made by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) was the importance of subjective and objective vitality, and people's evaluation of the language. At a localised level, these factors are applicable.

As mentioned in Chapter 1 of this thesis, the Health of the **Māori** Language Survey indicated that 14% of **Māori** speak **te reo Māori** well or very well (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006). Of these speakers, the greatest proportion (26%) of speakers were in the 55 and over age group indicating that the greatest proportion of speakers are at the later end of the life spectrum. These statistical findings would be considered objective evaluations of the language's vitality. However, the way that the public, including **Māori**, *perceive* the language's vitality is considered to be subjective. It is the subjective elements of linguistic evaluation that are the focus of this study. The relationship both **Māori** and non-**Māori** have with **te reo** and the language-speaker community is likely to impact on how much value they attribute to the language and, therefore, how much they use the language.

Ethnolinguistic vitality theory claimed that when demographics, institutional support and status of a language group are low, language-speakers of this group tend to assimilate linguistically into the dominant group (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). These assumptions are highly connected to social identity theory that posits that individuals endeavour to achieve a positive identity in comparison to other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It is this trend towards linguistic assimilation that has led to the tragically low proportions of **Māori** who currently speak **te reo Māori**. While linguistic assimilation has significantly contributed to the demise of the number of **Māori** language-speakers, there are a number of **Māori** who have chosen to learn their heritage language to a very high degree of fluency.

This begs the question: why would individuals choose to maintain their language in spite of its position of disadvantage with regards to demographics, status and institutional support? **Māori** who feel a personal heritage or identity connection with the language are likely to engage with the language despite low ethnolinguistic vitality. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) may also provide an insight into why individuals continue to promote the language as a central component of the social self. Social identity theory posits that people are motivated to view themselves positively, and social comparison is one way of achieving this goal (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For individuals from low-status groups, rather than positioning themselves against high-status (dominant) groups, they may instead choose to create new criteria in order to view themselves positively. If **te reo Māori** is valued from within the **Māori** community,

learning **te reo Māori** may provide language-speakers with a point of positive distinction amongst other **Māori** (see Brewer's (1991) optimal distinctiveness theory).

Pākehā learners of te reo Māori

Māori language initiatives have not relied on overt **Pākehā** support for language revitalisation. Rather, initiatives have been developed from within the **Māori** community (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). The regeneration of **te reo Māori** has come from **Māori** community-led initiatives outside of compulsory education. Fishman (1989, p. 369) indicates that the "school can solve it" approach to reversing language shift adopted by many language communities is overly optimistic. Schools currently offer **te reo Māori** as a subject along with other languages. However, the resources afforded to **Māori** language programmes are not great enough to expect language revitalisation to come through mainstream schools or tertiary institutions (Earle, 2007). **Māori** have taken action to ensure the survival of **te reo Māori**, within **Māori** communities, the participation of **Pākehā** in these initiatives has, therefore, been largely incidental.

The role of **Pākehā** in the **Māori** language-learning context is also dynamic and influential. As **Pākehā** are the majority culture in New Zealand, their tolerance and support of **te reo Māori** in public domains is necessary to improve the ethnolinguisitic vitality of **te reo Māori**. Financial support is also necessary for **Māori** media, including **Māori** Television and radio. These are only a few examples of the types of contributions that the mainstream public play in the regeneration of the **Māori** language. Going one step further than passive support is active support through the learning of **te reo Māori**. Many **Pākehā** learnt to speak **te reo Māori** during early encounters with **Māori** when **Māori** language was the main language of communication (Simon, 1998). Learning **te reo Māori** allowed **Pākehā** to conduct their daily lives with more ease through being in contact with monolingual **Māori**-speakers.

Many Government state service sector jobs incentivise the learning of **te reo Māori**, in response to their obligations as Treaty partners. For instance, Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori offers an exam entitled Public Sector Māori (PSM) (Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori, 2013). This exam is specifically designed for employees of the public sector, and is separate from the examinations available to the general public. Scores individuals achieve from the PSM exam impact on bonuses received within some public service departments. However, these incentives do not account for the other possible motivations

for **Pākehā** learning **te reo Māori**. The Treaty of Waitangi provides the context of a bicultural partnership between **Māori** and **Pākehā**. This partnership is likely to factor into the identity of New Zealanders. It is likely that **Pākehā** who see their partnership with **Māori** as contributing to their own national identity will be more inclined to learn the language for personal identity and political reasons.

Learning a second language requires a shift in cultural thinking (Gardner, 2007). **Pākehā** have social control of most public domains in New Zealand and are therefore not required to participate in **Māori** language or culture if they wish to avoid such settings. Those **Pākehā** who do choose to learn **te reo Māori** are doing so voluntarily.

While languages contribute to the distinctiveness of nations, the value placed on the language by the nation varies depending on how much ownership the nation feels towards the language. In New Zealand, **Māori** culture continues to provide distinction for New Zealand. Pearson (2005) notes that, although there is an increase in the amount of public use of **Māori** symbolic imagery in depictions of New Zealand nationhood, the mainstream public has limited tolerance when it comes to equity for **Māori**.

Drawing from Pearson's (2005) observations, Liu and Sibley (2006) note "without **Māori**, NZ culture would simply be a colonial derivative of Great Britain, a nation that left NZ to its own devices and is no longer an adequate source of identity" (p.11). The extents to which these symbols contribute to an authentic relationship are questionable. In a study of implicit perceptions of nationhood, **Pākehā** associated **Māori** symbols with a national identity (Sibley & Liu, 2007), which contradict international findings (for instance Devos & Banji, 2005) where indigenous symbols were not associated with nationhood. Although **Pākehā**/New Zealand Europeans may incorporate **Māori** into their perceptions of national identity, attitudes towards the actual allocation of resources to support equity are less positive (Sibley, Liu, & Khan, 2008). If the results of these studies are applied to the **Māori** language learning context, it could be expected that New Zealand Europeans would be supportive, to a limit, of **Māori** language use, as long as they are not directly impacted by its use.

The views of New Zealander Europeans are likely to be substantially different from those **Pākehā** who do choose to learn **te reo Māori**. **Pākehā** who engage with **Māori** language-learning are likely to be aware of the negative discrimination their ethnic group inflict upon **Māori**. This is likely to cause discomfort for **Pākehā** who have chosen

to affiliate with **Māori** at an interpersonal level. Unlike mainstream New Zealanders who 'tolerate' **Māori** customs and culture (Pearson, 2005), **Pākehā** who choose to learn **te reo Māori** are likely to be actively seeking a more authentic bicultural identity (Jellie, 2001).

For **Pākehā** PCL2 learners of **te reo Māori**, their decision to learn is likely to be determined by a view that **Māori** are a core component of a national identity. While **Pākehā** acquisition of **te reo Māori** may come from identity-driven motivations, their experiences as PCL2 learners is distinct from the experience of **Māori** HL2 learners. One of the reasons is that **Pākehā** do not share a **whakapapa** heritage connection to the language. Although **Pākehā** lack a **whakapapa** connection to **te reo Māori**, they share a history with **Māori** in New Zealand. The colonial nature of the relationship between cultures may have implications on **Pākehā** learning experiences in different ways than it would for foreigners. **Pākehā** PCL2 learners of **te reo Māori** are likely to have distinct identity positions and learning experiences from **Pākehā** learners of foreign languages. **Pākehā** learners of **te reo Māori** are not learning the language for travel. Rather, they are likely to be learning the language in order to connect with the indigenous people of New Zealand and to strengthen a bicultural form of national identity, or to increase their positive distinctiveness. Therefore, identity is also a factor that is expected to influence **Pākehā** motivations to learn **te reo Māori**.

Proficiency aspirations

The personal connection that HL2 learners have towards their language is far different from students who have no heritage connection with the language (Valdes, 2005). Fishman (2001) notes that for HL2 learners, the concern lies with the historical and personal connection they have to their heritage language, rather than actual proficiency in the language. This may account for the varying levels of actual proficiency **Māori** HL2 learners gain, irrespective of their levels of motivation or the personal value they place on **te reo Māori**. Furthermore, given that there are a severely limited number of native speakers, **Māori** HL2 learners are likely to experience motivations based on the need to preserve or maintain their cultural heritage for future generations, as opposed to being focused on gaining a pre-determined level of proficiency.

Relational orientation and language learning

While mainstream New Zealand may perceive a given ethnic group as having low social status, it may not always stand that the group holds such views about themselves.

Māori may have a set of criteria from which to judge their self-worth that is different from New Zealand Europeans (consistent with social identity theory, Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Markus and Kitayama (1991) put forward a theory that indicated that collectivistic cultures predominantly apply interdependent self-construals, while those from individualistic cultures prioritise independent self-construals. Markus and Kitayama's (1991) theory has been utilised to understand emotions, aspects of cognition and, of importance to this study, motivations. Cultures that prioritise interdependence also tend to view their personal goals and the goals of specific others as compatible rather than oppositional.

Through further investigation of the Markus and Kitayama's (1991) independent/interdependent self-construal, Brewer and Gardner (1996) pose three levels of the 'social self' including the personal self, the relational self and the collective self. These levels of selves described the self in relation to others. Of particular relevance to **Māori** is the relational self-construal. The relational self is defined in terms of a set of personalised connections or role relationships that an individual holds with specific others. This contrasts with the collective self-construal, which is described in terms of categorical groups that individuals occupy without personalised bonds or connections within the ingroup.

At first glance, it may appear that relational and collective selves comprise overlapping components. Personalised relationships and connections to specific others are at the heart of the distinction between relational and collective selves (Brewer & Chen, 2007). Relational selves are made meaningful by their personalised relationships with specific significant others who are all connected through interpersonal relationships. In contrast, collective selves can be thought of more in terms of a collection of individual units with depersonalised connections between individuals, whereby individuals within collectives share abstract or prototypical categorical similarities. This makes the terminology used by Brewer and Gardner slightly confusing, in that people from collectivist cultures tend to have a relational rather than a collectivist self.

Brewer and Yuki (2007, p. 314) explain "In cultures where ingroups are defined primarily as relational networks, well-being and self-esteem may be more closely associated with enhancement of the quality of relationships." In contrast, in cultures that value depersonalised categorical group identities, self-enhancement (rather than relational

networks) provides individuals with feelings of self-worth. These cultural variations are likely to have significant implications for language-learners.

For cultures that value categorical collective enhancement, the opinions of outgroup members are likely to hold bearing on the collective value members place on their group's social position. Those cultures that value relational or personalised connections over categorical collectivism are likely to prioritise the values of those who have personal relevance to their social identity. That is, for members of cultures whose social identity is made meaningful through the personalised relationships they hold with significant others, it is likely that the expectations and views of such relationships provide more weight than the opinions of outgroup members. Of note, due to colonisation, **Māori** are not culturally homogenous. Some **Māori** may have relational orientation, while others may have stronger abstract collective orientations (Rata, 2012). For language-learners of **te reo Māori**, if the learner values the opinions of mainstream New Zealand, their motivation to learn the language is tied to mainstream opinions of **Māori** and the language. If the learner perceives public opinions to be low, and the learner values such opinions, they are less likely to want to learn the language. These observations are consistent with ethnolinguistic vitality research (Giles & Johnson, 1987). However, **Māori** who are more tightly invested in relationships with other **Māori** who value the language may be more likely to value the opinions of those individuals, as they provide context for their own cultural identity.

Māori who feel marginalised from mainstream New Zealand are unlikely to choose to learn the language based on the evaluations made by the wider New Zealand population. Research has shown that **Māori** are more discriminated against than any other group in New Zealand on a number of social indicators (Harris, et al., 2006a). Rather than **Māori** relying on New Zealand mainstream to reinforce the positive aspects of **te reo Māori**, the choice to learn **te reo Māori** is likely to be motivated by relational factors. In general, **Māori** are considered relationally oriented by a number of authors (Durie, 2001; Walker, 1989). When quality relationships are developed, the connection and belonging is likely to provide positive self-worth and wellbeing. If language is viewed as a feature that would enhance the strength of relationships, it is likely that **Māori** would engage in language learning behaviours in order to achieve positive self-worth. This thesis will explore how heritage language-learners are influenced by cultural values of collective

relationalism. Mainstream motivation literature may provide insights into the learning processes of **Māori** learners and will be included in the current review.

Motivation and goal literature

Language is a necessary feature of communication and an essential precursor to participation in our communities (Gardner, 2001, 2007). We learn our first language without significant motivation for doing so (Gardner, 2007). However, learning a second language as an adult is quite a separate process, both cognitively and socially (Rātima & May, 2011). Understanding the dynamic interplay between the array of possible motivations, goals and learning processes assists in understanding how language-learning develops amongst adult learners. The process of second-language acquisition in adult learners brings with it separate challenges, including a range of emotional responses to competence. Although L2 acquisition of globally dominant languages has been researched in depth (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009), HL2 acquisition is well under-researched. Languages continue to decline at an alarming rate. Simons and Lewis (2013) indicate that 75% of languages that were alive in Australia, Canada and the United States of America in 1950 are now moribund (severely endangered). As the numbers of indigenous languages around the world continue to decrease substantially, there is a significant loss to cultural resources. Motivations as to why individuals are learning indigenous languages, which are highly endangered, are of value to greater goals of language revitalisation.

Motivation theories assume that humans "initiate or persist at behaviours to the extent that they believe the behaviours will lead to desired outcomes or goals" (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 277), what is otherwise classified as goal-directed behaviour (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). This position assumes that the end result is determined by language-learner's level of endurance and the persistence exerted to reach a particular goal. Motivation is thought to be the precursor to behaviour. Without sustained motivation it is almost inevitable that an action requiring endurance will not be successfully completed.

Gardner (1985, p. 10) defines L2 motivation as "the extent to which the individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity". These aspects have been broken down into three components including the effort used to achieve the goal, the desire to learn the language and the satisfaction gained as a result of learning the language (Tremblay & Gardner,

1995). Tremblay and Gardner (1995) examined goals more specifically through testing goal salience in terms of how specific and clearly defined a goal was, and how frequently the goal was attempted. Goals are referred to as "desired future end-states" (Dörnyei, 2009). Individuals who choose to learn a language presumably are choosing to do so in order to attain a desirable level of fluency in the future.

Motivation has been commonly discussed in terms of the integrative/instrumental dichotomy alongside the intrinsic/extrinsic dichotomy. Integrative language motivation is defined as a desire to communicate with another language community (Gardner & Lambert, 1959), whereas instrumental language motivation is defined as the desire to learn the L2 to accomplish a practical goal. Instrumental motivations have been linked to positive language outcomes (fluency) when there is urgency in achieving the goal (Noels, 2001). For instance, if an individual is moving to another country for work or travel, their language goal is immediate. They are required to learn the language for a pragmatic reason with immediate consequences.

Integrative motivation is distinguishable from integrativeness, which is defined as "an openness to identify, at least in part, with another language community" (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003, p. 172). Gardner (2001, p. 2) indicates that an underlying assumption of integrative motivation is that second language acquisition "refers to the development of near-native like language skills, and this takes time, efforts, and persistence" and that "such a level of language development requires identification with the second language community." Connection or affiliation with the language community may be difficult for some New Zealanders, both **Māori** and **Pākehā**, due to an ambivalence they may feel towards the culture and the language. Due to the small number of speakers, who tend to be only located in particular regions of New Zealand (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006), becoming proficient requires effort on the part of the learner to engage with a **Māori**-speaking community. Learners who are ambivalent toward the culture are unlikely to engage with the **Māori** language-speaker community, which ultimately results in low levels of fluency due to limited exposure to the language.

Some of Lambert's (1956) early research in L2 research found that while individuals could master vocabulary and foundational language structures in the second language (in French), one of the most difficult factors for L2 learners was the cultural barrier. In order for individuals to overcome the cultural barriers associated with reaching

near-native proficiency, individuals were thought to need to identify with the target language group (Gardner, 2001). For **Māori** who have been assimilated, the barrier towards identifying with their cultural heritage may indeed prove difficult. They are not only needing to overcome cognitive challenges in learning the language, but also they are faced with questions regarding an identity they may have denied or rejected throughout their lifetimes. Furthermore, for **Pākehā** who are unsure of their bicultural relationship with **Māori** or who are aware of the historical colonisation their ethnic group forced upon **Māori**, identifying with the indigenous people may cause stress. Due to the colonial nature of the relationship between **Māori** and **Pākehā**, both groups may be uncomfortable with the idea of **Pākehā** identifying with **Māori**. Rather than identifying with **Māori**, it may be more preferable for **Pākehā** to *relate* to **Māori**.

Integrativeness, or how open an individual is to *identifying* with another culture, may in part be related to how culturally similar or distant the new culture (in this case **Māori** culture) is to their own culture (mainstream culture). The cultural distance (how similar to or different from one's own culture the target culture is) can also have an impact on how manageable cross-cultural relationships are likely to be (Ward & Chang, 1997). If **Pākehā** or **Māori** with limited exposure to **Māori** culture perceive **Māori** cultural environments as too dissimilar to the contexts they are familiar with, they may react by withdrawing from such situations. However, research suggests that if individuals are gradually introduced to new cultural environments, they are less likely to withdraw, as they exponentially acculturate to the new environment (Landis, 2008). Cross-cultural acculturation research may provide greater awareness about the difficulties associated with *integration* as a concept for language motivation.

Intrinsic motivations are described as actions or tasks that are performed for the enjoyment experienced by undertaking the task itself (Noels, et al., 1999). Such feelings of enjoyment were thought to be derived from the development of competence in a particular area that the agent had voluntarily chosen to take part in (Ryan & Deci, 2000). The emphasis of intrinsic motivation is based on an individual's engagement with and autonomy to perform a task rather than the enjoyment the learner gains from connecting with members of the target language culture. From a relational position, it is possible that individuals gain enjoyment from a task due to the fact that they are able to relate to others. It is possible that the task becomes a means of gaining enjoyment from the

connectedness they feel with significant others. In this sense, the relationship and the task are both salient.

Extrinsic motivations involve engaging in behaviours with an external reward in mind (Noels et al., 2003), for example, individuals who choose to take a language class at university in order to fulfil a degree programme requirement (Noels, 2001). Extrinsic motivations were thought to be less sustainable forms of motivation as the reward was the source of motivation, rather than the process of learning. Once the reward was taken away, the behaviour would lose its appeal (Noels, 2001). Rather than viewing **Māori** HL2 learners as intrinsically or extrinsically motivated, it is perhaps more likely that motivation is derived from feelings of connectedness and enhanced by relational commitments they have with significant others.

Heritage motivations

Heritage language motivations differ from general second language acquisition in the sense that the HL2 learner's identity is connected to the language. When we consider L2 learners of globally dominant languages, if the learner has an integrative motivation they have a desire to connect with the 'other' language group (Gardner, 2001). For indigenous language-learners, the learner/group dynamics are dissimilar to the situation presented above. Schmidt and Watanabe (2001) observed at the University of Mãnoa that approximately half of the students enrolled in language courses were studying languages of their ethnic heritage. They explained that heritage factors are an especially important source of motivation, impacting on both choice and persistence in learning the HL2. They noted that although integrative motivation includes the desire to learn someone else's culture and language, it does not account for the personal connection a learner has with their own heritage language. Integrative motivation versus heritage motivation has been described as 'affiliation' versus 'inheritance' (Schmidt & Watanabe, 2001).

In a qualitative study of HL2 learners, Syed (2001) concluded that social and familial expectations were significant factors for HL2 motivation. The expectations of family and friends were important to HL2 learners, and, therefore, perceived as legitimate expectations. A central motivation for HL2 learners in Syed's (2001) study was the desire to connect with those with whom they shared family connections, and also to fit in with their social communities (a sense of belonging). Furthermore, heritage language was found to contribute meaningfully to participants' identity development and identity

negotiation. Identity negotiation is particularly relevant given that indigenous people and ethnic minority groups are often expected to 'transform' or adapt to the dominant cultural way of behaving (Ting-Toomey, 2005). Rather than transforming, **Māori** have shown a preference for *relating* to the dominant culture in order to maintain positive relationships with both their ethnic group and the dominant population, which also has the impact of positive identity negotiation (Te Huia & Liu, 2012).

Kondo-Brown (2001) found that Japanese HL2 learners were motivated by both integrative and instrumental motivations. Aligned with East Asian cultural values, which are commonly described as relational (Brewer & Chen, 2007), the most common motivation for Japanese HL2 learners was a relational connection they had with other Japanese speakers. These results are likely to be similar for **Māori** learners of **te reo Māori**. Other researchers have found inconsistent results in regards to HL2 learners and integrative/instrumental motivations (Noels, 2001). For instance, within the intrinsic/extrinsic, or instrumental/integrative binary, **Māori** who are engaging in HL2 are likely to be doing so for a number of reasons that do not necessarily fall into a single category. Instead, it is likely that **Māori** hold a number of motivational orientations concurrently.

Māori are likely to know other **Māori** who speak the language and wish to be a part of the group who speaks the language. In addition, HL2 learners may be engaging in the language for identity or group membership reasons, also with the understanding that they will enrich their cultural knowledge (Norton & Toohey, 2011). On the other hand, **Māori** are also likely to be instrumentally motivated, as there are employment options for **Māori** who have high levels of language proficiency. In a study of job selection bias, employers were given filler CVs of **Māori** and **Pākehā** who were described as having high merit or low merit qualifications (Jackson & Fischer, 2007). Results showed that employers preferred **Māori** high-merit performers over **Pākehā** high-merit performers. A key reason for employers' preference for the high-merit **Māori** were related to the potential employee's cultural capacity, more specifically, their ability to converse in **te reo Māori**. On the other end of the scale, **Māori** who had low-merit qualifications were less desirable to employers than **Pākehā** low-merit applicants irrespective of whether the **Māori** applicant was proficient in **te reo Māori**. These results could explain that for **te reo Māori** to be economically useful for **Māori**, their qualifications must be equal to or greater than their language skills. These findings also provide insight into why **te reo**

Māori learning might be taken up by holders of tertiary qualifications, whether they are **Māori** or **Pākehā**.

There is a strong sense of responsibility that many **Māori** language-learners are likely to feel because of the language's status as 'endangered'. Using the UNESCO framework for language endangerment, Te Paepae Motuhake (a reference group of **Māori** language experts) explained that **te reo Māori** was ranked between definitely endangered and severely endangered (Reedy et al., 2011). The rank *definitely endangered* includes those languages where "The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves but they do not normally transmit it to their children", and *severely endangered* includes cases where "The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation" (Simons & Lewis, 2013, p. 22). This ranking provides the **Māori** community with a realistic picture of the current language crisis.

In a recently published case study, Rātima and Papesch (2013) highlighted the importance of identity and continuation of culture for **Māori** language-learners. The case study participant recalls how her motivation to learn stemmed from the death of her mother, and the responsibility she felt towards maintaining the culture for future generations. Rātima and Papesch (2013) quote a case study participant:

> "**Ka whānau mai aku tamariki tokotoru, kātahi ka mate taku mama, ka huri au me te whakaaro**, 'mā wai te reo e kawe mō tō mātou whānau? **Kua mate taku koroua, kua mate taku kuia**' ", … **āe i tōku pāpā tonu te reo engari kāre i kōrero mai ki a mātou**, **ā, kua mate taku mama. I te matenga o taku mama i whakaaro au**, 'me ako, kei ngaro i tō mātou whānau tonu.' **Tekau o mātou i tō mātou whānau, kāre tētahi i kōrero i te reo**."[16]

For **Māori**, language revitalisation is personal. There are a number of responsibilities that come with having a language that is considered endangered.

Consistently, HL2 motivation studies have shown that HL2 learners are motivated to learn their language due to relational or heritage connections to their people (Carreira, 2004; Kondo-Brown, 2001; Syed, 2001). For cultures who value relational ties (see Brewer and Yuki, 2007), the motivation that comes from learning a heritage language is

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[16] My three children were born, then my mother died, I thought, 'who is going to transmit te reo for our family? My grandfather has passed on, my grandmother has passed on'… yes, my father speaks it, but he never spoke it to us, and my mother has died. When my mother died I thought, 'I have to learn, or it will be lost from our entire extended family.' There were ten of us [siblings] in our family, not one of us could speak the **Māori** language. Translation provided in Rātima and Papesch (2013).

likely to be intensified as individuals may hold a desire to strengthen their relationships due to relationally based cultural factors.

Linguistic investment as relational

Second language acquisition research has commonly taken the position that the motivations for why people learn second languages in general are essential to research, as the level of motivation ultimately determines the L2 acquisition success (Oxford & Shearin, 1994). Research in L2 learning motivation has typically applied an individualistic and cognitive perspective to L2 achievement (Norton, 1997). There was an over-reliance on the internal 'traits' of the learner much removed from the cultural reality of the learner. This is not to imply that research into social cognition in L2 acquisition has not provided valuable information about the L2 learning process. However, with the focus on the individual rather than their community or personal relationships with others, trait-based approaches to L2 motivation have meant that learners who did not succeed in acquiring the L2 were viewed as being uncommitted to the learning process (Norton, 2001). She found that high motivation to learn a language did not necessarily correspond with positive language-learner outcomes. Subsequently, Norton (1997) developed the construct of 'investment' as a complementary concept to motivation.

The theory of investment fits well with HL2 learners where relationships are a more prominent component of the second language acquisition process (Norton, 1997). The concept of investment has been applied by a number of researchers who have studied learners of English as a second language and their investment in learning English (Angelil-Carter, 1997; Norton, 1997). Norton (1997, p. 411) developed the concept of investment as it connects the "socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it". Rather than asking questions such as "Is the learner motivated to learn a target language" and what particular personality traits construct a successful learner, Norton (1997, p.411) instead posed the question of "What is the learner's investment in the target language?" From the position of **Māori** HL2 learners, it is assumed that investment in the language is tied to a number of personal and historically based connections and relationships with other speakers of the language.

The extent to which **Māori** invest in the language is likely to reflect a number of factors, including importance that significant others place on the attainment of the

language. Rather than wanting to engage with an idealised community of foreign language-speakers, **Māori** decisions to learn are likely to be based on actual relationships held in the past and present. For **Māori** HL2 learners the relational influences are likely to provide the initial motivation for beginning to learn the HL2. When **Māori** are more engaged with other **Māori** from the **Māori** language-speaking community they are more likely to have opportunities to practise the language. The relationships they subsequently develop with peers and mentors are also likely to provide a sustained motivation for learning.

Māori who invest in HL2 are likely to gain cultural efficacy, which enable them to feel more connected as members of their heritage language-speaker group. Investment is bi-directional, in the sense that "learners 'invest' in the target language at particular times and in particular settings, because they believe they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will, in turn, increase the value of their cultural capital." (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 420). Furthermore, if language is a means of identity authentication, as has been shown in other studies (Vedder & Virta, 2005), the cultural capital gained through HL2 acquisition may be highly valuable to learners who successfully achieve HL2 proficiency. Aligned with ethnolinguisitic identity theory (Giles & Johnson, 1987), gaining language fluency (as a cultural capital) is only relevant to individuals who wish to be viewed positively by the cultural ingroup. **Māori** who are assimilated may not necessarily have a desire to be considered as an authentic group member (as indicated by their language fluency), as their investment in this group is low.

The motivations of those who are invested in their identity as **Māori** are likely to provide insights into why **Māori** become HL2 learners. King (2009) discussed how adult learners of **te reo Māori** were typically motivated by personal transformation reasons. While there is a general understanding about what motivates **Māori** during the initial to intermediate phases of **Māori** language-learning (Research NZ, 2010), it is not known whether or how motivations change as the individual progresses through the language-learning phases. The motivations of highly proficient **Māori** HL2 learners is important as although most interventions are aimed at beginner-level learners, highly proficient speakers are needed for successful language revitalisation.

Research into the idea of investment may indicate that the more an individual invests in the language, the more their language community reciprocates such

commitment or investment. These assumptions are made on the foundation of reciprocity or culturally located indicators of **utu** or reciprocity. Mead (2003) translates **utu** as compensation or a state of balance. **Utu** can be viewed in **Māori** customary culture through a range of actions, including through the giving of gifts. For instance, Mead (2003) explains the concept behind reciprocity of gift giving as follows. "One may give the same gift back, or one similar to it, or one equivalent to it, but the preferred option is to improve the value." (p. 182). If a learner has been provided with mentoring and support during the learning phase, it is expected that if the learner eventually demonstrates competence in the area of **Māori** language, they give back to the community through their use of **te reo Māori**.

Rātima and Papesch (2013) explained that being mentored by native speakers who had secure knowledge of customary concepts allowed Te Rita (the case study participant) to develop in skills of both communication of language, but also in the art of performance (**karanga**[17] and **patu**[18]). For **Māori** who are relationally focused, investment is reciprocal. Te Rita's mentor was indebted to her family due to assistance he had received in another context. In turn, Te Rita would need to reciprocate the kindness her mentor had provided her in the future, explaining "her mother had been a generous friend to [Te Rita's mentor] and his family over the years and that he hoped for an opportunity to repay her mother's kindness." And in return the mentor explained, "He also hoped one day Te Rita would show the same kindness to one of his own should the opportunity arise" (p.6). **Māori** like other relationally based cultures are tied into a web of socially important connections. It requires considered effort to maintain relationships, as the reciprocity and support is remembered over a number of generations (Smith, 2007). For language-learners, it is these relationships that individuals are likely to be embedded in once they show they are serious about investing in their culture through language acquisition.

One way in which **Māori** are able to provide such reciprocity is through the medium of education. For **Māori** who use their skills to give back to the language-learner community, their language abilities are likely to improve through constant use. It may be assumed from an individualistic L2 motivation perspective that such a learner could be

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[17] A ceremonial call of welcome to visitors onto a marae, or equivalent venue, at the start of a *pōwhiri* (Moorfield, retrieved November 29, 2013).
[18] In this context, Te Rita was taught to use a patu (weapon/club) in the context of performance art.

classed as instrumentally motivated. However, if the culturally contextual factors are included, an educator may be also motivated by a satisfaction they receive from providing educational opportunities to others, and from reciprocating support they received themselves as learners. Given the relational cultural context of **Māori** HL2 learners, it is possible that instrumental motivations are more relationally based rather than extrinsic.

Norton (1997) positions investment as an alternative perspective to social-cognitive approaches to language acquisition and achievement. However, it is possible to use a combination of both the concept of investment and cognitive approaches to explore the idea of how L2 learners pass from wanting to learn a second language to finally being able to converse in their target language. The overview of this thesis positions this research within a wider social and historical context. **Māori** learners of **te reo Māori** are embedded within webs of social networks with intricate patterns of relationships between members and groups. **Māori** experiences of colonisation are not divorced from learning **te reo Māori**. These aspects can be acknowledged through the concept of *investment*. However, these aspects can be viewed as complementary to cognitive approaches to language-learning as long as cognitive perspectives are viewed in a manner that reflects the relational values **Māori** hold.

Language-learner community

The role the language-learner community[19] and the language-speaker community[20] play cannot be underestimated in language motivation. Whether the learner is at the beginning stages of L2 acquisition, or further along in the process, the role that relationships play is crucial to a second language-learner attaining native-like proficiency (Gardner, 2001). Parents and family members can be a source of support for language-learners. Biggs (1968) notes that **Māori** first language-speakers in the 1960s spoke **Māori** not because of a conscious decision to preserve their cultural heritage (although that is possible for some), but rather because that was the language of their speech community. For second language-learners, which include most **Māori** speakers today, the decision to speak **te reo Māori** is a conscious decision (King, 2009).

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[19] This refers to those who are co-learners or teachers who support the learner.
[20] This refers to native speakers, and others who use the langauge in daily use. Sometimes these two groups will intersect, especially for learners who have contact with both groups.

Whether or not the support provided to students is active or passive, knowing that one's family sees the value in making achievements in language-learning is likely to be motivating. Noels (2001) notes that even in situations when the family does not have language proficiency, they are able to support the learner through a sense of relatedness. For instance, showing an interest in the learner's pursuits is likely to support the learner's progress. If the language-learner has the support of their family who speak the language, they may be able to seek instructive support as well as pastoral or emotional support.

When considering the types of support **Māori** language-learners develop during their HL2 journey, the concept of **whānau** is relevant. A recent literature review explains **whānau** are defined most prominently in two ways (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2005). First, a collective of people with shared ancestry (**whakapapa**-based **whānau**) or those who share a common purpose or goal (**kaupapa whānau**). **Māori** language students share commonalities through their shared goal of language acquisition, and also the shared emotional processes that accompany learning a heritage language as a second language. The language successes they make are achievements that can be fully appreciated by their **kaupapa whānau** through the shared journey. The introductory phase of language-learning is the first stage for some towards creating a **kaupapa whānau**. Whether or not individuals continue to higher levels of proficiency somewhat determines the extent to which the **kaupapa whānau** continue to exist.

The obligations that **kaupapa whānau** have towards one another are likely to be similar but distinct from relationships with **whakapapa whānau**. The rules that apply for **whakapapa whānau** do not necessarily hold for **kaupapa whānau**. The material holding the **kaupapa whānau** together is their common connection through their goal (in this case, **te reo Māori**). If an individual chooses to stop learning, they are effectively choosing to dismiss the goals of the **kaupapa whānau**. When individuals make a commitment to their **kaupapa whānau** to share the goal of language-learning, it is harder to turn away from this goal, as they may no longer be able to share the bonds they share with their **kaupapa whānau**. The responsibilities **kaupapa whānau** feel towards their group is likely to be a factor contributing to whether the learner chooses to continue or not.

Identity and the process of language-learning

Carreira (2004) notes that language proficiency is invariably a defining identity characteristic of Latin Americans in the United States. The issue of cultural authenticity is one that affects many HL2 communities. For instance, Carreira (2004, p.15) provides an example of two Latina women meeting in a supermarket. One of the women initiated a conversation in Spanish, and the other responded indicating that she did not speak Spanish. The woman who had initiated the conversation in Spanish replied to the English-speaking Latina woman exclaiming in English "Oh, I'm sorry, I thought you were Hispanic." Issues of cultural authenticity and identity are also relevant for **Māori** HL2 learners.

There are a range of cultural markers of identity which vary, given **Māori** experience different social and cultural realities (Durie, 2001). Individuals who were not enculturated into aspects of the distinctly **Māori** culture during early development are able to be socialised into the culture in later life (Bugental & Goodnow, 1998), which can contribute to the enrichment of their cultural identity. The most recent statistics shows that 52.8% of all individuals who belong to the **Māori** ethnic group indicated that **Māori** was their only ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Among those who reported **Māori** as an identity, the most common second ethnic group this group identified with was New Zealand European (42.2%), followed by Pacific peoples ethnic groups (7%) and Asian ethic groups (1.5%).

Having almost half the **Māori** population identify with other ethnic groups poses challenges for identities and the languages that the individual chooses to speak or learn. Ingroup/outgroup boundaries defined by language groups have been found in other indigenous cultures (Carreira, 2004). It is possible that **Māori** experience lower levels of identity insecurity as language proficiencies increase. **Māori** (whether dual ethnicity or not) also have to deal with the impact of discrimination from the mainstream (Harris, et al., 2006a). Being discriminated against has a flow-on effect to ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al., 1977). Internalised emotions of linguistic inferiority are likely to deter individuals from seeing value in a long-term learning investment, which requires in-depth self-categorisation assessment. It is likely then that strengthening **Māori** identity might motivate HL2 learning for some **Māori**, but that emotions of linguistic inferiority might deter other **Māori** from HL2 learning.

Identity-related motivations are also likely to be central features of **Māori** language-learners. Given the diverse ethnic formation of **Māori**, it makes sense that for many **Māori** the HL2's objective is to *be Māori*, thus motivated to learn **te reo Māori** to appease cultural identity-related factors rather than holding a goal of achieving language mastery. Therefore, individuals who have successfully achieved their goal of attaining increased cultural identity and ingroup belongingness may attain their goal without becoming highly proficient in the language. Research supports the notion that HL2 learners learn their languages in order to feel a connection to the language. A participant of one study explains:

> (t)he desire to relate to and identify with another culture is also of prime importance on the motivational continuum. Even though I have not arrived at a native-like proficiency in all skills in all situations, I have arrived at the point where I feel emotionally connected… (Carreira, 2004)

The participant response above explains that the goal of emotional connection to a culture can be achieved before native-like proficiency is gained. Whether identity goals are achieved before (or without) linguistic ability has been achieved is a phenomenon that is difficult to measure, as individuals who have high levels of fluency are also likely to link their identity to the language.

It is possible that identity goals, as well as language-specific goals, occur for both beginner- and advanced-level HL2 learners. However, for others, their goal may solely be based on their identity and a desire to increase their cultural connectedness. Cultural connectedness and identity goals are likely to be achieved prior to the learner gaining high levels of fluency. If this is the case, then a proportion of **Māori** HL2 learners are likely to stop learning after they gain a mere intermediate level of language competence and feel satisfied that they have achieved their goals (irrespective of the minimal language gains they may have made). While this might be positive in that the individual learner may gain positive wellbeing through the relationships they develop and the cultural belongingness they may feel, arguably this does very little for language revitalisation.

It has been proposed that the survival of language is better aided by a smaller number of speakers who have mastered the ability to converse in the target language in all contexts, rather than a multitude of speakers with limited capabilities (Janse & Tol, 2003; Karetu, 1993; 2008). The complexities of language can only be transmitted when

individuals have a secure grasp of the language. As Gardner (2007) explains, it is only through automaticity of thought that the individual can actually achieve near-native L2 proficiency. It is not enough to have a large proportion of the population speak the language to a mediocre level.

If the HL2 learners level of proficiency cannot accurately convey the intended meaning, they are more likely to revert to a language that can explain their feelings, which has a negative impact on target language use. While cultural connectedness is important for general wellbeing, it is equally important to nurture factors that promote highly fluent **Māori** language-speakers as these individuals will play a significant part in the continuation of the culture's language for future generations. In order to gain higher levels of proficiency, individuals need enablers to support their growth. Language communities are likely to provide such support for linguistic and cultural efficacy goals.

Goal of cultural consciousness

The pathway to language acquisition has been described in a four-phase process from elemental, consolidation, conscious expression, to automaticity and thought (Gardner, 2007). During the elemental phase, individuals learn the basics of the target language including pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. Following this phase, the individual consolidates information they have learnt from the collection of sentences, comparing and contrasting their new target language with their first language. The third stage L2 learners engage in is the conscious expression stage, whereby individuals are capable of using the language to express themselves. The final phase is the automaticity of thought phase, which is the ultimate stage in L2 acquisition. In this phase thoughts are united with the target language. The individual "no longer thinks about the language, but thinks in the language" (Gardner, 2007, p. 13). Reaching this phase requires a substantial cultural shift as well as linguistic shift.

Māori who learn **te reo Māori** are likely to experience a cognitive shift in the way that they interpret their surroundings, or indeed the desire to view the world from the perspectives of their ancestors may motivate **Māori** to learn **te reo Māori** to near-native levels of fluency. In order to claim a heritage connection to a language, the language is literally part of one's inheritance. Having a heritage connection means that individuals are able to connect to their ancestral **whakapapa** via the language irrespective of how much vitality the language currently holds. Having the ability to speak **te reo Māori** not only

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allows language-speakers to connect with individuals in language-speaking communities in contemporary times, but also allows individuals to connect with those who are no longer living.

Mastery and performance goals orientations

Although Gardner and Lambert's (1972) integrative/instrumental motivation dichotomy is widely recognised in the field of language-learner motivation, it has been criticised for being too limited in the sense that it cannot capture the vastness of additional factors that may be occurring for second language-learners (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). Goal theory was one such factor Ushioda and Dörnyei (2009) mentioned as a limitation. Achievement goal theory involves a range of social-cognitive resources that assist individuals in interpreting situations, understanding information and coping (Kaplan & Maehr, 2002). Furthermore, achievement goal theory has described a shift in thinking about motivation and goals whereby the individual was no longer thought to be possessing or lacking in motivation, but rather why the individual is motivated (Midgley, Kaplan & Middleton, 2001).

There are two types of core achievement goals, which have been described as "the goal to develop ability" (mastery goals) and "the goal to demonstrate ability or to avoid the demonstration of lack of ability" (performance goals) (Midgley et al., 2001, p. 77). When performance goals are present, "the self becomes salient rather than the task" (p.711). Achievement goals could be of interest in the area of HL2 learners. In particular, there is likely a difference in the ultimate level of language attained by learners in part due to the types of goals they hold. For **Māori** HL2 learners, it is likely that the self is highly salient during phases where they are expected to *use* the language, as they are likely to be seeking others' approval for ingroup identity membership. Achievement goals are likely to be directly relevant for **Māori** HL2 learners.

Mastery goals emphasise the importance of developing new skills and the process of learning to master a task is viewed as valuable (Ames & Archer, 1988; Elliot, 1999). Mastery goals have been associated with adaptive outcomes including high self-efficacy, better text comprehension and deeper level processing of information (Graham & Golan, 1991). Conversely, performance goal orientations describe a person's desire to be judged as capable and competent by others, more specifically, in comparison to others (Ames & Archer, 1988). Mastery goals are motivated by an aim to develop competency in a task in order to gain better understanding, whereas performance goals are focused on

demonstrating ability relative to the abilities of others (Midgley, Kaplan & Middleton, 2001).

A combination of mastery and performance goals is likely to be present in **Māori** language-learners. For instance, the pressure associated with HL2 learning as the language for some marks their identity. In particular, for individuals who perceived language to be a crucial element of ingroup membership, but do not perceive themselves as having adequate language skills, the avoidance of lack of ability is likely to be a goal of **Māori** beginner-level learners. However, once these learners have developed a limited skill set that enables them to avoid demonstrating inability, they may be no longer motivated to continue HL2 learning. The pressures individuals place on themselves to be accepted as group members through avoiding the demonstration of inability could ultimately have a negative effect on language development as they are focused on the *prevention* of a negative end state (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). Conversely, for individuals who are less focused on avoidance of demonstrating lack of ability to others, and more focused on mastering the task of language learning, they are more likely to reach higher levels of proficiency.

Perceptions towards personal competence are a core component of achievement goal theory (Elliot & McGregor, 2001). How competent a person perceives themselves to be at a particular task can have an impact on the type of achievement goal a person adopts. Elliot and Dweck (1988) researched how two individuals who have the same level of ability (or competence) respond to failure in different ways using achievement goal theory. They achieved this by linking the choice of goals with individuals' response to failure. Results showed that mastery-oriented individuals did not focus on failure. Instead, they focused on solutions. Those with performance-oriented goals were shown to choose low to moderately difficult tasks in order to maintain the positive judgements of others, and avoid displaying inability or inadequacy. When performance-goal-oriented students assessed their own skills as high, their outcomes were positive. However, the reverse was true when students perceived their ability as low.

Performance approach focuses on the demonstration of ability (where high levels of competence are likely present), whereas performance avoidance emphasises an avoidance of demonstrating a lack of ability (arising when competency is low) (Middleton & Midgley, 1997; Midgley et al., 2001). In contrast, mastery approach goals were related to deep-level processing. Mastery approach goals were preceded by the need for achievement and have been linked to deep-level processing along with a number of

positive adaptive learner outcomes (Elliot & McGregor, 2001). Mastery avoidance goals focus on the avoidance of competence depletion (Elliot, 1999). When individuals are mastery-avoidance oriented, their point of reference is their own past performance. In this particular goal orientation, individuals strive to avoid making an error at a task.

Within the mastery-avoidance orientation, the individual is still motivated to master a goal (hence maintaining the status of mastery-goal orientation). However, their technique is based on avoiding or fearing a negative outcome. For example, individuals who were once very skilled at a task may come back to the task at a later stage and find that their skills have slackened. The task motivation is focused on a self-reference point of success, which makes the orientation mastery- rather than performance-focused. Mastery avoidance could be present in students who may have formally had high levels of proficiency, for example those who have learned **te reo Māori** during kura kaupapa, but who have had a few years out of practice. Their goal may be to reach a point of language fluency that matches their perceived level of fluency while they were in full immersion education. Unlike performance-avoidance goals, mastery-avoidance goals have been linked with subsequent approach goals (Elliot & McGregor, 2001). While achievement goal theory has been developed using a social-cognitive approach, there is reason to believe the theory may provide insights into the types of goals **Māori** language-learners adopt.

Conclusion

There is an array of competing factors that are involved with HL2 acquisition. **Māori** who have a **whakapapa** connection with the language are likely to experience a series of emotional responses to the learning process. As **Māori** are relationally oriented, it is likely that **kaupapa whānau** and language communities provide **Māori** with a key set of skills that enable them to continue learning the language. These relationships are also likely to be pertinent from the beginning stages of language acquisition, through to advanced levels of proficiency. Although this is a study of language motivations, a large component of this thesis is dedicated to understanding the identity processes that **Māori** HL2 learners experience during their language journey. It is expected that through researching the motivations of **Māori** HL2 learners, educators, policy-makers and researchers will be better equipped to assist learners who have a heritage connection to the language they are engaged with.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter will outline the methodological approach taken in this research, including the research methodologies that have contributed to the development of this approach. As a **Māori** researcher working towards the development of new knowledge that aims to directly benefit **Māori** communities within a mainstream psychology department, it is important to acknowledge the limitations imposed by such conditions. Over the past two decades, the boundaries of **Māori** research have dramatically shifted. Kingi (2005) explains that **Māori** research was more accurately described as "research on **Māori**" (p.2). There has been a considerable effort made to increase the capacity of **Māori** research through the investment in **Māori** researchers. Historically, research 'on **Māori**' has misrepresented **Māori** people and the culture, devalued **Māori** knowledge systems, or has plainly ignored our existence (Jackson, 1998). The treatment, or mistreatment, of **Māori** through scientific research has motivated the development of ethical practices and guidelines for working with **Māori** and indigenous communities (Hudson, 2004; Mead, 1994). In order for **Māori** communities to benefit from research involving **Māori**, it was important to develop researchers who were responsive, accountable to the **Māori** community and who recognise **Māori** knowledge as valid.

Acknowledging the validity of **Māori** knowledge while working within the disciplinary boundaries has been achieved by others working within the area of health (Cunningham, 2000; Hudson, 2004) and psychology (Rata, 2012). Durie (2005a) offers 'research at the interface' as a means of drawing together two independent systems (Western science and **mātauranga Māori**) used to create new knowledge. In order for research at the interface to be valid from both fields of thought, it is necessary that both knowledge systems be viewed as valid and legitimate. This research involves **Māori** participants who are learning their heritage language as a second language. There are knowledge systems that can be drawn on to understand the development processes experienced. This thesis will use the most useful and appropriate tools to explore the parameters of HL2 acquisition. More specifically, the ethical principles from Kaupapa Māori Methodology will help to provide accountability to the **Māori** language community. However, as this PhD was developed within a largely mainstream dominant,

non-**Māori** discipline, a Māori-Centred Research (Cunningham, 2000) methodology will be the focal approach applied within this research project.

Māori knowledge and psychology

Psychology as a discipline has struggled to identify itself as a science in the eyes of 'hard or pure science' (Giles, 2002). It is perhaps from this position that psychological research has stringently applied rules of measurement and quantification of qualities that contribute to claims of 'the truth'. Lawson-Te Aho (1993) explains that as a **Māori** woman, she is constantly in a reactionary position due to the way Western psychology is applied to **Māori** people and **Māori** women in particular. Within the discipline, Western knowledge is treated as ordinary, or normal, while **Māori** knowledge systems are marginalised, 'othered' or plainly ignored (Lawson-Te Aho, 1993). Rather than viewing Western science as culturally neutral and objective, Allwood and Berry (2006) position Western science as embedded in a cultural framework that is of American-European origins. The issues that psychology focuses on, through to the information and analysis that are prioritised, come from a cultural framework, one founded in Western ways of viewing and interpreting the world (Allwood & Berry, 2006). Positioning mainstream psychology as a culturally bound knowledge system, it follows that the prioritisation of methods, knowledge systems and interpretations with that knowledge system is, therefore, also culturally bound.

Taxonomy for Māori research

Māori participation in and control of research varies considerably across projects, disciplines and institutions. As a means of capturing the variation between **Māori** involvement in research, Cunningham (2000) developed a taxonomy for **Māori** research based on how much participation, and the type of participation, **Māori** have in the construction of knowledge through research. **Māori** involvement in projects can vary as well as the control we have over such projects. The spectrum of control over projects can be either completely controlled by the mainstream, or in partnership with **Māori**, or **Māori** can have complete control over a project. Four distinct research positions are provided by Cunningham (2000) outlined as follows.

1. *Research not involving Māori*

This profile acknowledges that although research may not involve **Māori** participants and researchers, and be completely out of the control of **Māori**, there are implications

of any research in New Zealand on **Māori**. Funding that could have benefitted **Māori** is instead being used on projects that have no positive impact on **Māori** communities.

2. *Research involving Māori*

Research that involves **Māori** may have a small component of the research that explores **Māori** as part of a wider scope of research. **Māori** may be involved in a range of ways, from participation in the research, to the data collection, through to analysis. In this profile, **Māori** may be junior members of the research team, such as research assistants working under the supervision of non-**Māori** researchers. A key point of note is that this profile does not assume that **Māori** are in control of the research process, nor are they expected to be decision-makers from the conception of the research through to its dissemination.

3. *Māori-Centred research*

Within **Māori**-Centred research, **Māori** are involved in every stage of the project, from research designed, through to participation, analysis, and the dissemination of the research back to the **Māori** community. Researchers are generally senior members of the research team, under the assumption that the research will directly benefit **Māori** communities. While there is an understanding that some **Māori** research projects may be completely **Māori** designed, developed and disseminated, projects may still be operating under the control of non-**Māori** institutions. For instance, ethical guidance and processes sought may not include aspects that would typically be expected by the researcher's **Māori** community. Within this profile, tools may be applied to a combination of both **Māori** and mainstream.

4. *Kaupapa Māori research*

Participation in Kaupapa Māori research could be exclusively **Māori** throughout the research process and there is an assumption that the research team is made up of **Māori** researchers. The outcome of Kaupapa Māori research is to produce research that supports the development of a **Māori** knowledge base (for instance, cosmology). Control over research is completely **Māori**. Researchers are held to account by the standards set by **Māori** communities rather than a mainstream institution.

At the centre of these positions is the control that **Māori** have within each of these distinct categories. Within this taxonomy, there is an acknowledgement that whether or not research in New Zealand involves **Māori**, research outcomes still impact on **Māori**. Cunningham (2000) notes that research that is conducted in profiles three and four are

likely to produce knowledge that is innovative and useful for **Māori**. While **Māori** researchers may prefer to work under Kaupapa Māori, the limitations that are imposed on the research (for example, by the researcher's institution) may prevent Kaupapa Māori research from being feasible.

For **Māori** researchers navigating research interfaces between mainstream and **Māori** communities, dual accountability can become a point of conflict for the researcher (Cunningham, 2000; Rata, 2012). **Māori** researchers have the task of managing relationships between **Māori** communities, whom they may already have relationships with and their counter mainstream partners and vice versa. It is especially crucial for **Māori** researchers to manage their relationships as well as balancing the expectations of both mainstream and **Māori** communities. **Māori** researchers who are invested in upholding the **mana** of their **Māori** community, and their own **mana** in the face of the community, will be challenged particularly in profiles two and three of this taxonomy.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Due to the history of **Māori** exploitation, exclusion and misrepresentation with Western science, there has been considerable effort on the part of **Māori** to apply **Māori** methods that contribute to the development of **Māori** people and knowledge. Perhaps one of the most-recognised indigenous methodologies in New Zealand is Kaupapa Māori methodology. It is not in the scope of this thesis to provide an exhaustive history and description of Kaupapa Māori research. Rather, Kaupapa Māori will be discussed in relation to the approach taken in the current research. It has been suggested that to create a 'recipe' for conducting Kaupapa Māori research would be "antithetical" (Smith & Reid, 2000). The principles and practices that underpin Kaupapa Māori research are intertwined. Kaupapa Māori research is described as evolving, multiple and organic (Pihama, 2001). However, it is not an approach that has been developed recently, rather its derivations have been long established in the history of our culture (Smith & Reid, 2000).

A fundamental assertion of Kaupapa Māori research is the assumption that **Māori** knowledge is valid, and it assumes the "social, political, historical, intellectual and cultural legitimacy of **Māori** people" (Smith, 1992, p. 1). The legitimacy of 'being **Māori**', our culture, customs and worldview have been challenged under colonial

assimilation policies (Smith, 1992). **Tino rangatiratanga**[21] represents the assertion of **Māori** as the **tangata whenua** of New Zealand. The principles underpinning **tino rangatiratanga** reject **Pākehā** systems that 'other' **Māori** in the country **Māori** are indigenous to (Pihama, Smith, Taki, & Lee, 2004; Smith & Reid, 2000). Graham Smith (1991) provided six essential elements of Kaupapa Māori that were developed within an Education paradigm. These are:

Tino rangatiratanga: The self-determination principle

Taonga tuku iho: The cultural aspiration principle

Ako Māori: Culturally preferred pedagogy

Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga: Mediation of socio-economic indicators

Whānau: Extended family structure principle

Kaupapa: Collective vision: philosophy principle

Each of these elements reflects components of an intervention applied in Kura Kaupapa Māori.[22] **Tino rangatiratanga** in the context of education involves having autonomy over decision-making processes that impact on the **Māori** learner community, including the pedagogy applied. Within these principles, **Māori** aspirations are central in such decision-making processes. **Taonga tuku iho**[23] relates to 'being **Māori**' being normalised or taken for granted. Within this element, **Māori** language, knowledge, culture and values are validated and legitimated (p. 20). **Ako Māori** involves teaching and learning strategies and settings that are consistent with **Māori** cultural backgrounds. **Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga**[24] involves the acknowledgement of power imbalances between **Māori** and mainstream through economic discrepancies. The **Whānau** principle acknowledges the strength that **whānau** are able to provide, alleviating and mediating social and economic strains. The final element **Kaupapa**, is derived from the collective vision for Kura Kaupapa Māori, building on **Māori** aspirations. While these points are not exhaustive, they contribute to the fundamental building blocks of the theory.

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[21] Ultimate self-determination

[22] **Māori** immersion primary school education where teaching practices follow a **Māori** philosophy

[23] Prized possessions passed down from previous generations

[24] Rising above troubles that occur in families

The place of **te reo Māori** in the theory is linked closely with '**me ōna tikanga**',[25] whereby the culture and language share an unbreakable bond (Pihama, 2001). The acceptance of the **Māori** language and culture is imperative within the theory (Pihama et al., 2004). The connection between language, spirituality, worldview and identity security are seen as vital components of **Māori** theorising. In an educational context, Kaupapa Māori principles acknowledge that "when **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga** are viewed as valid and legitimate then **Māori** are no longer positioned as 'the other', but rather hold a position of being the norm within our own construction" (p. 40). The revitalisation of **te reo Māori** is fundamental in the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori, which is closely linked with the development of Kaupapa Māori theory. Therefore, it follows that **te reo Māori** would be central to Kaupapa Māori methodological underpinnings. There is an acceptance that there are limited numbers of **Māori** speakers making the accessibility of such worldviews limited to only a few (Pihama et al., 2004). The generation of research that stunts the decline of **Māori** language use is essential. It is important that researchers are not only describing the objective state of the language (i.e. collection of census data, see Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977), but also the goals, visions and aspirations for the language in the future.

The fact that many **Māori** are unable to participate in **Māori** contexts through their limited language abilities is problematic for those applying the theory (Mahuika, 2008). If, for instance, we are taking for granted the fact that **Māori** can participate using their language, we are making an assumption that it is normative to speak and understand our own culture/language. The colonial history of our language has left many speakers without the ability to converse (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). The place of **te reo Māori** in relation to research was also raised by Pihama (2001) when she explains "we need to be aware that in asserting the centrality of **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga** we are not in turn denying the ability of many **Māori** to sustain **tikanga** whilst having less fluency in **te reo**. Nor should we overlook the inherent danger of **Māori** becoming defined as being 'real' **Māori** only if we have a fluency in **te reo Māori**" (p. 18). Authors have indicated a need for caution as we may inadvertently be 'other-ing' our own people by making such claims that the language is a normalised element of being **Māori**.

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[25] And the culture

These points were raised by Mahuika (2008) who argued that there is potential to disempower those who may already be marginalised. However, as language has historically been systematically denied from **Māori**, re-asserting its place in a Kaupapa Māori framework seems only logical and appropriate. If the place of **te reo Māori** was to be neglected based on the inability of some **Māori** to speak our own language, we are in the predicament of 'other-ing' those who are speakers of the language. There are complex arguments for both sides, which are not within the scope of the current Chapter. As Kaupapa Māori research is ever evolving, it is likely that these complexities will be addressed by Kaupapa Māori theorists.

Ethical considerations from a Kaupapa Māori perspective

Given the misuse, and in many cases abuse, of **Māori** through scientific research, ethics are an essential component of research that involves **Māori** at any stage of the process. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) provides seven points that provide guidance for **Māori** researchers. Each aspect of these guidelines has been interpreted and expanded upon, bringing forth the most pertinent aspects for the current thesis. These are as follows:

1. *Aroha ki te tangata: a respect for people*
   This component is about caring for those involved in the research. From the research participant's perspective, they are a product of multiple relationships and **whakapapa** ties that they contribute to a particular research project. These relationships and **whakapapa** ties contribute to the depth of information and the types of information that are willingly shared between researchers and their participants.

2. *He kanohi kitea: presenting one's self face to face is appreciated*
   He kanohi kitea relates to how individuals interact with their research community. A face seen represents someone who is not only researching the community, but also someone who is involved with the community in non-research contexts. Meaningful relationships between the researcher and communities allows for the development of trust.

3. *Titiro, whakarongo… kōrero: look, listen and then speak*
   Titiro, whakarongo… kōrero is related to the idea that researchers must take note of their surroundings. This means being committed to hearing the views of their

participants, being aware of themselves and their surroundings before offering opinions.

4. *Manaaki tangata: care for others*

   Manaaki tangata is connected to the idea that researchers have a responsibility to take care of their research participants. If researchers are acting under the guise of **manaakitanga**, they are less likely to cause harm to their participant group, or others who may be indirectly involved with the research.

5. *Kia tupato: be cautious*

   Kia tupato signals that there are risks associated with research. If **Māori** researchers involve themselves in research without being aware of their position, their surroundings, or the impacts their research may have, there is potential for harm to those involved. Being mindful and reflective in research practice is important for all involved.

6. *Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata: respected the mana of others*

   Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata is an instruction not to belittle the mana of others. In order to uphold the mana of those involved, the individual must be conscious of the impact they and the research they are involved in has.

7. *Kaua e mahaki: be humble in the knowledge you have*

   Kaua e mahaki refers to the idea that it is not appropriate for the researcher to flaunt their knowledge or academic qualifications. Researchers enter into relationships with research communities with the understanding that the community has knowledge to share, knowledge that is unknown to the researcher. It would be particularly hypocritical (to say the least) if the researcher were then to assume to parade their knowledge in front of those who they are seeking guidance from.

These sayings are written in their most simple form. There are multiple **whakataukī**[26] that elaborate on each of these ways of being. However, synthesised, the meanings of the sayings above provide a foundation for researching ethically as **Māori**. Respecting the **mana** of others seems to be a core component of these guidelines.

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[26] Proverbial sayings

Once individuals are engaged in research, **whakawhanaungatanga**,[27] or the process of developing relationships, is essential. Bishop and Glynn (1999) discuss **whakawhanaungatanga** as a research strategy used in Kaupapa Māori research, with three core components. First, the establishment and maintenance of relationships is essential, especially within relational cultures (Brewer & Chen, 2007), which typifies **Māori** systems of relationship management (Durie & Hermansson, 1990; Durie, 2001). Secondly, establishing relationships locates the power that exists between the researcher and the participant community. Rather than the power and control being located with the researcher, there is an acknowledgement that the researcher is only enabled to conduct meaningful research with the participation of those involved in the research. Thirdly, the researcher is involved in the research on a number of levels throughout the research process. By agreeing to participate in such research, the researcher understands they are "physically, ethically, morally and spiritually" (p. 170) connected to the research and those participants or communities involved. When researchers are involved with research at this level, their commitment to the research and the community is tightly interwoven; these factors act to ensure 'safety' for all parties involved.

Researchers working under the philosophies of Kaupapa Māori research are aware of their position of power. Bishop and Glynn (1999) explain that "power sharing should encompass the choosing of the research questions, the research paradigms, the design and methodology of the research, and the control of the whole project including ownership of research data" (p. 178). It is through the redistribution or sharing of power that **Māori** self-determination is addressed (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Cunningham (2000) explains that an important distinction between Kaupapa Māori research and other research methods involving **Māori** is the degree of **Māori** control over the research.

In order to address issues of power imbalance between those involved in the research must be engaged meaningfully, with the ability to make choices about the research from its inception through to the research outcomes and dissemination of information. For instance, the balance of power is not only important for institutions or non-**Māori** working with **Māori** communities to consider, but also **Māori** researchers. As a **Māori** researcher, each of the ethical considerations outlined within the principles of Kaupapa Māori Theory are critical in the overall development of this research thesis. In

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[27] The creation and maintenance of relationships

order to explore new theoretical grounds, this thesis will also consider research at the interface, whereby **Māori** knowledge and Western knowledge work in synergy.

Interface research

Durie (2005a) explains that science has become the dominant global knowledge system and that the debate between indigenous knowledge and scientific research continues to be explored. From an indigenous perspective, Western science has ignored or reinterpreted indigenous knowledge and as a result indigenous people have consequently rejected Western scientific knowledge as valid science in favour of indigenous knowledge (Bishop, 1999; Durie, 2005a). The rejection of Western scientific knowledge has come as a result of how Western scientific 'proof' has been used to dehumanise indigenous peoples. Secondly, Western science has misinterpreted indigenous knowledge, reinterpreting knowledge for Western purposes, and subsequently claiming the knowledge as their own 'findings' (Mead, 1994).

While there is a historical distrust by indigenous peoples of Western knowledge, and a superiority complex Western science expresses in response to indigenous knowledge, there is room for a combined approach. Unlike an assimilation of values, neither Western science nor indigenous values are being submerged; rather, they are working collaboratively to achieve positive outcomes for both communities. Durie (2005a) acknowledges there is an immerging trend for indigenous researchers to work with both knowledge sets, rather than prioritising one knowledge system over another; the two are used in combination. Durie (2005a) outlines a framework that encompasses the interface of indigenous and scientific research (p. 307).

Mutual respect	Shared benefits	Human dignity	Discovery
Recognition of the validity of each system of knowledge	Indigenous communities share benefits of teaching and research including intellectual property and commercialisation	Cultural and spiritual beliefs and practices are reinforced in teaching and research. Indigenous world views are not compromised	Innovation and exploration using indigenous methodologies and scientific methods

Durie (2005a) explains the principle of mutual respect of both knowledge sets, and an acceptance that expertise may vary across both groups in terms of interpreting data. If mutual respect for both sets of knowledge is the foundation of the relationship, collaboration can occur. The second principle of shared benefits shifts the power

dynamics that have historically left indigenous peoples with little benefit and, in some cases, harm. Prior to engaging with the community, benefits need to be clearly linked to the research in order for community participants to view the research as directly beneficial. The principle of human dignity takes into consideration the personalised connections between the researcher and the research community, ensuring that research practices are ethical without compromising spiritual beliefs. Finally, the principal of discovery accentuates both exploration and invention. Rather than viewing indigenous knowledge as being caught in a time capsule, there is an acknowledgement that indigenous knowledge is innovative and that connections to the past can be used to inform new discoveries.

In exploring research at the interface there is an acknowledgement that both sets of knowledge can be used in order to empower indigenous peoples through harnessing "the energy from two systems of understanding in order to create new knowledge that can then be used to advance understanding in two worlds" (Durie, 2005a, p. 306). Through applying the principles of research at the interface, researchers are able to use an expanded number of tools in order to gain a more in-depth understanding of issues impacting on indigenous communities.

Indigenous psychology: emic and etic approaches

A common analogy used to describe the position of the researcher and how the researcher views the world is either from an insider position looking out, or the outsider looking in. Indigenous psychology has developed from within a number of indigenous cultures due to the dissatisfaction with the treatment of indigenous philosophies and psychologies (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). Furthermore, indigenous psychology challenged the widespread assumption that psychology offered cultural insights that were universally applicable (Ho, 1998). Both insiders and outsiders provide separate sets of insights and interpretations. Emic perspectives describe the cultural experience from within the culture, whereas etic perspectives are those experienced from 'without' (Enriquez, 1987). In order to explain indigenous psychological experiences from within one's own culture, the current research applies largely an emic perspective. However, because this research also applies Western-developed measures, an etic approach is also used.

Similar to Kaupapa Māori research, indigenous psychology was developed in response to the dominance of Western models applied to indigenous peoples (Cheung, Cheung, Wada & Zhang, 2003). Indigenous psychology emphasises the need to produce a psychology from within a population or a distinctive culture instead of relying on cultural universals (Kim, Yang & Hwang, 2006). Comparatively, **Māori** aim to assert their philosophies, worldviews and epistemologies unique to **Māori** as **tangata whenua**. From an emic perspective, the local context is not only relevant, but research is centred from this point. An emic insider's perspective is taken through the use of qualitative interviews, while the adaption of etic measures will be used to complement the qualitative results. The quantitative results will be used to support the qualitative findings rather than standing alone.

Both emic and etic approaches have been used to assess **Māori**-specific phenomena, such as the Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE) (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). One of the benefits of etic research is the large empirical database that has been built through the application of accepted Western measures (Cheung, Vijver & Leong, 2011). The concept of 'equivalence' is difficult to achieve, as cultural constructs do not always equate well with one another. For instance, measures that are developed in one culture may not hold the same understanding in another culture; this is also true across languages. Perhaps the most well-known personality model (the five-factor personality model) was shown to have only three applicable factors across a limited number of languages (Cheung et al., 2003; Cheung et al., 2011). Bias is a major methodological issue deriving from "constructs, methods, and items" (Cheung et al., 2011, p. 595). Etic research does not take into consideration the cultural worldview of the participant, therefore, equivalence cannot be assumed.

In order for etic internationally based second language research to be relevant for **Māori** populations, it is essential that measures be analysed from an emic perspective. Similar to research at the interface, research conducted in other cultures can provide **Māori** with insights into other language processes that may be relevant for **Māori** learners. Constructs that have been developed in other cultures, including both indigenous and non-indigenous populations, can provide valuable information about common phenomena that have occurred globally. As languages continue to decline (Simons & Lewis, 2013), it is important that resources are pulled together in order to prevent further

language decline. However, for constructs to be meaningful for **Māori** HL2 learners, individual items may need to be adapted in order to ensure constructs are meaningful to participants.

Situating the current research

The current research project is one that is positioned between Māori-Centred research (Cunningham, 2001), interface research (Durie, 2005a), and applies the ethical guiding principals of kaupapa Māori research (Smith, 1999). While this research arose from my own observations as an HL2 learner, the research topic was not a directive from the community. The research project was developed within the boundaries of a PhD thesis. While my personal involvement with the HL2 community provided the foundation for my interest in the topic, the topic was further defined by conducting a literature review in my topic area. There were limited resources available that accurately described the experiences of my fellow HL2 learners and me.

Part of the criteria outlined in Cunningham's (2000) taxonomy of Kaupapa Māori research is that **Māori** are in control of the research and participate at every stage of the process. While I was able to seek support from staff members who are supportive of **Māori** research in the school of psychology, there were no **Māori** supervisors available in the school. Support from a **Māori** staff member was therefore sought through Te Kawa a Māui.[28] This is why a Māori-Centred approach (Cunningham, 2000) was more appropriate for this research. Having senior support from a **Māori** supervisor allowed me to discuss relationship-based ethical issues I was faced with throughout the research process from the initial phase of data collection, through to the submission of the thesis. I was also supported by my **Māori** supervisor in the development of theoretical frameworks, and the use of interface research through the writing process. The support I received from both the Māori language speaking community, including my own mentors complimented the support that I received from my **Māori** Studies supervisor. Support from my **Māori** community was absolutely critical in the overall development of this thesis, and also for me personally as a junior **Māori** researcher.

Other examples that made Māori-Centred research more appropriate than Kaupapa Māori research was the way in which the research project was influenced by the

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[28]The department of **Māori** studies

psychology department's initial assessment panel. For instance, while I had intended that the research would solely focus on the experiences of **Māori** HL2 learners, I was advised by the psychology PhD assessment panel that a cross-cultural comparison would provide greater applicability. Therefore, **Pākehā** participants were included in the study in order to provide such a comparison. The fact that the experiences of **Māori** alone were viewed by the assessment panel as being not applicable to the wider field of research is another example of the types of difficulties faced by **Māori** researchers exploring **Māori** experiences under the supervision of a mainstream department in a mainstream institution. For a number of reasons, Māori-Centred research was the most appropriate approach to describe the current research.

Alongside Māori-Centred research, research ethics and practices used in Kaupapa Māori were applied. Participants were engaged with in the view that the relationship would be maintained after the completion of the study. With this said, it cannot be claimed that Kaupapa Māori methods were applied within the quantitative aspects of survey development. Although the survey included measures that were locally developed, for instance Houkamau and Sibley's (2010) MMM-ICE measure and the **whānau** support measures developed by the McKenzie Centre as part of the Youth Connectedness Project (Fox, 2010), there were still a number of measures taken from international studies. In terms of the survey development, an interface approach was possibly a better description of the process. However, Kaupapa Māori ethical principles were applied in the analysis and dissemination of quantitative data.

In accordance with Smith's (1991) third ethical principal (**Titiro, whakarongo… kōrero**), during the information gathering stage, I was especially careful about giving participants the time to speak freely without making assumptions about the types of experiences they may have had. Being critically aware of the space that we are operating in is important. Throughout the data analysis phase, I was consciously aware that I would have my own hypotheses about the topic. Therefore, it was important for me to listen to the recordings with an open mind and without making premature conclusions. The types of conclusions drawn from the data were honest in a way that supported and upheld the **mana** of the participants involved.

Undergraduate participants were given the information through the hosting of a presentation within Te Tumu Herenga Waka wharenui.[29] Following the presentation, participants shared food and had an opportunity to discuss their experiences with one another informally. Those undergraduate participants who could not or chose not to attend were sent an email copy of the presentation and a voice recording explaining the results of the study. While logistically, it was not possible to hold a presentation for advanced participants (due to the geographical distance between each of the participants), participants were given copies of their transcripts prior to any analysis.

My relationship with participants was two-fold. In some instances, I had been a student of my participants (those who were part of the advanced group). My qualifications and role as a researcher in this setting were less relevant, as the relationships I had developed with participants were outside of the sphere of the research topic. Conversely, some of the participants in the undergraduate group who had chosen to take part in either surveys or interviews, I had taught in the past. Therefore, I was especially conscious of my position of power in this instance. For this reason, interviews were never held in my office, nor were participants provided with course-related incentives in class to participate in research. This was made explicit to students and was also outlined clearly within my ethics application.

Within the quantitative study, students who were participants were provided with the opportunity to contribute without the pressure of coercion. Although I briefed the students about the research, it was important that I left the room when surveys were handed out and completed. I was aware that students who chose not to complete the survey may have experienced social pressure from their peers, which was why they were offered an alternative word puzzle to complete so as not to add social pressure among peers. With this said, within the quantitative study, the students who I had previous relationships with were predominantly the students who had put their name forward to participate in the study. My relationships with my participants are through relational ties, and these are ties that I wish to maintain. I am invested in my community as a student, a teacher, and a fellow heritage language-learner.

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[29] The meetinghouse at Victoria University's marae, Te Tumu Herenga Waka

This is by no means a typical Kaupapa Māori approach to conducting research. However, my relationships with my participants definitely impacted on how I carry myself as a **Māori** researcher. Furthermore, although my research project or questions were not developed in response to a directive from an **iwi** or **Māori** community specifically, as a HL2 learner I share the goal of language revitalisation with my participants. It is our common goal of language revitalisation that is aligned with the guiding principles of Kaupapa Māori Theory. Moreover, the relationships I had with my participant group meant that I have a vested interest in treating my participants respectfully and ethically consistent with **Māori** ways of behaving. Conducting research within the parameters of psychology, as a student with respectively low authority, a Māori-Centred Research approach possibly better defines the overall manner in which this research was conducted. As well as a Māori-Centred approach, an interface of **mātauranga Māori** and Western knowledge have been woven into the design and analysis of the overall research.

Mixed methods design

The current thesis incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods. Research conducted in social behaviour research had previously prioritised the use of quantitative methods, as this style of research aligned to the value of neutrality or objectivity (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). However, more recently, there has been a resurgence of qualitative research conducted in response to dissatisfaction with the inability of quantitative methods to accurately capture culturally specific experiences (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).

Moewaka-Barnes (2006) explains that **Māori** researchers prefer the use of qualitative methods, as they are aligned with oral traditions. Similarly, Norton (2010) explains that research focusing on language and identity tends to use qualitative methods due to the complexity of the issues expressed. While there is surplus research conducted on L2 learning, research pertaining to **Māori** HL2 learners specifically 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. Qualitative methods provided me with more information about my topic prior to choosing the quantitative tools to measure the experiences of **Māori** undergraduate students.

When analysing the qualitative components of this research, an interpretative phenomenological analysis appears most appropriate. This style of analysis has been chosen as the approach "aims to explore in detail participants' personal lived experience and how participants make sense of that personal experience." (J. Smith, 2004, p. 40) Such an approach resonated with theoretical underpinnings of both Kaupapa Māori methodology, and a Māori-Centred approach. Furthermore, this qualitative research method is an established research method in psychology.

Research about second language acquisition research has typically focused on "establishing how learners are similar, and what processes of learning are universal" (Skehan, 1989, p. 1). While universals contribute to the general understanding of language acquisition, there remains a need to explore language-learner needs and motivations at a localised level. Indigenous researchers would be sceptical about the universality of motivational literature given the lack of L2 research conducted with learners of indigenous languages. What is being defined as 'universal' is perhaps better described as Westerners or Migrant groups who are learning a second language for employment or travel. The circumstances under which members of indigenous cultures are learning their own language as a second language are far more complex, requiring a localised approach to heritage language acquisition.

Similar to the underlying issues between indigenous knowledge and Western science, quantitative and qualitative methods were seen as paradoxical or flawed by both sides of the methodological debate. For instance, those supporters of quantitative research methods may find qualitative research methods less 'scientific'. Conversely, supporters of qualitative research methods argue that quantitative methods are restricted and cannot accurately describe the complexity of compounding variables. Like research at the interface (Durie, 2005a), the field of mixed methodology aimed 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).

As there are many aspects of **Māori** HL2 research that have been unexplored in psychology; in this thesis the qualitative research elements will undoubtedly be given more emphasis. Through using mixed methods and research at the interface, the current

research is able to harness a range of methodological advantages in order to provide a broader understanding of **Māori** heritage language motivations.

An additional advantage of using interface research (Durie, 2005a) is the dearth of international literature available. While a vast proportion of this international research is not specifically referring to the experiences of **Māori**, there are definitely elements that can be and have been used in order to inform some of the theoretical implications of this research. When using international research, I have done so with critical awareness. This process of research has been referred to as theoretical triangulation (Tindall, 1994), whereby multiple sources of information are drawn together in order to create a well-rounded account of the current situation. Rather than using qualitative research to inform the quantitative studies or vice versa, both sets of research have been designed to complement one another. Furthermore, triangulation as a research method has been applied in other studies that focus on **Māori** heritage language-learners (see Rātima, 2013) due to the complexity of dynamics involved.

Choosing the language of the coloniser to write about a language of the colonised
From the beginning of this thesis, I have challenged myself, and been challenged by others (including participants), as to which language this research would be conducted in, and which language I would write the thesis in. This was a difficult decision to make. Why would I choose to write about my heritage language, but not choose to write in the language? Royal-Tangaere (2012) explains how **te reo Māori** has been widely politicised for generations. The political nature of writing in an indigenous language rather than a *lingua franca* is a choice that has been written about by renowned literary scholars including Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986). He notes, "I believe that my writing in Gĩkũyũ language, a Kenyan language, an African language, is part and parcel of the anti-imperialist struggles of Kenyan and African peoples" (p. 28). Similarly, **Māori** scholar Pihama (2001) describes the English language as the language of the coloniser. I understand that the more **Māori** language is published, the more the language is made visible. It provides opportunities for other **Māori** researchers with space to explore research concepts through the worldview that the language portrays; it provides an incentive to the research community to support the language through research and a string of other benefits. Some of the reasoning for my choice to use English is outlined as follows.

First, **te reo Māori** is my heritage/second language. When I began writing the thesis, my written skills in **te reo Māori** were not at an acceptable academic standard for writing a doctoral thesis. This is not to say that I have developed exceptionally between now and then. However, this was one aspect that deterred me from writing in **te reo Māori**. Despite my limited language skills, I was drawn to the idea of writing in **te reo Māori** for both personal and political reasons. During the time I was making the decision about the language I would be using, a fellow student was also in the process of choosing a language for their thesis. The school of psychology informed my peer that the thesis topic would be accepted on the condition that the thesis was written in English. The school explained that the student was not being denied the opportunity to write in **te reo Māori**, but instead that if the student was to choose to use **te reo Māori**, they would not be adequately supported from a human resources capacity. This raises questions about which topics are supported and which are not. I understood that every part of the PhD process (from seeking ethical approval, through to gaining supervision from a **Māori**-language-proficient psychology staff member) would be difficult if I had chosen to use **te reo Māori**. My situation was not the same as the student I mention above. I had chosen not to use **te reo Māori** before I enrolled into the degree programme. I had not been denied the option, because I had not asked.

Besides my level of **Māori** language proficiency, and the fact that the road to a thesis in **te reo Māori** would be one that was filled with institutional barriers, there were two more issues to consider. The audience that I intended to write this thesis for would largely have restricted access to the information.

Secondly, no equivalence in quantitative measures could be assumed. I had chosen to write about a topic that would be beneficial for learners of **te reo Māori** or **Māori** who are interested in the learning processes of **Māori** learning their heritage language. Potentially, other learners may see their own experiences in the extracts of participants in this study, and seek refuge in the fact that they are not alone in the multiplicity of compounding emotions that come with learning a heritage language. Those highly fluent speakers of **te reo Māori** who are capable of reading a thesis written in **te reo Māori**, especially those who are HL2 learners, are predictably largely familiar with the experiences that are provided in this thesis. Highly fluent speakers who may read the thesis are less likely to be informed by factors that support highly fluent language production outlined in this thesis, as they have already achieved such a status.

If the surveys had been translated into **te reo Māori**, there was first the task of translating material, which would have required back-translations, and even so may not have captured the nuances of the essence of what was being asked. Secondly, the surveys were only distributed to language-learners within university courses at an undergraduate level. Having the survey in **te reo Māori** would have been impractical given that students in these programmes may not have had a full grasp of the language. If I were to develop a completely new survey using **te reo Māori**, I would need a large enough sample to make validity claims on each of the measures. These factors would have required a substantial amount of additional resources, both human and material.

Within this thesis, the dynamics of HL2 learning are explored. While it would have been possible to write this thesis in **te reo Māori**, the processes involved with writing this thesis would have been substantially more encompassing. I commend other students who manage to complete this task. However, for the purpose of this piece of research, the English language has been used as a medium for explaining the psychological processes involved with Māori HL2 learning.

Selection of participants

This thesis was designed to explore the motivations, enablers and inhibitors or beginners through to advanced level HL2 learners. In order to capture the views from these distinctive groups, undergraduate students contributed to the views of beginner to intermediate HL2 learners, and graduates of Te Panekiretanga o te reo Māori provided perspectives from the advanced-level HL2 learner group.

Te Panekiretanga o te reo Māori was established in response to a need identified by Professor Tīmoti Kāretu (King, 2007). **Māori** language-speakers who had reached an advanced level of competency were expected to take on leadership roles and Te Panekiretanga aimed to provide support and development opportunities to such individuals. Te Panekiretanga was initiated in 2004 with an intake of 25 students (King, 2007). Participants who had graduated from Te Panekiretanga o te reo Māori were selected to participate in this study as they represent a group of **Māori** HL2 learners who have reached high levels of language proficiency according to those teachers (Tīmoti

Kāretu, Pou Temara and Te Wharehuia Milroy)[30] who have the cultural and linguistic mandate to make such judgements. This study does not suppose to explore the teachings these graduates have gained from being students of Te Panekiretanga. Instead, their status as graduates of the programme acts as a proxy for a group of HL2 learners who have reached higher levels of language competency.

Undergraduate university students were selected as they provided the perspective of beginner- to intermediate-level learners of **te reo Māori**. While there were other possible learning establishments (for instance Te Ataarangi, Wānanga or Polytechs) where **te reo Māori** is taught, as a researcher, I did not have any pre-existing relationships with these establishments. Other researchers have also investigated the special nature of these learning institutions (see Pohe, 2012 and Browne, 2005). As an outsider, I may not have captured the essence of teaching philosophies or the learning benefits. However, as a **Māori** language graduate and lecturer at Victoria University of Wellington, I had found through my own experiences that many students who come through university are dealing with a range of challenges that are worthy of being explored in more detail through research.

Use of formatting

Stammers and slips of the tongue were firstly included in the transcript, as they may have provided insights into topics that were difficult to discuss. Once transcriptions had been analysed, irrelevant language features were omitted from transcripts to provide greater ease for the reader. However, paralinguistic features including hesitation and laughter were left in the transcript. Hesitation was included as it often carries meaning, for example indicating when an individual was considering a particular position. Hesitations were indicated by the use of three dots *without* brackets. For example:

Bubbles: *A big part [of **Māori** identity] is having your **whānau**, your **iwi**, **ērā momo mea**, you know… my parents aren't really for that.* (Undergraduate)

Furthermore, contextual information was inserted in order to provide clarity. Any extra information was inserted in brackets. For example, the section that reads [of **Māori** identity] in the extract above was added to the transcript after the interview.

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[30] Each of these esteemed leaders has been thanked and praised numerously throughout the interviews. However, references to these language experts have been removed for confidentiality reasons.

On occasions where phrases were removed from the transcript from within a given excerpt, this was indicated by the use of three dots inside brackets. For instance:

Sam: *I'm generally perceived to be **Pākehā**. [...] Probably because generally I've got white skin.* (Undergraduate)

Once transcripts had been checked for spelling and accuracy, transcripts were sent to participants for review. On a few occasions, individuals requested changes to their transcripts. Subsequent discussions were held with a few participants about their intended meaning portrayed in the interviews in order to create greater clarity. It was important to allow participants to feel comfortable with the information they had portrayed. The majority of participants chose not to make changes to their scripts. After each of the informants is quoted in this thesis, the extract is identified as being either undergraduate or advanced. In the instance where participants use **te reo Māori** during their interview, the parts of the speech that are in **te reo Māori** have been translated by the researcher. These translations have been noted as footnotes so as not to distract readers who are fluent **Māori** speakers.

In line with other theses (see King, 2007), when a quote is taken from **Māori** text but no English translation is given in the text, the reference follows the quotation in **Māori**, which will be in the main text of the document. In the case that a quotation is given in **Māori** and the English translation has been provided by a source, the source reference will follow the English translation. As the English translations are provided as footnotes, the reference in this case will also be outlined in the footnote. Furthermore, in order to provide consistency, macrons[31] have been used where appropriate, irrespective of whether the source text applied macrons or not. In many cases, it is my view that where other authors have failed to use macrons, it is likely that the technology to apply macrons may not have been as readily available at the time the author had written the text.[32]

Summary

This thesis combines a range of relevant methodological frameworks to address the thesis questions. However, a Māori-Centred Research Approach will be applied as the central research methodology. This thesis will draw on Interface research (Durie, 2005a)

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[31] Macrons are used in the **Māori** language in order to show an elongated vowel sound (see Moorfield, 2005).
[32] None of the sources in this thesis have used double vowels. However, if this were the case, they would have been left as double vowels.

and Kaupapa Māori methodologies (Smith, 1991) to inform how research is applied in the context of **Māori** HL2 learners. An interface approach combining both **mātauranga Māori** and Western knowledge will be applied in order to create new knowledge about the experiences of learners of **te reo Māori**. Cunningham's (2001) Māori-Centred Research taxonomy provides a sound framework for approaching **Māori** research within the limitations of this thesis. Combining Māori-Centred Research with Kaupapa Māori principles, it is the aim of this thesis to create innovative knowledge that directly benefits **Māori**. The principles outlined within Kauapapa Māori Theory provide sound ethical guidelines for approaching research (Smith, 1991). The combination of these frameworks and principles will be applied when exploring the unique factors that **Māori** language-learners experience.

Chapter 4: Māori Identity and the Role of Te Reo Māori

Overview

Māori: **He tangata whenua nō Aotearoa, tērā tonu ka hoki ōna whakapapa ki tētahi o ngā tūpuna o runga i ngā waka i heke mai i te hekenga nui.**[33]

(Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008, p. 403)

Māori have undergone a series of dynamic changes in the reclaiming space and identity (Smith, 1989). Who we are and who we want to become are both equally important questions for determining our identity (Hall, 1990; Robson & Reid, 2001). Our social structures continue to evolve with the changes **Māori** experience. Since the 1960s **Māori** have begun the process of "renegotiating and reclaiming the past" and **te reo Māori** has been central to this process (Smith, 1989, p. 6). It is important to position this chapter as the first of three results chapters of this thesis, as identity is very much tied to the content of the following three chapters: language-learner motivations; and enablers and inhibitors of language learning.

The Pataka Kupu dictionary definition of the term **Māori**, as noted above (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008), is largely based on indigeneity, which derives from one's **whakapapa,** a culturally mandated form of **Māori** identity (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). **Māori** identities are diverse and ever-changing. The extent to which **Māori** feel confident to claim their identity based purely on the basis of **whakapapa** alone has been contested (McIntosh, 2007). Due to the colonial process outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, many **Māori** are not meaningfully connected to social collectives that were important prior to colonisation, such as **iwi**,[34] **hapū**[35] and **whānau**, and may not identify strongly with being **Māori**. Individuals are able to belong to a collective or group, but have depersonalised connections to that group (Brewer & Yuki, 2007).

Knowing where one fits in can come from having strong **whakapapa** ties, but for those who lack access to such connections, alternative **kaupapa whānau** are able to provide similar types of support, (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). The development of **kaupapa**

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[33] **Māori**: An indigenous person of New Zealand, that is, their ancestry links them as a descendent from one of the canoes that ascended in the great migration.
[34] Tribe
[35] Subtribe

whānau is possibly an adaptive coping strategy to deal with the loss of culturally authenticated social connections. Through cultural engagement and language-learning, **Māori** may develop a set of relationships that act to support the learner. These relationships are likely to become the HL2 learner's **kaupapa whānau**. It is not necessarily the case that **Māori** only hold one set of relationships at a time. Instead, individuals can hold both **kaupapa whānau** and **whakapapa** concurrently, and both sets of relationships are likely to contribute to the HL2 in distinctive ways. The factors that contribute to **Māori** HL2 identity will be explored in this chapter.

The role of whakapapa whānau

Whakapapa: **Ngā kāwai o te tangata, o te whānau, o te hapū, o te iwi, ka tīmata ake i tētahi atua, i tētahi tupuna rānei, ka heke iho**[36]

(Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008, p. 1115).

Whakapapa, by definition, insinuates a set of relationships with both the living and the departed. **Whakapapa** spans over time and space giving those with shared **whakapapa** a shared history and narrative (Walker, 1989). **Whakapapa** claims to identity are founded on relationships that a person has with their family or wider groupings who equally share this **whakapapa**. When discussing the importance placed on representations of **Māori** ancestors depicted through art forms, Mead (1993) explains:

> "…as individuals we have no identity except by reference to them.[37] We are beings only because they prepared the way for us, gave us a slot in a system of human relations, a place in the **whakapapa** lines, and membership in a **whānau** and in an **iwi**." (p. 206)

From this view, **whakapapa** connections provide a place of belongingness for those who share mutual **whakapapa** connections.

For individuals who hold secure bonds within their **whakapapa** relationships, these individuals are likely to enjoy a sense of belongingness that such relationships provide. Traditionally, the place of **whakapapa** in **Māori** society was highly valued as it provided individuals with direct guidance about their place/status within a group (Mead, 2003). Similar to the principles of relational selves (Brewer & Yuki, 2007), for **Māori** the self was made meaningful through the web of interpersonal connections between

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[36] Genealogy: A person's lines of decent, of the family, of the sub-tribe, the tribe, starting with the gods or from an ancestor, which flow down.
[37] 'Them' in this context is refering to the ancestors.

whakapapa ties. The impact of colonisation has directly affected many areas of **Māori** ways of life including the place of **whakapapa**. McIntosh (2005) indicated that:

> "**Māori** society argues that **whakapapa** (genealogical lines) establishes place and home. In this sense, urban defranchised **Māori** who have no knowledge of their **whakapapa** may find themselves culturally homeless, a potent element of a sensed alienation from both **Māori** and non-**Māori** society." (p. 42)

If a person who identifies as **Māori** lacks access to or familiarity with these shared **whakapapa** relationships, they are at a disadvantage when it comes to making identity claims founded on **whakapapa** relationships. For **whakapapa** to act as a foundation for identity formation, it is necessary for the individual to feel secure in those relationships.

Mead (2003) suggests that **whakapapa** provides individuals with the right to say they are **Māori**. While this is true for some **Māori**, the 2006 census data indicated that 20% of the total **Māori** population did not know or specify their iwi (Bascand, 2008). The fact that a fifth of **Māori** are unsure about which **iwi** they belong to (or choose not to disclose this information) suggests that perhaps connections to larger **whakapapa** groups, such as **iwi**, are indeed depersonalised for a substantial proportion of the **Māori** population. Alternatively, many **Māori** may be able to name their **iwi**, **hapū**, and even **whānau**, but may not necessarily feel personally connected to those **whakapapa** groups (Borell, 2005; Rata, 2012).

Of the 20% of all **Māori** who did not know the name of their **iwi**, most were living in urban areas (85%), with largest proportion residing in Auckland (26.9%). Furthermore, only 7% of those who did not know their **iwi** were able to hold a conversation in **te reo Māori** about everyday things, compared with 23% of the total **Māori** population. These statistics could indicate that as **Māori** learn **te reo Māori** they are more inquisitive about their **iwi/whakapapa** relationships, as knowledge about one's **iwi** is likely to be valuable in **Māori** language contexts. Comparatively, these results could equally indicate that **Māori** who do not know their **iwi** (or choose not to disclose it) are less engaged with their language and potentially those who value knowledge of **iwi/whakapapa**.

Having limited access is not the same as having little motivation to seek out a **Māori** identity. Those who have limited personalised connections to their **whakapapa** connections may choose to enter into language-learning environments to increase their

Māori identity. Students with limited access to **whakapapa** connections are likely to be dealing with these issues at the same time they are learning their language, which may impact on their actual learning of the language.

For some **Māori**, the combination of being both **Māori** and **Pākehā** can create internal conflict. Benet-Martinez and colleagues (2002) explain that internal conflict rather than inter-cultural conflicts are more prominent for those individuals with dual ethnic heritage. The notion of hybridity and the third space is offered as a means of exploring this dilemma (Meredith, 1998). The third space allows **Māori** to examine their position as 'both/and' rather than 'us/them' (p. 1). Moeke-Maxwell (2003) explains that the concept of hybridity opens the space to discuss challenges for bi/multicultural **Māori/Pākehā** who are dealing with two different and opposing cultures. Some individuals are likely to turn to cultural engagement, including the arts (Fox, 2010) and language to find an answer to the question "who am I?" Those who have not been exposed to the culture, customs or language, claiming a **Māori** identity on **whakapapa** alone may be uncomfortable.

Dissonance between how an individual feels and how others feel about them are the two core distinctions between an achieved and an ascribed identity (Phinney, 1989). On the one hand, **whakapapa** provides **Māori** with a foundation for their ascribed identity (i.e how others identify a person). However, if individuals do not fit the stereotypical prototype for a categorical identity, then other features are likely to become useful for an achieved identity (i.e an identity that is based on cultural exploration and cultural/linguistic knowledge).

In comparison, physical features provide some **Māori** with an ascribed categorical identity irrespective of whether they choose to identify or not. Those who are ascribed an ethnic **Māori** identity are likely to be prompted to acknowledge their 'Māoriness' even if it is only a categorical distinction holding little cultural significance to the individual. Having access to their culture and also to a **Māori** community who are able to assist in the process of identity mediation is likely to support individuals towards feeling justified in their claim to their **Māori** identity.

Authenticity

A possible explanation for **Māori** motivations to learn **te reo Māori** is through the desire to appease authenticity beliefs. Consistent with social identity theory (Tajfel &

Turner, 1979), recognition of group membership from others contributes to individuals feeling validated in their ingroup membership. There is no singular definition for **Māori** identity, and defining **Māori** identity is highly political. McIntosh (2007) notes "Ethnic identities have such political salience that they are now bound to questions of authenticity" (pp. 38-39). The concept of authentication is not a new phenomenon to **Māori**. **Māori** were initially asked to quantify their 'Māoriness' based on fractions and blood quantum (Pool, 1991). This style of quantifying identity very much aligns to the reductionist positions of Western science whereby concepts are dissected into smaller components to understand the system as a whole (Durie, 2005a).

Following this trend, **Māori** were classified by government as **Māori** depending on 'life style' (living as **Māori** or European) (Durie, 2005b). The fact that **Māori** continue to need authentication for who they are as **Māori** indicates the success of Western infiltration of ideologies. Rangihau (1977, cited in Kāretu, 1993, p. 166) explains:

> "You know the number of people, **Pākehā** people, who know better than I do how I am to be a **Māori** just amazes me. I could never be so audacious to suggest to **Pākehā** that I know better than they do how they are to live as **Pākehās**."

Not only have **Māori** had to justify their identity position to government, but also to mainstream society, and in some occasions, to other **Māori**. The need to justify one's 'Māoriness' based on categorical criteria is very much aligned to authenticity beliefs. **Māori** who wish to increase factors that support their claim to an 'authentic' **Māori** identity are likely to engage with the language as a means of achieving this goal.

Contemporary issues for Māori identity

The extent to which the ethnic label '**Māori**' holds meaning for individuals of **Māori** descent varies. For some individuals, being **Māori** is a categorical label (for instance 'being Brown' see Rata, 2012), with depersonalised connections. The current government trend of ethnic identification offers two options for measuring **Māori** ethnic identity. First, **Māori** are **Māori** if they choose to identify as **Māori**, and secondly, if they have **Māori** ancestry (Kukutai & Callister, 2009). One of these identity types is ascribed (i.e. **whakapapa** based/having **Māori** heritage) and the other is achieved (i.e. choosing to be **Māori**) (Phinney, 1989; Marcia, 1966).

McIntosh (2005) explained that **Māori** identities in contemporary settings vary in the centrality of cultural connectedness. Her identity model is located within a

contemporary **Māori**-specific context and incorporates three categories: fixed, forced and fluid identities. Fixed identities are those she describes as 'traditional' identities, not in a pre-European manner, but rather a set of beliefs that **Māori** view as necessary in order to claim authentic group membership. Within this fixed 'traditional' identity, knowledge of **whakapapa**, language and **mātauranga Māori** are viewed as important.

The second category includes those who prefer a fluid identity. She described these individuals as those who juxtapose mainstream Europeanised identities with traditional identities. McIntosh (2005) indicated that fluid identities challenge the validity of 'authentic' **Māori** identities, whereby new fused identities are possible.

The final category includes those who occupy a forced identity profile, which is characterised by deprivation and marginality. This identity profile takes into account the over-representation of **Māori** within the criminal justice system (Department of Corrections, 2007), lower rates of educational outcomes (Education Counts, 2011), poorer health (Robson & Purdie, 2007), and socioeconomic deprivation (Robson, Cormack, & Cram, 2007). McIntosh (2005) explains "Living with marginal status distorts one's personal perception of identity and reinforces negative outsider perceptions" (p.49). Those who are operating from a marginal profile are unlikely to see value in their **Māori** identity as their view of being **Māori** is largely clouded by discrimination and poverty.

The following sections will apply McIntosh's (2005) descriptions of **Māori** identities to understand how HL2 learning may intersect with such identity positions. These identity profiles are presented in is the reverse order than they were presented above, as they are likely to follow the language progression of a **Māori** HL2 learner.

'Forced' identities and language decisions

Before **Māori** begin investing in their language, being in an environment that is discriminatory toward **Māori** is likely to contradict the goal of language-learning. There are many reasons why **Māori** may not choose to learn **te reo Māori**, which are likely to come from intergenerational devaluation of **Māori** people, and subsequently, the language. There continue to be a great proportion of individuals with **Māori** ancestry who prefer not to identify as **Māori** (Durie, 2005b). He explains:

> "A person who is descended from a **Māori** may not necessarily have any sense of affiliation with **Māori** people, values, or culture, and may elect to be regarded as a member of another ethnic group." (p.33)

Durie's (2005b) observations are supported by research into ethnic group prioritisation, which was examined within the New Zealand youth population (Kukutai & Callister, 2009). Results showed that the majority of those who identified as both **Māori** and New Zealand European prioritised their New Zealand European ethnicity over their **Māori** heritage.

The choice to prioritise one ethnicity over another is highly tied to the social status that is ascribed to particular cultural groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social identity theory posits that people have a desire to view themselves favourably, and social comparison fulfils this need. However, for groups of lower status (which usually includes migrant and indigenous groups), social comparison is not necessarily achievable if they are being compared to high-status groups. If boundaries are soft, then individuals may choose to join the higher status group (or "pass") in order to achieve a positive view of the self (Tajfel, 1978). However, those who attempt to 'pass' can experience negative psychological consequences (Phinney, 1990). Individuals who are operating from within this profile are unlikely to invest in learning **te reo Māori**.

'Fluid' identities and language decisions

An alternative approach to dealing with negative discrimination is through developing pride among members of the ethnic group, redefining criteria that inferred inferiority (Phinney, 1990). **Māori** who are seeking to affirm pride in their identity may do so through a number of means including through increasing their sense of belonging. Borell (2005) illustrated that **Māori** youth in South Auckland based their identity on categorical definitions of locality as 'Southsiders'. These youth were less likely to claim knowledge of culture, language or **whakapapa** connections as pertinent features of their identity. It was of note that the participants included in this study were all youth. Therefore, it is not clear whether or not locality would serve as a secure identity as these individuals became adults. Similarly, Ngaha (2005) found that younger participants viewed **te reo Māori** as 'less important' to their concepts of identity. Although these results are largely based in Auckland, it is likely that **Māori** from other regions have experienced similar issues in terms of making identity claims.

Ethnolinguisitic identity theory (Giles and Johnson, 1987) posits that individuals who identified strongly with their culture were more likely to accentuate their language as a defining feature of their identity. Given the diversity of **Māori** identities, language

features (such as accents) may be enough to provide categorical distinction for **Māori** who do not know **te reo Māori** or identify themselves in non-traditional or 'fluid' ways. Until **Māori** are proficient speakers, it is unlikely that **Māori** language proficiency is likely to be a distinguishable identity feature for many non-language-speakers. Instead other aspects of their identity are likely to act as markers of identity for this group of individuals.

'Fixed' identities and language decisions

Māori HL2 learners are likely to understand that **te reo Māori** contributes to their ingroup belongingness within this group who view **Māori** identity as 'fixed'. The feeling of unfamiliarity within one's own cultural practices and language is likely to be an uncomfortable feeling. These feelings of discomfort are heightened when those aspects define ingroup membership (Vedder & Virta, 2005). Consistent with Norton's (2001) concept of language investment, **Māori** who wish to become part of the group who view **Māori** culture and language positively, learning **te reo Māori** is incentivised through the benefits the learner receives. Having language skills is also likely to provide individuals with practical skills to engage in cultural contexts reinforcing ingroup membership.

Te reo Māori has been described by many **Māori** theorists as central to many **Māori** feeling authenticated in their identity as **Māori**. Many prominent **Māori** members of society accentuated the value of **te reo Māori** through proverbial sayings. For instance, Dewes (1977, p. 55) notes "**Ko te pūtake o te Māoritanga ko te reo Māori, he taonga tuku iho nā ngā tupuna**".[38] The link Dewes expressed is that language is not only an essential component of **Māori** culture, but that it is something that we have inherited from our ancestors. In a similar vein Kāretu (1993, p. 226) explains:

> "…for me language is essential to my **mana**. Without it, could I still claim to be **Māori**? I do not think so, for it is the language which has given me what **mana** I have and it is the only thing which differentiates me from anyone else."

The comments made by Dr Kāretu directly link his abilities in **te reo Māori** with his **mana**.[39] Furthermore, in this publication, he indicates that the **mana** that is associated with his language abilities is an inheritance "bequeathed to me by my ancestors" (p. 229). For those who are speakers of **te reo Māori**, the link between **mana** and language is more

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[38] The root of the **Māori** culture is in the language, a gift from our ancestors.

[39] **Mana** has a variety of definitions (authority, control, influence, prestige, and power) to name a few definitions (Williams, 2010).

likely to be present than for those who do not speak **te reo Māori**. Mead (2003) discusses that **mana** can be inherited based on the accomplishments "of their parents, their social position, how they are regarded by others, and what they have done to assist the tribal group" (p.51). In this description of **mana**, a person's claim to **mana** is imparted by others, rather than asserted by the person himself or herself. If an individual sees their **mana** as being explicitly linked with their ability to speak their language, their motivation for wanting to learn the language cannot be disengaged from this fact. Consistent with Brewer's (1996) optimal distinctiveness theory, those who cannot claim knowledge of **te reo Māori** are unlikely to be living in a constant state of deficit (or without **mana**), but rather, they are likely to find other aspects of themselves to make positively distinctive.

Summary

Te reo Māori as a medium for strengthening Māori identity

As this chapter is largely exploratory, no specific hypothesis will be tested, rather, **Māori** identities and their connection to **te reo Māori** more broadly will be reviewed. **Māori** who are entering into the language classrooms are likely to hold a variety of identity positions. The way in which **te reo Māori** contributes to **Māori** HL2 descriptions of identity is likely to vary based on their lived experiences. Some **Māori** HL2 learners will have established relationships with **Māori** language communities, while others may be at the beginning stages of their engagement with the language community. Similarly, **Māori** may be exploring their identity, and their choice to engage with their language may be their first introduction to connecting with the culture. Knowledge of language provides individuals with choices about their possible identity positions and feelings of belongingness (Giles & Johnson, 1987). Those who do not have knowledge of language are likely to rely on other aspects of the self to negotiate identities, spaces and social interactions.

Those with limited access to **whakapapa** relationships could use the language as a means of gaining confidence in their **Māori** identity. Language and cultural knowledge are likely to provide individuals with a set of tools to negotiate their identity positions. **Māori** who are immersed in **Māori** language contexts are likely to understand the importance of having relationships with their own **whakapapa** ties, as **whakapapa** is the most commonly culturally mandated form of **Māori** identity (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010;

Mead, 2003). As learners increase their confidence in **Māori** environments, they may be encouraged to explore their **whakapapa**.

It is likely that **Māori** have a combination of components that contribute to what they think constitutes a **Māori** identity. If language is considered by the participant as central to what it means to be **Māori**, and the individual wishes to be viewed as **Māori**, they are likely to take on as many components of the identity that they have access to. These features are likely to contribute to feeling that their identities have been legitimised in their own eyes and from the perceptions of others.

Those who are experiencing difficulty in attaining recognition of their **Māori** identity because they lack prototypical physical attributes, **te reo Māori** is likely to be a valuable source of identity affirmation. In the absence of physical markers, **te reo Māori** provides a means to create relationships (or **kaupapa whānau**). Within these relationships **Māori** HL2 learners are likely to develop a sense of belonging and have access to greater cultural participation, both of which contribute to cultural identity development (Phinney, 1990). Furthermore, language learning takes time and commitment, which is likely to be recognised and appreciated by the language community.

Method

Recruitment

Participants in the qualitative components of this thesis all identified as being of **Māori** descent. Participants had a variety of tribal affiliations and only two participants were living in their tribal region at the time interviews were held. As explained previously, participants were grouped in two distinct groups of proficiency: undergraduate or advanced. Participants from the undergraduate group were sought during their scheduled lecture times. When seeking interview participants, I visited the lectures, giving students information about the study, including an information sheet with my email address included. From there, students who were interested in participating contacted me directly via email or in person at which point we agreed on a time to meet.

The advanced-level participants were all situated in different geographical regions. Initially, I had sought approval from one of the language experts who had a direct relationship with the students of Te Panekiretanga. He indicated a number of participants who had completed the programme who I could potentially approach to interview. In most cases I had a pre-existing relationship with each of the advanced-level participants. However, where I did not have a pre-existing relationship, my **Māori** Studies supervisor supported the process of recruitment as she also held relationships with individuals from within the advanced group. Individuals from the advanced group were all emailed information about the study, and asked whether they would be interested in taking part in the research.

Undergraduate participants

Undergraduate participants ($n = 11$; five females and six males) were all students at Victoria University of Wellington in either 100 ($n = 5$), 200 ($n = 3$), or 300 ($n = 3$) level courses offered. All but one undergraduate participant in this group had chosen to take **te reo Māori** as a major. Undergraduate participants were generally treated as beginner- to intermediate-level learners of **te reo Māori**. The age range of participants varied substantially, especially within the beginner language group. Beginner level learners' ages ranged from 18 years to 50 years. The mean age for this group was 26.8 years, with a median of 22 years.

Undergraduate participants had varying levels of exposure to the language prior to enrolling in the courses. All participants from this group were residing in the wider Wellington region at the time of the interview. Over half of the participants (six participants) in this group had moved to the Wellington region from other regions in the North Island in order to study at Victoria University. Three of the participants in this group had previously worked fulltime elsewhere. The remainder of participants were fulltime students. Participants in this group had fairly limited exposure to **te reo Māori** prior to studying it at university. Most participants in this group did not have parents who spoke **te reo Māori**. However, most indicated that one of their grandparents spoke **te reo Māori**. Seven participants in this group identified as having one parent of **Māori** and another of non-**Māori** decent, with the majority of non-**Māori** parents being **Pākehā**.

Advanced participants

Advanced level learners were graduates of Te Panekiretanga o te reo, a course designed to enhance the oratory performance of **reo ōkawa**[40] for **Māori** language excellence. Students of Te Panekiretanga are invited to attend the course based on the proviso that they have advanced levels of proficiency, which is why graduates of this course were chosen to participate. All participants across both undergraduate and advanced levels indicated that **te reo Māori** was their second language. The advanced level learners ($n = 8$; 5 females, 3 males) had all graduated from Te Panekiretanga. These participants also ranged from 24 years to an unspecified 50+ years. The mean age for this group was 37.1 with a median of 38.5. These participants had received varying levels of exposure to **te reo Māori** prior to them becoming 'advanced' level speakers. Older participants within this group had experienced a societal shift in attitude towards the use of **te reo Māori**. Participants in this group were all professionals with full-time employment. While socio economic status was not recorded for either group, all participants in this group were employed. The roles participants held involved **te reo Māori** to some degree. Most participants were educators or had been educators in former roles.

Procedures

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[40] Formal language

75

Undergraduate participants

The overall objective of this thesis was to explore the factors that influenced **Māori** heritage learners of **te reo Māori** from beginner to advanced stages of proficiency. Initially, the Te Kawa a Māui Head of School was contacted to ensure that it was appropriate to involve students in the **Māori** language courses. Approval was also sought from the lecturers of those courses, whereby class times were selected as appropriate times to attend the class. These interactions were held prior to the seeking of ethical approval, as the study could not have been possible without their agreement. Once ethical approval had been achieved, participants from the undergraduate level group were recruited through the 100 to 300 **Māori** language classes offered at Victoria University as part of the degree programme.

Those who chose to participate in the study were asked to contact the interviewer via phone or email. Those who chose to participate were interviewed on campus, with one participant being interviewed at their work place due to convenience.[41] Those who were interviewed on campus were interviewed in spaces that were culturally appropriate (such as **Māori** language tutorial rooms or the indigenous psychology room). While spaces were **Māori** spaces, they were also spaces where participants were generally engaged in positive student directed interactions. The reason these spaces were selected was due to the expectation that some participants in this group would still be exploring their **Māori** identity. Interviewing participants in highly culturally loaded spaces (such as the university **wharenui**) could have led responses, leaving participants to feel less comfortable disclosing cultural efficacy deficits they may have experienced in those spaces. Similarly, interviewing participants in **Pākehā**-dominant spaces could have equally affected the types of discussions that came up in interviews.

Advanced participants

First, one of the directors of Te Panekiretanga was informally approached at a **Māori** language-based gathering (a Kura Reo) to see whether it was appropriate for students from the course to participate in this study. Again, approval from the director was sought prior to submission of the ethics application for reasons stated above. The director indicated a number of participants who would be potential candidates for the

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[41] See Appendix 1 for information sheet, Appendix 2 for consent forms, and Appendix 3 for interview schedule

research. These participants were contacted either face to face or via email. On the whole, I had previously established relationships with most of the advanced-level participants, as I had been taught by some of these participants or had engaged with participants through **Māori** language gatherings. On two occasions where I did not have a prior relationship with participants, my supervisor had also provided support in bridging relationships with these participants. Participants were all initially contacted via email. Each participant was interviewed at their work place in four locations, including Auckland, Hamilton, Hawkes Bay and Wellington.

Given the language characteristics of the participant group, it was appropriate that participants were given the option of speaking in either **te reo Māori** or English. Impromptu questions were sometimes asked in **te reo Māori**, depending on which language was being spoken at the time and the type of question that was being asked. On most occasions, advanced learners of **te reo Māori** used both **Māori** and English, but predominantly spoke in English. Only one participant chose to use **Māori** throughout the whole interview. Questions from the interview schedule were asked in English in order to maintain consistency and reduce potential equivalence errors. Participants also understood that should they wish to use **te reo Māori**, excerpts would be translated by the author. Participants were all gifted $20 vouchers and a piece of handmade art for their participation in the interviews.

Initial feedback process with advanced and undergraduate students

Interviews were transcribed, including hesitations, slips of the tongue and stammers. Once interviews had been transcribed, transcripts were sent back to participants for checking. Participants were not required to respond to the email, nor were they expected to check the material. However, participants who chose to read through and check their transcripts were offered the opportunity. Participants generally did provide comment on the transcript, yet most participants did not make substantial (or any) changes to their original transcript. Any information participants were uncomfortable with was withdrawn from the corpus data and, subsequently, that information was not included in the final thesis. This meant that analysis of data only included transcripts that had been approved by participants.

Measures

Two separate interview schedules were developed for the two stages of language-learners. Both interview schedules were developed using a range of approaches, including a review of literature, as well as informal discussions with **Māori** language-learners and teachers. The structured interview schedules were developed to explore factors relating to identity, motivation, enablers that supported language learning, and how relationships influenced their choices to continue learning **te reo Māori** to high stages of fluency. Interviews were recorded using an Olympus Voice-Trek V-51 Digital Voice Recorder. These were then transcribed and coded with NVivo software. The School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee at Victoria University of Wellington provided ethical approval for this study. An example of a question asked is "Can you describe a challenge that you faced while learning to speak **te reo Māori** and how you overcame that challenge?" (see Appendix 4 for information sheet, and Appendix 5 for a full version of the interview schedules).

Analysis

Each interview recording was first listened to once, where the main points were written down. The recording was then transcribed where additional points that emerged from the recordings were noted down. Each of the recordings was listened to at least three times before being imported into the NVivo software programme, which assists in the management of large quantities of qualitative data. The interviewer was fairly familiar with the transcripts prior to coding. As transcripts were analysed, nodes were created in clusters. Nodes were then grouped together in larger themes consistent with thematic analysis (see Braun & Clarke, 2006). Identity and language components of transcripts appeared in response to a variety of questions. However, questions that specifically asked about identity made up a large amount of data.

Responses from advanced- and undergraduate-level learners were initially analysed separately. The major thematic components were divided into the groupings, such as: criteria for **Māori** identity; **Māori** identity and authenticity; impact of cultural engagement on identity; and relationships and **Māori** identity. Once initial stages of coding had been completed, each of the codes was scrutinised for consistency. Each of the categories was also cross-examined for distinctiveness. Each of the qualitative results chapters includes a table that outlines the themes, sub-themes and codes that were included in the results. Some of the responses appeared less frequently across the corpus

(such as the impact of language on identity in mainstream contexts), therefore these aspects were deducted from the final themes. To connect the reader with the scripts, participants chose their own pseudonyms.

Results

There were three main themes for this chapter including: (a) **Ngā āhuatanga o te tuakiri**: exploring notions of **Māori** identity; (b) **Ko ngā ārai o te tangata ki tōna Māoritanga**: barriers to **Māori** identity; and (c) **Mā te mana o te reo me tōna hapori te tuakiri e hāpai: Te reo Māori** as an internalised marker of **Māori** identity. Each of these themes, subthemes and codes are outlined in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Thematic Analysis for Māori identity and te reo Māori

THEME	SUB-THEME	CODE
Ngā āhuatanga o te tuakiri	1) He tuakiri ka whaia[42]	**Māori** choose to be **Māori** **Māori** ID: • is having language fluency • is not having language fluency (but having **whakapapa**) • is having cultural knowledge • is knowing where you come from • means giving back to your culture/people • is acknowledging you're **Māori** • is having pride in your culture
	2) He tuakiri tuku iho[43]	• is having **Māori whakapapa** • means knowing your **whakapapa** • is "being **Māori**" • means having a relationship with **whānau/hapū/iwi** • is having a desire to be acknowledged by others as **Māori** • is inherited (born **Māori**) • means having connections to your marae • means that the **haukāinga**[44] recognise you as belonging to that marae.

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[42] An identity that is sought. This describes the exploratory nature of **Māori** identity formation.

[43] An identity that is inherited. This identity was aligned with McIntosh's (2007) 'fixed' identity profile.

[44] In this context, it is referring to those who take care of an individual's home marae.

Ko ngā ārai o te tangata ki tōna Māoritanga	1) Limited access to relational connections	Limited access to **whānau** Permission needed to make relationships with **haukāinga** Permission not granted to seek **whānau** relationships No mediator to support connections to **whakapapa whānau** Geographical dislocation **Whakapapa whānau** geographically close, but connection limited
	2) Mainstream discrimination	Labelled plastic or fake **Māori** **Māori** is considered negatively by mainstream Workplace discrimination toward **Māori** School/peers negative about **Māori** School deprioritises **Māori** language and knowledge
Mā te mana o te reo me tōna hapori te tuakiri e hāpai	1) Language as a means of cultural identity authentication	Barriers of ID recognition for fair-skinned **Māori** **Te reo Māori** gives right to **Māori** ID claims **Te reo** gives HL2 learners confidence to be recognised as **Māori** Stereotypically **Māori** expected to know **te reo**
	2) Authenticity beliefs in conditions of linguistic strain	Embarrassed by not knowing **te reo** **Te reo** makes HL2 learners feel authentic/grounded as **Māori** Having **te reo** encourages ID exploration Support of HL2 community helps to make **whakapapa** connections If you don't speak **Māori**, you are not **Māori** Speaking **te reo** is a obligation to cultural maintenance
	3) Language as a tool for meaningful engagement and confidence	**Tā moko** (**kirituhi**) do not provide relational support **Tā moko** considered an 'easy' option **Te reo** gives skills to participate in **Māori**-speaking environments **Te reo** provides skills for relationship development and maintenance

Theme 1: Ngā āhautanga o te tuakiri: Exploring notions of Māori identity

This is first of three major themes that were extracted regarding **Māori** identity. Within the overall theme **Ngā āhuatanga o te tuakiri**, there were two subthemes: **He tuakiri ka whaia** and **He tuakiri tuku iho**. The first of the subthemes is literally translated as "the identity that is sought", whereby **Māori** explored a range of possible identity descriptions. The second subtheme is translated as "identity that is inherited", which perhaps shares commonalities with McIntosh's (2005) fixed identity.

Theme 1: Subtheme 1: He Tuakiri ka Whaia – Exploring Māori identities

The majority of perspectives represented in this theme came from undergraduate participants. As well as having less language ability than advanced speakers, they were also younger as a group. **Māori** identity was described as an exploratory process. Pride and commitment were both important to **Māori** who were exploring identity. This idea is demonstrated in the following excerpt.

Hori: *For me, a **Māori** identity is somebody who acknowledges that they're **Māori**, regardless of the colour of their skin, [...] when I think of a **Māori** identity, I think of it as more of a wide broad sort of context [...] I don't think there is the stereotypical **Māori** identity, but there are all sorts of **Māori** identities.* (Undergraduate)

There was uncertainty about whether an identity was assigned through **whakapapa** or whether the agent was given a choice as to whether they were considered **Māori**. Rīpeka describes:

Rīpeka: *I don't know, there's this whole debate around if you are **Māori** ethnically or you're **Māori** because you choose to be. Yeah, I don't know, I'm still a bit confused about that. I know people say if you're born **Māori** then, you're just **Māori** even if you choose not to be.* (Undergraduate)

Participants were exploring ideas about what they viewed as central to claiming a **Māori** identity. There was no single description. Rather, participants were searching for a range of explanations.

Aotea: *Gee, nowadays, I think **Māori** identity is being able to recognise your culture, the strengths of your culture [...] I suppose most importantly being proud of it.* (Undergraduate)

The fact that some **Māori** may not have access to cultural knowledge was acknowledged. Part of developing a **Māori** cultural identity meant that individuals were actively exploring, and seeking information about their culture.

Kura: *I guess being **Māori** for one thing, but then, knowing about where you come from, or wanting to know where you come from and trying to find out. And want the same thing for your **reo**, knowing your **reo**, or wanting to find out, wanting to learn your **reo** and doing so.* (Undergraduate)

Within the description above, **Māori** identity exploration involves both an *intention* (wanting to know) and the *action* (trying to find out). Given the context of the interview, it is not surprising that language was a salient feature of identity descriptions. For instance, one participant describes **te reo** as being a single defining factor of a **Māori** identity.

Timothy: *Te reo Māori personally, te reo Māori is a Māori identity because without te reo Māori, what have you got?* (Undergraduate)

The centrality of language to some participants' identity meant that their achievements in the language were personally tied to how they felt about themselves in terms of their group membership.

Timothy: *[Those] who haven't had the opportunity to learn te reo? Well um, yeah I feel sad for them because they haven't had the opportunity, but there's opportunities out there and if they wanted to learn te reo Māori, then I don't really see them to have an excuse.*

Interviewer: *So how did you see yourself before you learnt te reo Māori, did you feel you had less of a Māori identity or not?*

Timothy: *Um, yeah, I'd say so 'cause I couldn't kōrero te reo Māori, probably yeah. But that's why I'm trying to learn it.* (Undergraduate)

Because acquiring **te reo Māori** was viewed as an achievable task by the HL2 learner, it was assumed that others who 'want' to learn **te reo Māori** have the power to do so.

When discussing **Māori** identity development, participants linked relationships with others and cultural knowledge as central aspects of **Māori** identity.

Te Aowhitiki: *I guess you don't have to speak the language, but I guess Māori identity would be recognising you're Māori, recognising your whakapapa, recognising you have a marae, you have people back at the marae. [...] but the language would be a huge identifier because it's such a huge aspect in Māoritanga.[45]* (Undergraduate)

Exploring notions of **Māori** identity, participants explained that relationship maintenance between family members and wider **hapū** was important.

Hōhepa: *To be Māori of course, [...] but even just being able to be proud of who you are, and making sure that everything is fine with your family and your hapū and your marae and all that, and just being able to be there for your family.* (Undergraduate)

There was an assumption made by many participants about what constituted 'being **Māori**'. Participants explained that **Māori** identity is tied to relationship maintenance. Similar to Brewer and Yuki's (2007) research regarding personalised relational connections, the self is made meaningful by the strength of relationships. The relationships described were not abstract or holding loose boundaries. Rather, relationships were personalised connections with specific significant members, including **whānau** or **hapū** consistent with Durie's (2001) descriptions of **Māori** identity.

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[45] **Māori** identity

The desire to explore their **Māori** identity was linked to both their **whakapapa** and their language. The direction of the relationship varied, for instance, some individuals explored their **whakapapa** connection before engaging in language, while other participants experienced the reverse. Irrespective of whether language or **whakapapa** drew **Māori** to explore their identity, both language and **whakapapa** contribute to relational modes of being, and enhance feelings of belonging.

Herewini: *I would have only been about 12 at the time… that I used to write back to my **kaumātua** and used to learn **te reo**, well not so much **te reo**, but more **whakapapa**, that was the real… my **whakapapa**. "Who am I, where am I from?" those sorts of things.* (Advanced)

Consistent with self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987), half of the undergraduate participants discussed how a **Māori** identity was reliant on others' agreement or acceptance. For instance, Sam explains how he viewed a **Māori** identity:

Sam: *[I] don't know where to begin really. I guess, it's just the, the whole combination of factors, the cultural knowledge, **te reo**, that contributes to a **Māori** identity, but also being recognised by others, particularly being recognised by the **haukāinga**.*[46] (Undergraduate)

A positive self-evaluation was dependent on the agreement of others, consistent with findings from research in other relational cultures (Heine & Lehman, 1999). Participants were motivated to learn **te reo Māori** in order to achieve such acceptance from others. Being recognised as being **Māori** by others is possibly more important for individuals who have experienced some form of misunderstanding about their position as **Māori** by others. If for instance, others had never questioned an individual's identity, that individual would be less likely to feel that their identity was something that was up for questioning.

Theme 1: Subtheme 2: He Tuakiri Tuku Iho

Many participants were uncomfortable with strict definitions of **Māori** identity and preferred inclusivity over exclusivity. For some **Māori**, **Māori** identity is not necessarily reliant on having cultural knowledge, including **te reo Māori**, and in these instances **whakapapa** was preferred.

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[46] Literally translates to 'home' (Williams, 2010).However, the participant's use of the term appears to mean the people who are involved with the daily affairs of the **marae**.

Pānia:	*Māori identity, hmmm **Whakapapa**. **Whakapapa** is for me one word answer. **Kei roto i te toto o te tangata**.*[47] (Advanced)
Te Rina:	*I'd just go **whakapapa** every time.* (Undergraduate)

The position of **whakapapa** is interesting in the sense that it allows individuals to claim a **Māori** identity irrespective of cultural or language skills. Identity based on **whakapapa** also gives **Māori** a position of belongingness within a wider **whānau** without other pre-requisites of language and culture. A **whakapapa** position also does not rely on commitment or pride in the culture in order to gain membership. Te Rina's view of identity was one of inclusivity. She explains why she chose **whakapapa** as being central to **Māori** identity over other descriptions:

Te Rina:	*I don't think you have to **kōrero Māori** and understand it to identify as **Māori**, but if I come back to your feeling confident and comfortable in [**Māori**] spaces, then I think **te reo** does help, because I don't have that fear that somebody's going to come and speak to me and I'm going to look like a dickhead sitting there playing **Māori**.* (Undergraduate)

Due to the impacts of colonisation on **Māori** (see Waitangi Tribunal, 2011), some participants indicated that it was not appropriate to suggest a **Māori** person was not **Māori** based on cultural knowledge. While **Māori** may have felt uncomfortable excluding others based on their limited language abilities, participants who could converse in **te reo Māori** expressed that the language gave themselves feelings of confidence over claiming their identity as **Māori**.

Both **whakapapa** and **te reo Māori** were viewed by some participants as equally prominent markers of **Māori** identity.

Hoani:	***He whakautu i tua atu i [te reo], ko tō toto. Mehemea he toto Māori, he Māori koe. Engari mēnā e kōrero ana tātou e pā ana ki te tuakiritanga he aha ngā āhuatanga e whakaatu ana ki tō tuakiritanga, māku tonu te kī atu, ki ōku ake nei wheako āe, ko tō reo. Ko tō reo, me ngā āhuatanga Māori, pērā rawa i ngā tikanga me te kawa, me te tapu…***[48]

On the one hand, **Māori** can be categorically or ethnically **Māori** because of their **whakapapa**, but on the other hand, they can become more culturally **Māori** by learning more about their culture and language.

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[47] In a person's blood

[48] An answer other than the language is your blood. If you have **Māori** blood, you are **Māori**. However, if we are talking about identity, the types of things that identify your identity, then I would still have to say, from my own experiences, it is the language. The language, and the aspects of the **Māori** culture, for instance, the protocols, and customs, those things sacred.

Theme 2: Ko ngā ārai o te tangata ki tōna Māoritanga: Barriers to a Māori identity

The second theme **Ko ngā ārai o te tangata ki tōna Māoritanga**. This section acknowledges the multiplicity of barriers that prevent **Māori** from feeling connected to their identity as **Māori**. This section includes two subthemes, including the issues of identity that resulted from having limited access to **whakapapa** connections. The second theme stemmed from public discrimination. Related to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), being 'othered' forces individuals to consider the identity position that the person has been 'othered' into. The first of the two themes was an issue that was located within the culture, whereas the second barrier resulted from **Māori** being portrayed negatively by the mainstream.

Theme 2: Subtheme 1: Limited access to relational connections

For some **Māori**, access to family connections was limited. Durie's (2006) **Māori** wellbeing model indicates that **whānau** are a crucial contributor to **Māori** wellbeing. **Māori** who felt disconnected from their **whakapapa whānau** indicated that this disconnection left them with fewer claims to their **Māori** identity. This point is reified in the following excerpt.

Riria: ***He mōhio nō te tangata nō hea ia, nō wai ia, e haere ana ia ki hea.***[49] *[...] knowing where you are, knowing where you fit, belonging, and having a place.* ***Koinā te tino raruraru o ngā mea taka ki te hē. Kore mōhio nō hea, nō wai***, *ay.* ***Ērā āhuatanga.***[50] (Advanced)

Similar to the forced identity position described by McIntosh (2005), some participants were unable to access their **whakapapa** connections, which was a barrier to feeling justified to claim their **Māori** identity.

Hēni: *I think **whakapapa** is critical, but it's also marginalising to people who haven't had access to understanding um, you know where they come from, [...] and what sort of **whakapapa** they might have. I think a route via the language and cultural practice will more likely assist somebody on a **whakapapa** journey than the other way around. I don't think having a **whakapapa** journey is necessarily going to have a language and a cultural practice [outcome], I think people can have **whakapapa** and that's where it starts and stops. Whereas I think people without it embarking on a*

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[49] A person's understanding about where they're from, who they came from, and where they're going.

[50] That's a serious issue for those who have fallen by the wayside. No knowledge of where they're from, or who they come from. Those aspects.

> *journey of language and cultural practice is definitely a step to*
> *whakapapa*. (Advanced)

In some cases, access to **te reo Māori** courses was more readily available than access to their **whakapapa** connections. **Te reo Māori** often gave participants the confidence to then seek out and develop relationships within their **whakapapa whānau**.

Permission and access to forge/re-forge or amend relationships with their wider **whānau** were the most common barriers to this type of participation. Some participants described relationships with **whānau** or **iwi** as a core component of **Māori** identity. Those with limited access were less likely to draw from their **whakapapa** connections to give them a secure identity position.

Bubbles: ***Kāore e kore ka mea atu au, he Māori ahau.***[51] *I love the language, I love the culture, yeah I pretty much love everything about it. […] a big part [of Māori identity] is having your **whānau**, your **iwi**, ērā momo mea,[52] you know... my parents aren't really for that. The only time we ever go to a **marae**, [is when] someone dies, and that's it, they don't really push us to get to know our **whānau**. So koinei te take kāore au i te tino...*[53] (Undergraduate)

Having access to family and cultural places of significance (for instance, **marae**) is significant to participants who were in the process of exploring and developing their **Māori** cultural identity.

Many undergraduate participants expressed having limited access to their **iwi** identity and for those participants, a **Māori** identity (rather than a more **whakapapa**-based **iwi** identity) was a starting place for grounding their identity.

Sam: *I've always found it difficult to have an **iwi** identity because we were always a bit disconnected from the **iwi**. I mean, we live 10 minutes away from our **marae**, but we only went back for **hui**[54] or **tangi**[55] or that sort of thing. So we did grow up a little bit disconnected from our **iwi** identity, so I think I'm focusing on my **Māori** identity, but I do think eventually I do want to go back and live in [home town] and I think that will be the point where I strengthen that **iwi** identity. (Undergraduate)*

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[51] There's no doubt I would say to others I am **Māori.**
[52] those types of things
[53] that's the reason I don't really...
[54] Gatherings
[55] Grief ceremonies

Unlike some **Māori** who experienced limited physical access to their **marae**, for **Māori** raised geographically close to their **tūrangawaewae**,[56] barriers for other **Māori** were less physical and more psychological.

Theme 2: Subtheme 2: Public discrimination

For **Māori** participants who had been raised in locations where public opinions of **Māori** were negative, it was difficult to experience a positive **Māori** identity. The impact of negative social perceptions towards **Māori** is demonstrated in the following extracts:

Hēni: *There was a good part of my life where I grew up feeling, "I'm so glad that my surname is not **Māori**", "I'm so glad to not be solely or associated with the negative things about being **Māori**", so I was very much a half empty glass instead of half full.* (Advanced)

Aotea: *I felt a lot of positive and negative vibes being a **Māori** in the [organisation I worked for]. […] I was [working] here in Wellington through the 80s and 90s through some pretty harsh times for **Māori** who were um, I mean the culture wasn't represented in any way, other than [negative social] statistics.* (Undergraduate)

Participants reflected on how it was difficult to develop a **Māori** identity when their culture was represented negatively in the mainstream (see Te Huia & Liu, 2012). These perspectives provide evidence for why some **Māori** may choose to prioritise their other identities over the **Māori** identity, as expressed by Durie (2005) and Kukutai and Callister (2009). In particular, those who were tied into mainstream institutions (for instance, work or education) where discrimination was present were forced to deal with the impacts of negative discrimination. The following extract explains how some participants coped with negative discrimination.

Ana: *You come from intermediate, and high school and stuff and you've been labelled plastic **Māori** and you don't really care about it, because **Māori**'s not a cool thing to be anyway.* (Undergraduate)

When **Māori** are surrounded by discrimination, distancing oneself from the people who were being discriminated against acted to protect the self, which is consistent with self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987). Furthermore, being labelled a 'fake' **Māori** was not detrimental at the time, as the participant did not see value in her group membership as **Māori**.

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[56] A place where individuals can claim belonging through **whakapapa** ties.

For some individuals, being **Māori** was a categorical distinction when **Māori** were amongst **Pākehā**. Furthermore, being physically distinguishable as **Māori** meant that assimilation, or 'passing' (Tajfel, 1987), was not an option for some **Māori**.

Puawai: *I can remember when I was a child growing up in [predominantly New Zealand European region] I was a **Māori** firstly because of my skin, because of my lips, my nose.* (Advanced)

Being raised in a predominantly **Pākehā** area meant that many **Māori** sought out environments where it was positive to be **Māori** during adulthood. This point was summarised by the following participant.

Matiu: *My **Māori** identity is just that, it's over the process of a lifetime of being comfortable with the fact that I'm **Māori**. I mean when I was a kid I didn't even know that I was **Māori**. I grew up in [location] you know, a very White town. Not a very **Māori** friendly town. Hardly any **whānau** around, and you very much get a message, a subliminal, sometimes in-your-face message that **Māori** are not cool, and **Māori** are this and that, bad things. So it's been a process for me of developing a strong **Māori** identity. But I mean, to offset that, I always had my dad around, and he was very assertive in the fact that we were **Māori**, you know, and that's a good thing to be.* (Advanced)

The point that is made in the previous excerpt ties both subthemes together in the sense that many **Māori** experience discrimination, which impacts on their identity during adolescence and adulthood. In particular, discrimination may be experienced more overtly in regions where **Māori** are not well represented. Having limited access to **whānau** reduces the environments where **Māori** can express themselves in a cultural capacity.

It was not the case that all **Māori** participants initially viewed being **Māori** negatively. Many participants who were raised in contexts where it was positive to be **Māori** expressed a desire to be **Māori**.

Pānia: *I don't know about you, but when I was younger, you'd always get asked the question, what are you going to be when you grow up? [...] And I'd always answer that question with "A **Māori**." "I'm going to be a **Māori** aunty, I'm going to be a **Māori**". And so that motivation to be the best **Māori** that I could.* (Advanced)

Whether individuals felt that being **Māori** was positive or not was largely dependent on participants being surrounded by culturally affirming environments.

Theme 3: Mā te reo me ngā tūhono ki te tangata te tuakiri e tau ai: Te reo Māori as an internalised marker of Māori identity

The third theme was labelled as **Mā te reo me ngā tūhono ki te tangata te tuakiri e tau ai**. The literal translation of this title is "Through language and the relationships with others, identity is affirmed." Rather than language being a categorical feature of group membership, the language provided the means to develop relationships. Three subthemes have been reported in Table 1 above. Through the process of learning, individuals were also encouraged to learn about their connections with their history and family relations. The language provided some individuals with feelings of authentication through the relationships they developed through the language-learning process. Language enabled learners to develop relationships with those who they would have otherwise been anxious to make relationships with.

Theme 3: Subtheme 1: Language as a means of cultural identity authentication

Interviews revealed that in many cases, an 'ideal' **Māori** identity comprised **whakapapa** connections that are both relational and personalised (see Dörnyei, 2011 for explanations of 'ideal' and 'ought' selves). Undergraduate participants were more likely than advanced participants to discuss feeling that their wider **whakapapa** relationships were relationally oriented. However, in many cases such relationships were depersonalised (unfamiliar) due to circumstances out of their control.

For some participants, having limited relationships with their own **whakapapa** connections was less of an issue prior to learning **te reo Māori**. However, after being exposed to **Māori** values, such as the importance of **whakapapa**, undergraduate participants sought to reconnect with others who shared their **whakapapa** (at both an individual **whānau** level and through involvement with larger social groups, including **iwi**).

Some dual heritage participants explained that skin colour was a factor that prevented them from feeling justified in making identity claims that were based purely on **whakapapa**. Language provided **Māori** who did not possess typical **Māori** physical features with a sense of justification to make identity claims. Sam discusses that being of dual heritage has impacted on his feelings of claiming his **Māori** identity.

Sam: *It's always been interesting that I have grown up in a **Māori** cultural background. However, I'm generally perceived to be **Pākehā**. [...]*

*Probably because generally I've got white skin [...], but when I was growing up, I was always kind of torn because I have this **Māori** cultural identity, but because I'm generally not perceived as such um, that's sort of made me feel disconnected. So because I am learning **te reo**, it's sort of re-forging those connections, and that has, really, really, been a positive thing in my life. And I think in terms of knowing **te reo Māori**, it does just yeah, just really helps in myself. [...] I mean, in the past I've always been hesitant to claim I'm **Māori**, because they'd go, oh you're not **Māori**. Or go "really" in that disbelief, so it's in some ways evidence that I am **Māori** I guess.* (Undergraduate)

The current position explained by Sam challenges assumptions that through **whakapapa** an individual automatically has the right to say "I am **Māori**" as described by Mead (2003). Language was directly related to an increase in identity security that provided confidence in claiming his **Māori** identity.

Consistent with **Māori** leaders' and academics' descriptions (Durie, 2006; McIntosh, 2005), **te reo** was described by many participants as being a clear indicator of **Māori** identity. Unlike physical attributes and depersonalised **whakapapa** connections, **te reo Māori** was a tool that **Māori** were able to use in order to connect with others. Through building connections with significant others in the language community, participants felt more secure in their identity claims.

Ana: *[L]earning **te reo Māori** is a huge step towards feeling much more confident in being **Māori** myself, which is weird because [laugh], you know it makes sense though, 'cause you feel much more comfortable with yourself and don't feel like you're faking it.* (Undergraduate)

Language provided **Māori** with skills to develop meaningful relationships. In cases where individuals had experienced being raised in predominantly **Pākehā** environments, having language skills gave participants identity security.

Puawai: *I felt better about myself knowing that I could **kōrero Māori**. I felt, because I went to a Catholic school, because I grew up in a very **Pākehā** predominant society [...] I felt more grounded, I felt more safe, it was a safety for me, at home feeling, I felt like I knew who I was better.* (Advanced)

Māori who may not look physically **Māori** are faced with a different set of challenges from **Māori** who do look physically **Māori**. For **Māori** who were physically **Māori**-looking, there was more of an expectation that they had knowledge of their culture and language to accompany their physical exterior. The following two excerpts highlight this point.

Mahinārangi: *People look at me, oh yep, she must be able to speak **te reo Māori**, [laugh] I haven't got it written on me.* (Advanced)

Hori: *Obviously [knowing **te reo**] impacts in a very positive way, I'm easily identifiable as being **Māori**, and so without anybody knowing that from a bar of soap, there are these expectations placed on you and they don't even know you and when they ask "do you speak **Māori**?", "oh no [I don't]", "oh", all of a sudden, you know what I mean? And so, for me, learning **te reo** is, is fundamental, it's core for me. Like, I can know lots of stuff, but if I can't speak **Māori** then that for me is, it's a negative. I feel that quite deeply, particularly because of my context of my age and of the expectations that are around my father or me.* (Undergraduate)

For **Māori** who have physically **Māori** appearances, they are faced with higher expectations that they are able to speak **Māori**. Furthermore, there are many cultural responsibilities that are expected of older **Māori**. These expectations are harmful to the health and wellbeing of **kaumātua** who have limited cultural and linguistic competency (Waldon, 2004). However, consistent with this sub-theme, having the language skills that accompanied the individuals' physical features gave **Māori** a sense of identity security in that they were able to meet the expectations that were placed on them by others.

Theme 3: Subtheme 2: Authenticity beliefs in conditions of linguistic strain

Despite many of the participants explaining that they had not had their **Māori** identity challenged directly based on their language abilities, there was a shared understanding that having the language provided confidence and skills to mediate situations.

Herewini: *You know there's that question, are you more **Māori** if you can speak **Māori**, are you less of a **Māori** if you can't? I certainly feel more **Māori**, certainly feel so much more in touch with my culture being able to speak **te reo**.* (Advanced)

Further, the link between **te reo** and having a **Māori** identity was something that was discussed and well recognised amongst participants.

Hoani: ***Ka maumahara tonu ahau ki ētahi kōrero [...], "ki te kore koe e kōrero Māori, ehara koe i te Māori." Nā he tino kōrero tērā, [...] nā te mea he tino kuraruraru. [...] He tino kuraruraru tērā ki ngā tāngata, nā te mea ko wai o tātou te kī ake "ki te kore koe e mōhio ki te reo, ehara koe i te Māori?" Engari, mehemea ka tūturu ake koe ki ētahi atu tāngata o***

> **tāwāhi kei te pērā hoki ērā momo whakaaro o ērā momo ahurea.**[57]
> (Advanced)

A key point that Hoani makes in the quote above is that although the quote "If you don't speak **Māori**, you're not **Māori**" is nearly a century old (see Kāretu, 1993), it is still being discussed in contemporary times. When a culture views the language as central to their identity, the importance of language becomes a qualifying factor for identity (Vedder & Virta, 2005).

Irrespective of the fact that all of the participants were at one stage monolingual English speakers, four participants were of the view that **te reo Māori** should be included as a core component in defining a **Māori** identity. This view is captured in the following extract.

Hēni: *[Knowing **te reo**] I feel more **Māori**. That's terrible; I subscribe to the view that you're not **Māori** unless you can speak **Māori**. [...] The last few generations we've got by thinking it's not as important and you can achieve being **Māori** absolutely without it. Well minimal to nil and I think that's potentially what's killing the language. We're going to end up being an ethnic group that's described by maybe **whakapapa** and I don't know, skin colour, certainly language is going to be less of a condition that describes and defines what being **Māori** is, and I would hate for that to happen, that is why I subscribe to – you're not **Māori** unless you know, there has to be an element of the language, and you know, it's an obligation on us as a people to keep what being **Māori** is alive.*
(Advanced)

Notably, each of the participants who viewed language as fundamental to **Māori** identity raised these discussions without being prompted. The fact that **te reo Māori** is in an 'endangered' state (Reedy et al., 2011) cannot be disentangled from the effect it has on identity politics and vice versa. The description above ties authenticity beliefs with goals of language revitalisation. There is a view that if language is not considered part of **Māori** identity, individuals will be less motivated to learn the language. Given the fact that so very few **Māori** do speak **te reo Māori** (Statistics New Zealand, 2007), those who have chosen to learn **te reo Māori** are likely to be reminded of the limited number of speakers and feel an intensified pressure to preserve or maintain the culture. It is possibly from a position of cultural maintenance that individuals who can speak the language are

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[57]I still recall a saying "if you don't speak **Māori**, you're not **Māori**". It's definitely a point of discussion, because of its controversy, it's very controversial to people, because who of us would be willing to say "if you don't speak **Māori**, you're not **Māori**". However, if you're in agreement with those from other cultures, that concept is aligned with their ideas about culture.

imparting the obligations of cultural maintenance onto others who identify as **Māori**, but who have not learnt the language.

For some **Māori**, the road to achieving a **Māori** identity can come in many different forms. For those who are seeking group membership, they may use physical markers, such as **tā moko**[58] in order to promote their **Māori** cultural or **iwi** identity (Higgins, 2004). However, there is some disagreement by **Māori** language-speakers about whether individuals should be permitted to receive a **tā moko** without language proficiency. This perspective is provided in the following excerpt:

Hoani: ***Kua hōhā katoa ahau ki te kite atu i ngā tāngata, rangatahi e mau moko ana. [...] Ko tāku nei, me haere rātou ki te ako i te reo Māori i te tuatahi, nā te mea, ehara i te mea ko tō moko e mau atu ana ki tō tinana tō tuakiri, ko te tuakiri o te tangata, ko tōna reo. Ka taea e ngā tāngata pērā i a Robbie Williams ērā momo tāngata katoa o te ao mau moko. Engari, taku pātai atu ki a rātou, he Māori tonu rātou? Nō reira, mā te Māori anō tōna reo e kōrero. Mā te Māori anō tōna reo Māori me ana tikanga katoa e kawe atu. [...] Ko te tangata, ko te Māori kāore i te mōhio ki tōna reo, me haere ki te ako. He māmā he ngāwari.***[59]
(Advanced)

There are some **Māori** language-speakers who challenge those who wear their **tā moko** for physical aesthetics. With this said, for some individuals, **tā moko** may be the first step towards initiating their identity as **Māori** (Higgins, 2004). **Māori** making the decision to improve their cultural connectedness may choose to either make the connection through enhancing physical attributes or through language (Te Huia & Liu, 2012). It is possibly a fear of some **Māori** involved with language revitalisation that **Māori** who choose **tā moko** as a way of enhancing their **Māori identity** may choose not to learn the language, impacting negatively on the language.

Māori who chose to learn the language over wearing a **tā moko** explained that the choice was based on self-enrichment. Sam explains:

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[58] **Māori** designed tattoos

[59] I'm irate when I see people, young people with **Māori**-designed tattoos. In my opinion, they should be going to learn **te reo Māori** first off, because it's not as if your **moko** is your identity: a person's identity is their language. People like Robbie Williams and all the others of the world can get a **Māori**-designed tattoo. But my question is, are they also **Māori**? So, it is **Māori** who will speak the **Māori** language. It is **Māori** who are responsible for the continuation of the language and the culture in its entirety. **Māori** who do not know their language should go and learn. It's simple, it's easy.

Sam: *I think I could do the physical aspects of it, but for me it was more about the cultural aspects, and knowing in myself that I'm **Māori**. [...] I think if I had of gotten a **tā moko**, I wouldn't feel that same sense of being **Māori**, because I didn't really have the **te reo** or cultural knowledge to back it up.* (Undergraduate)

Having a physical representation of identity is only one aspect of **Māori** identity development. For **Māori** who do not look physically **Māori**, group membership is more likely to be enhanced through their relationships with significant others rather than categorical ingroup membership through physical displays of identity.

Theme 3: Subtheme 3: Language as a tool for meaningful engagement and confidence

Having a level of language competence was beneficial for all participants. Beginner-level learners explained how, having learnt **te reo Māori**, they were more comfortable in **Māori** spaces, explaining that they were more likely to engage in approach rather than avoidant behaviours.

Te Aowhitiki: *It's put me in places, in more **Māori** contexts, so I guess my **Māori** identity before going to university wasn't as vast as it is now because I wasn't ever going to **Māori hui**, I wasn't confident enough to go back and talk, go back to the **marae** and talk to **kaumātua**[60] because they would generally speak in **te reo**, but now I can go back and converse with them, and go and share my **whakaaro**[61] and just be... I guess it's increased my **Māori** identity just because I'm more confident and being put into more **Māori** contexts if that makes sense.* (Undergraduate)

Being meaningfully engaged in **Māori** contexts gave participants more confidence in their identity and the confidence to exhibit approach behaviours in **Māori** governed spaces where the language was used. Meaningful engagement with **kaumātua** provided individuals with mentor support, cultural guidance and confidence to learn more from this generation of language-speakers. Similarly, advanced-level participants discussed how learning **te reo Māori** provided them with opportunities to engage with others in a range of contexts.

Herewini: *It gives you the confidence to speak in **te ao Māori**. To just get up and speak, and it's being able to speak in a number of different environments. From speaking to kids at kōhanga, to speaking at Te Panekiretanga, to*

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[60] Elderly **Māori** male
[61] Thoughts and ideas

*speaking to **kaumātua** on the **pae**,*[62] *to speaking it on the **pae**, you know what I mean.* (Advanced)

The relationships **Māori** hold with others were seen as vital to a person's wellbeing. Those relationships were strengthened through being meaningfully engaged with others in their shared heritage language. This was explained in the following excerpt.

Mahinārangi: *You can't tell me, especially a **Māori** person who feels well living by themselves, [...] you need that connectedness and you do that through that culture, and the best way you can do that is through your **reo Māori**. And plus more people will be willing to share what they have with you if you have **reo Māori** as well.* (Advanced)

Consistent with Yuki (2003), the centrality of relationally centred collectivism was described by participants. From a level of practicality, the more language skills a person has, the more deeply cultural concepts can be explored with native speakers.

Language provided learners with skills to confidently engage with their cultural identity. Furthermore, through understanding the language, participants were more comfortable with both formal and informal processes that occurred in **Māori** environments.

Kura: *I guess just strengthening it in being confident in who I am, [...] if you haven't grown up with it, I think when you're in a **Māori** environment, even though you know you're **Māori**, if you don't feel confident in what everyone is doing and what everyone is talking about, then it's quite hard to maintain that identity as a **Māori**. So I think it's definitely, in different environments anyway, it's definitely strengthened it there.* (Undergraduate)

Māori can be categorically ethnically **Māori**, but if they are unable to participate on a relational level, ingroup belongingness is likely to decrease. It is through knowing the language that some **Māori** gain an improved sense of belongingness.

Similarly, having language skills enabled learners to engage meaningfully with other **Māori** that they would not have otherwise engaged with.

Hōhepa: *I reckon it's had a good impact because I can relate with more than just **Pākehā** people now. So I can talk to someone else who learnt basic language and that, that I probably never would have talked to in my life.* (Undergraduate)

The benefits that participants gained from having even a limited understanding of the language were extensive. Participants explained that once they became involved with a **Māori** community and the language, they felt as though they had more rights to their

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[62] Orators' bench

claim to material assistance that was afforded to **Māori** on the proviso that they are categorically ethnically **Māori**. Ana explains:

Ana: *I always tick the **Māori** box of whatever I'm signing all that sort of stuff, but now that I can, I mean really basic **Māori**, but now that I can sort of understand [**te reo**] and feel more comfortable starting a conversation with **Māori** [...] I feel more true to it. [...] You come to university and you signing all these **Māori** things, and you're getting [**Māori** specific] lessons for example, extra tuition, you kind of feel like you're cheating. 'Cause, you haven't provided anything for your **iwi**, you've got the blood in you but you don't feel **Māori**. So when I started doing stuff like [being involved in distant **iwi** affairs], learning **te reo Māori**, and using it in everyday speech, you feel like you're entitled to that extra help because you're engaging with the culture.* (Undergraduate)

Gaining confidence through involvement with others in the **Māori** community combined with language advances gave participants feelings of cultural empowerment.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of **Māori** HL2 learners' descriptions of **Māori** identities and how **te reo Māori** contributed to such descriptions. Furthermore, identity changes occurred from prior to learning **te reo Māori** right through to advanced levels of proficiency. It was clear from most HL2 learners that **te reo Māori** acted as a tool for building relationships within their HL2 **kaupapa** and **whakapapa whānau**. The ability to create relationships is central for cultures that value interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1990).

Māori in this study described **Māori** identities as relational identities. Applying McIntosh's (2005) **Māori** identity framework, most of the participants were more aligned with the 'fixed' identity profile rather than 'forced' or 'fluid' profiles. Identity descriptions in this study were not completely aligned with McIntosh's (2005) 'fixed' identity, as participants from the undergraduate group were also likely to view **Māori** identities as exploratory, but **te reo Māori** and **whakapapa** were prominent aspects of their identity exploration. The implications of these findings suggest that **te reo Māori** provides some **Māori** with a set of skills that enable them to initiate, develop and strengthen relationships.

This research suggests that while there are multiple identity positions that **Māori** occupy prior to engaging in **te reo Māori** acquisition, there is a tendency towards relational values as they progress in their language studies. **Māori** cultural values

traditionally favour personalised relational collectivism (Durie, 2001) over individualism or depersonalised group collectivism (see Brewer & Chen, 2007). Related to Brewer and Chen's (2007) relational self-construal, Heine and Lehman (1999) indicated that in collectivist cultures (i.e. those cultures that prioritise personalised relationships) feeling good about oneself has less to do with "an individual's personal feelings and self-evaluations" and "more to do with the feelings and evaluations of others" (p. 916). For many **Māori** who are seeking ingroup belongingness, feeling positive about their **Māori** identity largely relies on the agreement and support of significant others instead of self-proclamations of ingroup membership.

Language and identity development

The two core factors that prevented **Māori** from claiming a **Māori** identity were public discrimination and feeling that **Māori** were not justified in their claim to a **Māori** identity. Research has shown that many **Māori** prefer not to identify as **Māori** due to a range of factors, including mainstream discrimination, limited cultural efficacy, or a view that they were not categorically distinct from non-**Māori** (Durie, 2001; McIntosh, 2005; Rata, 2012). For **Māori** to want to learn **te reo Māori**, they need to be comfortable claiming pride in their identity as **Māori**. Results from this study indicate that both the public opinion (outgroup) and **Māori** opinions (ingroup) both play a role in the extent to which a) **Māori** prioritise and b) how justified **Māori** feel in claiming their **Māori** identity.

For some **Māori**, it is a long process before they even want to consider being identified as **Māori**. Being raised in an oppressive society has an influence on how indigenous people feel about claiming their identity and, for some, it is simpler just to dis-identify and assimilate into the mainstream (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001). Given the fact that many **Māori** identify as being both **Māori** and **Pākehā** (Kukutai & Callister, 2009), those who can 'pass' as **Pākehā** may choose to do so to avoid discrimination (Tajfel, 1987).

Considering that **Māori** experience greater levels of discrimination than non-**Māori** (Harris et al., 2006b), it may be seen as an easy option for **Māori** to assimilate in order to avoid discrimination. Having 'pride' in one's culture despite public discrimination may be viewed as making a commitment to being **Māori**. These observations are consistent with Phinney and colleagues (2001) who indicate that for

migrant groups who experience hostility from the majority group members, some individuals will reject their ethnic identity while others may affirm pride in their group membership. For those who assert pride in their ethnic group, their solidarity may act to defend their position against negative attitudes.

Māori who have distanced themselves from their culture during adolescence may choose to re-claim their identity during adulthood, and **te reo Māori** is likely to act as a vehicle for cultural reintegration. Those who have been reintroduced to the positive aspects of their culture may feel a desire to share such experiences with others. King (2007) discusses how some newly fluent **Māori** view the language in quasi-religious ways, for instance, participants in her study discussed learning **te reo Māori** as '**te huarahi tika**'[63] and '**te huarahi pai**'.[64] It is likely that these experiences entice newly proficient learners to want to influence others to learn **te reo Māori**.

Issues of language as a basis for cultural authenticity

In her PhD thesis, King (2007) raised the point that native speakers saw the decline of the language and wanted to impart the value of the language onto future generations. The effort towards language revitalisation was notably one source of connecting **te reo Māori** with commitment to their ethnic group. For native speakers, **te reo Māori** was something they could take for granted as they 'had' the language (King, 2007). However, she notes that current generations of non-native speakers know the value of the language, but they have been raised without it. It is likely to be a variation of this pattern of thought that is occurring within **Māori** society between newly proficient **Māori** language-speakers and non-proficient **Māori**.

Māori who are not proficient in **te reo Māori** are no less aware of the identity implications that are associated with having limited or no **Māori** language abilities (McIntosh, 2005; Mitchell, 2011). For newly proficient language-speakers, the urgency of cultural maintenance may prompt them to want other non-speakers to follow the same path of cultural/linguistic revitalisation. Because newly proficient **Māori** were capable of reaching levels of language fluency, they may see their own accomplishments as completely achievable. If they view the learning of **te reo Māori** as a task that is easily accomplished, they may view **Māori** who do not choose to learn the language as rejecting

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[63] The correct path
[64] The good path

their cultural maintenance responsibilities.

By supporting the position that **Māori** are only **Māori** if they conform to particular descriptions, Penetito (2011) explained that there is risk of effectively disqualifying our own people from 'being real **Māori**'. Some **Māori** language-speakers deny other **Māori** from qualifying as **Māori** based on language proficiency perhaps because they hope that by doing so non-speakers will become speakers for fear of exclusion. The trouble with this position is that many **Māori**, in particular **Māori** youth, are regularly faced with exclusion from the mainstream. Rejection from the mainstream manifests in a number of negative social indicators. For instance, **Māori** rates of incarceration are higher (Department of Corrections, 2007), and positive education outcomes are disproportionately lower (Bishop et al., 2009). Excluding **Māori** from connecting with a **Māori** cultural identity because of factors that are no fault of their own are likely to be damaging for the individual with no tangible benefit to the language.

King (2009) indicates that some campaigns aimed at shocking **Māori** into learning **te reo Māori** are equally ineffective in achieving the goal of revitalisation. Rather it is possibly more helpful for those interested in language revitalisation to shift a fear-based focus of language loss to a mode of enticing individuals through more affirming or inclusive methods.

It may seem difficult to understand why some newly proficient **Māori** speakers take on a position that other **Māori** cannot claim ingroup membership without knowledge of **te reo**, especially considering they themselves were recently part of this group of non-speakers. A point Penetito (2011) raised may offer some light on the matter. He explains "The first way to define what it means to be **Māori** is to identify those who know their **Māoritanga**. Statistically, they make up a distinct minority within Māoridom and this is their power" (p. 39). Power to decide who is in and who is not may, in a limited sense, be afforded to newly-proficient **Māori** on the basis of their newfound proficiency.

Similar to Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social identity theory, individuals who are faced with negative judgment are likely to exit their group in favour of higher status groups. **Māori** who had limited language skills initially, but wish to be viewed as 'authentic' may try to exit the group they view as lacking authenticity in favour of a group with higher status. Newly proficient speakers may reify their position as authentic by distancing themselves from **Māori** who are not language-speakers. This could be

another reason for newly proficient **Māori** language-speakers taking up the position that **Māori** cannot claim ingroup membership without **te reo Māori**.

For some **Māori** HL2 learners, their decision to learn **te reo Māori** is a road towards cultural enlightenment (King, 2007). There is an understanding that learning **te reo Māori** is a long-term commitment. It is from this position that some **Māori** language-speakers disagree with those who choose **tā moko** as a means of symbolic representation of identity without having knowledge of **te reo Māori**. While the symbolic representation of identity through **tā moko** was not a central focus of this thesis, its relationship with language is of interest and could be further explored in future research.

Language as a tool for meaningful engagement and confidence development

Learning **te reo Māori** provided **Māori** HL2 learners with the skills and confidence to feel that they had a right to claim a sense of belonging to their own heritage. This study does not suggest that **Māori** who chose not to learn **te reo Māori** are living in a constant state of cultural identity inadequacy. Rather, it provides the context to explain why some **Māori** who do feel a lack of cultural connection turn to their language to gain holistic cultural wellbeing.

 Consistent with self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987), **Māori** identities were heightened when both personal perceptions of the self and others' perceptions of the self were brought together in the same setting. Having even a basic level of understanding of **te reo Māori** eased social anxieties in **Māori** contexts where there was a possibility that the language would be spoken. The influence that the language has on the individuals' position as **Māori** is associated with their achieved identity status. Those who have an achieved identity are demonstrating to others their commitment and pride in the culture through taking on a long-term commitment to learn the language.

For **Māori** who are physically identifiable as **Māori**, there is greater public expectation that they are able to fulfil stereotypical aspects of being **Māori**. Knowing **te reo Māori** is expected of **Māori** who physically appear to be **Māori**. This perception probably derives from the lack of information about the limited number of **Māori** language-speakers overall. These issues are not isolated purely to **Māori** within this study. For instance, older **Māori** have also reported experiencing pressure to perform cultural roles where the language is a core element. Waldon's (2004) study of **kaumātua** health and wellbeing indicated that the expectations placed on **kaumātua** made it

difficult for the limited number of **kaumātua** who were speakers of **te reo Māori**. The pressure of being cultural guardians was deeply felt in this study and encapsulated in the follow quote:

> "As guardians of **te reo Māori**, **ngā tikanga**,[65] and **ngā iwi**, **hapū**, and **whānau**, **kuia**[66] and **kaumātua** have demands placed upon them which have no equivalent in **Pākehā** society." (74-year-old respondent, Waldon, 2004, p. 176)

While **kaumātua** expectations are more specific, **Māori** generally have additional pressures to maintain their cultural heritage. It is these pressures which are likely to contribute to **Māori** motivations for learning **te reo Māori**. **Māori** are clearly aware of their expectations to learn **te reo Māori** in order for the language to survive. It is unlikely that **Māori** who have limited linguistic skills are avoiding learning because they wish to reject their culture or their responsibilities, but more so due to a number of limitations that prevent them from entering into learning environments. These factors will be explored in the following chapters of this thesis.

Summary

There are multiple ways of being **Māori**, and language is one means of providing some **Māori** with affirmation of their cultural ties. Prior to reaching a stage where **Māori** want to learn **te reo Māori**, there are considerable identity challenges that individuals need to overcome. These challenges are closely intertwined with the impacts of ongoing discrimination **Māori** face from the mainstream. This study exposes the fact that when individuals choose to learn their heritage language, they are not only dealing with the stress associated with learning the language, but also the social, cultural and identity aspects associated with the language. Cultural pressures associated with the language can be overcome, and relationships within the **Māori** community appear to be central in their ability to mediate comfort in claiming a **Māori** identity. When learners have secure **whakapapa** and/or **kaupapa whānau** as well as knowledge of **te reo Māori**, **Māori** HL2 learners appear to be most at ease with their **Māori** cultural identity.

The next chapter will explore the motivations of both **Māori** and **Pākehā** learners of **te reo Māori**. The following chapter will use a mixed methods approach, comparing

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[65] The cultural protocols
[66] Elderly **Māori** women

relational motivations with motivations commonly acknowledged in educational psychology.

Chapter 5: Goals and Motivations – From Beginners to Advanced

Overview

There are a variety of reasons why **Māori** choose to learn **te reo Māori** as a second language. There are also likely to be many contributing factors that change motivations throughout the learning process. **Māori** who are typically relationally oriented (Durie & Hermansson, 1990) are likely to demonstrate relationally based motivations for learning **te reo Māori**. For instance, **Māori** are likely to be motivated by feelings of belonging, identity and a desire to fulfil culturally specific roles that are valued by the language community. Typically, the motivation literature in psychology has focused on the learning process at an individual difference level, applying task-based approaches to understanding the learner. While some language-learning theories posit that the higher the levels of student motivation, the more likely that student will be to achieve in the language (Chen, Warden, & Chang, 2005), others posit that it is the type of motivation that contributes to whether language-learners ultimately become adept in the second language. In the case of **te reo Māori**, it is likely to be a combination of these factors. **Māori** HL2 learners who are embedded within a language-learner community are likely to have high levels of motivation due to their desire to connect and belong within their cultural ingroup.

In most research on language-learning motivation, the second language is a colonial and globally dominant language, such as English or French (Noels et al., 2003; Tremblay & Gardner, 1995), which have high levels of linguistic vitality. Given that the proportion of **Māori** language-speakers in populations varies considerably between geographical regions (Statistics New Zealand, 2007), and that **Māori** language-speakers are widely spread, the language is not readily available to many learners outside of the classroom. The limited number of speakers makes learners highly dependent on the relationships they form in the classroom. The fact that there are so few spaces where **te reo Māori** is spoken is possibly what hinders the progress of language revitalisation. It is safe to presume that the vast majority of **Māori** language-speakers are bilingual. Therefore, even when engaging with fluent **Māori**-speakers, when learners of **te reo Māori** cannot adequately express themselves in **te reo Māori**, they can switch to English to portray their intended meaning. Given the difficulty in both accessing members of the language community, and conversing with those members in **te reo Māori**, the odds

appear stacked against language-learners. The question then is: what motivates learners to progress through to higher levels of proficiency? The goal of this chapter is to address this overarching question.

Re-conceptualising how motivation theories apply to Māori HL2 learners

Before we consider how language-learner motivation theories apply to **Māori**, it is important to acknowledge their origins. This section will describe how **Māori** knowledge and psychological concepts of motivation may be understood.

The majority of research conducted in second language motivation follows typical Western structures of knowledge creation through the reification of culturally specific constructs. Epistemologically, Western psychology is culturally bound (Allwood & Berry, 2006) in the sense that particular ways of viewing psychological constructs, including those used in second language research, come from a particular cultural view of how languages are learnt most effectively. Reification in this context is used by Western psychological theorists about what is 'real' and what is not (Ranzijn, McConnochie, Clarke & Nolan, 2007). It is important in indigenous language research to understand the cultural underpinnings of the assumptions made in commonly accepted Western based language theories.

There is a strong culture in psychology of applying a reductionist approach (Durie & Hermansson, 1990). Through dissecting concepts or, in this case, language motivations, scientists presume they will be better able to understand the concept/learner as a whole. This process has been viewed as analytical (rather than holistic) cognition (Masuda & Nisbett, 2001). The reductionist or analytical position is heavily based in Western scientific philosophy (Nisbett, Peng, Choi & Norenzayan, 2001). The reductionist view is largely removed from traditional **Māori** views regarding the individual and their relationships generally. In order to understand the motivations and goals of **Māori** language-learners, it is important that their processes are not viewed in isolation from their wider environment. Durie and Hermansson (1990, p. 110) note that rather than analysing knowledge by dissecting it:

> "Knowledge is obtained from the relationship that people have with wider systems. Not through a relationship with their own feelings, their own thinking, or their own intelligence, but the relationship that they have with the sky, the land, their families, and with things that are much bigger than the individual."

The motivations of **Māori** language-learners of **te reo Māori** incorporate wider interpersonal and societal factors. The individual is viewed as enmeshed within a community, rather than being viewed as a silo, independent of outside influences.

Relational orientations and heritage language motivation

Commonly discussed dichotomies in second language motivation theory include binaries such as extrinsic versus intrinsic motivation, and integrative versus instrumental motivations (Gardner, 2007; Noels, Pon, & Clement, 1996). Within the intrinsic/extrinsic motivation dichotomy, the separation between self and other is consistent with a culture of individualism. The emphasis in such contexts places the person as an autonomous, bounded unit analytically separate from surrounding persons and the environmental context (Sampson, 1988). According to Markus & Kitayama (1991) this sense of self as "independent" of social context and related others is far from universal. They put forward a theory of the interdependent self, a culturally mandated form of self-construal where relationships between self and important others in the social context are emphasised, and where there is less of a distinct boundary between self and significant others.

Research that captures the nature of such relational experiences could provide perspectives not well acknowledged in mainstream language motivation psychology. **Māori** are embedded from birth in a set of important relationships reified by a culturally mandated script of **whakapapa**, which makes the sense of self intimately connected to relationships with not only significant others, but the land and collectives who share common ties with lands, such as **hapū** and **iwi** (Durie, 2001). If an interdependent sense of self is normative among **Māori** (as shown, for instance, by Harrington & Liu, 2002), then it will not be appropriate to maintain a rigid analytical distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation as the basis for understanding **Māori** heritage language learning.

Rather, a short list of factors potentially important for **Māori** language-learning include: **whakapapa** (language environment at birth); intergenerational transmission of language and culture; connectedness with **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi**; connectedness to the language speaking community; mentoring relationships; and the availability of and familiarity with language-learning environments. These factors are likely to be central to traditional **Māori** conceptions of self, and should not be theorised as extrinsic motivators. Rather, they are relational motivators. The results chapters to follow describe how

identity and motivation are intimately interconnected for **Māori**, and form a culturally mandated script for HL2 learning.

Perhaps one of the most commonly used social psychological definitions of language motivation comes from Gardner's (1985) sociocultural model where he explains motivation as "the extent to which the individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity" (1985, p.10). Motivations for goal achievement have been shown to vary across cultures. Markus and Kitayama (1991) explain for members of cultures that value ingroup harmony, group goals can be as intrinsically motivating as personal goals are for members of cultures that value individualism. This position was illustrated in Radhakrishna and Chan's (1997) research that indicated members of an independent culture attached greater value to their personal goals than the goals of significant others. In contrast, members from an interdependent culture demonstrated that the goals of significant others were as important as the individuals' personal goals. For those who are relationally focused, the goals of the individual are likely not to be as pertinent as they are in cultures that value autonomy and individualism (Chen et al., 2005).

What makes an individual strive to achieve the goal of language competence is culturally bound and for many **Māori** this is likely to be a process that is dependent on relational ties. The satisfaction the *relationally focused* (Brewer & Yuki, 2007) learner gains is not strictly related to a generic human need for competence or autonomy attached as a result of intrinsic motivation (Ushioda, 2007), nor is it likely to come specifically from task-based satisfaction. Rather, satisfaction is likely to be based on ingroup connectedness and belongingness, which is the result of an understanding of a shared knowledge system. With this said, **Māori** are not homogenous, and some **Māori** HL2 learners may be operating under an independent self-construal. Irrespective of whether the language-learner is independent or interdependently oriented, the language community are necessary as they provide a context for practising their target language.

Motivation and language investment

The limitations of mainstream motivational literature were acknowledged by Norton (1997) who took on an alternative approach to the typical cognitive and the social psychological positions. Norton used case studies as a means to better understand the experiences of second language-learners after observing that a cognitive-based approach

could not successfully articulate the learning experiences of migrant groups. It is evident from her research that external factors, such as history, wider community perceptions, support and attitudes towards the learner, are equally as important as the learners' motivations (Norton & Toohey, 2001).

Although the case of **Māori** language-learners is starkly different from the experiences of migrants (as outlined in Chapter 2), Norton's (1997) research is relevant in that learners are highly influenced by their social, cultural and historical environment. Norton (1997) explained "The construct of investment conceives of the language-learner as having a complex history and multiple desires. An investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, which changes across time and space." The concept of language investment was used as a way of capturing the multiple experiences of language-learners and their surrounding cultural environment (Norton & Toohey, 2001). For **Māori** and other HL2 learners, the learners' relationships with the language, their language communities, their identities and the dominant culture are all likely to impact on whether they learn their HL2, and to what extent. These factors will be explored in this research.

The investment that the language community contributes to the learner's progression is equally as important as the amount of effort the learner exerts (Norton, 2006). Following this line of thought, the more investment the individual receives, the more they may feel they need to reciprocate to others. Durie (2001, p. 78) explains that role of **koha**[67] during the **pōwhiri**[68] process is to "strengthen ties and create mutual obligations" and that "reciprocity is an integral part of **Māori** custom and philosophy". If this principle is applied to language-learners, the language-learner invests in their language through both internalised personal and group goals.

Cultural continuation motivation

Māori have a complex set of choices to make, and challenges to overcome when they choose to take on the task of language-learning. In a study of cultural maintenance that included **Māori** participants, it was expressed that **Māori** experience substantial responsibility toward maintaining their cultural heritage (Gezentsvey-Lamy, Ward & Liu, in press). It is likely for **Māori** that motivations for learning **te reo Māori** are not only

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[67] Gift
[68] Ceremonial welcome

driven by personal decisions, but also by responsibilities they feel as custodians of their culture.

In order to be in a position to pass the language over to future generations, the individual must first learn about their culture and language. There are multiple **Māori** proverbial sayings that indicate that outcomes for children are the result of their parents' guidance. For instance '**Tangata i ākona ki te kāinga, tū ana ki te marae, tau ana**',[69] or '**Kino hua, kino rākau**.'[70] An interpretation of the fundamental message in the **whakataukī** is that if parents do not apply appropriate parenting skills, their children will behave in accordance with the guidance (or lack thereof) they have received. Furthermore, children who develop poor language skills are likely to reflect negatively on their parents.

Authenticity beliefs as a motivation

Although there are a number of ways of being '**Māori**', as a result of the multitude of ways that Māoriness has been quantified in the past (Durie, 2005b), it is possible that **Māori** hold a set of beliefs about what a socially constructed view of being **Māori** is. This issue was raised by Houkamau and Sibley (2010), who analysed essentialist or authenticity beliefs through the development of their MMM-ICE scale. **Māori** who hold particular views about what constitutes being **Māori** that include skill in **te reo Māori** may be motivated to learn **te reo** in order to reduce discrepancies between their 'ideal' and 'ought' selves (see Dörnyei, 2011).

Language and ethnic identity have a bidirectional relationship (Gudykunst & Schmidt, 1987) in the sense that ethnic identity corresponds with the language attitudes and use, and language influences the development of an ethnic identity. Ingroup solidarity or favouritism has been linked with the language status of group members (Tajfel, 1987). Relationships that are developed through the process of language learning are likely to provide the foundations for ingroup solidarity, especially for members of an ethnic minority. Cross-cultural research has demonstrated that in some cultures language is a fundamental feature of group identity (Vedder & Virta, 2005).

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[69] The individual raised within the confines of one's home is well prepared for graduation in an open forum. (Kura reo ki Waimarama, 2010, p. 78)

[70] "Bad parenting results in bad children." (Kura reo ki Waimarama, 2013, p. 71). A literal translation could be "Poor quality produce is the result of poor plants".

It could be expected that once a person decides to learn a second language, they are likely to be in contact with other members of the language-speaking community. Yashima (2009) found that the more learners are exposed to the culture of the L2, the more the L2 learner prioritised the cultural values of the target L2 group. If this is also true for **Māori**, the more HL2 learners are exposed to their heritage culture, the more they will begin to prioritise the values of their culture. Some of those values might include ingroup loyalty, connection to **whakapapa** relations, and connection to their **tūrangawaewae**. Due to the colonial processes, **Māori** are not a culturally homogenous group. **Māori** vary in the extent to which they are embedded within **whakapapa** relationships (Bascand, 2008), relationships with language communities, and connections to their ancestral lands. Research has indicated that **Māori** rate highly on measures of both interdependence and independence (Harrington & Liu, 2002). For some **Māori**, there are possibly two distinct cultural positions (independent versus interdependent) operating simultaneously. However, as **Māori** HL2 learners become more embedded within a community of **Māori** who favour 'traditional values' such as interdependence, it is likely that **Māori** HL2 learners will begin to favour these values of their cultural group.

Pākehā motivations for learning te reo Māori

Although New Zealand is founded on a bicultural relationship between **Māori** and the Crown through the Treaty of Waitangi, the degree to which **Māori** are given recognition is unfavourable. While **Pākehā**/New Zealand Europeans are not homogenous in their views toward **Māori**, the commonality they do share is their position as the socially dominant cultural group in New Zealand. Research has indicated that **Pākehā**, like other dominant cultures, have weaker ethnic identity than **Māori** (Ward, 2006). Jellie (2001) indicated that **Pākehā** (PCL2) learners, view their relationship with **Māori** as contributing to their own **Pākehā** identity development, and have a desire to achieve a bicultural national identity. Furthermore, **Pākehā** motivations to learn **te reo Māori** are likely to come from their desire to connect at a cultural level with **Māori**, which would be represented by integrative motivation.

While the previous motivation types come from a place of intercultural relatedness, it is also likely that **Pākehā** decisions to learn **te reo Māori** could also be instrumental. Learning **te reo Māori** affords successful learners a point of optimal

distinction from their monolingual peers (Brewer, 1996), and is likely that this point of distinction could add to their employment prospects (Jackson & Fischer, 2007).

Additionally, both **Māori** and **Pākehā** who are in the pre-actional phase of **Māori** language-learning are likely to be motivated by factors including societal attitudes and interpersonal connections with **Māori** they view positively. Ethnolinguistic vitality research has indicated that societal support (for instance, social status and institutional support) for the language is related to the language use of minority language groups (Hogg & Rigoli, 1996). Similarly, ethnolinguistic identity theory posits that when a language is valued by the target language group and the individual views the group's opinions as important, the language of the target group is also seen as valuable (Giles & Johnson, 1987).

Discrimination and negative societal views towards the language are likely to impact on **Māori** and **Pākehā** learners in distinct ways once individuals begin engaging in language learning. As **Māori** are discriminated against more than **Pākehā** (Harris, et al., 2006b), **Māori** can almost expect a low level of support from the mainstream for **Māori** cultural activities, including the language. Conversely, **Pākehā** who are learning **te reo Māori** are in a cultural bind. Many **Pākehā** PCL2 learners are likely to be aware of the fact that the mainstream hold negative attitudes toward **Māori**, but at the same time, they hold categorical membership to this cultural group that are discriminative toward **Māori**.

It is also possible that as **Pākehā** become more involved with **Māori** through learning **te reo Māori**, they develop critical awareness about how **Māori** are treated by the **Pākehā** cultural group. This knowledge is likely to create feelings of anxiety for **Pākehā** when they are in language-learning contexts. **Pākehā** who choose to learn the language are likely to want to distance themselves from those **Pākehā** who are discriminatory toward **Māori**, and disapproving of their language, and culture. To an extent **Pākehā** PCL2 learners are able to achieve this through showing commitment to (and investing in) **te reo Māori**.

Māori who are surrounded and supported by others who enforce the belief that **Māori** culture and language is valuable are likely to be sheltered from mainstream discrimination toward the language more than those who do not have such support. However, once a **Māori** person decides to take on learning **te reo Māori**, the views of the

mainstream are less likely to be the most prominent factor impacting on whether or not **Māori** persist in learning **te reo**. Rather, **Māori** are likely to be influenced by specific ingroup members who they share a common relational connection with, such as **kaupapa** and/or **whakapapa whānau**.

Cognitive benefits/motivation for learning te reo

The process of negotiating multiple identity pressures is complex (Phinney, 1989). How biculturals manage the complexity of both cultures has been explored. Integration of both cultural frameworks is measured by assessing how much an individual sees the two cultures as compatible versus oppositional. In Benet-Martinez and Hariatatos's (2005) study, low levels of proficiency in either of the languages contributed to individuals reporting that the two cultures were distant or oppositional from one another. Moreover, the amount of cultural exposure and language proficiency in one culture was correlated with how much the individual identified with that culture. Applying these findings to **Māori** HL2 learners, it is possible that the more **Māori** language abilities **Māori** have, the more they will identify with their culture.

The process of 'cultural frame-switching' is a phenomenon that occurs for bicultural individuals whereby they have two systems of interpreting cultural meanings and cues in their environments (Hong, Benet-Martinez, Chiu & Morris, 2003; Miramontez, Benet-Martinez & Nguyen, 2008). Hong and colleagues (2003) have indicated that individuals who have internalised more than one set of cultural values display automaticity in the way they are able to switch between cultural contexts. Those who master the task of cultural frame-switching are able to switch to the demands of their cultural environment.

Māori who are actively engaged in both **Māori** and mainstream cultures are likely to understand what is required in both cultural spaces. The duality of such demands possibly contributed to **Māori** rating highly on both independence and interdependence in Harrington and Liu's (2002) study previously mentioned. Language is likely to provide a set of skills that enable **Māori** to better interpret situations, and process information from both distinct cultural perspectives. Developing cultural efficacy (i.e the sense that one is able to understand what is happening in their environment) is likely to add to **Māori** motivations for learning their HL2.

Gardner and Lambert (1972) posit that language-learners "must be willing to identify with members of another ethnolinguistic group and take on very subtle aspects of their behaviour" (p. 135) in order to fully master the task of second language acquisition. Without a willingness or openness to accept another cultural way of thinking or behaving, it is more difficult for the learner to enculturate. While **Māori** who learn **te reo Māori** may have made a shift towards acknowledging their culture, it is not necessarily the case that they have agreed to adopt **Māori** values, such as interdependence. For many **Māori** of dual **Māori/Pākehā** descent, there are often internal conflicts that occur as a result of the cultural distance between the two cultures (Moeke-Maxwell, 2003). For those who are both **Māori** and **Pākehā**, the differences in cultural values and customs at times clash, leaving the individual to make sense of their cultural identity and the variation in such sets of values (Moeke-Maxwell, 2003). With 48% of **Māori** reporting dual ethnicity (Statistics NZ, 2007), these issues are likely to have an impact on matters relating to cultural authenticity (i.e. how identities are policed).

King (2009) explained in her study of **Māori** second language-learners that many of the participants experienced something similar to cultural and spiritual awakening. The participants' involvement with **te reo** was described as a quasi religion, whereby many participants viewed their new understanding towards their culture as a new awareness. Having been exposed to a new way of viewing the world is likely to be motivating for **Māori** language-learners. Learners are exposed to novel, exciting concepts that offer a window into the views of their ancestors. Secondly, the language provides more advanced learners with a mode of expressing themselves in culturally bound terms. It is likely that there are varying motivations at various stages of the process.

Motivation is important for learners as it provides them with a cause to persist in their language-learning. Motivation is possibly even more important given that there are fewer spaces where **te reo Māori** is used. Given the lack of research about HL2 motivations in languages where the language is an indigenous language and endangered, this research seems timely. Furthermore, there is limited previous research that focuses specifically on how cultural differences influence motivation, for instance members of relationally oriented indigenous cultures are likely to be motivated by factors that differ from independent cultures. **Māori** HL2 learners are likely to have a range of motivations that are distinct from **Pākehā** PCL2 learners of **te reo Māori**. For instance, **Māori** HL2 learner motivations are likely to be related to identity, belongingness, cultural

maintenance and the desire to 'whakaaro Māori'[71] in ways that were consistent with their ancestors. On the other hand, **Pākehā** are likely to be motivated by job prospects, and a desire to increase their bicultural identity as **Pākehā** New Zealanders. In order to capture the motivations for learning **te reo Māori**, two studies follow. The first study will explore **Māori** HL2 motivations for learning **te reo Māori**. The results from Study 1 will be triangulated with quantitative results that will be further examined in Study 2, in which both **Māori** and **Pākehā** motivations for learning **te reo Māori** will be analysed.

Study 1 Summary

This chapter aims to explore the goals and motivations of learners of **te reo Māori**. Given that some **Māori** have been typified as being collectivist and relationally oriented, relationships are likely to impact considerably on HL2 motivation. Study 1 was designed to be exploratory, therefore, specific hypotheses will not be tested. However, observations from the literature and Chapter 4 contribute to the idea that **Māori** identity will play a considerable role in the decisions that **Māori** HL2 learners make to learn **te reo Māori**. Undergraduate participants are likely to be motivated to learn **te reo Māori** due to their desire to improve ingroup membership.

Secondly, due to the fact that **te reo Māori** is endangered, **Māori** HL2 learners are likely to be motivated by cultural preservation reasons, for instance, decisions to use **te reo Māori** with their children. Advanced learners, or **Māori** HL2 learners who have high levels of language skills are likely to take on leadership responsibilities that motivate them to continually improve their language skills. Learners who reach advanced stages of language proficiencies are likely to hold language-specific goals, as well as cultural identity goals.

Study 1 Methods

The aim of Study 1 was to explore the range of possible motivations of **Māori** participants that contribute to HL2 learning. In the context of HL2 learning both the context of the learning environment and the methods used to measure motivations require a tailored mixed methods approach.

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[71] Think in **Māori**

Participants, materials, procedure

The participants of this study include both qualitative and quantitative groups. See Chapter 3 for a detailed description of the participant groups as well as the materials used. Participants who contributed to the qualitative components of this study were from both undergraduate and advanced levels of proficiency.

Analysis

Note that thematic analysis was used – refer to Chapter 4 for further details. The themes, sub-themes and individual codes are outlined in Table 2 below.

Study 1 Results

Table 2: Codes, sub-themes and themes for Study 1

THEME	SUB-THEME	CODE
He tuakiri Māori	1) Heritage and identity as HL2 motivation	Recognition by others Identity authentication **Te reo** a mediator in search for identity **Te reo** is a **Māori** identity Affirmation from language community Role models promoted motivation Kōhanga reo movement (part of a collective) Desire to re-connect with elders If you identify as **Māori**, you should know **te reo Māori** Fear of being judged inadequate
	2) Māramatanga	**Whakapapa** connection to **te reo Māori** Opening of a world view Desire to create relationships with **reo** speakers Cultural concepts better explained in **te reo** Cultural shift in thinking/behaving Desire to know the 'secret' language Language a connection to ancestors
Ngā takohanga	1) Parental responsibilities	Desire to raise **Māori**-speaking children Not having language limits parent/child relationship Having correct **reo** is 'good' parenting Parent/child relation provides good language practice Sadness for older generation who could not speak **te reo** Cultural continuation responsibilities through parenting
	2) Leadership responsibilities	Matching achievements in **Pākehā** and **Māori** spaces High expectations, low language ability

THEME	SUB-THEME	CODE
		Desire to adequately fulfil roles
		Language ability increases leadership expectations
		Limited number of **Māori** speakers to fulfil roles
Ngā whāinga o te hunga matatau	1) Instrumental and relational motivations 2) Language specific motivations	Advanced **reo** abilities provide job security Advanced **reo** means helping other learners Becoming a better communicator Using **whakataukī/kīwaha** Learning and using new words Language improvements appreciated by peers and mentors Desire to sound 'native' Desire to connect to ancestors' language Desire to improve is continuous, no end Mastery not a **Māori** concept (never eventuates)
Identity deficit and motivation		Expectations not helpful when ability is low Shame/guilt and limited language ability Cultural expectations impact on learning

Theme 1: He tuakiri Māori: Māori Identity

The first theme was ***He Tuakiri Māori***, literally translating into English as 'a **Māori** identity'. This theme was separated into two subthemes including *Heritage and Identity* as HL2 motivation, and ***Māramatanga***.

Theme 1: Subtheme 1; Heritage and Identity as HL2 motivation

This thesis affirms the position that there are multiple descriptions of **Māori** identities, and that not all **Māori** are seeking **te reo Māori** in order to categorically claim their ethnic identity. Rather these findings illustrate the connection that some **Māori** felt between their identity and their heritage language. For many participants, **te reo Māori** was seen as a central component of their identity. As explained by Reedy (cited in Kāretu, 1993), many **Māori** view **te reo Māori** as a means of being recognised by others as **Māori**. While many may experience an internal desire to be **Māori**, there are barriers to being perceived as such. Timothy explains his motivation for wanting to learn **te reo**:

Timothy: *I wanted **te reo Māori** so I could strengthen my own **Māori** identity I suppose, so when someone came up and talked to you, you could talk back to them in **te reo Māori** and they'd say, oh yep, he's **Māori**.* (Undergraduate)

There are two main interactions discussed within this quote. Firstly, there is an assumption that by looks alone the individual might not be identified by another as

culturally or ethnically **Māori**. However, the use of **te reo Māori** in this interaction provides information that the HL2 learner is ethnically or culturally **Māori**.

Wanting to learn more about **Māori** culture through involvement with **te reo** was a desire commonly experienced by participants. In particular, **te reo Māori** was a vehicle for self-discovery in a cultural sense. This was highlighted in the following extract:

Kura: *Really it just came from wanting to learn who I am and where I come from, and I guess the **reo** was one of the most important parts of that.* (Undergraduate)

Participants also explained that **te reo Māori** was a central component of making claims to their identity as **Māori**. This point is elaborated upon in the following excerpt.

Hoani: ***Ka hoki atu au ki ngā whakataukī ki ngā whakatauākī rānei nā ngā mātua tūpuna o mua noa atu, "ko tō reo Māori, ko tō tuakiri", nō reira kāore kau he whakataukī he whakatauākī pea i tua atu i tēnā.***[72] (Advanced)

Through the use of **whakataukī**, the link is given cultural mandate, as it is not the participant alone who views **te reo Māori** as a central component of identity. Rather, he indicates that the connection is something that was determined by our ancestors, which holds greater cultural currency.

Identities were supported through relationships with significant others. Relationships with significant others were key contributors to **Māori** levels of motivation to learn their HL2. Consistent with relational oriented cultures (Brewer & Yuki, 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Radhakrishnan & Chan, 1997), self-set goals were interwoven with the goals of their significant others. Participants explained that relationships with significant others provided them with relational motivation to continue.

Mahinārangi*: Once I started to learn **te reo Māori** I thought hey look, all these other people want to learn, and they can say my name right. And you know, the place names, you do say it right. And that just sort of gave me inner strength. Just natural motivation, I wasn't really pushed.* (Advanced)

Being surrounded by **Māori** who were affirming of being **Māori** was positive for **Māori** HL2 learners. These relationships provided contexts where being **Māori** was normalised.

There was a particular emphasis from younger participants on wanting to connect with their elders. For some participants, their grandparents had passed on and the

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[72] To return to the proverbial sayings of those who have gone before us, "The **Māori** language is your identity", perhaps there's no other saying that explains this more accurately.

language was a means of keeping those connections. Furthermore, participants explained that they felt good knowing that respected elders and others in the **Māori** language community valued the effort they were making to learn **te reo Māori**.

Ana: *I'd love to be able to go home and see, one of the **kaumātua**, [name] [...] he's always known our family, and he knew my nana quite well, and he knew that we didn't grow up [exposed to **Māori** language] and I'd love to go back to him and be able to **kōrero** with him, because he was really excited to hear that I'd started learning **Māori** and you know, embracing it.* (Undergraduate)

Participants were able to demonstrate their commitment to the culture to their significant others, who equally valued their language and culture, through learning **te reo Māori**. The value that significant others placed on the learner's achievements increased desires to continue learning.

The guilt and shame associated with not knowing **te reo Māori** was an issue, which is likely to be held specifically by **Māori** HL2 learners rather than **Māori** language-learners who do not have a **whakapapa** connection to **te reo Māori**. Aotea illustrates the point that motivation for wanting to learn **te reo Māori** sometimes stemmed from perceived obligations:

Aotea: *The more I discover about my cultural, or my heritage, the more I'm a little bit embarrassed that I didn't know it before and that I haven't been more involved, so I want to put that right. That's my main motivation.* (Undergraduate)

These types of emotions add weight to the task of learning a heritage language. The journey for **Māori** learners of **te reo Māori** is not like learners of languages where no heritage connection exists.

Schmidt and Watanabe (2001) make the distinction between heritage and integrative motivations. They locate heritage motivations as those that are tied to an individual's *inheritance*, whereas integrative motivations are those that are bound by *affiliation*. While **Pākehā** were not interviewed for this study, a participant re-frames the distinctions that Schmidt and Watanabe (2001) observed. Pānia describes this phenomenon in culturally specific terms of an **aroha**[73] connection (affiliation or integrative motivation) compared with a **whakapapa** connection (inheritance or heritage

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[73] Commonly referred to as 'love', however, this term has a range of meanings including empathy, concern or compassion (Moorfield, retrieved November 29, 2013)

motivation) when discussing the differences in connection that **Māori** and **Pākehā** can have towards the language. She comments:

Pānia: *It's only when you're culturally confident in yourself with your* **whakapapa**, *or your connection, your* **aroha** *connection to* **te reo** *and why you want to learn and master* **te reo**. *If you've got that* **aroha** *connection to* **te reo**, *say if you're not a* **Māori** *and you don't have that* **whakapapa** *connection, then you can still find a connection through empathy, and if you build on that, and that is strong, I believe, you are more likely to become a master of* **te reo** *by strengthening your* **whakapapa**, *your identity of yourself, your cultural identity. Because to me, that's what wellbeing is to me culturally. A strong sense of who you are, but if you're not* **Māori** *and you still want to master* **te reo**, *then find your in-road in a spiritual kind of a way, to not try and pretend that you're* **Māori**, *because you never can, but to have an* **aroha**, *because everyone can have* **aroha** *for* **te reo**. (Advanced)

Gardner's (2001) descriptions of integrative motivation indicated that the L2 learner has a desire to *become* a member of the culture of the target language group. However, considering the historical context in New Zealand, it would not be appropriate for **Pākehā** to attempt to become **Māori** through language affiliation. First, **whakapapa** is a central feature of basic categorical **Māori** identity, which **Pākehā** do not have. Secondly, the colonial processes historically imposed by **Pākehā** make their *becoming* **Māori** potentially offensive. These ingroup outgroup boundaries differ from notions of citizenship in post-colonial settings (such as New Zealand, Australia or Canada) whereby individuals may seek to become a 'New Zealander' irrespective of their cultural origin. Distinction between groups is necessary when considering language motivations.

Pākehā and **Māori** are able to maintain positive relationships with one another without **Pākehā** becoming **Māori** (Rata, Liu & Hanke, 2008). More specifically, **Pākehā** may be able to become members of the **Māori** language-speaking community without becoming categorically **Māori**. As previously discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, **Pākehā** learners could be thought of as post-colonial language (PCL2) learners. This term would distinguish the position of **Pākehā** learners of **te reo Māori**, and **Pākehā** learners of other languages where there is no direct historical relationship with the target language, for example, **Pākehā** learners of Portuguese.

Theme 1: Subtheme 2: Māramatanga

The second subtheme discusses an increase in **māramatanga**,[74] which contributed to HL2 learners' overall sense of belongingness and identity. The word **māramatanga** was chosen as **Māori** HL2 learners commonly described its multiple meanings. Participants described the pleasure they had experienced from being able to converse in **te reo Māori** irrespective of whether their language skills were limited or advanced. The language provided participants with a set of insights into the culture, as well as greater connectedness between speakers of **te reo Māori**. These feelings were described in the following excerpt.

Mahinārangi: *It was a whole opening, and the more the world opens to you, the more better you feel*. (Advanced)

Those beginners who had only begun learning the language were motivated to learn more as they could see how the language could benefit them in practical ways. For instance, language provided them with the tools to engage with others at a deeper cultural level. An example of this is explained in the following excerpt:

Ana: *I'd love to be fluent. I'd love to be able to just be really comfortable to just enter into a room and just chat really easily [...], I just want to be able to really communicate and understand people, because I think that there's more to a language than just words, [...] the concepts behind it, so if you communicate with someone in that language you understand them in a deeper level as well*. (Undergraduate)

A positive aspect of learning **te reo** was that learners were able to communicate with greater cultural intimacy. Knowledge of **te reo Māori** allowed them to understand what was being said, which at a practical level was settling. Some participants described hearing the use of **te reo Māori** around the home but described it as a language for adults or a 'secret language'. Participants described how having the language being spoken impacted on their motivation to learn.

Riria: *In the **kāinga**,[75] the first language was English, but the **Māori** language was happening informally in cases such as Mum speaking to Dad, and usually it was a secret and they didn't want us to know*. (Advanced)

Pānia: *Our grandparents and great grandmother had a house there and their house was a **reo Māori** house, and they were of a generation that you know, they talked really um deep stuff [...]. So as kids running around and playing amongst that I think there was an invisible motivation that came*

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[74] Enlightenment, insight, understanding, light, meaning, significance, and brainwave are the definitions provided by Moorfield (retrieved November 29, 2013).
[75] Home

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through. I call it like a spiritual tie between… I wanted to unlock the **māramatanga** *to know what they were saying. I wanted to know why they were laughing or swearing, or whatever, or getting heated. I wanted to know, and wanted to understand what they were talking about. So that was a high motivation for me I think. I may not have understood it back then, but now I definitely can relate to that.* (Advanced)

For those participants who were exposed to **te reo Māori** in the home, their desire to learn **te reo Māori** came through indirect exposure to the language. Positive role models who spoke the language contributed to motivation.

Te reo Māori provided **Māori** HL2 learners with the ability to connect with their ancestors through the use of imagery that the language provided. Puawai explained:

Puawai: *My grandfather […] when I used to hear him speak on the* **marae**, *he blows me away, he's [iwi name]. I find his* **reo** *the most soothing sound in the world, and there's the motivation right there, I want* **reo** *like my grandfather's. I want to know how he felt when he spoke, or how he feels when he speaks. I want to know the thought processes he goes through in order to create a world within his words. I want to know why he does it. You know all of those things. I want to know how he feels when he gets up and speaks on his* **marae**. (Advanced)

Not only did Puawai explain how she wanted to learn how her grandfather felt, or thought, but there is also the element of pride in being able to speak on one's own **marae**. Being able to fulfil the role and expectations in a cultural sense is also likely to be a motivation at this higher stage of proficiency.

Theme 2: Ngā Takohanga: Responsibilities of HL2 speakers and learners

The second theme was **Ngā Takohanga**, literally translating into English as 'the multiple responsibilities'. Participants expressed having a multitude of responsibilities including parenting, being able to fulfil cultural roles on the **marae** and for formal occasions, such as **tangihanga**, or even informal family occasions. This theme was broken into two subthemes, parental responsibilities and leadership responsibilities. These responsibilities were tied to them wanting to improve their language skills.

Theme 2: Subtheme 1: Parental responsibilities

Participants expressed feeling responsible for the language choices they made when raising their children. Notably, most female participants reported that children contributed to their language motivation irrespective of whether or not they were mothers at the time of the interview. Males also signalled that their children and families

motivated them to improve their language, but only in cases where the male was already a father at the time of the interview. The correctness of grammar was a particular point of importance for those who were considering raising their children using **te reo Māori**.

Te Rina: *I think ultimately too, I want to know that my **reo** is correct, that I'm not making any mistakes, 'cause when I use it when I have kids or anything and I want to use it with them, or I want to speak to them in **te reo**, I don't want to screw them over or anything.* (Undergraduate)

Participants' heritage connection to **te reo Māori** meant that their language responsibilities to their children were high. Being able to correct their children was consistent with 'good parenting'. Hēni explains:

Hēni: *When I spoke poorly [in English], my father would always correct me, no matter how many people were there. So grammatically they were always correcting my language, and so I thought once my daughter engaged in this [**Māori** language] environment, and the more we committed to speaking **Māori** to her, I thought, oh gosh, I don't want to get a stage where she's speaking really poorly and a) I don't know she's speaking poorly, and b) wouldn't have a clue as to how to correct her, because if she'd done that in English, I'd know and correct her straight away. I wouldn't let it endure so she ended up being raised speaking poorly. I thought oh good grief, I can't let her become an experiment, I've got to engage, learn and always keep a step ahead of her, otherwise if I can't do that, then I've failed her of sorts.* (Advanced)

Having children who are raised speaking poorly is also likely to reflect badly on the parents as in many cultures. Furthermore, speakers without children understood how having children benefited the language outcomes of fellow students. Mahinārangi explains:

Mahinārangi: *[my friend] could **kōrero te reo ki te kāinga ki tāna tama**, **i taua wā hoki**, **i whānau mai tāna tama**.[76] And I was thinking, that's more of a motivation for yourself as a parent as well. You're wanting to nurture your child in this language. And you've got to have more, and be more fluent.* (Advanced)

It was well understood by participants that the goal of the parent was to nurture their child. Participants described that their parents influenced their decision to learn **te reo Māori**. Some participants recalled not having the ability to communicate with their parents in **te reo Māori**, while others had parents who were native speakers, but generally **te reo Māori** was not the language of communication. Hoani describes a childhood memory:

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[76] Speak the language at home to her son at that time, when her son was born.

Hoani: *Maumahara tonu au i hoki atu au ki te kāinga, e kite atu au i taku pāpa
            e tunu kai ana, kātahi ka mea atu au ki taku pāpa "E pāpa, he tangata
            kōrero Māori koe?" Nā te mea ko tētahi o āku tino kaupapa i te kura
            tino pai ki ahau ko te reo Māori. Kātahi, ka whakaatu atu tāku mahi,
            mahi kāinga ki a ia, i te kimi āwhina, i te kimi āwhina kia tutuki pai
            taku mahi kāinga. Engari, kite atu au te kūare, te kore mōhio, te
            matakohore, i a ia e whakaaro atu ana, i reira i toko ake te whakaaro, e
            kī, kāore taku pāpa e tino mōhio ana ki te kōrero Māori. I kite atu hoki
            te pōuri i roto i a ia i taua wā tonu. Nā, mai i aua wā, tae noa ki ēnei
            rangi tonu, kua kī ake au ki ahau anō, kia kore rawa āku tamariki e
            tupu ake pērā ana.*[77] (Advanced)

The interaction described above is highly emotional for those who can relate to
this experience. It is the perspective of a child seeing his father's anguish as he reveals to
his son that he cannot speak his heritage language. Those participants who described
having family members who were unable to speak **te reo Māori** and were regretful about
not being able to speak. Others' regret also acted to motivate some participants, as they
wanted to avoid repeating these actions.

As parents, being unable to engage with their child in **te reo Māori** was an
uncomfortable experience. Timothy explains how his family (partner and children) are
speakers of **te reo Māori**. He describes how he felt about not being able to communicate
basic concepts or instructions to his children using **te reo Māori**:

Timothy: *I think it's just 'cause **te reo Māori** is a strong language. You know, it's my
            own language. It's my family's language, and for me to not be in the mix,
            it's just sort of heart breaking really. [...] to be outside the bubble you
            know, everyone starts having a big **kōrero**, and you're just outside the
            bubble. You don't even know what's going on.* (Undergraduate)

Being 'outside the bubble' is an image that is easy to conjure. Not being able to
communicate in own's heritage language is likely to be highly damaging for individuals
who feel less powerful to change their situation. However, the participants of this study
all had access to language-learning facilities and were engaged with language-learning.

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[77] I still remember returning home and seeing my father cooking dinner, I asked him
"Dad, do you speak **Māori**?" because one of my favourite topics at school was the **Māori**
language. Then I showed him my work, I was looking for guidance to complete my
homework properly. However, I saw then as he was trying to work it out that he didn't
really understand, at that point I realised, oh, my father doesn't really know how to speak
Māori. I also saw the sadness that resided in him at that time. So, from that point in time
till now, I've said to myself, my children will never grow up that way.

Participants were motivated by a desire to continue their cultural heritage through using the language with their children.

Hori: *I guess for me it's very personal, being **Māori** and being able to converse in my mother tongue. You know, and not just for me, but for my children, and I want to be able to develop that that desire within my own family, with my cousins and their kids[.]* (Undergraduate)

Māori parents who choose to learn **te reo Māori** are likely to be doing so due to reasons related to cultural preservation or maintenance. Responsibilities **Māori** HL2 learners feel toward their children significantly contribute to **Māori** language motivation.

Theme 2: Subtheme 2; Leadership responsibilities

The second subtheme discusses the leadership responsibilities that came with being an HL2 learner in a situation where the health of the language was a risk. Participants reported experiencing significant pressure to take on roles and needed language skills in order to feel adequate in such roles. Mature-aged participants had been placed in representative positions because of the achievements they had made in their careers. However, in a few cases, their age and life achievements brought with them language responsibilities, which some individuals felt inadequately prepared for. This experience was described in the following extract.

Hori: *Some of those responsibilities within my cousins, and within my generation are directed towards me as well. Having um, having achieved within my **whānau** some of the things I've done, people sort of naturally look up to you, but um, you know I look at that as being part of the **Pākehā** world and so on. But I need to, for my own um, um identity and peace of mind, I have to expand my **Māori** knowledge of **tikanga** and **te reo**, so that in the future I just don't have half of it, I have the whole package.*
(Undergraduate)

Language achievements the HL2 learner made were shared by significant others. The performative roles that participants were asked to enact were roles that held **mana**. Because of the honour that HL2 learners felt toward performing such roles, they were also very stressful for many HL2 learners especially when the HL2 learner's language skills were limited. Some beginner learners were already expected to be the speaker in formal contexts, but had very little training and did not feel equipped to competently fulfil the role.

Timothy: *[I thought] I won't have to do it, then one day, my tutor came up to me [and said] "I want you to do the **mihi**,[78] I want you to do the **whaikōrero**",[79] I said to him, "I don't want to do it. I'm not capable of doing it and I'm not going to do it in front of them."* (Undergraduate)

The public performance aspects of formal **Māori** cultural roles were difficult for beginner level speakers to take on. With little formal training in the art of **whaikōrero**, it was common for participants to describe feeling daunted by the challenge. Beginner-level participants discussed how these formal aspects contributed to them wanting to improve their language skills. Aotea explains:

Aotea: *I want to be able to stand up on any **marae**, introduce myself properly, **whakapapa** myself appropriately, and also pay homage to the people of the **marae**. And understand their lineage and even refer to that appropriately, I just don't want to get up and say **tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou** this is why I'm here and sit down, I want to be able to pay the right respects.* (Undergraduate)

The ability to connect with others through relationships and **whakapapa** is a central feature discussed by participants. Having the ability to achieve this successfully is not only reliant on knowledge of such relationships, but also having the language to accurately demonstrate how parties are connected.

There were pressures to perform in formal situations for both genders' roles. The pressure of having to speak during formal occasions motivated some participants.

Hēni: *My husband would have been [motivated by] the death of his father, and that happened two years before our daughter was born. [...] births and deaths are triggers in a cultural context. Most people arrive at a **tangi** and yeah, surprised to find, I can't **mihi**, I can't **haka**, I can't really engage in the formalities or a process of sorts.* (Advanced)

Having the ability to farewell the dead in culturally appropriate ways is likely to incite motivation for those who arrive to **tangihanga** feeling unable to express themselves and their love for their departed. Those who do not have the language skills to engage in these contexts can feel excluded and unable to participate during these intensely emotional times (Edge, Nikora & Rua, 2011).

As participants began to gain higher levels of proficiency, their role responsibilities became prominent motivators. The responsibilities that accompanied

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[78] Introductions or greetings
[79] Formal speech making

higher levels of language proficiency meant that advanced learners were taking on roles as a result of their language progress.

Herewini: *My sole motivation was to learn **te reo Māori**. That was the sole reason why I came here. There was no other reason. It was to come here and learn **te reo Māori**. Here [as my language skills increased], the motivation started to change a little bit because it was more about trying to take a lead role in my **whānau**, my extended **whānau** on my mum's side.*
(Advanced)

The more proficiency individuals had, the greater their responsibilities became. They were often singled out for the language skills they had acquired. Mahinārangi explains:

Mahinārangi: *Especially when the older you get, the more responsibility does fall on your shoulders and when we did Te Panekiretanga, it came as a real shock as how little fluent speakers, **kaikaranga**,[80] **kaiwhaikōrero**[81] there are out there, 'cause we had to research your own **marae**, **hapū**, whatever. And go around, who actually knows how to **karanga**[82] in every situation, **ahakoa te kaupapa**.[83] You know, and **whakapapa**, **ngā pao**[84] and all of that kind of stuff, you could really count them on one hand. It never used to be like that, it's more of a responsibility, your **reo** is a huge responsibility.*
(Advanced)

As a result of becoming HL2 learners, participants gained a heightened sense of awareness about the dire state of the language. For many speakers, they were one of few within their immediate family, or wider community, who could conduct particular cultural roles using **te reo Māori**. Moreover, as advanced learners became more proficient in **te reo**, the number of native speakers who could guide or mentor them became more limited. Being made aware of the health of the **Māori** language meant that many advanced-level speakers were left with an immense sense of responsibility for the maintenance and revitalisation of the language.

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[80] Literally translated as "caller – the woman (or women) who has the role of making the ceremonial call to visitors onto a **marae**, or equivalent venue, at the start of a **pōwhiri**." (Moorfield, retrieved November 29, 2013).
[81] The person tasked with "formal speech-making – formal speeches usually made by men during a **pōwhiri** and other gatherings." (Moorfield, retrieved November 29, 2013).
[82] To call or summon, used in the context of **pōwhiri**.
[83] Irrespective of the occasion
[84] Pao in this case describes "a short, impromptu topical song" that is sung in response to a given occasion (Moorfield, date retrieved November 29, 2013).

Theme 3: Ngā Whāinga o te Hunga Matatau: Advanced-level motivations

The third theme was divided into two subthemes, instrumental motivations and language-specific motivations. Instrumental motivations were commonly coupled with relationally based motivations whereby individuals were able to use their skills in order to support others to learn **te reo Māori**. The second subtheme was the commonly discussed desire of being 'more native' in language delivery. These are discussed as follows.

Theme 3: Subtheme 1: Instrumental and relational motivations

A positive outcome for many participants who had advanced levels of proficiency was that they were able to gain employment opportunities that supported their language development.

Riria: ***Reo*** *opportunities, learning is earning [laugh] [....] Because it can provide you with good money. […] Educational opportunities. Numerous opportunities. Just so much, and that's filtered down to my own kids who are teachers as well*. (Advanced)

Many participants in this study were educators or involved with education. Given that there are so few highly fluent **te reo Māori** speakers, their skills are in high demand in the community but also from employers. Mahinārangi explains a benefit of her language proficiency:

Mahinārangi: *Higher pay cheque [laugh] and more access to other speakers, that would be the hugest [benefit], and even ones my own age*. (Advanced)

Humour was often a means of explaining that pay was a motivation to continue to improve language abilities. Having access to other speakers not only motivated individuals to improve, but it also enabled them to increase their proficiency.

The fact that participants were motivated by instrumental factors (such as income) is also a reality due to the demand for skilled professionals with high levels of language fluency. The types of careers participants were employed in were 'other' focused roles. For instance, Pania explains how her self-improvement in the language is directly linked to her relational connection with other learners:

Pānia: *Now that I'm more proficient and fluent in **te reo**, my motivation is to be the best that I can, to continue to be the best that I can be with **te reo** and then pass on that **reo** knowledge to others who are willing to learn. Um, because I understand the strength that you can…, the power that you feel as a person because you've unlocked a door to your cultural heritage.* (Advanced)

Advanced learners had often chosen teaching- or education-based vocations as a way of sharing their knowledge with others.

Theme 3: Subtheme 2: Language-specific motivations

While identity as **Māori** was a strong motivational feature for those at the beginning stages of their language journey, it was not raised as prominently by those who were highly proficient. This is not to say that identity was not a motivational factor. However, identity was less salient. Further, increasing language competence through increased knowledge about language features such as **kīwaha,** [85] **whakataukī**, and dialectical differences were raised as aspects that sustained motivation at higher levels of proficiency.

Matiu: *"[T]hat basic [motivation] is still with me now. How can I communicate better, and I still use those techniques they taught me [...] when I've got to prep to do a **whaikōrero**, hopefully, like I say, my vocabulary is improving and my ability to select my appropriate **whakataukī** are improving over time. So my basic core motivation is to be, get better, and to be a better practitioner and also to be a better teacher."* (Advanced)

Participants did not see their advanced level of fluency as a justification to stop learning. There was a view that learning was continuous, and that there was no end to improving their language skills. Wanting to sound as much like a native speaker as possible was a key component of mastering language fluency.

Pānia: *So native, as close to native delivery of **te reo** as possible. Saying things like, **tutuki**[86] as opposed to **tūtuki**,[87] the stress on the word can make a big difference. Knowing several words for one thing.* (Advanced)

Mahinārangi: *I guess when you become more fluent, you are looking for better ways of saying the same thing. So you learn all the basics, and you become more fluent and you're always listening out for how more native speakers say it and a more figurative way of saying something rather than your black and white stuff. That's my motivation now is how I'm going to get better and trying to aim to be more eloquent. And also aiming to try and sound as native as I can.* (Advanced)

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[85] Colloquialisms
[86] to be finished or complete
[87] to collide or stumble

Theme 4: Identity deficit and motivation

The Health of the Māori Language Survey illustrates how few **Māori** speak **te reo Māori** (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006). Irrespective of the limited number of speakers, some participants who have stereotypically **Māori** physical features, experienced being approached by other **Māori** speakers and did not have the skills to converse. This experience was generally not a positive experience for participants.

Te Rina*:* *One time I was working in [location] and this man came up to me and he was "blah blah blah", and I was like, "nah, nah, I don't understand what you're saying", and he just looked at me and walked away.*

Int: *And how did you feel?*

Te Rina: *I felt like arseholes. I felt like I sort of should have known what he said because I identify as **Māori**.* (Undergraduate)

Many participants explained that they felt that they should have been able to speak **te reo Māori** if they chose to identify as **Māori**. However, there were very few explicit links between having an identity deficit, and wanting to learn **te reo Māori**.

Bubbles: *I've actually been asked [whether I speak **Māori**] heaps, [...] "oh you're **Māori**", you know, 'cause there's not very much Māoris at my hall, and then they were like, "can you speak?" and I was like, "oh not really". And they were just like "what, you're a **Māori** but you can't speak **Māori**?"*

Int: *So how did that make you feel when they asked you and expected that of you?*

Bubbles: *I kind of felt like a dick to be honest. I was just like, it does look pretty bad.*

Int: *Was that a reason why you wanted to learn it?*

Bubbles: *Nah, not at all.* (Undergraduate)

There was a common perception amongst non-**Māori** that because a person identifies as ethnically **Māori** they should speak **Māori**. Having an identity deficit was not particularly motivating. Instead, it left many undergraduate participants feeling badly about themselves when they could not meet such expectations. These negative feelings were not enough to incentivise participants to learn the language.

Undergraduate participants commonly reported feeling that it was not only the language they found difficult, but instead the cultural aspects that were expected of them.

Ana: *That sense of, not necessarily guilt, but you don't really deserve to be involved with all this **Māori** stuff, because I haven't had that background, and so there's a sense of I should know this stuff already. When you meet people and they ask you know, is so and so your uncle, you know family stuff, but there's certain stuff about the **Māori** culture that you should*

*know just from being **Māori**, that I don't know, and so it's like a sense of duty. But that's probably not strong enough to make me want to do it the whole way through 'cause I can qualify that, like I wasn't brought up like that [...]. Those are weird expectations to throw on myself. But when I started learning it's fun, there's a sense of I should know this, but there's a sense of I want to know it, and that's the reason why I'm going to do it, 'cause I want to and because I've taken these two papers, it's made me see what I can achieve.* (Undergraduate)

Participants described a number of expectations that they felt both as **Māori** students and as learners of their own cultural language. When individuals' abilities were low, but expectations were high, some HL2 learners were left with lower levels of agency. In this context, agency refers to the extent that learners felt they had control to change or improve their own language abilities. Relational connections that learners shared with others were particularly highlighted in language contexts.

Study 1 Discussion

Study 1 was designed to explore the range of factors that contributed to **Māori** HL2 learner motivations. Interviews with **Māori** HL2 learners ranging in proficiency levels provided the context for this discussion. The results of this study confirmed that **Māori** HL2 learners hold a number of cultural roles and responsibilities, and the language is central in **Māori** HL2 learners' ability to successfully enact these. Unlike learners of globally dominant languages, **Māori** HL2 learners have an immense sense of obligation toward maintaining the language for future generations. It was not appropriate to apply stringent intrinsic/extrinsic language motivations to **Māori**, as their motivations were far more complex and relationally oriented.

The goal of cultural and language revitalisation is something which is commonly acknowledged by language planners and those involved with language revitalisation. Kāretu (2008, p.2) explains "**Kei kī hoki ō tātou tīpuna ā taua wā rā, 'I te ora rawa atu te reo i te wā i a mātou i aha kētia e koutou?' He aha tāu ka urupare atu ki a rātou, ki ō uri rānei ā te wā ki a rātou?**"[88] **Māori** HL2 learners' goals for language revitalisation were motivating for participants in this study. However, the desire to satisfy their immediate identity needs and the shared goals of their **kaupapa whānau**/language-

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[88] For fear that our ancestors exclaim 'The language was completely thriving during our time, what on earth did you do to it?' What might you say in response to your ancestors, or your own descendants when their time comes?

learner community were more urgent (or pertinent) than language revitalisation. There appeared to be a bi-directional relationship between language revitalisation and individual-level motivations in that by using the language, revitalisation is also being actioned. Language motivation appears to stem from the immediate needs of the learner, and wider goals of language revitalisation reinforce those motivations.

An example of this was the learners' desire to use **te reo Māori** with their children. Parents make a number of moral choices about how they want to raise their children. Language is one of those decisions, and is likely to be a point of concern for those who are invested in maintaining their cultural heritage, especially in situations where the language is endangered. Coming back to the previous point, choosing to raise children in **te reo Māori** provides an urgent context to use the language, and through the decision to use the language intergenerationally, the goal of contributing to language revitalisation is also achieved.

The results of this study were similar to heritage language studies that have indicated that women take on additional responsibilities in terms of cultural maintenance (Syed, 2001). Census data shows that 8% of **Māori** women are able to converse to a high degree about everyday events to a high level of proficiency, while only 4% of **Māori** males are able to do so (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). The gender difference may be related to findings from the previous research (Research NZ, 2010) signifying that child-rearing responsibilities are considerable language-learner motivations for **Māori** women. If women are motivated to use the language for functional purposes, this could contribute to the gender discrepancy in heritage language acquisition.

Those with even minimal language skills reported that the language proficiency they had acquired provided them with an alternative worldview. These results are comparable to research of Nisbett and colleagues (2001) regarding analytical versus holistic thought. Through language, **Māori** were able to develop new forms of holistic cognition that resounded more with traditional **Māori** concepts.

Expectations and HL2 motivations

Māori HL2 learners responded in two prominent ways to having language expectations placed on them. For learners with minimal or no language skills, being expected to know **te reo Māori** or perform cultural roles using **te reo Māori** was not particularly motivating. Instead HL2 learners reported avoiding situations where they

would be expected to use the language. These experience contrast with HL2 learners who had intermediate to advanced levels of language skills. When HL2 learners' competencies were high, expectations from mentors, **whānau** and others were positive and encouraging. In situations where language abilities were medium to high, expectations motivated HL2 learners to improve in order to meet the expectations of those significant others who they valued. The theoretical implications of this research indicate that when **Māori** HL2 learners have sufficient linguistic and relational support, then expectations motivate individuals to increase their language abilities. For **Māori** HL2 learners who have minimal or no language skills, having language expectations placed on them is de-motivating as they are unlikely to feel they have the agency to meet such expectations.

Māori language motivation

The findings from this study contribute to the development of the concept of a *Māori language motivation* scale (referred to as MHL2 Motivation). Relational language motivation can be conceptualised as the desire to engage in the language in order to develop, improve or sustain relationships with those who the learner considers as contributing to their self-construct. On many occasions, these relationships are made up by a combination of **whakapapa whānau** (who are supportive of **te reo Māori** or **Māori** culture) and **kaupapa whānau** (who are relationships developed within the learner's **Māori** language environment).

Māori HL2 motivation appears to take on elements of integrative motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) and heritage motivation (Schmidt & Watanabe, 2001), yet is distinct from both of these concepts in a number of ways. Schmidt and Watanabe (2001) included two items in their heritage language scale, which included the desire to learn the language 1) because of its cultural heritage significance, and 2) because it was part of the person's identity. These descriptions of heritage motivations are oversimplified and inadequate in their ability to capture the full extent of **Māori** HL2 motivations. Furthermore, integrative motivation does not articulate the fact that **Māori** have a **whakapapa** connection to the target language. Therefore, they are already apart of the target language group, but they may have limited linguistic competence.

Factors that appear to be prominent features of language motivations for **Māori** HL2 learners were the desire to: take on cultural specific roles (including leadership positions that required **te reo Māori**); continue cultural practices; communicate with

Māori-speaking **whānau**; increase cultural consciousness; and raise **Māori**-language-speaking children. Each of these factors was used to develop a **Māori** HL2 (MHL2) motivation scale that will be applied in Study 2 of this chapter.

Study 2

Study 2 Hypotheses

The findings from Chapter 4, Chapter 5: Study 1 and the literature review helped to form the research hypotheses in Study 2. Each of these hypotheses is detailed as follows.

- *Hypothesis 1*. MHL2 Motivations will be positively correlated with **Māori** Integrative Motivations, Language Community Support, Engagement with **Māori** and **Whānau** Support.

- *Hypothesis 2*. **Pākehā** Instrumental motivations will be positively correlated with Engagement with **Māori** and Community Language Support.

- *Hypothesis 3*. Study 1 indicated that Instrumental Motivations were present in **Māori** language learners. Instrumental Motivations will be positively correlated with MHL2 Motivations.

- *Hypothesis 4*. If Instrumental Motivation is positively correlated with MHL2 motivations (as predicted in hypothesis 3), Instrumental Motivation, Engagement, and Language Community Support will predict MHL2 Motivation. This hypothesis will be tested using a multiple regression analysis.

- *Hypothesis 5*. MHL2 Motivations will be correlated with **Māori** Identity (including In-group Membership, Authenticity beliefs, and cultural efficacy).

- *Hypothesis 6*. **Māori** HL2 learners' language proficiency will be positively correlated to Ingroup Membership, Authenticity Beliefs and Cultural Efficacy.

- *Hypothesis 7*. Independent samples t-tests will demonstrate that **Pākehā** are more likely than **Māori** to be motivated to learn **te reo Māori** by reasons of National Identity.

Study 2 Methods

Participants

Quantitative data was collected from 127 university students studying in **Māori** language courses offered at Victoria University of Wellington. Of those 127 participants,

14 were international students. Because of the small number of international students, these responses were subsequently removed from the overall analysis, leaving a total of 113 responses.

Of the total number of New Zealand respondents, 76.1% ($n = 86$) of participants were **Māori** and 23.9% ($n = 27$) were **Pākehā**/New Zealand European. Females made up 69% ($n = 79$) of respondents, while males made up 30.1% ($n = 34$). Participants' ages ranged from 16 years to 55 years ($M = 21.58$, $SD = 5.97$). There was no statistical difference in means between the age of **Māori** and **Pākehā** participants.

There were 20 students who attended kura kaupapa Māori (17.7%), and 11 attended whare kura[89] (9.7%) prior to university. Of those students who attended **Māori** immersion education prior to attending university, one **Pākehā** participant attended kura kaupapa and one **Pākehā** participant attended whare kura, while the rest were **Māori**.

The majority of respondents were students in the introductory (MAOR101) level course (62.8%, $n = 71$), while the second-stage 100-level course (MAOR111) where **Māori** is the main medium of instruction and the 200-level course (MAOR211) had 18.6% ($n = 21$) and 18.6% ($n = 21$) respectively. The majority of **Pākehā** responses came from students participating in MAOR101, while **Māori** were heavily represented in the introductory courses and equally in subsequent courses (see Table 3).

Table 3. Course codes (N = 113)

	Māori		**Pākehā**	
	n	Percent	*n*	Percent
MAOR101	47	54.7	24	88.9
MAOR111	20	23.3	1	3.7
MAOR211	19	22.1	2	7.4
Total	86	100.0	27	100.0

The relatively low sample size determined the types of analysis used in this study. Levene's Test for equality of variances was applied in independent samples t-tests, as group sizes varied across demographics and course sizes. In cases where equal variance was not assumed, the value for 'variance not assumed' was reported.

If participants indicated that they did not identify as **Māori**, they were asked to select from one of five ethnicity labels. Most of these participants self-identified as

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[89] **Māori** immersion secondary school

Pākehā (*n* = 12), followed by those who preferred the label 'New Zealand European' (*n* = 8). There were two participants who indicated that they did not identify as **Māori**, but preferred the ethnic label '**Māori/Pākehā**'. There was one participant who identified as 'New Zealander', and one participant who identified as '**Kiwi**'. Three participants who identified as non-**Māori** did not report a preferred ethnic label.

Procedure

Participants who were enrolled in **Māori** language papers at Victoria University of Wellington were invited to participate. Participants of **Māori** and non-**Māori** (including international students) heritage were approached to participate in their allotted lecture time. Response rates for MAOR101 and MAOR211 were most successful with approximately 70% and 63% of the total class participating in the study. The response rate for MAOR111 was smaller with approximately 35% of the class choosing to participate in the study. At the time MAOR111 was approached to participate, the class had previously completed an assessment on the same day; this is a likely reason for the lower levels of response rate.

The researcher attended the lecture and introduced the study to participants. The researcher left the **wharenui**, and those students who chose to participate were given an information sheet and survey to complete (see Appendix 6 for the information sheet). Those students who chose to participate were asked to complete each question. Participants completed a survey in the **wharenui**, where they were being taught at the time. Participants were given a chocolate bar and a chance to win one of 16 $20 iTunes vouchers. Ethical approval for this study was received from The School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee at Victoria University of Wellington provided ethical approval for this study.

Research design and measures

Higher scores on all scales indicated a positive result. Scales were selected or developed by the author. Some scales were adapted in order to fit the core demographic of this study (**Māori** adult heritage language-learners). Survey items are listed in Appendix 7.

The importance of relationships was measured using three factors including **Whānau** Support, Engagement with **Māori**, and Language Community Support.[90] Connectedness and social support included 10 items with three subscales including **Whānau**/Family Support (α = .87), other **Māori** Language Speakers (α = .69) and Engagement with others in the **Māori** community (α = .86). The Connectedness scales were adapted based on scales developed by the Roy McKenzie Centre for the Study of Families as part of the Youth Connectedness Project and had been used in a study involving **Māori** participants (Fox, 2010). Furthermore, the subscale for Public Support were adapted from the Youth Connectedness Project, which included three items, two of which were positively framed, for example "Overall, **Māori** are considered good by others." And one question that was negatively framed "In general, others think that **Māori** are lazy." Measures were rated on a seven point Likert scale from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*).

Language Community Support items were developed specifically for this thesis. The difficulty in acquiring participants for this study meant that a confirmatory factor analysis was not performed on scales developed for this study. Given the relatively low number of participants in this study, it was expected that some alpha scales would not reach a .7 threshold. However, quantitative components of this study and this thesis more broadly could be used as a pilot to test hypotheses.

Data from three of the six subscales from Houkamau and Sibley's (2010) MMM-ICE study (Authenticity, Cultural Efficacy and Group Membership Evaluation[91]) were included as measures for **Māori** identity. Measures of Authenticity included items such as "True **Māori** hang out at the marae all the time." Cultural Efficacy included items such as "I don't know how to act like a real **Māori** on a marae" and Ingroup Membership included items such as "I love the fact I am **Māori**." The three subscales included Authenticity subscale (α = .78), the Group Membership Evaluation subscale (α = .67), and the Cultural Efficacy subscale (α = .84). These subscales included responses from **Māori** participants only. Measures were rated on a seven-point Likert scale from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*).

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[90] Consistent with Chapter 3, factors will be capitalised in order to distinguish them from normal text.

[91] Group Membership Evaluation will be refered to as Ingroup Membership.

Measures of the following motivation types were included: Intrinsic (α = .69), Instrumental (α = .78), Integrative (α = .52), MHL2 (α = .76), and finally National Identity (α = .80). The scales for Instrumental, Intrinsic and Integrative Motivation were adapted from Schmidt, Boraie and Kassabgy's (1996) motivation scales. An example of an instrumental item was "Increasing my proficiency in **te reo** will have financial benefits for me." Intrinsic items included "Learning **te reo Māori** is a challenge that I enjoy." Integrative items included "I want to be more a part of the group who speak **Māori**." All items were rated on a seven-point Likert scale from one (*Strongly disagree*) to seven (*Strongly agree*).

The MHL2 motivation and national motivation scales were developed for this project. MHL2 Motivation items were developed in response to **Māori** HL2 learners' experiences outlined in Study 1 and were only completed by **Māori** participants. Items included "Learning **te reo Māori** is important because it will allow me to conduct cultural practices (i.e. **whaikōrero** and **karanga**)." The National Identity scale measured both **Māori** and **Pākehā** responses, which included items such as "Learning **te reo Māori** connects me to my identity as a New Zealander." Table 4 below provides a list of the internal reliability of scales.

Table 4. Internal reliability of scales: Cronbach's Alpha scores

Scale	Number of items	Cronbach's Alpha	n
Whānau Support	4	.87	107
Engagement	3	.87	108
Language Community Support	3	.69	109
Public support	3	.68	82
Authenticity	3	.78	82
Cultural Efficacy	3	.83	64
Group Membership Evaluation	3	.66	82
Intrinsic Motivation	3	.69	112
Instrumental Motivation	3	.78	112
Integrative Motivation	3	.52	111
Māori HL2 Motivation	8	.76	82
National Identity Motivation	4	.80	81

Analysis

This study was designed to measure how **Māori** HL2 learner motivations were related to a number of cultural factors, including Engagement with **Māori** and Language

Community Support, and **Māori** Identity. Furthermore, this study aimed to assess the differences between **Māori** and **Pākehā** motivations for learning **te reo Māori**. Independent samples t-tests, correlations and multiple regression analyses were applied to test the hypotheses that were outlined above.

Study 2 Results and Discussion

Study 2 was designed to identify factors that related with **Māori** HL2 learner motivations. Secondly, this study also aimed to distinguish between **Māori** and **Pākehā** motivations for learning **te reo Māori**.

Hypothesis 1. Māori Integrative Motivations for learning their HL2

In support of Hypothesis 1, **Māori** Integrative Motivations were positively correlated with MHL2 Motivation, Engagement with **Māori**, and Language Community Support and **Whānau** Support. The correlation between Integrative Language Motivation and MHL2 Motivation was the highest positive correlation, indicating that there are components of each motivation type that are highly related. **Māori** HL2 learners' Integrative Motivations were significantly positively correlated with Intrinsic Motivation, whereas MHL2 Motivations were only very weakly correlated to Intrinsic Motivation.

It may be that Integrative Motivations (the desire to become a member of the target language-speaker group) is intrinsically motivating. Comparatively, MHL2 Motivations are possibly linked to fulfilling cultural roles or demonstrating cultural commitment, which have also been captured in the MHL2 scale. It is possible that **Māori** HL2 learners feel they are achieving membership as they learn, which in turn provides learners with a sense of intrinsic satisfaction. However, at the same time, **Māori** HL2 learners may not feel as though they are meeting cultural obligations as they learn, which could negate intrinsic satisfaction.

For **Māori**, **Whānau** Support was significantly positively correlated with all four language motivations. These results could indicate that **whānau** language goals could influence the type of motivation that **Māori** HL2 learners bring with them into the classroom.

Hypothesis 2: Pākehā Instrumental Motivations

Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, whereby **Pākehā** Instrumental Motivations were significantly correlated with Engagement with **Māori**, but not with Language

Community Support. These results might indicate that **Pākehā** learn the language with an instrumental motivation in mind and these goals persist as **Pākehā** engagement with **Māori** increases. Or the results could indicate that as **Pākehā** are more engaged with **Māori**, they see the instrumental value of the language. A full list of results in Table 5 indicated that **Pākehā** Integrative Motivations were not statistically correlated with Instrumental Motivation, Intrinsic Motivation, Engagement with **Māori**, Language Community Support or **Whānau** Support. These correlations were not statistically significant, possibly because of the small sample size.

Hypothesis 3: Māori Instrumental Motivations

It was proposed in Hypothesis 3 that **Māori** would be instrumentally motivated. Results from Study 1 indicated that Instrumental Motivations signaled that HL2 learners understood there was financial value in learning the language and, through employment, HL2 learners could use the language to assist others. Instrumental Motivations were positively correlated with MHL2 Motivations (outlined in Table 6 below), whereas Instrumental Motivations were not correlated with Integrative Motivations, which suggests that there are aspects of Integrative Motivation and MHL2 Motivation, which are distinct (as anticipated).

Table 5: Pākehā motivations and relational support (N = 27)

	Integrative	Instrumental	Intrinsic	Engagement	Language community	**Whānau** support
Integrative	___					
Instrumental	.318	___				
Intrinsic	.149	-.093	___			
Engagement with **Māori**	.362	.416*	.097	___		
Language community	.027	.336	.002	.346	___	
Whānau support	-.102	-.353	.224	.010	-.071	____

* $p < .05$

Table 6: Māori motivations and relational support (N = 86)

	Integrative	MHL2	Instrumental	Intrinsic	Engagement	Language community	**Whānau** support
Integrative	___						
MHL2	.512**	___					
Instrumental	.192	.350**	___				
Intrinsic	.347**	.103	.066	___			
Engagement with **Māori**	.491**	.436**	.106	.050	___		
Language support	.346**	.526**	.162	.190	.237*	____	
Whānau support	.234*	.289**	.236*	.233*	.169	.551**	___

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

Hypothesis 4: Multiple regression: Predictors of MHL2 Motivation

The factors that were most highly correlated with MHL2 motivations were used as predictors for MHL2 Motivation. A multiple regression analysis indicated that three predictor variables (including Language Community Support (β = .40, p<.01), Engagement with **Māori** (β = .32, p<.01), and Instrumental Motivation (β = .26, p<.01) significantly predicted MHL2 Motivation for **Māori** HL2 learners (see Table 7). These three predictors explained 66% of variance (R = .66, F(3, 76) = 19.10, p<.01). These results indicate that Language Community Support, Engagement with **Māori** and Instrumental Motivations all contribute to whether **Māori** HL2 learners are motivated by MHL2 motivation.

Table 7: Multiple regression table of relational predictors for Māori HL2 learners (N = 86)

Variable	B	SE B	β
Language community support	.88	.20	.40**
Engagement with other **Māori**	.54	.15	.32**
Instrumental motivations	.46	.16	.26**
R^2		.44	
F		19.10	

** *p* < .01

Hypothesis 5. Māori Identity and MHL2 Motivations

In accordance with Hypothesis 5, **Māori** HL2 learners MHL2 Motivations were significant to all three **Māori** identity subscales outlined in Table 8. As outlined below, MHL2 Motivation was positively correlated with **Māori** Ingroup Membership, Authenticity Beliefs and Cultural Efficacy. These results could indicate that **Māori** HL2 motivations for learning **te reo Māori** are related to a desire to achieve a sense of belongingness (Ingroup Membership) and cultural efficacy. Furthermore, **Māori** who are motivated to learn **te reo Māori** may also hold particular authenticity beliefs about what 'being **Māori**' means.

Table 8: Correlations between MHL2 Motivation, Ingroup Membership, Authenticity Beliefs and Cultural Efficacy (N = 86)

	MHL2 Motivation	Ingroup Membership	Authenticity Beliefs	Cultural Efficacy
MHL2 Motivation	___			
Ingroup Membership	.305**	___		
Authenticity Beliefs	.298**	.224*	___	
Cultural Efficacy	.347**	.387**	.239	___

Hypothesis 6. Māori Identity and Proficiency in te reo Māori

It was predicted that **Māori** Identity subscales would be correlated with Proficiency, which was partially supported in the results outlined in Table 9 below. Both Authenticity Beliefs and Cultural Efficacy positively and significantly correlated with Proficiency measures. However, Ingroup Membership was not correlated with Proficiency. These results may indicate that **Māori** are able to experience positive ingroup membership without gaining proficiency in **te reo Māori**. Results may also indicate that as **Māori** gain proficiency, they are likely to feel a greater sense of efficacy in **Māori**-governed domains, and are also more likely to subscribe to a particular script about what constitutes being **Māori** (indicated by authenticity beliefs).

Table 9: Correlations between Proficiency, Ingroup Membership, Authenticity Beliefs and Cultural Efficacy (N = 86)

	Proficiency	Ingroup Cembership	Authenticity Beliefs	Cultural Efficacy
Proficiency	___			
In-group Membership	.169	___		
Authenticity Beliefs	.335**	.224*	___	
Cultural Efficacy	.410**	.387**	.239	___

** *p* < .01
 * *p* < .05

Hypothesis 7: Pākehā motivations for national identity

Descriptive statistics

The final hypothesis that **Pākehā** would rate higher on National Identity Motivation than **Māori** was supported. The means and standard deviations for the motivational measures are detailed below in Table 10. **Māori** had higher levels than **Pākehā** on all motivation scales except for National Identity Motivation where **Māori** rated significantly lower than **Pākehā**.

Table 10: Difference in means between Māori and Pākehā testing for motivational orientation (N = 113)

	Māori		*Pākehā*			
Scale	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*
Integrative Motivation	16.39	3.23	13.26	2.60	4.59**	109
Instrumental Motivation	15.31	4.46	12.58	4.26	2.88*	42.92

Intrinsic Motivation	18.68	2.73	17.04	2.68	2.76*	44.58
National ID Motivation	20.77	7.14	24.75	2.77	-2.42**	79

** *p* < .01

 * *p* < .05

For **Pākehā**, the choice to learn **te reo Māori** appears to be related to their bicultural/national identity, whereby **Pākehā** PCL2 learners are likely to subscribe to bicultural narratives of national identity formation.

General discussion

The findings from this research indicate that **te reo Māori** provides **Māori** with skills to engage with others. As **Māori** demonstrated high levels of relational-focused orientations for learning **te reo Māori**, the language provides individuals with the skills needed to participate in many aspects of their culture. Put simply, **Māori** are motivated to participate with significant relational others, the language provides them with skills to mediate these relationships, and in turn these relationships provide them with motivation to continue to improve their language skills (depicted in Figure 1 below).
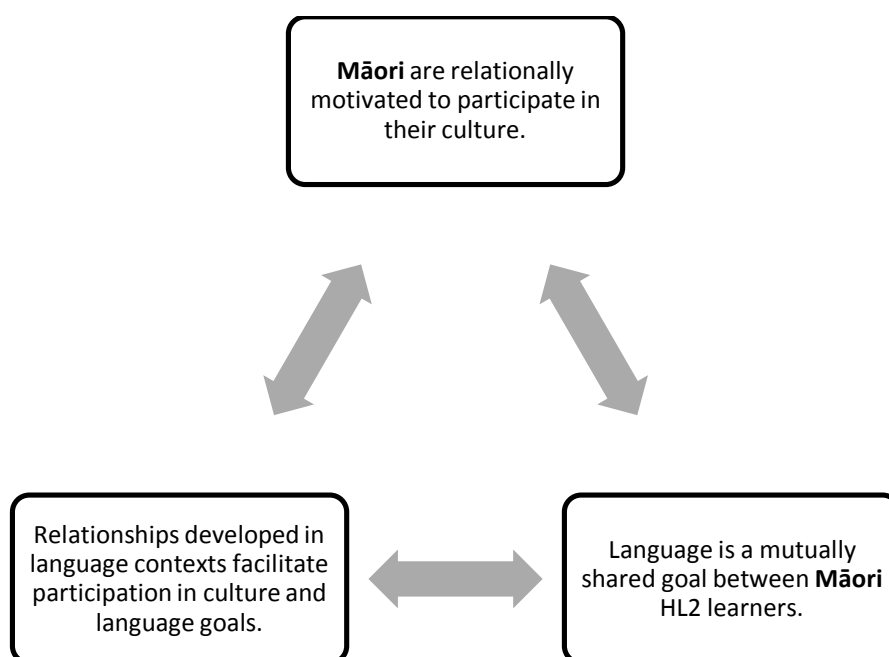
Figure 1: Māori relational cultural orientation supports MHL2 motivations

Māori social structures are centred around **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi** (Metge, 1995). The influence that **whānau** have on motivating **Māori** to learn **te reo** appears to be fundamental for **Māori**, especially during the introductory learning stages. Durie (2001) suggests that relationships with **whānau** and wider society impact on the development of identity through achieving feelings of reciprocity between the individual and their social

environment. **Māori** health strategies have often acknowledged that individual wellbeing is closely tied to the social unit of **whānau** (Durie, 2006; Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). The relationship between **whānau** and HL2 learning appears to be dynamic in the sense that those who are supported by their **whānau** were motivated intrinsically and instrumentally, as well as for heritage and integrative reasons.

Study 1 indicated that some **whānau** are limited in their capacity to directly foster language use. However, Study 2 indicated that **whānau** support is still important for **Māori** HL2 motivation for undergraduate participants. The combination of these two studies provides reason to believe that although **whānau** may be limited in their ability to support **Māori** HL2 learners linguistically, they are able to provide emotional support, which is likely to contribute to whether an individual is motivated to begin learning in the first instance. Support and engagement from the wider **Māori** community appears to become critical at higher stages of language proficiency as they *enable* proficiency development, which will be explored in chapters 6 and 7.

Māori HL2 learners appear to be searching for a level of connectedness culturally, spiritually and emotionally. These aspects appear to be motivations, which are specific to **Māori**, rather than a generalisable trait across all L2 learners of **te reo Māori**. Because of these specific motivations, it would be pragmatic for educators to provide opportunities that foster relational development.

In support of these findings, research including **Pākehā** who were living in Japan showed that **Pākehā** used **Māori** cultural symbolism to enhance their positive distinctiveness among other foreigners (Te Huia & Liu, 2012). This positive distinction enhanced positive self-views of **Pākehā** in an international context. It is possible that **Pākehā** who have chosen to learn **te reo Māori** are doing so with the understanding that their association with **Māori** will enhance their identity as **Pākehā**. However, the difference between **Pākehā** who learn **te reo Māori** and those who use ornamental symbolism to enrich their identity is the depth of relationship that is developed by language-learners. It takes a lot more commitment to learn **te reo Māori** than it does to display an item of jewellery or other symbolic items. Recognition of such commitment is likely to be positively reinforced by the language-speaking community, thereby enhancing the depth of relationships between **Māori** and **Pākehā**.

The results from these studies provide empirical evidence to support claims that **Māori** HL2 learning of **te reo Māori** is highly relational, with specific identity implications for learners. Rather than applying generic L2 acquisition techniques to **Māori** language classrooms, a tailored, relationally based approach would yield more effective results for **Māori** HL2 learners. Integrative motivation and MHL2 motivation appear to be closely related for **Māori**. However, although these concepts are related, they also measure separate desires. For instance, those who are motivated for MHL2 reasons may wish to learn **te reo Māori** because it allows them to fulfil culturally specific roles or because it allows them to use their language in raising their children. Whereas, Integrative Motivation specifically describes the relationships that individuals want to strengthen.

Although the results of this study focus on the development of **Māori** HL2 motivations, there is also a relationship with HL2 motivation more broadly. It appears that there are a few core aspects, which are shared between MHL2 and HL2 motivations. These are possibly the desire to use the language with others who share a meaningful connection to the language, and the desire to continue cultural practices (in which the language plays a significant role). However, where MHL2 and HL2 motivations differ is in the relational nature of MHL2 motivations. Learners from individualistic cultures may be motivated to learn their heritage language and their path to learning may be mediated through processes that are preferred by those from individualistic cultures. Furthermore, the centrality of language in defining cultural ingroup membership is likely to vary between cultures. For Māori, it appears that cultural authenticity beliefs are definitely part of Māori HL2 motivations for learning.

While this chapter was able to provide insights about the types of motivation **Māori** language-learners who have already begun learning **te reo** have, the following Chapters 6 and 7 will explore the factors that enable or inhibit **Māori** language-learners. As relational bonds appear to be significant motivators for **Māori** HL2 learners, it is likely that these relationships also facilitate learners' progression. Furthermore, inhibitors to **Māori** language-learner success will also be explored in the following Chapters.

Chapter 6: Enablers and Inhibitors for Māori and Pākehā Learners of te reo Māori

Overview

Ethnolinguistic vitality research indicates that the greater public status a language has, the more likely it is to be spoken by the members of a given society (Giles et al., 1977). The reasons why **Pākehā** learn **te reo Māori** are of interest, as their support for **Māori** language is necessary in most public domains. For example, funding that is made available for language revitalisation efforts is to an extent reliant on **Pākehā** support. Although many **Pākehā** might enrol in university language courses each year, the proportion of **Pākehā** who speak **te reo Māori** remains low (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006). The factors that enable or inhibit **Pākehā** who have a desire to learn **te reo Māori** from learning it are likely to be distinct in some ways from the factors that enable or inhibit **Māori** learners. These factors will be analysed in this chapter.

Pākehā who choose to learn **te reo Māori** are likely to hold quite distinct views of their relationship with **Māori** from **Pākehā** who are averse to **Māori** language use. For instance, Sibley and Liu (2006, p. 1.4) posited that "self-identified **Pākehā**" see their relationship with **Māori** as important to their own sense of cultural identity; they also see bicultural issues and righting the wrongs of the past as important, even though they (that is, New Zealander Europeans who identify as '**Pākehā**') are a minority within their ethnic group. Liu (2005) indicated that New Zealand Europeans who prefer to self-identify as '**Pākehā**' were more in favour of allocating funds to **Māori** as part of settlement claims, and more likely to take on personal responsibility in response to past injustices compared with New Zealand Europeans who chose to identify as 'New Zealand Europeans', '**Kiwi**' or 'just New Zealander'. These results indicate that there are **Pākehā** who are particularly aware of the impacts of their colonial history (and potential awareness of present) injustices enacted by **Pākehā** toward **Māori** and, like **Māori**, the group defined as '**Pākehā**' do not share homogenous views towards **Māori**.

It is likely that **Pākehā** who choose to learn **te reo Māori** are actively choosing to enrich their relationship with **Māori**. Although there are **Pākehā** who are supportive and actively learning **te reo Māori**, it is likely that their learning experiences are different from those of **Māori** HL2 learners. First, research by Lamy-Gezentsvey, Ward, and Liu

(in press) demonstrated that indigenous peoples and 'small minority peoples' have a shared goal of cultural heritage continuity, which is not shared by big overseas minorities (in this case ethnic Chinese). **Māori** connection to **te reo Māori** is bound by inheritance; it is a connection that is based on one's **whakapapa** to the people who speak the language. However, outside of the heritage connection that **Māori** have with the language, it is likely that the cultural orientations of individualism and relationalism distinguish **Māori** from **Pākehā** learners. **Pākehā** cultural values have been described as being more aligned with individualism (Holmes, Marra, & Schnurr, 2008; Waldegrave, 1993), which is dissimilar from **Māori** cultural orientations that are commonly described as being relational or collectivistic (Durie, 2001).

Although **Māori** are active participants in mainstream society where **Pākehā** cultural ways of behaving dominate most cross-cultural interactions, based on the findings from previous chapter, it is likely that **Māori** cultural paradigms of relationalism are still likely to be preferred by some **Māori** in language-learning contexts. While **Pākehā** may display traits of group solidarity (see Brewer and Chen, 2007), their ingroup favouritism may be mediated by activation of a categorical social identity, (for instance, a shared desire to support a local sports team) (Yuki, Maddux, Brewer & Takemura, 2005), not personalised relational bonds.

For **Pākehā** who choose to learn **te reo Māori**, it is likely that their choice to learn it is one of a personal nature, rather than a goal to meet the expectations and identity requirements of their wider cultural group. Conversely, consistent with cross-cultural research on relational collectivism (Yuki, 2003), **Māori** who are relationally oriented are more likely to see less distinction between the goals of significant others (including their language community) and personal goals. The role of specific relational others is not only likely to contribute to motivation for learning **te reo** for **Māori** HL2 learners (as illustrated in the previous chapter), but is also likely to enable **Māori** HL2 learners to reach higher levels of fluency.

Pākehā who choose to learn **te reo Māori** are likely to be doing so due to their personal orientation or political alliance they may feel with **Māori**. Although **Pākehā** who enter into **Māori** language-learning may have positive intentions of gaining meaningful relationships, the difficulty they may experience being ethnic outgroup members is likely to deter some individuals from continuing through to higher levels of

language proficiency. Ting-Toomey (2005) discusses the concept of cultural transformers to describe individuals who are skilled in cross-cultural relationship management. She explains that minority groups and indigenous peoples are constantly needing to adapt to another cultural way of relating, which provides them with opportunities to practise adapting to new cultural ways of behaving. As **Pākehā** are the dominant cultural group of New Zealand, there are few situations where they are expected in their daily lives to 'transform' or adapt to another cultural way of operating. The limited exposure or practice that **Pākehā** have with being a minority may leave them ill-prepared for situations where they are 'othered'. For instance, Te Huia and Liu (2012) illustrated that **Māori** were more likely than **Pākehā** to expect exclusion in some Japanese contexts. In situations where **Pākehā** were excluded in Japanese contexts, **Pākehā** participants viewed such exclusion as a personal insult or categorical discrimination. Comparatively, **Māori** were more likely to apply **Māori** cultural frameworks, such as **haukāinga**[92]/**manuhiri**[93] distinctions to understand role divisions in situations where Japanese showed exclusive behaviours.

According to Gardner's (2007) socio-educational model, language students need to adapt to the target language culture in order to reach higher levels of language proficiency. Therefore, it is essential that **Pākehā** develop meaningful relationships with the **Māori**-language-speaking community in order to gain high levels of proficiency. As demonstrated in the previous Chapter, although **Pākehā** motivations for learning **te reo** may come from a desire to strengthen their relationships with **Māori** for national/bicultural identity reasons, their language motivation may precede the actual relationships they have with the **Māori** community. In this case, the *intention* precedes the *action*, in the sense that **Pākehā** PCL2 learners would like to create positive relationships with **Māori** prior to their actual engagement with learning **te reo Māori**.

Māori are discriminated against substantially more than New Zealand Europeans in health, housing and employment (Harris et al., 2006a), and media depictions (Nairn et al., 2012) and are over-represented in every stage of the criminal justice system (Department of Corrections, 2007). These statistics indicate that **Pākehā** and **Māori** relations are still unequal. As it may not be a popular goal within the **Pākehā** ethnic

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[92] Visitor or guest
[93] Local people of a marae (Moorfield, retrieved November 29, 2013).

community to have meaningful cultural relationships with **Māori**, **Pākehā** PCL2 learners may come into learning **te reo Māori** with few connections to the **Māori** community and, more specifically, fewer relationships with **Māori**-language-speaking communities. Having fewer relationships with the **Māori**-language-speaking community is likely to impact on how enabled learners are to improve their language skills.

Māori are likely to vary in the extent to which they are connected to the **Māori** language speaking community. For some **Māori**, learning **te reo Māori** may act to strengthen connections they have within their **whakapapa** or wider language community. Whereas for other **Māori** HL2 learners, they may already be a part of an established language community, and their learning of **te reo Māori** enhances their connections to that community. Some of the undergraduate participants in this study may have parents who have a range of language abilities. **Māori** speaking parents are particularly important members of the **Māori** language speaking community. If learners have pre-existing relationships with **Māori** speakers (including **Māori** speaking parents) they are likely to have an advantage over those who have less language community support. Given the limited number of **Pākehā** speakers of **te reo Māori**, it is more likely that **Māori** HL2 learners will have parents who have some knowledge of **te reo Māori** than **Pākehā** PCL2 learners.

Whakapapa connections may be dormant amongst some **Māori** who are exploring their **whakapapa** identity connections. However, the point remains that relationships are there to be made prior to their choice to learn their heritage language. For **Pākehā** learners, the connections to other **Māori** are not embedded within their **whakapapa** connections. Nor is it necessarily the case that they have established connections within the **Māori** community. Therefore, many **Pākehā** learners may be developing relationships from scratch, which is likely to limit their language proficiency development. Their ability to form relationships with **Māori** could also be a factor that impacts on the level of fluency they ultimately achieve.

Impact of public discrimination against Māori on language-learners
The impact of mainstream societal views of **Māori** as a group are likely to impact on **Māori** and **Pākehā** learners of **te reo** differently. For **Māori**, the high rates of discrimination are linked to how **Māori** may expect the mainstream to value **Māori** culture and language (see Harris et al., 2006a). Unlike the assumptions within

ethnolinguistic vitality theory, **Māori** are unlikely to rely on positive **Pākehā** views towards their culture as a source of motivation for learning **te reo Māori**. For **Māori**, societal views are likely to have less of a direct impact on whether or not they are enabled to learn the language. **Māori** are more likely to value the opinions of specific others, rather than drawing from (potentially outgroup) societal views towards their heritage language and culture.

In contrast, the societal views the mainstream hold toward **Māori** are likely to impact **Pākehā** learners at a personal level. **Pākehā** learners are learning **te reo Māori** with a likely intention of being more involved with **Māori**. However, **Pākehā** PCL2 learners are also a part of the cultural group that discriminate against **Māori**. From a social dominance orientation perspective, **Pākehā** who are part of the socially dominant group are in an unusual social situation whereby they no longer occupy their position as socially dominant within **Māori**-governed domains (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). The combination of these factors places **Pākehā** learners in a predicament. **Pākehā** who are not accustomed to being a minority in New Zealand may find such experience in **Māori** environments challenging or anxiety-provoking.

Research by Houkamau and Sibley (2011) demonstrated that the more cultural efficacy **Māori** report, the greater their awareness of the social inequalities **Māori** experience was likely to be. This could also likely to be the case for **Pākehā** who are involved with **Māori** (through learning **te reo Māori**). As they become more involved with **Māori**, they may also become more aware of the negative discrimination that many **Māori** face from their cultural group. For **Pākehā** learners, the more they are aware of the fact that **Māori** are publicly discriminated against, the more anxiety they are likely to experience in **Māori** learning environments due to the fact that they are part of the ethnic group who is discriminatory against **Māori**. It is also possible that **Pākehā** who are learning **te reo Māori** are also aware of the processes of colonialism that have been inflicted upon **Māori**. Being more aware of these factors may cause **Pākehā** to experience shame or guilt in response to past (and present) injustices perpetuated by their cultural group toward **Māori**. These issues provide a reason for describing learners who have a post-colonial relationship with the language separately from learners who do not share a colonial history with the target language. As mentioned in previous chapters, **Pākehā** learners will be referred to as PCL2 learners as a means of indicating their distinctive position.

Language anxiety

In the context of language acquisition, language anxiety is a key maladaptive response. Language anxiety is distinct from other types of anxiety, in the sense that language anxiety is only provoked in language environments (MacIntyre, 2007). For many students, language courses are the most anxiety-provoking courses of all (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994; MacIntyre, 1995). Anxiety can be a leading source of debilitation for language-learners (MacIntyre, 1995). State anxiety is described as a transient emotional reaction including emotions such as tension and apprehension and can vary in intensity, whereas trait anxiety is more enduring (Spielberger, 1983). The development of state anxiety reduces confidence and, therefore, willingness to communicate in the target language (MacIntyre 1995; MacIntyre, Baker, Clement & Conrod, 2001). Research has also demonstrated that anxiety inhibits the L2 learning, process from encoding through to language output (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994). **Te reo Māori** language-learners (both **Māori** and **Pākehā**) who experience language anxiety are likely to experience worse language outcomes than learners who do not experience language anxiety.

Previous studies have typically focused on participants who were not HL2 or PCL2 learners of indigenous languages. If state anxiety is a symptom commonly experienced by non-indigenous, and presumably non-heritage, language-learners, it is likely to be even more anxiety-provoking for individuals who have a heritage connection to the language. As heritage language-learners may not only experience pressure to demonstrate competence in the language task, but also because the language is symbolic of their ingroup membership. This is particularly likely for individuals who view their **Māori** identity to be authenticated based on their ability to speak their heritage language. **Māori** who feel comfortable in **Māori** spaces, may be more likely to report greater levels of confidence and lower rates of anxiety.

Cultural efficacy is likely to increase as learners become more proficient in **te reo Māori**. This assumption is based on the fact that as **Māori** become more fluent in **te reo Māori**, they are likely to be more immersed in **Māori** settings that provide them with opportunities to practice their culture. Houkamau and Sibley (2011, p. 382) define cultural efficacy as "reflecting the extent to which the individual perceives they have the personal resources required (i.e. the personal efficacy) to engage appropriately with other

Māori in **Māori** social and cultural contexts." For **Māori** HL2 learners, it is likely that cultural efficacy is a by-product of learning **te reo Māori**.

While **Māori** are expected to know about culturally relevant information based on their membership of the **Māori** ethnic group, the same is not true of **Pākehā** learners. It is not commonly assumed that **Pākehā** understand **Māori** cultural values or language to any great extent. Sanctioned ignorance is a theory that describes the types of information that societies are legitimately allowed *not* to be aware of (Spivak, 1988). Applying this theory, Abel and Mutu (2011) explained "It is not expected that non-**Māori** will acquire such knowledge [of **Māori** culture] and, indeed, this ignorance is an integral part of mainstream non-**Māori** "common sense" in New Zealand" (p. 2). Similar to Abel and Mutu's (2011) observations, McCreanor (2005, p.59) commented that there is a commonly held assumption by **Pākehā** that "Where **Pākehā** do offend **Māori**, it is usually out of ignorance rather than malice." While malice may be considered impolite, ignorance about **Māori** customs and language is acceptable by the mainstream. This may have the dual effect of reducing anxiety regarding their incompetence, which would enable language learning, while lowering their language expectations of themselves, potentially inhibiting them from developing high levels of fluency.

The factors that inhibit **Māori** from learning **te reo Māori** are likely to come from internal feelings of cultural inadequacy. However, inhibitors for **Pākehā** are still present, but they are not likely to be positioned in the same manner as they are for **Māori**. The internalisation of the group's shame (see Liu, 2006) is likely to be carried by **Pākehā** learners into language settings. The greater that **Pākehā** view **Māori** to be discriminated against, the more discomfort they are likely to feel.

Mastery goals

There is potential for achievement goal theory to be relevant for learners of **te reo Māori**. The mastery/performance and approach/avoidance taxonomy provides insight into whether individuals are motivated by a desire to achieve success or to avoid failure (Midgley et al., 1998). Those who hold mastery approach goals tend to focus on *mastering* the task (or the development of competence in a task) where the individual is focused on a positive possible outcome (Elliot, 1999; Elliot & McGregor, 2001). Mastery approach goals are associated with an array of positive learner outcomes including deep level processing of information (Elliot & McGregor, 2001). Mastery avoidance goals are

those goals that are focused on not failing the standards that one sets for oneself (Cury et al., 2006). Individuals who hold performance approach goals are likely to be focused on demonstrating their ability in comparison to others (Midgley, Kaplan, & Middleton, 2001). In comparison, performance avoidance goals are those that are focused on avoiding the demonstration of incompetence to others.

Performance avoidance and approach goals have both been positively correlated with 'self-handicapping' or purposely withdrawing effort in an attempt not appear incompetent in case the individual does not achieve a positive desired outcome (Midgley, Kaplan, & Middleton, 2001). **Māori** HL2 learners who are seeking ingroup membership with the target language group are likely to want to maintain a positive view of the self through achieving in an area that adds to that identity. **Māori** HL2 learners who are focused on winning the favour of their HL2 ingroup may be focused more on how others are judging their competence, rather than focusing on developing competence in the task of language learning.

Māori HL2 learners who are hoping to avoid negative judgement due to their lack of language ability may view their learning in performance-avoidance terms. With both performance approach- and avoidance-based goals, the focus is on others' perceptions rather than on the task at hand (as is the case with mastery goals) (Cury, Elliot, Da-Fonseca & Moller, 2006). Related to performance avoidance, Horwitz and colleagues (1986) explain that perceived negative evaluation of the self by others is one of three major factors included in language anxiety (other factors include communication apprehension and test anxiety), which may be related to performance avoidance.

For **Māori** HL2 learners who are typically interdependent/relationally oriented, the views of others are likely to contribute significantly to the process of goal achievement. Although **Māori** may enjoy the actual task of learning their heritage language because it has personal significance to them, they may also experience some apprehension because they may expect themselves to know more about their culture than they do when they enter into the language classroom. If **Māori** HL2 learners hold beliefs that they should know more about their culture than they do, they may experience mastery avoidance because they are not meeting a personally set standard of achievement. On the other hand, if the HL2 learner has a perception that others expect them to know more than they do, they may hold performance avoidance goals. As explained in Chapter

2, performance avoidance goals have typically been observed when individuals have low levels of perceived competency in a given task (Middleton & Midgley, 1997; Midgley et al., 2001), which makes it likely that performance avoidance goals will be prominent for some undergraduate **Māori** HL2 learners. It is likely that many **Māori** HL2 learners experience fear of negative evaluation in contexts where **te reo Māori** is spoken. Instead of focusing on the task at hand, the learner is focusing on avoiding demonstrating errors in their language abilities, which could inhibit their language learning.

As **Pākehā** are likely to have less expectations placed on them to be adequate or competent **Māori** language-learners, they may be free from feeling that they need to *demonstrate* high levels of language proficiency. Therefore, they are unlikely to hold performance avoidance goals as a result of feeling that their language abilities reflect their ingroup membership with the target language-speaker population. However, **Pākehā** PCL2 learners may feel that they need to meet their own academic standards. For instance, if a student is accustomed to receiving 'A' grades, they may not wish to lower their standards, which makes it likely that they could hold mastery avoidance goals in relation to not letting their own academic standards slip. If their self-standards are not met, they are likely to experience anxiety as a result of this lapse in grade. It is likely that mastery avoidance and performance avoidance are related to language anxiety experienced by both **Pākehā** and **Māori** learners of **te reo Māori**.

Learning styles and boundary goals

Both **Māori** and **Pākehā** are likely to apply a range of tools that enable them to learn **te reo Māori**. Individual differences, learning styles and strategies have been used to understand enablers for language-learners. Learning styles are derived from the idea that individuals have cognitive approaches to learning that are informed by their own personality types or brain activities that process information (Ehrman, Leaver, & Oxford, 2003). Learning strategies are the behaviours that enable the learning style. Both tenacity behaviours and organisation have been linked to student achievement (Corker & Donnellan, 2012). Closely tied to motivation is the concept of tenacity. For instance, motivation has been broken into two core components, which are persistence and effort (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995). Tenacity describes how much effort and persistence an individual invests in a task in order to reach their goal (Corker & Donnellan, 2012). Furthermore, students who understand how to study for a subject and have a systematic approach are at an advantage over those who are disorganised.

Related to achievement goal theory is boundary goal theory. Boundary goals have been defined as "the minimum performance level that an individual must attain to subjectively experience success" (Corker & Donnellan, 2012, p. 138). In other words, although many students may hope to achieve a certain level of fluency or grade, boundary goals describe the lowest level of achievement that a student would be content to receive. Corker and Donnellan (2012) indicated that students were satisfied when the grade they achieved was in line with their lowest boundary goal. The implications of these findings are relevant for **Māori** language-learners and the level of fluency they expect to achieve or would be happy enough achieving.

It is likely the case that **Pākehā** PCL2 learners are learning **te reo Māori** for political allegiance or bicultural/national identity motivations. In order to achieve the goal of showing an allegiance to **Māori** through the language, **Pākehā** may not need to aspire to achieving high levels of fluency. In following with sanctioned ignorance theory (Spivak, 1988), both **Māori** and **Pākehā** community expectations of **Pākehā** language achievement levels are likely to be lower than they are for **Māori**. Therefore, it is expected that **Māori** expect higher grades, and have higher boundary goals than **Pākehā**.

Summary and hypothesis

The overall aim of this chapter is to explore the factors that enable or inhibit **Māori** HL2 and **Pākehā** PCL2 learners of **te reo Māori**. Furthermore, this study was designed to test how and whether Achievement Goals impacted on both **Māori** and **Pākehā** learners of **te reo Māori**. The findings from Chapters 4 and 5 and the literature review have provided the foundations for the four hypotheses outlined as follows.

- *Hypothesis 1:* Independent samples t-tests will demonstrate the **Māori** HL2 learners have greater levels of Language Community Support, [94] and Engagement with other **Māori** than **Pākehā** PCL2 learners. **Māori** HL2 learners will report higher levels of proficiency than **Pākehā**.

- *Hypothesis 2.1:* Parents' levels of proficiency will be positively correlated with participants reported levels of proficiency. Independent samples t-test comparing **Māori** and **Pākehā** parental levels of proficiency will show that **Māori** participants have parents with higher levels of language proficiency than **Pākehā**.

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[94] Consistent with Chapter 5, factors included within this study will be capitalised.

- *Hypothesis 2.2:* Engagement with **Māori**, Language Community Support, and Parental Level of Proficiency, will be positively correlated to **Māori** HL2 learners' levels of Proficiency. In comparison, **Pākehā** Parental Levels of Proficiency will not be positively correlated with **Pākehā** participant rates of Proficiency. Instead, Engagement with **Māori**, and Language Community Support will be correlated with **Pākehā** levels of Proficiency.

- *Hypothesis 3:* Mastery Approach goals will be positively correlated with intrinsic motivation and tenacity for both **Māori** and **Pākehā** participants. Tenacity and Intrinsic Motivation will also be positively correlated for both sets of learners. Furthermore, Mastery Approach goals and Tenacity will be negatively correlated with Disorganised Study strategies for **Māori** and **Pākehā**.

- *Hypothesis 4:* Independent samples t-tests comparing **Māori** and **Pākehā** levels of Boundary Goals, Grade Expectations, and Fluency Intensions will demonstrate that **Māori** on each of these subscales. As **Pākehā** PCL2 learners are not highly represented at higher stages of proficiency, this test will only include **Māori** and **Pākehā** learners from the 101 level.

- *Hypothesis 5:* **Māori** levels of Cultural Efficacy will be negatively correlated with Language Anxiety. Mastery Avoidance and Performance Avoidance will be positively correlated with Language Anxiety. Furthermore, a multiple regression analysis will be used to test whether Performance Avoidance and Mastery Avoidance predict Language Anxiety.

- *Hypothesis 6:* It is expected that Public Support of **Māori** will be negatively correlated with Language Anxiety for Pākehā PCL2 learners. Mastery Avoidance and Performance Avoidance will also be positively correlated with Language Anxiety for **Pākehā**.

Methods

Participants

See Chapter 5, Study 2 for a description of participants and procedure.

Research design and measures

Higher scores on all scales indicated a higher score on the construct. From the MMM-ICE scale (Houkamou & Sibley, 2010), Cultural Efficacy was included in these results. Community support scales include **Whānau** Support, Language Community

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Support, and engagement with others in the **Māori** community (Fox, 2010). These scales were described in Chapter 5, Study 2.

Boundary Goal measures were adapted from Corker and Donnellan's (2012) research, where grade expectations were measured using a single measure that asked, "From an A+ to an E grade, what grade would you hope to achieve for this course". A follow-up question asked participants to rate their boundary goals in the question "If you don't achieve the grade you hope for, what grade would you be satisfied with for this course?" Both of these items were ranked on a six-point Likert scale (from *A+* to *E*). How fluent participants intended to become were measured using a single measure that asked, "How fluent would you like to be in five years?" This item was ranked on a five-point Likert scale from 1 (*Basic introductions*) to 5 (*Highly fluent*).

To measure parent's levels of proficiency, participants were asked, "What is the spoken level of **te reo** of your parents?" This item was also ranked on a five-point Likert scale from 1 (*None*) to 5 (*Fluent*).

There were six items included in the learning strategies scale. These consisted of two subscales, including Tenacity, which included three items (α = .79) and Disorganisation (α = .89), which included three items. These scales were adapted from an Achievement Goals and Study Strategies scale (A. Elliot, McGregor & Gable, 1999), which included items such as "Regardless of whether I like what we're working on in class, I work my hardest to learn it." In addition, a prior education scale was developed which included three items (α = .76). Items included "Up until now, my learning experiences haven't been that good". Items were ranked on a seven-point Likert scale from 1 (*Definitely not*) to 7 (*Definitely yes*).

Mastery/Performance Approach/Avoidance goals were also tested. The 12-item achievement goal scale included four subscales, each including three items. The items were used to measure Mastery Approach goals (α = .77), Mastery Avoidance (α = .86), Performance Approach (α = .89) and Performance Avoidance (α = .66). Mastery Approach items included "I want to completely master the material presented in this class." Whereas Performance Avoidance items included "My fear of performing poorly in this class is often what motivates me" (Elliot & McGregor, 2001). These items were ranked on a seven-point Likert scale from 1 (*Definitely not*) to 7 (*Definitely yes*).

Finally, subscales were included for Language Anxiety, measured with three items (α = .70). An example of a Language Anxiety item was "When someone speaks to me in **te reo**, I focus on the mistakes that I might be making" (Schmidt & Watanabe, 2001). Measures were rated on a seven-point Likert scale from 1 (*Definitely not*) to 7 (*Definitely yes*).

Analysis

Each of the hypotheses were tested using a range of methods, including independent samples t-tests, correlations, and multiple regression analysis. When multiple regression analyses were applied, correlation data provided the foundation for including certain predictor variables. Table 11 provides a list of the internal reliability of scales.

Table 11. Internal reliability of scales: Cronbach's Alpha scores (N = 113)

Scale	Number of items	Cronbach's Alpha	n
Tenacity	3	.79	113
Disorganised	3	.89	112
Mastery Approach	3	.77	113
Mastery Avoidance	3	.86	113
Performance Approach	3	.89	112
Performance Avoidance	3	.66	112
Language Anxiety	3	.70	113

Results

Hypothesis 1: Language support, engagement and language development

Descriptive statistics

Māori reported significantly higher rates of Engagement with **Māori** than **Pākehā** participants, $t((54) = 5.39, p < .01)$ (means and standard deviations are outlined in Table 12). **Māori** participants also reported higher levels of language Community Support than **Pākehā** participants, $t((36) = 4.59, p < .01)$. **Māori** also reported higher levels of proficiency than **Pākehā** participants, $t((105) = 3.97, p < .001)$. These findings were consistent with hypothesis 1.

Table 12. Differences in means between Māori and Pākehā testing for enabling factors (N = 113)

	Māori	Pākehā

Scale	M	SD	M	SD	t	df
Language community	17.20	3.61	12.81	4.44	5.11**	36
Engagement	13.20	4.65	8.54	3.56	4.69**	54
Proficiency	34.41	9.63	26.59	5.86	5.01**	74

* *p* < .05
** *p* < .01

Hypothesis 2.1: Māori and Pākehā parental level of language fluency

In support of Hypothesis 2.1, **Pākehā** (*M* = 1.6, *SD* = .80) reported lower levels of Parental Language Fluency than **Māori** (*M* = 2.72, *SD* = 1.4), *t* ((3.80) = 1.12, p < .01). These results suggest that, **Māori** come into **Māori** language classrooms with higher levels of parental proficiency levels than **Pākehā**.

Hypothesis 2.2: Language proficiency and environmental factors

Language Community Support and Engagement with **Māori** were positively correlated with **Pākehā** participants' Proficiency levels. However, parental proficiency was not related to **Pākehā** participants' proficiency. These findings are reported in Table 13. These results might suggest that support that comes from the language community and engagement with **Māori** are especially important factors for **Pākehā** PCL2 learners who are unlikely to have parents who have knowledge of **te reo Māori**.

Table 13: Correlations between social support and language proficiency for Pākehā respondents (N = 27)

	Pākehā PCL2 Proficiency	Engagement with **Māori**	Language Community Support	Parents' Fluency
Proficiency	___			
Engagement with **Māori**	.55**	___		
Language Community Support	.45*	.35	___	
Parents' Fluency	.32	-.20	.12	___

* *p* < .05
** *p* < .01

In support of the hypothesis, Parents' Fluency was positively correlated with participants' self-reported levels of Proficiency, Language Community Support and Engagement with **Māori** as outlined in Table 14 below.

Table 14: Correlations between social support and language proficiency for Māori (N = 86)

	Māori HL2 Proficiency	Engagement with **Māori**	Language Community Support	Parents' Fluency
Proficiency	___			
Engagement with **Māori**	.44**	___		
Language Community Support	.27*	.24*	___	
Parents' Fluency	.48**	.41**	.29**	___

* *p* < .05
** *p* < .01

Hypothesis 3. Learning strategies and achievement goals

As outlined in Table 15 below, four of the six hypotheses were supported. It was expected Mastery Approach goals would be positively correlated with Intrinsic Motivation. Furthermore, Mastery Approach goals were positively correlated with Tenacity, which also supported the hypothesis. Intrinsic Motivation and Tenacity were positively correlated. There was no relationship between Intrinsic Motivation and Disorganised Study. Tenacity and Disorganised Study strategies were negatively correlated. The final hypothesis that Disorganised Study strategies would be negatively correlated with Mastery Approach goals was not supported.

Table 15: Correlations with mastery approach goals for Māori participants (N = 86)

	Mastery Approach	Intrinsic Motivation	Tenacity	Disorganised
Mastery Approach	___			
Intrinsic Motivation	.56**	___		
Tenacity	.34**	.43**	___	
Disorganised	-11	-.12	-.41**	___

* *p* < .05
** *p* < .01

In contrast to the results for **Māori**, there was no relationship between Mastery Approach goals and Intrinsic Motivation, Mastery Approach goals and Tenacity or Mastery Approach goals and Disorganised Study (see Table 16). Furthermore, there was no relationship between Intrinsic Motivation and Tenacity, Intrinsic Motivation and Disorganised Study. Finally, no relationship was observed between Tenacity and Disorganised Study for **Pākehā**.

Table 16: Correlations with mastery approach goals for Pākehā participants (N = 27)

	Mastery Approach	Intrinsic Motivation	Tenacity	Disorganised
Mastery Approach	___			
Intrinsic Motivation	.222	___		
Tenacity	.262	.115	___	
Disorganised	.079	-.376	-.141	___

Hypothesis 4. Boundary goals

The hypothesis that **Māori** would have higher language expectations than **Pākehā** was supported. An independent samples t-test of the 100 level student (outlined in Figure 2 below) indicated that **Māori** (*M* = 4.34, *SD* = .73) reported significantly higher levels of Fluency Intentions than **Pākehā** (*M* = 3.63, *SD* = .88), *t* ((69) = 3.65, p < .001). **Māori** (*M* = 5.50, *SD* = .65) also reported higher Grade Expectations than **Pākehā** (*M* = 4.75, *SD* =.90), *t*((69) = 3.85, p < .001). **Māori** (*M* = 4.21, *SD* = .72) and **Pākehā** (*M* = 3.92, *SD* = .88), *t* ((69) = 1.52, p < .13) did not differ on their reported Boundary Goals, which means that both groups of learners held relatively similar levels of minimal thresholds for the grade that they expected to achieve. These results could indicate that **Pākehā** PCL2 learners expect to gain a particular grade (which perhaps corresponds with other grades they receive in other papers), however, they do not intend to reach levels of fluency as high as **Māori** HL2 learners, which could account for their lower levels of proficiency.

Language Expectations: Compared Means Between Māori and Pākehā Learners of te reo Māori

	Boundary Goal	Grade Expectation	Fluency Intention
■ Māori (n = 47)	70%	91%	72%
■ Pākehā (n = 24)	65%	79%	60%
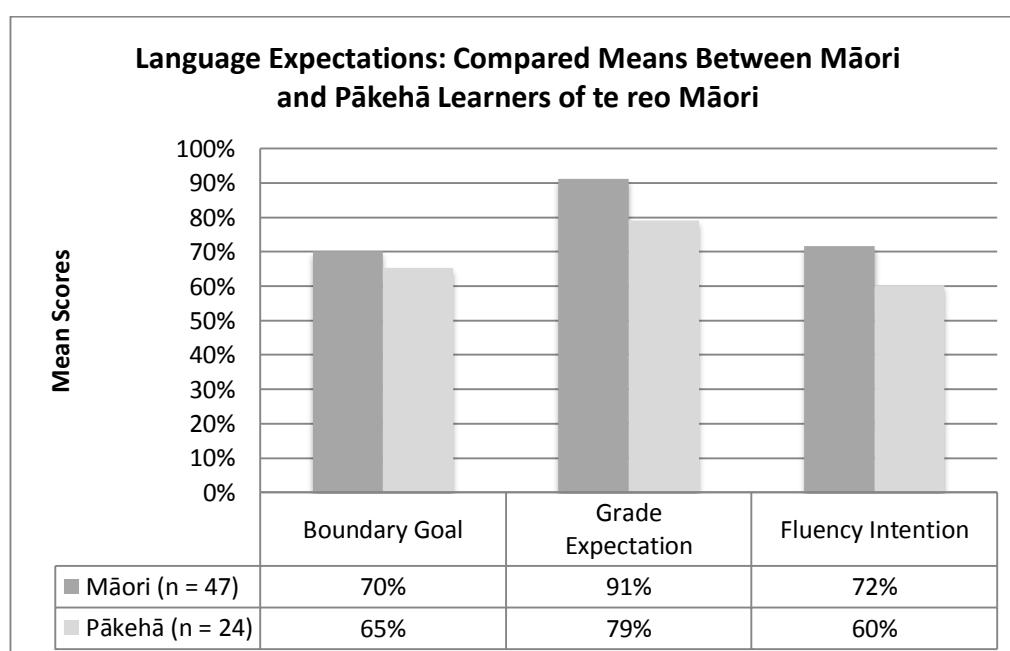
Figure 2: Language expectations of both Māori and Pākehā

Hypothesis 5: Barriers to linguistic competence

While there were many factors that supported participants' learning, there were also factors that inhibited their learning. For **Māori**, Language Anxiety was negatively correlated with Engagement with **Māori** ($r = -.23$, $p < .05$), and Cultural Efficacy ($r = -.26$, $p < .05$). Language Anxiety was not correlated with Language Community Support. The hypothesis that Engagement with **Māori**, Cultural Efficacy and Language Community Support would be negatively correlated with Language Anxiety was partly supported.

Māori HL2 learners and language anxiety

Factors that were correlated with Language Anxiety for **Māori** have been outlined in Table 17. Mastery Avoidance goals and Performance Avoidance goals were positively correlated with Language Anxiety, which supported the hypothesis. These results may suggest that **Māori** who focused on avoiding the display of incompetence (as indicated by Performance Avoidance) were more likely to experience anxiety in **Māori** language contexts. Furthermore, Mastery Avoidance goals were positively correlated with Language Anxiety.

Table 17: Factors correlated with language anxiety for Māori HL2 learners (N =86)

	Anxiety	Mastery Avoidance	Performance Avoidance
Language Anxiety	___		
Mastery Avoidance	.49**	___	
Performance Avoidance	.39**	.37**	___

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

Multiple regression analysis was applied to test whether Mastery Avoidance and Performance Avoidance predicted Language Anxiety for **Māori** participants. The results indicated that both Mastery Avoidance ($\beta = .39$, $p < .001$) and Performance Avoidance ($\beta = .24$, $p < .001$) significantly predicted Language Anxiety. Both predictors explained 28% of variance ($R = .28$, $F(2,78) = 15.43$, $p < .001$) meaning that **Māori** HL2 learners are likely to experience Language Anxiety when they are focused on meeting other peoples' expectations or when they are focused on not failing their self-set standards.

Pākehā *PCL2 learners and language anxiety*

Language Anxiety was significantly correlated with Mastery Avoidance goals. However, Language Anxiety was not related to Performance Avoidance. These results supported hypothesis 7. **Pākehā** are less likely than **Māori** to be expected to have high levels of **te reo Māori**. Therefore, their levels of Language Anxiety are unlikely to be related to Performance Anxiety. On the other hand, **Pākehā** who have had positive prior educational experiences are likely to expect to achieve well in any given topic. Because **Pākehā** students may have achieved well in other courses, they may wish to uphold a personal-standard of performance. This may account for why their levels of Mastery Avoidance are significantly correlated with Language Anxiety.

Language Anxiety was negatively correlated with Public Support for **Māori**, meaning that the more **Pākehā** participants felt **Māori** were perceived to be discriminated against, the higher they scored on the Language Anxiety scale. These results indicate that **Pākehā** levels of Language Anxiety are particularly impacted by negative opinions of the public towards **Māori**. **Māori** reported rates of Language Anxiety were negatively correlated with Public Support of **Māori** ($r = -.28$, p < .05). However, this correlation was stronger for **Pākehā** (see Table 18 below).

Table 18: Correlations for Language Anxiety for Pākehā PCL2 learners (N = 27)

	Anxiety	Disorg.	Mastery Avoidance	Performance Avoidance	Public Support
Language Anxiety	___				
Disorganised Study	.435*	___			
Mastery Avoidance	.568**	.401*	___		
Performance Avoidance	.256	.528**	.347	___	
Public Support	-.596*	-.340	-.233	-.127	___

* *p* < .05
** *p* < .01

Multiple regression was also used to test whether factors that were most significantly correlated with Language Anxiety predicted Language Anxiety for **Pākehā** PCL2 learners. The results indicated that both Mastery Avoidance ($\beta = .57$, p < .05) and Negative Public Support towards **Māori** ($\beta = -.45$, p < .001) significantly predicated Language Anxiety for **Pākehā**. However, although Disorganised Study was individually correlated with Language Anxiety ($r = .44$, p < .05), it did not predict Language Anxiety

to a statistically significant level in the multiple regression. Both predictors (Mastery Avoidance and Negative Public Perceptions toward **Māori** people) explained 68% of variance (R = 68, F(3,13) = 9.3, p < .05).

Discussion

It was predicted that **Māori** HL2 learners would have more social and linguistic support than **Pākehā** PCL2 learners that would enable **Māori** HL2 learners to develop proficiency. This hypothesis was supported. **Māori** reported having higher levels of Engagement with **Māori** and more **Māori** Language Community Support than **Pākehā**. Furthermore, in accordance with hypothesis 2, **Māori** were more likely than **Pākehā** to have parents who had some knowledge of **te reo Māori**. **Māori** reported higher levels of proficiency than **Pākehā**. The combination of these results may explain that **Māori** are socially and linguistically supported to become proficient in **te reo Māori** to a greater degree than **Pākehā**. These results highlight the importance of language support for learners of **te reo Māori**.

The second hypothesis that **Māori** participants' Engagement with **Māori**, Parent Fluency and Language Community Support would be correlated with self-reported rates of proficiency was only partially supported. While Parent Fluency, and Engagement with **Māori** were positively related to self-reported Proficiency, Language Community Support was not related to proficiency. An interpretation of these results could be that as learners were only introductory to intermediate level learners, the "language community" that they have contact with may have only included other class members who have equally low levels of fluency. If this interpretation is correct, these results could imply that in order for learners to progress through to higher levels of proficiency, individuals need to have access to a community of speakers who have greater levels of language proficiency than their own.

The lack of connectedness with both the language-speaker community, and other **Māori** generally, is likely to impede learners' abilities to reach high levels of fluency. These findings are consistent with international research that indicates that language communities are a central feature of successful language learning (Yashima, 2009). For instance, Yashima (2009) found that students who participated most fully in the L2 community became more active communicators and were more enculturated into the target L2 community. These language-learners also learnt to share the values of the target

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community and, importantly, they learnt to develop behavioural tendencies that the target community fostered.

Mastery approach goals, intrinsic motivation and tenacity

The results of this study indicated that for **Māori**, Mastery Approach goals were positively related to Intrinsic Motivation, and Tenacity behaviours consistent with previous literature (Corker & Donnellan, 2012; Elliot & Harackiewicz, 1996). While it was predicted that Mastery Approach goals would be negatively correlated with Disorganised Study strategies, this hypothesis was not supported. **Māori** who are Mastery Approach oriented are likely to focus on the task of language learning, which may make learning intrinsically satisfying. When **Māori** HL2 learners are focused on the process of learning (Mastery Approach goals), the satisfaction they receive from the task is likely to be coupled with the desire to exert more effort into the learning task as demonstrated by the correlation between Tenacity and Mastery Approach goals and Tenacity and Intrinsic Motivation. These results may indicate that **Māori** who are able to focus on the task of language learning will enjoy the process of learning, which may in turn make them work harder toward their goals. The combination of these features makes it likely that learners who hold Mastery Approach goals are likely to progress through to higher stages of proficiency due to the enjoyment and hard work they invest in their learning.

Mastery Approach goals were not related to Tenacity, Intrinsic Motivation, or Disorganised study for **Pākehā** which was not aligned with the hypothesis. These results could be indicative of a number of factors, including the low number of **Pākehā** participants in the study. Alternatively, these results indicate that the factors that enable **Māori** HL2 learners are separate from factors that enable **Pākehā** PCL2 learners. The lack of significant results for **Pākehā** may also indicate the fact that learners operate from distinct cultural positions. The cultural context needs to be considered when making comparisons between **Māori** HL2 learners who have a **whakapapa** investment in their language, and **Pākehā** PCL2 learners who share an affiliation with the language and language-speaker community.

Bishop and colleagues (2009) showed that **Māori** students achieved higher grades in subjects that meaningfully incorporated **Māori** content. The personal relationships **Māori** develop in language settings could contribute to why Mastery Approach goals were positively associated with Intrinsic Motivation and Tenacity for **Māori** HL2

learners. Cork and Donnelly (2011) provided a path model, indicating that Mastery Approach goals led to positive learning strategies (including organised study and tenacity), leading to positive learner outcomes (grades). For **Māori**, it is likely that in addition to achievement goals and study strategies, involvement with other **Māori** who are invested in language development could also predict positive learner outcomes. Future research could investigate this possibility through longitudinal research.

Setting expectations for language learning

Based on a combination of factors, it was predicted that **Māori** HL2 learners would have higher expectations to reach high levels of language proficiency than **Pākehā**. Independent samples t-tests comparing **Māori** and **Pākehā** levels of Boundary Goals, Grade Expectations, and Fluency Intensions demonstrated that **Māori** scored more highly on Grade Expectations, and Fluency Expectations than **Pākehā**. **Māori** HL2 learners Boundary Goals similar to **Pākehā** PCL2 learners' Boundary Goals, which could indicate that both sets of learners hold comparable views about their lowest levels of achievement irrespective of their personal connection to the course. However, where learners differ is that **Māori** are likely to be learning **te reo Māori** with a goal of using the language with significant others within the **Māori** language speaker community. If **Māori** are learning **te reo Māori** in order to use the language, they will be more motivated to reach higher levels of fluency than individuals who are motivated for political alliance reasons where *symbolic* attainment of language, rather than language *use* is not the main goal.

Pākehā are expected to hold low levels of knowledge about **Māori** language and culture by the dominant culture of New Zealand. It is perhaps these public expectations that **Pākehā** learners have internalised. An alternative explanation could be that **Pākehā** participants in this study were predominantly represented in the lower level courses. Therefore, as learners progress to higher level courses, their expectations could increase. It could be that **Pākehā** PCL2 learners are not aiming for, or expecting to gain high levels of fluency, which could explain the fact that fewer **Pākehā** were enrolled in higher-level language courses in this study. If **Pākehā** PCL2 learner goals are to show symbolic affiliation to **Māori**, they achieve their goals fairly quickly after they begin learning **te reo Māori** as their language fluency goals are relatively low.

Māori HL2 learners and language anxiety

The fifth hypothesis that **Māori** would report high levels of Language Anxiety when they had low levels of Cultural Efficacy was supported. Language Anxiety was negatively correlated with Cultural Efficacy. Similar to the findings from Chapter 4, **Māori** who felt competent in their knowledge of their culture reported feeling a greater sense of belonging, and also expressed feeling more at ease in **Māori** cultural spaces where the language might be used. **Māori** who are at ease in **Māori** environments are less likely to be inhibited to use the language as they are not restricted by the debilitating effects of language anxiety. These results highlight the importance of providing **Māori** HL2 learners with the opportunity to develop cultural efficacy in **Māori** governed domains. These factors will be explored further in Chapter 7.

It was also predicted that Performance Avoidance goals and Mastery Avoidance goals would be positively correlated with Language Anxiety for **Māori**. A multiple regression analysis indicated that not only was Performance Avoidance and Mastery Avoidance correlated with Language Anxiety, but they were also predictors of Language Anxiety, which supported the hypothesis. **Māori** who are focused on not failing their own set-standards of competence (Mastery Avoidance) are likely to experience more Language Anxiety than those who are not focused on a positive potential outcome (Mastery Approach). **Māori** who hold Performance Avoidance goals are focused on avoiding the demonstration of incompetence to others. The combination of avoidant goals appears to be related to Language Anxiety. If **Māori** HL2 learners can focus on the task, rather than demonstrating their skills, they are likely to be more comfortable using **te reo Māori** as they will be less inhibited by the negative emotions associated with Language Anxiety.

Similar to research by Vedder and Virta (2005), **Māori** who view their ingroup membership as being tied to the language are more likely to feel a need to prove their ingroup membership through their language skills. Or more specifically, **Māori** with low levels of language competence may wish to avoid demonstrating a lack of **Māori** language skills to others as they may feel that their lack of language ability could be perceived as being less authentic. The fact that many **Māori** feel the need to have knowledge of **te reo Māori** in order to claim membership is likely to heighten the desire to demonstrate skills (or avoid demonstrating a lack of skills) in **te reo Māori**. While

authenticity beliefs and ingroup membership was not tested in this study, it is possible that future research investigate the relationship between performance avoidance, and authenticity beliefs.

Understanding Pākehā anxiety in Māori language contexts

The hypothesis that **Pākehā** would be expected to report experiencing Language Anxiety due to Public Discrimination of **Māori** people, was supported. The final hypothesis that Mastery Avoidance and unrelated to Performance Avoidance would be positively correlated with Language Anxiety for **Pākehā** was supported. **Pākehā** who held Performance Approach goals were not necessarily likely to experience Language Anxiety. These results differ from the findings for **Māori**, whereby **Māori** who are learning their heritage language are also trying to manage their identity as **Māori**. While **Māori** may feel that they need to demonstrate their language abilities in order to claim ingroup membership, the same is not true for **Pākehā**.

The findings of this research show two distinctive patterns between **Māori** and **Pākehā** approaches to learning **te reo Māori**. It appeared that **Māori** adopt a micro-level approach through building supportive learning communities, whereas **Pākehā** possibly adopt more of a macro (societal level) approach to learning. For instance, findings indicated that the more positive public perceptions of **Māori** were, the more likely **Pākehā** participants were to express Mastery Approach goals and they were less likely to experience Language Anxiety.

The results for **Pākehā** are more consistent with ethnolinguistic vitality research (Gudykunst & Schmidt, 1987), whereby positive dominant group perceptions of the language group are related positively with language use and approach behaviours. These results may also indicate that for **Māori**, they are already aware that public perceptions of **Māori** are not positive and perhaps once **Māori** begin investing in their language learning, the views expressed by significant others (**kaupapa whānau**) have more impact on the HL2 learning than the views of the dominant group.

Pākehā who choose to engage with **Māori** language are outside of the societal norm. There are proportionately so few **Pākehā** who engage with **Māori** language-learning that the experience for such individuals is unlike many other situations they would encounter in New Zealand mainstream settings. While **Māori** contact with

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Pākehā-dominant society is the normality for most **Māori**, the reverse is not true for **Pākehā**. The difference for **Pākehā** who engage with **Māori** language-learning is their position of choice. **Pākehā** are actively choosing to engage in a space that is not governed by their cultural norms, which provides them with a sense of agency not afforded to **Māori** who engage with mainstream society. Some **Pākehā** may experience discomfort or language anxiety due to the unfamiliarity of such experiences. The research findings demonstrated that **Pākehā** and **Māori** equally experienced language anxiety, but for different reasons.

While it is preferable that **Pākehā** are aware of social inequalities in order to create social change, such awareness may inhibit learning of **te reo Māori**. These results could be interpreted in a number of ways, for instance, either **Pākehā** could be in a state of positive naivety about discrimination toward **Māori**, which could correspond with lower levels of anxiety. Or **Pākehā** PCL2s could surround themselves with other like-minded **Pākehā** who hold positive views toward **Māori**, and by surrounding themselves with those who view **Māori** positively, they are sheltered from the negative realities. From either perspective, **Pākehā** who are sheltered from mainstream discrimination against **Māori** people reported experiencing lower levels of Language Anxiety.

These results do not suggest that it is best for **Pākehā** to be optimistic about public perceptions toward **Māori**. Rather, it is more beneficial for **Māori** if **Pākehā** understand their position of privilege and use such privilege to assist **Māori** causes, such as language revitalisation. **Pākehā** who are able to manage their position as both a PCL2 learner in **Māori** governed domains and a member of the **Pākehā** cultural majority are likely to perform better than those who are uncomfortable with this power dynamic.

Limitations

The implications of this research are limited to learners of **te reo Māori**. The views of participants in this study are limited to undergraduate university students who were predominantly in their early 20s. In order for these results to be generalizable to the wider population, a more diverse, and larger sample size would be required. In particular, it would be useful to include both **Māori** and **Pākehā** who were not studying **te reo Māori** who could act as controls in testing the assumptions made in this chapter.

Conclusion

Although **Māori** and **Pākehā** learners converge in a single learning domain in tertiary institutions, their learning experiences are impacted upon in complex and distinctive ways. The learning experiences of **Māori** appear to be aided when they have established community support and are not overwhelmed by the expectations set by themselves and others. **Pākehā** learning experiences are positively aided by societal-level support of **Māori**, and also language community support. The results from this study have provided a glance at beginner-level language-learner experiences. In order to explore enablers and inhibitors of **Māori** language-learners in depth, an analysis of the qualitative data will be undertaken in the following chapter.

Chapter 7: Enablers and Inhibitors to Language Engagement

Overview

While motivation may provide the drive for individuals to initiate language-learning behaviours, the combination of motivation and enablers or inhibitors contribute to whether individuals continue with heritage language-learning. Consistent with the histories of other indigenous and minority peoples' languages, the historical physical dislocation of **Māori** from areas that had ethnolinguistic vitality to urban societies has left cultural/linguistic maintenance in a dire situation (Fishman, 1989). In order for **te reo Māori** to be fully revitalised, speakers of the language must be enabled to learn the language. Cultural and environmental factors that directly impact on learners will contribute to the achievement of this goal.

Enablers in this context are the factors that support the learner to develop competency in the language, while inhibitors are those factors that constrain the learner from achieving language proficiency. Factors that act to enable or inhibit **Māori** HL2 learners are the focus of this chapter. Similar to the motivation literature explained in Chapter 5, enablers have tended to be described in individualistic terms. Individuals are thought to have a set of internal resources that help them to learn new information, such as languages (Ehrman et al., 2003). It is these internal resources or individual differences that are largely researched in psychology.

While it is possible that individual-level factors support language development, group influences are particularly likely to be influential for **Māori** who demonstrated relationally based motivations in previous chapters of this thesis. Group-level factors, including access to speakers and social support from significant others in the language community could provide significant support for language revitalisation. Rather than applying a simplistic internal versus external dichotomy of language enablers or inhibitors, this chapter explores relational factors and **Māori** cultural concepts that contribute to the development of language proficiency through applying an interface approach (see Durie, 2005a or Chapter 3 for further information regarding Research at the Interface).

Exploring relationally-based enablers

Irrespective of whether language-learners have integrative language motivations, that is, they are motivated to learn a language in order to strengthen their relationship with the target language population (Gardner, 2007), L2 learners are generally learning a language with a view that they will be able to communicate ideas between cultures. For languages with high ethnolinguistic vitality, L2 learners can improve their levels of fluency by relocating to a region where the language is frequently and fluently spoken (Matsuda & Gobel, 2004). However, a sizable barrier for an indigenous HL2 learner is the number of speakers available and limited locations in which the language is spoken (Carreira, 2004; Fishman, 1989). These barriers are very real in preventing speakers from advancing to near-native levels of proficiency. Census data from 2001 shows that there are regional pockets that have higher proportions of **Māori** speakers than others. For instance, the Gisbourne region had the highest proportion of speakers (35% of the total **Māori** population), while the South Island West Coast had the lowest percentage of speakers (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). While small regional pockets of speakers are able to maintain relatively high levels of language proficiency, the limited number of settings available to **Māori** are likely to impact on the development of language proficiency. Furthermore, although some regions (for instance the Gisbourne region) may report being able to speak **te reo Māori**, they may not use the language regularly.

Given the limited regional settings where there is a high proportion of **te reo Māori** speakers in New Zealand, the immediate language-learner community is likely to become an important source of support. This assumption is premised on philosophies underlying the development of the kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa movements (Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie & Hodgen, 2004), whereby **whakapapa whānau** and **kaupapa whānau**[95] are central in the overall educational development of the child (Royal-Tangaere, 2012). The relationships individuals develop with other speakers from the wider language community provide domains where the language is normalised. In language learning contexts, affiliation and interpersonal relationships require development (MacIntyre, Clément, Baker, & Conrod, 2001).

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[95] The concept and importance of **kaupapa whānau** was emphasised in previous chapters, which is why it has not been described overtly within this context.

Mentor support as an enabler

As individuals begin learning **te reo Māori**, the relationships they develop with peers and mentors are not only a source of motivation, they also enable the student to increase their levels of fluency. Peers are likely to provide normalised interpersonal interactions where the language becomes functional within such relationships. However, as individuals reach the height of their language proficiency within their own peer groups, the role of the mentor is likely to become important for language development, particularly in terms of performance aspects of the language where culture is highly linked to the language.

For **Māori** learners of **te reo Māori**, there is substantial variation in terms of access to expert knowledge. For those who have reached higher levels of proficiency, access to mentors is not a given. In the **Hauraki** region, Ngāpō (2010) explains that learners do not have the ready access to experts of **te reo Māori** needed in order to train learners in the art of **te reo ōkawa**.[96] Having limited access to native speakers who are not only highly proficient or near-native speakers, but also skilled in the area of teaching poses issues for learners who aspire to reach near-native levels of fluency. As this was an issue for individuals from several regions where the number of native language-speakers was low, **Māori**-led initiatives, including Te Panekiretanga o te reo and Kāpunipunitanga o te reo Māori,[97] have been established to support the development of formal performative elements of the language (Ngāpō, 2010; Kāretu, 2008).

Support of teachers, peers and learning environments

The influence of the teacher and the learning resources has direct implications for L2 learner motivation (Dörnyei, 2003). Learning and teaching strategies that are tailored to **Māori** students are important when considering the factors that enable students to succeed in increasing their overall proficiency. Research with **Māori** secondary school students demonstrated that those who had good relationships with their teachers were more likely to achieve higher levels of education than those who did not (Bishop et al., 2009). More specifically, teacher expectations have been shown to relate to students' perceptions of their own levels of language competence (Noels, Clement, & Pelletier, 1999; Trouiloud, Sarrazin, Bressoux, & Bois, 2006). If individuals enjoy their learning

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[96] Formal language
[97] Taranaki oral language programme

environment, and have developed meaningful relationships with their peers and teachers or mentors, they are more likely to engage in tasks that improve their language skills.

Research has shown that **Māori** in compulsory education may enjoy **Māori**-related subjects over their other mainstream classes, due to the relationships they hold with their teachers and the personal investment or connection they have with the learning material (Bishop et al., 2009; Rata, 2012). **Māori** immersion teaching settings provide insights as to how environments can be tailored to suit **Māori** learners (Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2002). Sound pedagogical knowledge and personal attributes that contributed positively to creating a positive, culturally appropriate learning environment were central in this process. Furthermore, being respectful, compassionate through **awhiawhi**,[98] fair, friendly but firm, and having a good sense of humour and anti-deficit thinking were characteristics that effective teachers exhibited. Anti-deficit thinking was one component that was also a contributing factor to **Māori** student success. Furthermore, Pohe (2012) explains that teachers and peers who were described as having **ngākau māhaki**[99] were central to combating language apprehension/anxiety.

Noels and colleagues (1996) explained that although some language-learners may enjoy language tasks presented in classroom situations, they may not feel as though the language has relevance outside the classroom. Instead, they view the language class as a set of challenges, like puzzles, or as something that is removed from the purpose of learning the task, that being communication. They suggested that a solution to making the language more relevant to the learner's life outside of the classroom was persuading them of the language's relevance. This principle is supported by communicative language teaching theory (Richards, 2006), whereby students have mechanical practice (controlled classroom practice), meaningful practice (using examples that relate to the culture of the target language community) and communication practice (where real information, rather than rehearsed information, is exchanged).

The attributes of effective **Māori** language teachers are more complex given the limited number of speakers that the learner can engage with outside the classroom. It is not simply a case of encouraging participants to acknowledge the personal importance of the language, as for most **Māori** HL2 learners the personal relevance of **te reo Māori** is a

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[98] Awhiawhi can loosely translated in this context as being supportive
[99] Mild mannered (Moorfield, retreived November 29, 2013)

given. Rather, the teacher is involved in fostering relationships amongst peers within the classroom to create a pseudo language community where language is used within this peer group outside the classroom. This is particularly important given that many learners are likely to have limited contact with other language-speakers, especially speakers who have native or near-native fluency.

Peer groups are important in fostering language communities. While individuals are enrolled in courses, the relationships within these courses provide support. However, courses are often staged, whereby the individual eventually graduates from the course, leaving them without a structured environment to practise their HL2. This raises the importance of non-stage-based language communities like Kura Reo, and Reo-ā-iwi based programmes where structured language communities are formed and maintained across a range of proficiency levels. Individuals come together from a range of sectors with the goal of improving their language abilities in a linguistically and culturally guided space.

Given the preference **Māori** have shown towards relationally based language motivations, it is likely that enablers are also closely tied to relationships with specific others. The language-speaking community is central in this process of developing these relationships. Chapter 6 provided a view of undergraduate enablers for **Māori** HL2 learners and **Pākehā** PCL2 learners. This chapter will explore factors that impact on **Māori** HL2 learners from beginner through to advanced levels of proficiency. Analysing interview data through the quantitative data presented in Chapter 6 will allow the space to explore enablers in a more complex manner than purely analysing quantitative data on its own.

Inhibitors to language acquisition and use

There are both adaptive and maladaptive approaches to coping with language stress. The culturally located phenomenon of **whakamā** is likely to impact on **Māori** HL2 learning experiences, possibly in both adaptive and maladaptive ways. A number of authors have provided descriptions of **whakamā**. Metge (1989) explains that **whakamā** encompasses a wide range of emotions. She noted that these emotions can be summed up as "feelings of inadequacy and hurt" (p.25). Similarly, from a health psychology perspective, Durie (2001) describes **whakamā** as a culturally bound syndrome displayed in similar ways to avoidant behaviours. Descriptions from He Pātaka Kupu dictionary (Te

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Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008) provide three separate definitions for **whakamā**. The first description explains **whakamā** as "**Te āhua pōuri, te taumaha o te wairua i te mea i mahia tētahi mahi, kei te mōhiotia rānei tētahi mahi e whakaarotia ana kāore i te tika, kāore i te pai**"[100] (Te Tauira Whiri i te reo Māori, 2008, p. 1096). The second explanation is similar, describing **whakamā** as "**Ka raru te ngākau, ka hē te wairua i te mahinga o tētahi mahi hē, i te mōhiotia rānei o tētahi mahi e whakaarotia ana kāore i te tika, kāore i te pai.**"[101] The third explanation describes "**Kua āmaimai, kua māia kore, kua āhua wehi (te tangata) i mua i te aroaro o ētahi atu**".[102]

The first two of these definitions provides a context for the emotions, while the third description is more descriptive of the outcome, or the presentation of symptoms as a result of a transgression. In the case of **whakamā**, the person is ill at ease due to an action that was performed incorrectly. Not being able to meet the cultural expectations of others, may cause definitions 1 and 2 of **whakamā**, resulting in definition 3 of **whakamā**. However, as **Māori** HL2 learners become more equipped, the negative factors associated with **whakamā** could be reframed into positive learning experiences.

Maniapoto (2012) explored **whakamā** in relation to therapy with **Māori** clients. From a clinical perspective, she explained that when a person experiences the maladaptive emotions associated with **whakamā**, the source of **whakamā** can be shifted or used positively by the agent as a source of motivation to improve their situation, make amends and restore wellbeing. Aligned with Maniapoto's (2012) descriptions, **Māori** HL2 learners may reduce their levels of intensity of **whakamā** through improving their cultural efficacy and **Māori** language abilities. Notably, it is likely that **whakamā** is more prominent in situations where there is an expectation that the HL2 learner has knowledge of **te reo Māori** and other behavioural elements valued by the **Māori** language community. .

While **Māori** HL2 learners at all levels are likely to have experienced some form of **whakamā** during a range of proficiency levels, learners may develop coping skills in

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[100] A sort of sadness or heaviness of disposition due to a personal action or knowledge of another's action that was thought to have been performed incorrectly or inappropriately.
[101] The heart [or mind] is ill at ease; the person's spirit is unwell due to a personal action or knowledge of another's action that is thought to have been performed incorrectly or inappropriately.
[102] [A person] has become anxious, or vulnerable, and is somewhat fearful in the context of others.

response to incidents that could prompt emotions of **whakamā**. Social/cultural support available to the HL2 learner from their **kaupapa whānau** or language community is likely to contribute to the learner's resilience to experiences of **whakamā** and progression in language learning. In his research, Pohe (2012) explains that in L2 contexts **whakamā** is equated with language anxiety. The current research posits that **whakamā** is a concept with separate derivations and behavioural outcomes than language anxiety. One key difference between the two concepts is that, unlike **whakamā**, language anxiety has been explained as an individual trait or characteristic (MacIntyre, 2007).

In the case of **Māori** HL2 learners, linguistic incompetence is only one aspect that contributes to the overall feeling of **whakamā**. It is likely that learners experience feelings of **whakamā** due to a combination of their limited linguistic/cultural knowledge and connectedness to a wider **Māori** community (including **whakapapa** connections). An additional distinction between language anxiety and **whakamā** is the inclusion of guilt in descriptions of **whakamā**. Guilt is less likely an inhibiting factor for learners of languages where no heritage connection exists. Consistent with sanctioned ignorance theory (Spivak, 1988), for learners of non-heritage languages there is an extent to which they are expected by the target language community to fail in aspects of cultural etiquette or cultural competence. These affordances are less likely to be experienced by **Māori** HL2 learners.

Summary

This chapter focuses on the factors that enable or inhibit **Māori** HL2 learners of **te reo Māori** to progress from beginner level to advanced stages of proficiency. More specifically, this chapter focuses on relational enablers and inhibitors that contribute to the processes of HL2 acquisition. Consistent with international literature, access to others in the language-speaking community will be a significant enabler for **Māori** HL2 learners. Relationships with significant others are likely to contribute to learners' decisions to commit to learning the HL2.

Methods

Participants, procedure and materials

The methods in Chapters 4 describe the participants, procedure and materials used for this study. The interviews analyses in this Chapter were with both advanced and undergraduate participants.

Analysis of qualitative interviews

Consistent with Chapter 4 and Chapter 5; in Study 1, thematic analysis was used (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Concepts raised in interviews were coded into 40 individual nodes and then clustered into larger clusters which became the overall themes for the analysis (see Table 19). The main themes that were extracted for this chapter included factors that supported language development (enablers) and factors that stifled language-learning (inhibitors). Each of these themes is listed in Table 19. Enablers included access to language domains (work, peers, family, **kapa haka**, home, church, and educational domains including kōhanga reo, kura reo, and Te Panekiretanga); access to mentors and highly fluent speakers; and supportive learning environments. These results are described under the theme: *Kia haumaru te noho – Safety in language environments*.

Inhibiting factors were both relational and often culturally bound. Commonly discussed issues included *limited social support and access to speakers* (mentors, peers and a language community in general). The concept of **whakamā** was another contributor to cultural and language motivation and inhibition. These factors were grouped under the theme *Tū whitia te hopo kia maiangi te angitū – Overcoming barriers to enjoying the benefits of HL2 achievement*.

Results

Table 19: Thematic Analysis for Māori identity and te reo Māori.

THEME	SUB-THEME	CODE
Kia haumaru te noho	1) Immersion in safe language domains	Teacher provides cultural guidance Work choices enable language use Use of English sanctioned in the home Conscious choice to raise children in **te reo**
	2) Friendships as language domains	Romantic relationships choices based on language Partner choice based on **te reo**

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		Whānau choice to learn te reo
	3) Learning environments developed from trust	Peers provide safe speaking domains
		Peers share desire to use te reo
		Conscious choice to use only Māori to peers
		Friendships sustain HL2 motivation
		Friendships enable use
		Friendships as kaupapa whānau
		Friendships developed in language contexts
	4) Positive role of teachers and mentors	Learner chooses to engage in areas of language use
		Teacher encourages safe learning environments
		Teachers as role models
		Role models support language and culture
		Mentors provide conscientisation
		Mentors give linguistic confidence
		Mentors give cultural confidence
Tū whitia te hopo kia maiangi te angitū	1) Teacher role in creating barriers to language learning	Teacher is not motivated
		Teacher has limited language skills
		Partner unsupportive of language use
	2) Limited whānau proficiency and involvement	Whānau unfamiliar with university
		Whānau view reo Māori achievement as a university achievement
		University reo Māori is inauthentic
		Limited language ability encourages code-switching
	3) Whakamā and language anxiety as barriers	Whānau limited in language abilities
		Whakamā overwhelming
		Lack of support to overcome whakamā
		Whakamā due to limited reo abilities
	4) Whakamā, cultural competence and authenticity beliefs	Making public cultural errors
		Whakamā due to limited cultural abilities
		Whakamā in learning contexts
		Whakamā and identity insecurity
	5) Coping with cultural errors and limited linguistic competence	Developing support for whakamā
		Being corrected for cultural error viewed as positive
		Support for cultural errors
		Friendships act to support error resilience

Theme 1: Kia haumaru te noho – Safety in language environments

This theme was separated into four separate subthemes, outlined in the table above, which contributed to the overall theme of **Kia haumaru te noho**. Each of these themes is discussed in detail below.

Theme 1: Subtheme 1: Immersion in safe language domains

Language domains included role relationships whereby the language had become a normalised feature of the relationship consistent with Fishman's (1989) observations. Language was maintained in interpersonal domains such as within family (with a spouse or friendships and with their own children), within workplaces, or groups such as Church or **Kapa Haka**. Advanced-level speakers more prominently discussed work domains as safe language domains. Advanced speakers were in roles where the language was a core feature of their employment role.

Hēni: *I'd been employed at [location X], [location Y] and now [location Z] and places where **Māori** was spoken by the people. [...] It was sort of being exposed to work places where they had **Māori** language skills and they spoke more **Māori** language to me.* (Advanced)

Puawai: *If it wasn't for my work at [location X], I wouldn't have the chance to explore things a bit further, in terms of my vocabulary, and things like that.* (Advanced)

The support of a spouse encouraged participants to use the language in the home providing **Māori** HL2 learners with a safe language domain.

Hēni: *We do speak **Māori** at home. [My husband] speaks **Māori**, he mainly speaks **Māori**, he only ever speaks English to people who can't speak **Māori**.* (Advanced)

The decision of Hēni's husband to solely speak **te reo Māori** had a direct impact on the language that was spoken between their family members.

Bauer (2008) noted that particularly for women, having a partner who is able to converse in **te reo Māori**, or is at least supportive of its use, is beneficial for the revitalisation of **te reo Māori**. Three female participants highlighted that not having a **Māori**-speaking partner made speaking **Māori** in the home difficult.

Rīpeka: *My partner doesn't speak **Māori**, and when I try and speak it to my son, sometimes he's alright about it but sometimes he gets annoyed 'cause he doesn't understand.* (Undergraduate)

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Participants who did not have a partner who was supportive of **te reo Māori** use consciously monitored their **Māori** language use. In Rīpeka's case, she needed to assess whether her partner was becoming irritated or uncomfortable by her language use. Consistent with Gezenstvey-Lamy and colleagues (in press), the choice **Māori** made to be in relationships with their respective romantic partners was linked to decisions about what was best for preserving cultural heritage.

Mahinārangi: *I noho ahau ki te taha o taku tāne i taua wā. Engari he Pākehā, kāore ōna reo*.[103] *So then I wasn't really putting myself in a good situation, because I'd just speak **Pākehā**[104] at home. And it is, **me kōrero te reo i te kāinga**.[105]* (Advanced)

The language proficiency of a potential of a partner is something that heritage language-learners who are committed to improving their language skills are likely to take into consideration when choosing to commit to a spouse.

Males in this study generally described having female partners who were proficient in **te reo Māori**, it was less common for females to describe having proficient male partners. In many instances, but not all, it was the male partner of a female who was lacking in language proficiency. Male spouses also noted how learning the language had assisted their families.

Hori: *Being able to see my wife and son develop their own **reo** and knowing that we're doing everything we possibly can within our own **whānau** to ensure that, you know, the language doesn't die, and I suppose ultimately that's the big picture.* (Undergraduate)

Hori's family had made a conscious decision to learn the language together as a family. The choice to speak **te reo Māori** within the family was connected to the wider goal of language revitalisation.

Theme 1: Subtheme 2: Friendships as language domains

Friendships were also important language domains for language-learners. Friendship networks acted as **kaupapa whānau** for participants, whereby their shared goal of HL2 development provided them with a shared purpose that was culturally tied. Similarly to language domains that were embedded within **whakapapa whānau**,

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[103] I stayed with my partner at that time. However, he was **Pākehā**, he didn't have any **Māori** language abilities.
[104] English
[105] You need to speak **Māori** at home.

friendship language domains were viewed as a long-term solution to language maintenance.

Hēni: *If you choose to make friendships or engage in social activities, you plonk yourself in those environments where the language is being used. Yeah, it's sustainable.* (Advanced)

Inevitably, the more the participant's proficiency increased, the more they sought out fellow students with equal or better language skills than themselves. Matiu explains how he approached HL2 learning situations:

Matiu: *It's all about friendships and the relationships, [...] it's just making one or two good mates, 'cause everyone's friendly, [...] you're all on the same* **kaupapa**. *[...] If you've just got one buddy, it makes all the difference.* (Advanced)

Friendships provided individuals with safe learning domains where they were comfortable making errors.

Te Aowhitiki: *I suppose it's 'cause it's a safe environment. [My friend] will be one to correct me if I'm wrong, and I can ask her without worrying, 'cause we're both learning the language and we're both just as passionate. It's a cool environment where it's alright to get it wrong, 'cause if she doesn't know, we'll both go and look it up which is a cool thing, or else sometimes she'll know something, or I'll know something, so we bounce off each other.* (Undergraduate)

It was within the bounds of safe friendships that individuals grew in terms of their fluency development.

Pānia also notes the development of a language community was a core component of language maintenance and advancement.

Pānia: *Establishing a community or a group like our Te Panekiretanga peers and our mentors,* **ko te reo Māori te reo i waenganui i a mātou ahakoa pēhea**,[106] *and so we've established that kind of unwritten law, unspoken law, that just whenever we see each other, or text or email,* **ko te reo Māori te karawhiu**.[107] (Advanced)

The normalisation of language amongst peers and mentors is sustainable once a certain level of language fluency has been attained. However, importantly, the level of

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[106] The **Māori** language is the medium of communication amongst us no matter what.
[107] The **Māori** language is the language used.

fluency of the group had an impact on how such social norms were enabled. Rīpeka comments:

Rīpeka: *When we go to the **marae** after class, some of us continue to speak **Māori**, but yeah, it doesn't last that long [...] like we just don't know how to say it in **Māori**, so it just switches to English and then the whole conversation is back in English*. (Undergraduate)

The trouble for undergraduate participants was that they could communicate with one another using English, which made it difficult to break the social norm of speaking English. The act of code-switching did not occur because the individual was fluent in both languages and was choosing to prioritise one language over the other based on the topic of conversation. Instead, the participant's language-speaker group were forced to use English due to a lack of proficiency.

In one instance where a participant's key language-learning friend was not a native speaker of English, but a foreign language, the main language of communication was **te reo Māori**. The participant noted that they were less likely to revert to English as the two students had developed their relationship in a **Māori** language-learning context.

Theme 1: Subtheme 3: Learning environment developed from trust

Participants described how learning environments contributed positively to reducing anxiety effectively providing 'safe' speaking domains where the HL2 learner did not need to focus their attention on the risk of appearing incompetent.

Hori: *Having done [the introductory courses] that's given me a bit more confidence to get up and speak even if it is only very basic sort of **Māori**. [...] I guess your confidence grows bit-by-bit and so does your knowledge and experience. [...] I guess it was a relatively safe environment for me so being able to get up and speak wasn't too bad. [...] People are always encouraging in this environment I find [...], people are always encouraging you to speak and have a go*. (Undergraduate)

Participants expressed feeling that when their learning environments were supportive, the impact was positive for their language development.

Some participants explained that they had been raised in predominantly **Pākehā** environments where their schooling experiences were sometimes negative. Being in environments that were supportive of **Māori** also influenced the desire to continue learning.

Mahinārangi: *I was really eager, and I always wanted to answer all of the questions because being in a **Pākehā** school, I wouldn't speak. All my reports say I was really shy, which is crack up,[108] because no one believes me. But that's because I was [holding back], in case I'd be wrong. [...] That environment, not encouraged to speak unless you were going to be right, or else the kids would kind of tease you. But when I went to night classes, and I'd get stuff right and [I] just it picked it up [...]. [**Te reo Māori is**] Just easier for me to learn because I didn't have those inhibitions.* (Advanced)

Having a supportive **Māori** learning environment released participants from their inhibitions, and having something participants felt they were 'good at' was also encouraging.

Peers and mentors who encouraged students to 'have a go' meant that peers developed confidence to use the language.

Hōhepa: *Just getting an environment of trust, but I think that's the main thing with me is just not knowing what will happen if I get something wrong with heaps of different people.* (Undergraduate)

Students who felt they had an environment where they were free to practise using their language without criticism positively impacted on their language development.

Theme 1: Subtheme 4: Positive role of teachers and mentors

Irrespective of language fluency levels, role models and teachers were highly important for learners. For advanced learners, role models were not only adept at language, but were also highly knowledgeable about cultural matters.

Pānia: *I think role models have been hugely important; I have been hugely fortunate to have role models like [provides names of esteemed mentors], who have, and continue to be those role models for me personally. It's important to have people to aspire to be like.* (Advanced)

The greater the participants' language proficiency became, the more likely they were to seek role models with higher levels of knowledge.

Participants described how mentors had brought about an awareness of the socio-political-historical circumstances of **Māori**. Similar to the ideas portrayed by Freire (1998) conscientisation, **Māori** were empowered through knowing more about their

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[108] Funny

culture and their social position in New Zealand society. Language-learning contexts allowed participants to explore the historical injustices that had been inflicted on **Māori**.

Riria: ***Ko te wāhanga nui i roto i ngā akomanga ko te reo Pākehā te reo***,[109] *You know, and* ***ko ngā hotaka Pākehā ngā mea nui***.[110] *[Our mentor] was probably the first one who really motivated us to look at things differently. You started to develop an awareness, a different consciousness of your world, 'cause if you've been urbanised, and you don't come from the rural areas, our cousins were basically back home, but we were urbanised.* (Advanced)

The comment Riria makes above demonstrates the point that for **Māori** HL2 learners, language teachers provide specific cultural guidance and engage in dialogue encouraging conscientisation, rather than purely instructing students. Riria emphasised that while **Pākehā** instructors and mainstream learning material dominated her schooling experiences, her **Māori** mentor offered her an alternative way of viewing 'being **Māori**'. In particular, for individuals who experience feelings of marginalisation or assimilation, having a mentor who is able to offer cultural support through their teaching practice had a lasting impact. Riria further explains:

Riria: *We were probably one of the first* ***whānau****s [sic] to be really truly urbanised and colonised and assimilated and to move into a city. [Our mentor] was great, she brought a new way of teaching and learning and she had a quietness about her, and she was ours. She was just so highly respected.* (Advanced)

Consistent with results from Chapter 6, **Māori** HL2 learners were particularly enabled by support from the language community. The language community also provided a source of encouragement. Puawai illustrated this point:

Puawai: *It gave me that sense of connectedness that I was seeking. I didn't even know that I was seeking it at that stage, but it was such a strong feeling of belonging, and so much a feeling of fulfilment. If it wasn't for [my mentors], I don't think I would have…[continued]* (Advanced)

Having positive feedback and engagement from others within the **Māori**-speaking community provided a sense of connectedness for many participants. Being able to achieve a sense of belonging was also an enabling factor that encouraged participants to continue with their language-learning. The search for belonging appeared to be specific to

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[109] The main section of our classes was taught in English.
[110] The mainstream curriculum was the most important thing.

Māori HL2 learners. Quantitative results in previous chapters indicated that **Pākehā** were less motivated and enabled by relational factors than **Māori**.

For **Māori**, mentors not only provided **Māori** HL2 learners with cultural guidance, but they also gave permission to learners to take on more challenging positions of leadership. The permission to take on leadership responsibilities was crucial, especially for younger **Māori** who had demonstrated their abilities to lead in other settings.

Herewini: *Confidence in myself comes off other positive people around me. I feed off other people's feedback, critical and positive feedback. [...][Name of mentor] was my, the ultimate Dalai Lama, he's who I'd go to, and that's who I gained a lot confidence from, was having his support.* (Advanced)

When learners were at high stages of proficiency, the type of mentors HL2 learners sought were those with both linguistic abilities and cultural knowledge. The relationship was cyclic, as the more their mentor invested in the students' learning, the more access the student had to language development opportunities.

Theme 2: Tū Whitia te Hopo Kia Maiangi te Angitū – Overcoming Barriers to Heritage Language Learning: Limited social support

There were three main subthemes that developed under the overall theme **Tū whitia te hopo kia maiangi te angitū**. These subthemes discussed barriers that prevented learners from feeling confident in their language abilities (refer to Table 18).

Theme 2: Subtheme 1: Teacher role in creating barriers to language-learning

While many of the participants had positive prior language experiences, a few participants explained how having a teacher who was less motivated in the classroom impacted on their attitudes towards learning **te reo Māori**. Te Aowhitiki explains:

Te Aowhitiki: *While I was at high school, it was pretty hard because the teachers per se weren't that onto teaching **te reo**. 'Cause the **kaiako**[111] wasn't a fluent speaker and the resources he was giving were not motivating, it wasn't exciting and it just didn't appeal, so it became a boring class where you could go and do art or go and do P.E. something that you get a kick out of.* (Undergraduate)

Rīpeka: *I recon whoever teaches you has a big impact on how you feel about it and whether you want to continue it and if you have enough confidence to keep*

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[111] Teacher.

trying. 'Cause my confidence almost broke and I almost decided to not carry on. (Undergraduate)

In situations where students did not enjoy their learning environment, participants explained that the experiences reduced their motivation to learn the language. This is consistent with research that indicates the teacher's learning style influences the development of intrinsic motivation (Noels, Clement & Pelletier, 1999).

Carrying on from Rīpeka's previous comment, she further explained how teachers could behave in order to reduce levels of anxiety and promote confidence.

Rīpeka: *Being open, not just having one view of what's right, just being open I guess to other ways. Being mindful that some people are sensitive, and trying to drill it in in a harsh way isn't in everyone's best interest and that everybody has different learning styles.* (Undergraduate)

While undergraduate-level students provided examples about learning experiences as students, some of the advanced level speakers were also **te reo Māori** teachers. Some participants explained how their approach to teaching encouraged learning. Matiu explains:

Matiu: *There's a time and a place for allowing people the comfort to be able to make their mistakes and gently correct, and it's all about relationships, how you read where the student is at. If they're not ready for a harsh correction, then don't give them a harsh correction.* (Advanced)

The connection between language and identity was present within many of the participants' interviews. When students described learning the language, they also described the fact that the learning experience was especially personal. This research suggests that it was vital that the teacher understands the type of feedback that is appropriate for the students level of competence.

Theme 2: Subtheme 2: Limited whānau proficiency or involvement

The inhibitors participants experienced were cultural, and also highly relational. Individuals who did not have access to a language-speaker community were also likely to have limited social support in their language achievements. Participants varied in how much support they had from the language community, and also from others in their family.

Sam: *So one of the earlier challenges I faced was learning to do a **mihi**. That for me was particularly interesting, because it required me to research my family background, and so that I understood the links, I understood my*

marae, my *hapū* and all of those kinds of things. So that for me, although it was challenging because it required a lot of work, it really did pay off. [...] It required a lot of research, because only a few people in my family really knew what our connections were. (Undergraduate)

For many **Māori** students learning **te reo Māori**, they are required to seek out relational links that they may not have searched for prior to engaging with their language studies. It was not always the case that **Māori** students knew how to access such information. Although the initial process of seeking out relationships was difficult for some learners, they were rewarded through the development of new ties. However, the type of support available to make such connections varied across participants.

Those learners who had members of their **whānau** who could speak **te reo Māori** were thought to understand the enormity of the challenges that language-learners were going through. Te Aowhitiki explains who he would share his experiences with and why:

Te Aowhitiki: *It's mainly that aunty I was telling you about, the only one who can speak the language in my mum's generation, 'cause she's very similar to me being the eldest, me and her being the ones that, I don't know, aspired to the language. She's pretty much the one who I'd tell my achievements to, 'cause my mum wouldn't know what a **kauhau**[112] is, or I try and explain it to her, but she'd be like "oh it's just like a speech", she knows I can publicly speak in **Pākehā** so she just thinks it's the same. "You're good at it anyway, what are you going on about?" Whereas my aunty can appreciate that I got up and did a [...] **kōrero i te reo**.[113] And how much pressure that is [...]. I usually go and talk to her rather than my parents.* (Undergraduate)

Similarly, Rīpeka explains that she chose to speak about her achievements with her grandfather as he had the most appreciation for her achievements.

Rīpeka: *[My family] are all **Māori**, but none of them follow anything to do with **Māori**. I'm the only one who's been to uni in my whole family and they don't really get giddy about it or anything so I don't know, if I told them what grade I got they'd be like, oh it's good, but they don't really care too much.* (Undergraduate)

The type of **whānau** support varied between participants. Some undergraduates explained that they felt supported by their families in terms of pastoral care. However,

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[112] In this context, the participant is referring to **kauhau** as a presentation given using the **Māori** language.
[113] A speech using **Māori**

there was a level of distance between a number of undergraduate families and academic pursuits. Many beginner-level learners explained that their learning of **te reo Māori**, or being a student at university, was not the norm. The unfamiliarity associated with university was generalised to the subjects students were engaged in, including **te reo Māori**. Te Rina explains how she viewed her family's perceptions about her learning **te reo Māori**:

Te Rina: *If it sort of occurs to [me to] share that [achievement] with someone, then family, but they don't really get it 'cause, 'cause I'm in this different place. [...] Just being at university, so the **whānau** sort of puts my learning of **te reo** in the university [category], that's why I'm here and that's what I do in Wellington sort of thing.* (Undergraduate)

For most beginner-level participants, language-speakers in their family were a source of support for them to continue learning **te reo Māori**. However, the majority of participants learning **te reo Māori** at an undergraduate level were more reliant on their peers and mentors than family members specifically for language support.

Theme 2: Subtheme 3: Whakamā and language anxiety as barriers

There were similarities between the concept of language-based **whakamā** and language anxiety. **Whakamā** was a reason provided for why individuals would not initiate language use or engage with language-learning settings. Many participants explained that they felt that they should know more than they did, and this was restricting. For instance, Pānia explains:

Pānia: *Why aren't our people just going there in droves? There are those things that are holding our people back. **Whakamā**. [...] they're choosing not to [learn **te reo**] because of a fear perhaps or going into a situation where they're seen to be learning, don't want to look dumb.* (Advanced)

Consistent with achievement goal research (Cury et al., 2006), Pānia describes how some **Māori** may not engage in language-learning, as they do not want to appear incompetent. The avoidance of learning in such circumstances has been described as self-handicapping (Midgley et al., 1998). In these contexts, individuals withdraw effort in order to show that circumstances rather than ability are the cause of lack of competence.

Self-sabotaging (or self-handicapping) is classed as avoidant behaviour (Middleton & Midgley, 1997). Avoidance was demonstrated in response to fear of failure.

Timothy: *I think a challenge for myself is out there speaking **te reo Māori** to other people, the challenge for myself is if I'm making sense, and if I understand what they're going to say [...]. 'cause there's a fear that I'm not going to make sense, or I'm not going to understand what he says, or I'm going to think he's said something and then come back and I'm in the wrong. [...] Worrying before it's even happened. You know, you haven't even done anything, you thought you might go and [speak to someone], but then you go, oh maybe not, I'll step back.* (Undergraduate)

Similar to the description given by Timothy above, MacIntyre and Doucette (2010) explain preoccupation as "the extent to which intrusive and enduring thoughts cause a person to fail to initiate a behaviour" (p.163). Furthermore, pre-occupation with past unpleasant experiences, or potential future failures has been shown to cause individuals to disengage from initiating conversations in an L2 (MacIntyre & Doucette, 2010).

Within the undergraduate language programme, students from kura kaupapa Māori and whare kura enter the same language courses as students who have not had the same level of prior exposure to **te reo Māori**. This was inhibiting for some students who felt inadequate in the presence of more experienced students.

Kura: *I felt sort of embarrassed to speak out in class, and you know that sort of thing, but I think especially in my 2nd year I just sort of had a realisation of "this is who I am" I should be confident in saying what I can despite whether it's right or wrong.* (Undergraduate)

The experiences Kura describes are aligned with communication apprehension (a component of foreign language anxiety) (Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope, 1986).

Whakamā did not appear to be a phenomenon restricted solely to undergraduate-level participants. Advanced learners also described experiencing **whakamā**. Participants explained how they would avoid displaying a lack of understanding. For instance, Pānia explains:

Pānia: *I was too **whakamā** to ask him what that actually meant you know [...]. I suppose that's what we're talking about you know **whakamā**, that whole **whakamā** side of limiting a person's ability to learn, progress.* (Advanced)

Theme 2: Subtheme 4: Whakamā, cultural competence and authenticity beliefs

Authenticity beliefs were intertwined with feelings of **whakamā**. In particular, undergraduate learners were more likely to experience **whakamā** as a result of feeling that their language or behaviours were inauthentic. Learning to speak **te reo Māori** in a

university setting rather than via intergenerational transmission was one way that participants viewed their own language abilities to be inauthentic.

Timothy: *I wanted to have [language proficiency] because all of my mates were all first language **te reo Māori**, so I didn't want to go through the process, and I didn't want to be one of these book speakers. I didn't want to learn from the book, I didn't want to have my **Māori** critiqued, and criticised for being **Pākehā**, I didn't want that.* (Undergraduate)

Speaking 'book **Māori**' was equated with sounding inauthentic. The issue of authentication was further explained by Hōhepa. Below, Hōhepa describes how he believes he would be perceived by other speakers or students after he leaves university and potentially becomes a teacher:

Hōhepa: *I reckon another thing that will get people angry [is] if I'm speaking **Māori** and all that and they'll be like, "oh, he just picked up **Māori** from uni, what does he know?"* (Undergraduate)

This comment illustrates a perception about university-learnt **Māori** and how those perceptions are potentially internalised by the students themselves.

Māori HL2 learners who lacked cultural competence explained that they experienced emotional discomfort when they were in situations where there was potential to make a cultural transgression, as they felt this lack of knowledge impacted on the authenticity of their **Māori** identity. This point was explained by Sam as follows.

Sam: *We were at a **tangi** […]. I walked out in front of a **kaumātua** as they were sitting at the **pae**,[114] and this **kaumātua** got up and he verbally lambasted me in **Māori** and it was really quite just, **whakamā**, it was shut down and I was like oh my God. But I kind of look back and laugh now, but at the time it was really like, "oh no." A lot of that embarrassment came because I simply didn't know the protocol involved that it was, for me it was a reflection of how little I knew of **Māori** culture and protocol. […] I was feeling so **whakamā**. But I do remember afterwards I was talking with my cousins and they were like, "Oh yeah [no big deal]." I don't know I guess for them, I'm not entirely sure it was why they were that way, whether it was because they didn't feel that **Māori** protocol was a really big thing for them, or because it was because they already knew the protocols, they were a bit dismissive about "oh don't worry about it. It's nothing don't worry about it." But for me, it was a really huge thing.* (Undergraduate)

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[114] Orator's bench (Moorfield, retrieved November 29, 2013).

Feelings of discomfort stemmed from a range of issues HL2 learners experience. Participants noted that, firstly, being distanced from their culture gave them little confidence in **Māori** settings, but secondly, some of the participants had initially viewed their culture in ways that were consistent with negative mainstream views. Coming into contexts where the culture and language was valued was positive in changing their perceptions, but it also meant that learners became aware of their own cultural shortcomings.

Ana: *I'm much more proud about it [after learning more **reo**], [...] when I first came to Wellington, I went straight to [**Māori** student organisation], and I did feel really uncomfortable doing my **pepeha**[115] 'cause it just felt fake, [...] I only know, my river and stuff like that, but if you ask me questions about my **whānau**, or said, "oh are you from [home town], do you know so and so?" I don't, and so you feel like you're misrepresenting yourself 'cause I haven't got that background of being brought up with all this knowledge. When I started learning **te reo Māori**, and engaging I suppose and feeling more confident with all these other people, you feel much more proud about it, because you know more about it, and you feel that you can represent yourself as **Māori**. (Undergraduate)*

Participants who subscribed to the idea that language was a core feature of authenticity were likely to feel authenticated when they had attained more language skills. Furthermore, as explained in Chapter 4, as **Māori** identity was commonly described as being relationally based, individuals who did not have access to such relationships were disadvantaged. Having limited access to relationships resulted in feelings of **whakamā** in similar ways that were consistent with having low levels of cultural efficacy. Individuals who were not intimately connected with their **whakapapa** relationships reported feeling less justified in claiming their **Māori** identity.

Many beginner-level participants explained that they had very little experience with being in **Māori** environments prior to them beginning their HL2 journey. Having little exposure meant that participants were less comfortable in some **Māori** cultural situations and as a result would remove themselves from spaces that were uncomfortable.

Te Rina: *I used to think because I don't speak **Māori**, well, I'd feel uncomfortable in **Māori** spaces, whatever they are, I think part of my learning in **Māori** Studies, it wasn't my fault [...]*

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[115] Within this context, the participant is referring to a public description of her genealogy and tribal affiliations and connections.

Int:	*If you did ever feel uncomfortable, how would you overcome that feeling?*
Te Rina:	*Just walk away, just remove myself from the situation. Very rarely did anything motivate me to stick to it and be uncomfortable.* (Undergraduate)

For those without the skills to engage in **Māori** contexts, these spaces were anxiety-provoking. Overcoming feelings of discomfort was difficult for participants. However, once they had developed relationships with others in those spaces, their anxiety or avoidant behaviour decreased.

Māori who did not feel comfortable or confident in social settings were at a disadvantage, as they were denied the opportunities to develop relationships with others. Furthermore, these individuals lacked opportunities to normalise the occupation of **Māori**-governed spaces due to a preference for avoidant behaviour. These behaviours occurred because of a range of issues. One such issue is outlined below.

Matiu:	*If you've got a student that feels in their heart that they're somehow deficient about being **Māori**, and there's people really like that in the world, then they're gonna be tough to work with. Even though some of those people come and enrol in the stage one classes, you know, for whatever their motivations are I don't know, but they're really hard to work with. 'Cause they've got this barrier to learning **Māori**.*
Int:	*So have you seen those students succeed?*
Matiu:	*I've seen those types of students succeed in a **Pākehā** sense in that they can get a good grade in the course, I don't think I've really seen them be good communicators, 'cause you need to be willing to change. You're changing personally, but that means culturally you're changing too. If you're uncomfortable going to the **marae** and things like that, you need to start getting comfortable.*
Int:	*How do you get comfortable?*
Matiu:	*By going. Going and feeling uncomfortable... [laugh][...]but that's how you get comfortable, you just go, and have a go.* (Advanced)

The point Matiu raised initially was that students who feel that there is something wrong with being **Māori** are at a disadvantage when it comes to language-learning. Through repeated engagement in **Māori** spaces, participants' levels of anxiety reduced. Consistent with Gardner's (2007) socio-education model, in order to be an effective speaker of **te reo Māori** outside of class, learners need to be willing to be involved in their culture despite how uncomfortable they may be initially.

Theme 2: Subtheme 5: Coping with cultural 'errors' and limited linguistic competence

Participants produced a number of coping strategies in order to overcome emotions of **whakamā** or language anxiety. These strategies developed as individuals became more involved with their culture and their cultural community. Sam reflected on why he had been corrected by his elder, previously mentioned on page 190. He explains:

Sam: *Now that I do understand those protocols, I really do respect and understand why that **kaumātua** did do what he did, because it was in the interest of protecting the cultural heritage and making sure that those things were observed appropriately.* (Undergraduate)

As participants had greater contextual understanding of their culture, they developed more resilience to dealing with cultural situations that were new to them.

Participants explained that they had developed varying levels of resilience to critical feedback. With more exposure to the culture, participants explained that they were more readily able to take on critical feedback without it being detrimental to their learning. Matiu explains:

Matiu: *In my process of maturing, every time and without fail, when I get feedback that says bad things, I really study that feedback, and I really look at each point and try and reflect it back on myself and say, is that right, is that really what I did, or is that really what I'm like, and what can I do to make that better [...]. I like taking things personally because I want personal growth and development out of it at the end. I don't take it personally just so I can go and cry in the corner, or feel bad or feel bad about the person who gave me the feedback.* (Advanced)

For others, having received critical feedback from parents or spouses provided them with skills to deal with feedback from the language community.

Hēni: *I didn't perceive [the feedback] to be negative at that time, I probably agreed with it. I've had plenty of growlings[116] [...] so that sort of barrier that puts a lot of people off language-learning, I couldn't complain of that being a negative for me.* (Advanced)

Some participants were realistic about the types of criticisms they would receive. For instance, one participant was raised outside of his tribal area. He explains how being self-aware, or aware of his limitations, helped him cope with critical feedback.

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[116] Tellings off

Herewini: *Who's not going to question this kid from [location]? That's why it's important to be humble and get out into the ground roots with our people so that they, they think I'm not a smart arse. I'm not a show-off, I'm keen to help our people.* (Advanced)

Puawai explains that becoming self-aware was one means of gaining resilience. She indicated that rather than withdrawing or avoiding learning situations, she learnt to gauge when it was appropriate to communicate in particular settings.

Puawai: *Generally, [when I receive negative feedback] I'd just feel **whakamā** and it would cause me to be quiet and then I learnt to listen, I learnt to listen very well. And you learn after a while to listen before speaking, and to formulate your thoughts before speaking.* (Advanced)

Similar to Smith's (1991) third ethical principle discussed in Chapter 3: **Titiro, whakarongo... kōrero**, which encourages researchers to be self-aware in research environments, self-awareness was also an aspect that was encouraged in **Māori** language-speaking environments. Pānia explains.

Pānia: *To master **te reo**, you need to have a really good ability to listen. Two ears, one mouth. Listen twice as much as you speak. In listening, we develop our receptive skills, listening and reading, probably less than we do our speaking skills, so the natural progression for a learner is to receive the information first, digest it, and then regurgitate, or emulate or manipulate language.* (Advanced)

As well as dealing with critical feedback in language contexts, undergraduates discussed how cultural efficacy was also an important area to develop resilience.

Sam: *Where I haven't done so well, and I know I haven't done so well, it actually hasn't been as damaging to my identity as **Māori**, simply because I do know that I'm on the right track as it were. [...] I think just being more secure in my cultural identity has allowed me to say, well I'm not going to get everything right all the time, and that's okay. It doesn't actually mean that I'm a bad **Māori**, [or] I'm not a **Māori**, it just means that there are things that I can learn.* (Undergraduate)

Learning to develop coping strategies to deal with negative feedback developed as participants gained cultural efficacy.

Discussion

The purposes of this study were to explore how factors enabled or inhibited HL2 learners of **te reo Māori**. The experience of **Māori** as HL2 learners of **te reo Māori** is highly personal and relationally oriented. Those who managed to mediate their cultural

and linguistic inhibitions were better equipped to deal with HL2 development. Consistent with the concept of relational selves (Brewer & Yuki, 2007), **Māori** were not only motivated by relationships with significant others, but these relationships were central to enabling learners to reach higher stages of language proficiency. As found in Chapter 6, **Māori** enablers for learning were less reliant on public opinion, but instead reliant on the support and encouragement of specific relational others. The findings from this study combined with previous findings give an overall view of the relational factors that support the development of high levels of fluency in **Māori** HL2 learners.

Relational support can be thought of as intersecting as demonstrated in Figure 3 below. As indicated in results from Chapter 5, **whānau** support was significantly correlated with a whole host of motivations for learning **te reo Māori**. Metaphorically speaking, it seems as if for introductory- through to intermediate-level learners, **whakapapa whānau** plant the seed for learning their HL2. However, because of limited linguistic abilities, some **whakapapa whānau** were less able to support HL2 learners with their language proficiency development. Given that undergraduate participants in this study only included those who had learnt **te reo Māori** as a second language, it is not surprising that **whānau** members were limited in their language capacity. **Whānau** linguistic limitations meant that the language community was prominent as the learner began engaging with language studies. Following the previous metaphor, if specific members of the **whānau** who are interested in HL2 learning plant the 'language learning seed', the language community provides nutrients and vital elements that allow the seed to grow.
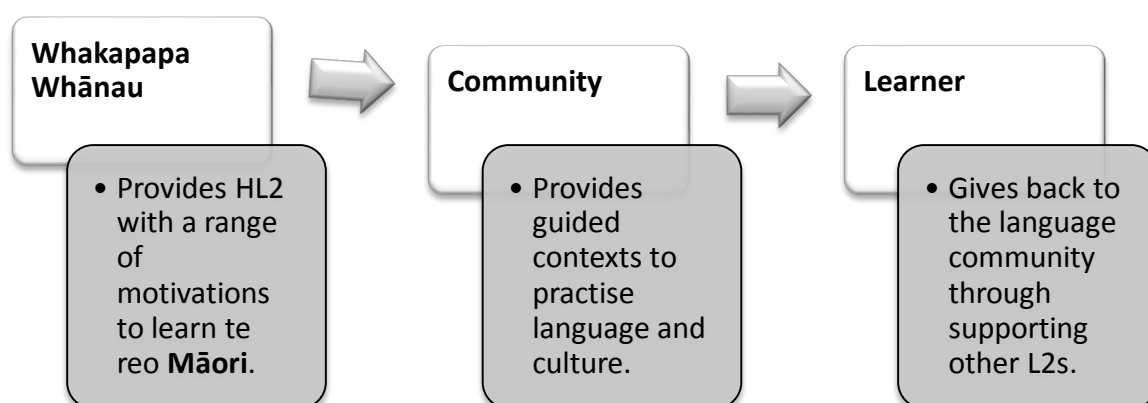

Figure 3: Progression of support for introductory level Māori HL2 learners

The language community also provides contexts for the learner to develop. It is within these contexts that the HL2 learners are afforded opportunities to extend their knowledge and practice in both the language and the culture. The fact that **te reo Māori** is an endangered language (Reedy et al., 2011) means that **Māori** HL2 learners are often put into situations possibly before they are ready to perform particular cultural roles. This was one of the reasons for why programmes like Te Panekiretanga and Kāpunipuni reo were developed (Ngāpō, 2010; Television New Zealand, 2006). The development of such programmes allows HL2 learners to develop linguistically and culturally in guided spaces. However, the cycle does not end there. As described by Rātima and Papesch (2013), the concept of **utu** is highly relevant in **Māori** language contexts. This research indicated that mentors enabled the development of high levels of language proficiency; however, there was a very clear expectation that those who received mentoring would provide support to others in time (as described in Chapter 5).

Mentors not only provided linguistic guidance, but also cultural support. Mead (2003) explains that in the past, most **marae** could rely on monitors of **tikanga** to provide cultural guidance. However, due to the intergenerational impacts of assimilation forced on **Māori**, the number of people able to fulfil these roles has become fewer, leaving individuals to rely on their own knowledge of **tikanga**, which in many instances is limited. For learners of **te reo Māori**, the guidance from those who have both knowledge of language and **tikanga** is highly sought after. It is within these guiding relationships that individuals are able to explore the boundaries of **tikanga** in combination with language use.

Reducing inhibiting factors

The factors that inhibit **Māori** language development are closely tied to identity. Results indicated that **Māori** HL2 learners associated their personal lack of linguistic and cultural proficiency with feelings of guilt and shame bound within the culturally specific concept of **whakamā**. Inhibitors for language use were consistent with the 'willingness to communicate' theory whereby language anxiety highly restricted language use (MacIntyre & Doucette, 2010). A component associated with language anxiety is the resistance to initiating language use due to perceived levels of linguistic inadequacy. There appeared to be a conceptual divergence between the psychological concept of language anxiety and the culturally located phenomenon of **whakamā**. Through reducing

levels of **whakamā**, language anxiety also decreased. These observations could be empirically tested using quantitative methods.

Although **whakamā** may have been closely tied with negative or inhibiting factors for **Māori** HL2 acquisition, **whakamā** is positive in the sense that it signals a shift in cultural identity development. For instance, **Māori** who feel **whakamā** are no longer apathetic toward their cultural limitations. While it is not effective for **Māori** to remain in a state of **whakamā** it does indicate that the individual is experiencing an emotional response to whether or not they are perceived to be culturally competent in the eyes of significant others from within the **Māori** community. Effectively, the HL2 learner is making a positive shift toward cultural re-integration, and unfortunately, a by-product of becoming aware of cultural inadequacies or limitations are the emotions associated with **whakamā**.

In order for **Māori** HL2 learners to progress past the debilitating levels of **whakamā**, the individual needs to be supported by significant others who have the mandate to give the HL2 learners permission to release themselves from **whakamā**. The feelings that **Māori** HL2 learners experience as a result of being culturally or linguistically inadequate can be mediated through an increase in perceived skills or abilities, and also through the guided cultural support of peers and mentors. Mentors in particular are likely to hold cultural significance to the learner. Therefore, the support of the mentor is crucial as they have the ability to grant the HL2 learner permission to learn from and move on from feelings of **whakamā**. This is especially the case in situations where the derivations of **whakamā** are self-imposed and no actual cultural transgression had occurred, other than a lack of knowledge about the language and culture prior to the individual beginning to learn the language.

When feelings of **whakamā** are other-imposed, this is likely to be due to a breach in commonly agreed acceptable cultural behaviour. Mead (2003) explains that in some cases, a person learns more about **tikanga** through a breach of **tikanga**, than through adhering to **tikanga**. Further, Mead (2003, p. 19) indicates that it is not a pleasant experience "to be at the centre of such a breach, or even to be a witness, but if one were unaware of the appropriate **tikanga** before the breach, there is no doubt one learns very quickly what to avoid." Those who breach **tikanga** are important for the social learning of the community. While it is important for breaches in **tikanga** to be addressed by those

with cultural authority, it is equally important that the person who breaches **tikanga** is able to correct the underpinning cause of **whakamā** (Maniapoto, 2012).

Māori who have limited cultural support are less likely to restore balance following experiences of **whakamā**. The impact of breaching **tikanga** is particularly severe when individuals have limited **Māori** language skills and engagement in **Māori** cultural domains. As participants develop language competence, they also learn about the purpose of '**tikanga** monitors'. Being criticised for a breach in **tikanga** when an individual had little cultural efficacy directly impacted on identity security. Learning **te reo Māori** provides **Māori** with a set of resources that helps them to cope in cultural situations where they may have previously been uncomfortable, due to limited socialisation through cultural exposure.

Cognitive-behavioural psychology also offers insights to **Māori** language contexts. **Māori** who fear **Māori** cultural domains may be experiencing a form of social phobia ranging in intensity. If **Māori** are experiencing even a mild form of social phobia, they are less likely to actively seek out **Māori** language contexts where their anxiety is heightened. Safety-seeking behaviour (or avoidance of negative stimuli) is one way in which social phobia can be mediated (Sloan & Telch, 2002). However, avoidant behaviour is unhelpful for language development (MacIntyre & Doucette, 2010). Research has shown that through guided threat reappraisal, individuals reduced their levels of anxiety considerably more than when they were generally exposed to a fearful situation without support (Kamphius & Telch, 2001). In HL2 contexts, a significant other, for instance a mentor, friend or family member who is viewed as someone who is a 'safe' person, may provide the support needed to undertake guided threat reappraisal, thus negating fear associated with **Māori** cultural spaces.

Māori who held rigid authenticity beliefs were more likely to view lapses in their cultural and linguistic knowledge as detrimental to their **Māori** identity claims. Viewing language as a fixed criterion for claiming a **Māori** identity was restricting. In some respects, individuals were viewing their identity in dichotomous terms of 'good' **Māori**, 'bad' **Māori**. Although McCreanor (2005) has described the good **Māori**/bad **Māori** divide from the view of **Pākehā** towards **Māori**, **Māori** HL2 learners appear to hold similar socially constructed views.

The combinations of results are somewhat complex. It seems as though some learners continue to hold particular authenticity beliefs irrespective of their language proficiency level, while others use their language experiences to dismiss authenticity beliefs. For instance, the view "**ki te kore koe e mōhio ki te kōrero Māori, ehara koe i te Māori**"[117] (Ngāta, cited in Kāretu, 1993) follows essentialist values. These values were reiterated and somewhat supported by advanced-level learners in Chapter 4. Therefore, the claim cannot be made that authenticity beliefs necessarily decrease as language abilities increase for all learners.

As **Māori** HL2 learners in this study developed in their linguistic abilities, their exposure and engagement with their culture increased and, as such, they accumulated a broader set of experiences to draw from. These experiences provide them with a wider understanding that **Māori** identity is not a rigid set of behavioural practices or beliefs. Rather, consistent with those who score lowly on the MMM-ICE authenticity subscale (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010), individuals developed awareness about the multiple lived experiences of **Māori** more generally. Irrespective of authenticity beliefs that learners and educators hold, compassion for themselves and others who are also exploring their identity within HL2 contexts is necessary.

A difficulty for language planners and educators is the view that learning **te reo Māori** through institutions, or in particular university, was viewed as having less clout than learning intergenerationally. Learners who do not have the opportunity to learn through intergenerational transmission are forced to seek out other options. Authenticity beliefs may explain why some **Māori** choose not to learn **te reo Māori** through a tertiary or rather community-based **Māori** education programmes. For those who are seeking language authenticity (an aspect of cultural identity), the medium of HL2 acquisition is important.

If the potential **Māori** HL2 learner holds the belief that formal educational institutions are inauthentic in the type of language they produce, the learner is unlikely to invest in formal HL2 learning opportunities. This highlights the importance of the relationships between tertiary **Māori** language programmes and language-speaker communities. These views are not supportive of language revitalisation, as they reduce

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[117] If you do not speak **Māori**, you are not **Māori**.

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the already-limited number of accessible spaces where the language can be learnt in the mind of the potential learner.

Language domains are not as readily available for indigenous languages as they are for colonial or dominant languages. The lack of speaking domains requires **Māori** to be strategic about creating spaces where the language is used. Notably, **Māori** media (television in particular) enables HL2 learners to develop receptive skills. However, their strength is likely to lie within a culturally preferred orientation of relationism (Brewer & Chen, 2007). Being able to successfully develop and maintain relationships with other **Māori** who are equally committed to language success is important for the overall development of the language.

Conclusion

The results of this study showed that there are multiple components that contribute to **Māori** heritage language-learners' development. Relationships are central to **Māori** progressing in the HL2 learning journey. While **whānau** support is helpful at the decision-making stage of language-learning, the language community appears to gain importance for language-learners as they increase in proficiency. Mentors in particular are needed for learners to reach higher stages of fluency and to be guided through cultural spaces. **Māori** notions of reciprocity are completely intertwined in the learner/teacher bond. In order to limit the negative reach of **whakamā**, learners need to engage in a number of **Māori** environments where they are afforded time to practise using the language in psychologically safe spaces.

Chapter 8: General Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to explore the range of factors that contribute to **Māori** heritage language-learners' experiences. The thesis was divided into six sub-questions that were used to answer the overarching research topic. These questions are outlined in Table 20 below.

Table 20: Research questions

1. What factors contribute to or detract from the psychological foundations for creating higher levels of language proficiency?

2. How are language-learners influenced by or protected from historical devaluation and contemporary mainstream discrimination of **te reo Māori**?

3. What factors contribute to **Māori** HL2 learners feeling justified in their identity position as **Māori**?

    a. How do (identity) authenticity beliefs influence **Māori** HL2 learner decisions and learning?

    b. How do **Māori** HL2 learners view the role of **te reo Māori** in their descriptions of possible **Māori** identities?

4. What are the core motivations of **Māori** HL2 learners at varying levels of language proficiency and how do cultural orientations and values influence motivation?

5. What factors influence motivational change in **Māori** HL2 learners as they progress to higher levels of fluency?

6. What is the relationship between language fluency and cultural engagement?

7. What factors influence (enable and inhibit) the ability of **Māori** to reach high levels of language fluency?

    An eighth comparative sub-question.

8. What are some of the key differences in motivation between **Māori** (heritage L2) and **Pākehā** (post-colonial L2) learners?

    a. Are **Māori** and **Pākehā** enabled or inhibited in their learning of **te reo Māori** by separate factors?

The research questions that were proposed and answered in this thesis were discussed in depth in the main body of this thesis. The purpose of this general discussion

is to provide an overarching view of how each of these factors contributed to an overall model for **Māori** language-learners. This framework identifies common outcomes that **Māori** HL2 learners reported experiencing during the course of their language acquisition. A model that describes how **Māori** HL2 learners are enabled to gain language proficiency and identity in cultural spaces governed by **Māori** norms, values and language is also proposed as a thesis outcome that could be tested in future research.

Te Mauri ka Tau: A Psychological Platform for Māori HL2 Learners

The findings from this thesis provided the foundation for the overall concept of **Te mauri ka tau**. While there are a number of states of **mauri** for instance, **mauri rere**,[118] **oho mauri**.[119] The term **mauri tau**[120] has been used within this context to describe the state that some **Māori** language-learners find temporary refuge in through the course of language-learning. Many **Māori** undertaking the journey of HL2 learning enter into states of psychological risk at multiple points during their progression. The framework entitled **Te mauri ka tau**[121] acknowledges that many **Māori** are likely to enter into environments that they may find challenging for reasons that stem from a multitude of culturally bound pressures which are heightened in HL2 learning situations. **Māori** HL2 learners are required to expose themselves to new challenges that hold culturally specific meaning for learners. **Te mauri ka tau** represents a platform from which **Māori** HL2 learners gain volition and empowerment to make choices that enrich their cultural identity and language development.

King (2007) discusses **te reo Māori** and the relationship it has with **mauri**. She explains that while **mauri** was traditionally thought to be a physical object, its meaning has been expanded to encompass a more intangible or metaphysical concept. For

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[118] To be panic stricken (Moorfield, retrieved November 29, 2013)

[119] To jump into action, start suddenly, startle, astonish, astound, shock.

[120] He Pātaka Kupu dictionary (Te Taurawhiri, 2008) provides the following definition for **mauri tau: "E tau ana te mauri, kāore e wehi ana**." Although there is no translation provided in He Pātaka Kupu, the definition has been interpreted to mean "the **mauri** that is settled, that is not apprehensive or afraid".

[121] The position of **Te Mauri ka Tau** does not assume that **Māori** cannot achieve a state of identity security without language proficiency. Rather, it aims to describe a state of being that some **Māori** language-learners attempt to achieve or have achieved due to a combination of factors, of which language was one.

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instance, Pere describes **mauri** as vitality within the **Te Wheke**[122] framework (1984 cited in Durie, 1995). Unlike the use of **mauri** as a representation of what **te reo Māori** embodies, **mauri** in this framework is used to represent a metaphysical state of being that HL2 learners come to be in through a range of factors associated with their language-learning journey.

The beliefs and values that kōhanga and kura kaupapa Māori were developed on included a desire to develop the child in the holistic sense (Te Runanga Nui o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa, 1998). Nepe notes "The whole child must be developed, including their **mauri** […]." (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1993, p. 5, cited in Reedy, 2000). For a learner to develop as **Māori** in a linguistic capacity, the person cannot be separated from the emotional processes they experience as HL2 learners. The learner brings with them a set of expectations about what it means to be **Māori** and it is these expectations that some **Māori** find difficult to meet. Personal expectations are especially high during the initial phase of language learning, and skills or abilities to meet these expectations are low. It is this combination of high expectations and low ability that is likely to be a core reason for **Māori** anxieties in **Māori** culturally loaded spaces, for instance, those spaces where the language is used, and **Māori** protocols or values occupy that space.

Durie (2001) discussed **mauri** in the context of the individual, the group and the wider environmental context. He explained "The **mauri**, the life force, spirals outwards seeking to establish communication with higher levels of organisations and to find meaning by sharing a sense of common origin" (p.88). **Māori** preferences for relational interdependence directly impacted on their language-learning choices and motivations. Specific relationships were formed in order to assist in the learning process. Consistent with Brewer and Yuki's (2007) descriptions of relational selves, Durie (2001) indicates that for **Māori** "Relationships are not haphazard, nor are they formed in a random manner" (p.88). Rather **Māori** HL2 learners established relationships with others who would support their goals of language development.

Figure 4 provides a visual guide to the factors that significantly contribute to individuals' ability to continue to learn **te reo Māori** through to higher stages of proficiency. The framework encompasses five core features including: cultural affirmation; positive learning HL2 experiences; access to a language community

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[122] The octopus

(including peers and mentors); external support from both **kaupapa** and **whakapapa whānau**; and finally increased familiarity with **Māori**-governed domains. These factors are highly relationally based rather than individually construed or trait-based.
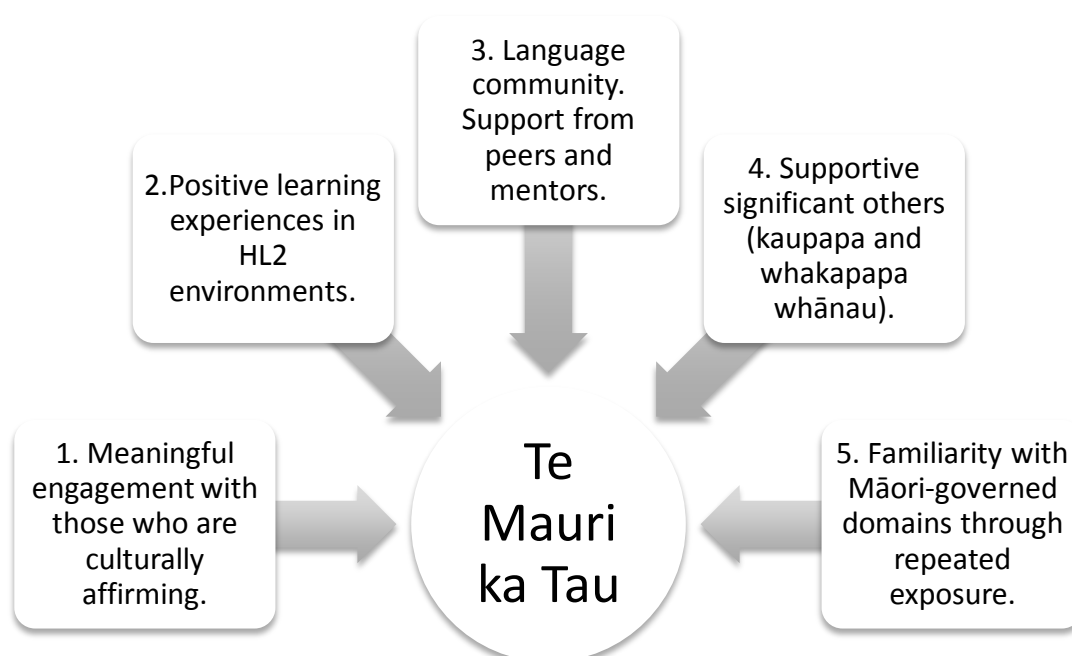
Figure 4: Contributing factors to the psychological state of mauri tau for Māori HL2 learners

Absence of negative mainstream discrimination

A crucial point to note is that in order for individuals to feel good about investing in **te reo Māori**, similar to the underlying assumptions of kaupapa Māori research (Pihama et al., 2004; Smith, 1992), there needs to be an assumption that **Māori** culture is valued and valid. For **Māori** HL2 learners, mainstream discrimination was commonly connected with a rejection of their **Māori** identity. Those who are either rejecting or apathetic toward the **Māori** culture are unlikely to invest in language-learning. In order to reach the **Mauri ka Tau** platform of psychological safety, there needs to be an assumption made that **Māori** knowledge, language and culture are valid.

The first element that contributes to the development of the framework is the process of identity negotiation, which was derived from themes discussed in Chapter 4. **Māori** HL2 learners enter into learning environments with a range of identity positions that they have previously occupied, some of which were affirming of being **Māori** and others that were harmful. **Māori** HL2 learners undergo a series of identity challenges that are explored during their language-learning experiences. Rata's (2012) **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework takes an interface approach through combining both **Māori** and Western knowledge to describe a **Māori** identity formation process. She explains "**Māori** identity development is conceptualised as a dynamic, iterative process of social negotiations, that individuals can enter and exit at any point, and progress through in any order" (p.148). She contrasts this framework to both stage-based and trait-based models that prescribe ordered developmental phases.

A combination of theories that describe **Māori** identity development are relevant for **Māori** HL2 learners. For instance, Pere's (1988) view of **Māori** wellbeing encompassed within the **Te Wheke** model incorporates 10 components including beginning with the head (**whānau**), the eyes (**waiora** – personal and **whānau** wellbeing). The eight tentacles represent a relationship with: **wairuatanga**,[123] **hinengaro**,[124] **taha Tinana**,[125] **whanaungatanga**,[126] **mauri**, **mana ake**,[127] **hā a koro mā**, **a kui mā**,[128] and **whatumanawa**.[129] Relationships are central to the process of identity development. A key observation from this research is that **Māori** HL2 learners are seeking a sense of belongingness; relationships contribute to how they view themselves as **Māori**.

Similar the observations made in self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987), **Māori** HL2 learners store a set of schematic representations of what they consider to be **Māori**. When language is a core component of such representations, **Māori** are more likely to act to reify their identity position as **Māori** through engaging with their heritage language. These observations are consistent with Houkamau and Sibley's (2010) **Māori**

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[123] Spirituality
[124] The mental sphere of wellbeing
[125] Physical sphere of wellbeing
[126] Support from the extended family, signalling the importance of relationships
[127] The identity of the individual and the family
[128] Signifies the link between the living and the ancestors
[129] Highlighting the importance of healthy emotions

identity model whereby individuals "constitutive representation of 'being' **Māori**'" is one of three central factors for their Multi-Dimensional Model of **Māori** Identity and Cultural Engagement measure. Individuals hold particular authenticity beliefs or sets of criteria about what constitutes 'being' **Māori**. These constituent representations are likely to impact on choices they make with regards to learning **te reo Māori**.

For **Māori** who are seeking comfort or justification of their **Māori** identity based on a set of criteria that include knowledge of **te reo Māori**, language provides them with a set of skills and relationships to develop a **Māori** identity that is culturally embedded. Throughout this thesis, it has been observed that **Māori** who are not culturally embedded, or lack linguistic skills, are not living in a state of constant identity deficit. Rather, this thesis has demonstrated that for **Māori** who are looking to achieve a **Māori** identity that is founded on cultural efficacy, language provides them with a key set of skills needed to create identity security.

Houkamau and Sibley (2011) indicated that although 'culture as a cure' programmes which aim to enrich the cultural efficacy of **Māori** in the criminal justice system have emphasised the positive impacts of **Māori** cultural reintegration. Despite the positive impact that cultural re-integration has on **Māori**, the inequalities that exist in society cannot be overlooked. Although being meaningfully engaged has shown to shield members from some of the negative impacts of discrimination through producing ingroup solidarity (Phinney et al., 2001), the onus should not reside with the group who are discriminated against to find solutions to cope with discrimination. Rather, those who are discriminatory need to be held to account for their behaviours, or at least made aware of the impact of their behaviours, if a truly equitable, bicultural society is what New Zealand, as a nation, hopes to become.

With this said, those who wish to dis-identify as **Māori** because of mainstream discrimination are unlikely to engage with the idea of learning **te reo Māori** let alone activating language-learning behaviour while they are operating within this identity position. Evidence from Chapter 4 indicated that **Māori** only began to take interest in learning **te reo Māori** once they had been removed from regions or environments where discrimination against **Māori** was acceptable. Discrimination towards **Māori** also impacted profoundly on **Pākehā** learners of **te reo Māori** as illustrated in Chapter 6. **Pākehā** learners who perceived **Māori** to be discriminated against were significantly

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more likely to experience language anxiety than **Pākehā** learners who thought that **Māori** were viewed positively by the mainstream.

Findings from Chapter 4 and Chapter 7 indicated that the difference between **Māori** who are discriminated against and choose not to learn **te reo** and those who do choose to learn was their level of **Māori** community support. Having a community that is affirming of being **Māori** provided **Māori** with an alternative way of viewing their identity as **Māori**.

2. *Positive learning experiences*

The learning factors that contributed to the development of **Te mauri ka tau** framework were taken from interviews discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, and quantitative survey data outlined in Chapter 6. Borrowing from the application of **kaupapa Māori** in schools as outlined by Bishop (2003), three core factors have been applied to adult HL2 learners. Within his research, Bishop provides alternative metaphors in order to develop images of **Māori** learners that are culturally centred. The three factors central to this thesis are: **Taonga tuku iho**;[130] **Ako**;[131] and **Whānau**.[132] The first aspect **Taonga tuku iho** acknowledges the treasures received from previous generations and provides **Māori** with a set of guidelines to follow. Bishop (2003) explains that this principle incorporates the importance of "community-focus, respect for age and wisdom, the importance of genealogy and family, and the integrity of **Māori** ways of knowing" (p. 225). There is an emphasis within this principle to view **Māori** language and knowledge as valid and legitimate.

Rata (2012) recently demonstrated that mainstream education providers can be either affirming or discouraging of **Māori** identity development. The development of identity and learning strategies begin to take form well before individuals engage in higher education. Bishop (2003) discusses the use of the term 'mainstream education' by explaining "educational institutions that have been developed by past policies of assimilation and integration and which take little, or no account of their cultural differences" (p.236). This thesis is located in **Māori**-governed classrooms where the language is not only legitimate, but it is the central focus of learning.

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[130] Cultural aspirations (definitions provided)
[131] Reciprocal learning
[132] Extended family

Within language classrooms, it is important to acknowledge that while **Māori** may come into the classroom with aspirations to connect with their culture through the language, the level of cultural knowledge the learner brings with them varies considerably. It is also important that language teachers do not make stereotypes and assumptions about the level of cultural knowledge a student comes into the learning situation with. As indicated in Chapter 4, **Māori** HL2 learners were well aware of their cultural knowledge limitations and these cultural limitations led to feelings of guilt or **whakamā**. In order for these feelings to be overcome, individuals reported that relationships with other peers and mentors assisted them in their learning.

Ako is the second concept that is pertinent within this thesis. Similar to Bishop's descriptions, learning is a conversation rather than a series of directives. Teachers who allow students to define and re-define their realities provide environments that enable students to learn in their heritage language while learning about themselves and their identities concurrently. For **Māori** HL2 learners, their decision to learn **te reo Māori** is highly tied to their identity and their community. When these aspects are taken into consideration within the learning context, the learner is provided with a foundation to grow.

The third contributor is **Whānau**, which Bishop describes as the primary concept. **Whānau** relationships not only describe the relationships that individuals hold with their **whakapapa whānau**, but also the relationships that they develop within the classroom. Given that **Māori** HL2 learners share goals of language proficiency and cultural knowledge acquisition, these goals act to bind learners into a **kaupapa whānau** (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). Bishop explains that when classrooms are established as **whānau**, learners are more likely to develop commitment and connectedness with others. Learning becomes a collective responsibility for all learners. The importance of **kaupapa whānau** was noted especially in Chapters 4 and 7, whereby **kaupapa whānau** supported the development of confidence in learners' **Māori** identity and importantly provided learners with friendship domains where the language could be practised, which ties into the following contributing factor for **Te Mauri ka Tau** framework.

3. *Language support from the language community*

Perhaps the most central factors that came through in this research were the centrality of language communities for **Māori** HL2 learners. Smith (2007) explains "The

strength of many **Māori** communities is their strong sense of collective identities". Further, she explains "These connections provide the glue of community cohesion as they work through value systems and practices that ensure reciprocal relationships are honoured over time and over succeeding generations…" (p. 343-344). While Smith largely described collectives that share **whakapapa** links, the connections that language communities form are of similar significance to HL2 learners.

Given the diversity of concentrated regions where the language is spoken, micro communities were important for **Māori** HL2 learners. One of the criteria for participating in the qualitative components of this study restricted those who were raised speaking **te reo Māori**. Therefore, the aspects described within this component are predominantly describing the experiences of individuals who have ventured outside of their **whakapapa** relationships in order to gain HL2 acquisition.

As there are only small pockets of geographical locations where the language is spoken (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006), this is a limitation for HL2 of **te reo Māori**. However, other HL2 development options have been developed in response to this limitation. For instance, **Māori** linguistics expert Dr Winifred Bauer (2008) and **Māori** language exponent Dr Kāretu (in press) have both indicated that the consolidation of resources in a single geographical region would create the much-needed environmental setting for language re-generation. Bauer (2008) suggested that "our best strategy for saving **te reo Māori** would be to put our efforts into fostering **Māori** in those communities which have the best chance of delivering eighty percent of the community able to speak **Māori**" (p.67). This idea was supported by Kāretu (in press) who explained that "**nā te tokoiti mārika o tātou e whakaora ana i te reo kei te wehewehe tātou** […] **He pai ake kia whakapaua katoahia ki te wāhi kotahi tōtika nei**."[133]

Creating a centralised community would mean that learners would have excellent language teachers and peers to learn from in day-to-day settings. Secondly, HL2 learners and native speakers could use the language in a range of normalised interactions outside of the home or classroom, expanding the physical domains of language use. Thirdly, it would shield speakers from the detrimental effects of mainstream discrimination through

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[133] Due to the absolute scarcity of individuals who are involved with language revitalisation, we are all divided or scattered across regions. It would be better to consolidate all of the resources into a single finite location.

creating an environment where the language does not operate solely in the confines of social constraints as it currently does.

Although the consolidation of resources is clearly the most beneficial option for language revitalisation in the future, this has not yet eventuated and may be difficult to achieve for a variety of reasons, political, economic and social. Until the option of resource consolidation eventuates, it is beneficial to observe how HL2 speakers can optimise their current language options.

Options that are currently available that support revitalisation are initiatives that support the development of language communities. The current options available to language-learners are largely classroom-based environments. Other examples where the language has become normalised over a period of days are Kura reo. These **wānanga** offer a unique type of support to language-learners, as they provide HL2 learners with a community for language-speakers across a range of geographical regions. They also provide a context where everyday language is normalised in its use. Although these intensive full immersion courses are only offered four or five weeks of the year, they provide language-speakers with a continuous connection to their language community and mentors.

Results from Chapters 6 and 7 indicated that language community support and engagement with other **Māori** generally had a range of positive learning outcomes for **Māori** HL2 learners. **Māori** HL2 learners not only rely on language communities to increase the number of language domains they have to practise, but the results indicated that having the support of the language community impacted on the way that **Māori** learn. While **Pākehā** participants largely relied on the support of their parents and their previous educational experiences, **Māori** were much more reliant on the support of the language community to enhance their learning. For instance, **Māori** who had language community support were more likely to report low levels of disorganised study strategies, and more likely to report high levels of tenacity behaviours. These findings suggest that relationships are central to creating positive learning habits for **Māori** HL2 learners.

4. Support from kaupapa whānau and whakapapa whānau

As mentioned as part of the positive learning experiences section above within the '**ako**' component, **kaupapa whānau** are central to HL2 learner development from a foundational level right through to higher levels of proficiency. **Kaupapa whānau** have

been described as being "bound together in relationships to fulfil a common purpose or goal" (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). Royal-Tangaere (2012) discussed the importance of **kaupapa whānau** and the process of **whakawhanaungatanga** within kōhanga reo language communities. Lawson-Te Aho (2010) explains that **whakapapa whānau** and **kaupapa whānau** are not mutually exclusive. However, **whakapapa whānau** are distinguishable in their cultural authenticity and permanence.

For **Māori** language-learners in this study, the extent to which their **whakapapa whānau** provided them with language support varied considerably. This is not to dismiss the role of **whakapapa whānau** in the process of **Māori** HL2 acquisition. However, **whakapapa whānau** did not always share the common '**kaupapa** goal' of language-learning that HL2 learners' **kaupapa whānau** shared. Interestingly, results from Chapter 5 indicated that **whakapapa whānau** support was correlated with a host of motivations, including intrinsic, integrative, instrumental and MHL2 motivations. However, for **Māori** HL2 learners, engagement with other **Māori** generally and **Māori** language community support was only significantly correlated with integrative and relational language motivations (both relationally focused motivations). These findings indicate that although **whakapapa whānau** may not have the skills to develop language use, they are still influential in whether **Māori** choose to learn **te reo Māori**. These results also indicate that **kaupapa whānau** share the goal of relational connectedness (measured through integrative motivations) and cultural heritage motivations.

Qualitative results revealed that it was not always the case that **Māori** HL2 learners have access to **whakapapa** relationships, and lack of access may limit the extent to which individuals feel justified in claiming a **Māori** cultural identity. However, in occasions where individuals are limited in their language support from their **whakapapa whānau**, **kaupapa whānau** provided an alternative support system. These relationships not only provide learners with a consistent language domain, they may also help in the establishment of a **Māori** cultural identity located within a **Māori** cultural domain. Because relationships developed with a **kaupapa whānau** are developed within a culturally loaded space, these relationships are also established with an agreement that **Māori** culture and **Māori** values are important.

Results from Chapter 4 and 7 indicated that as learners develop relationships with peers and mentors who become their **kaupapa whānau**, it is often within the boundary of these **kaupapa whānau** relationships that **Māori** HL2 learners developed the confidence

to seek and strengthen **whakapapa** relationships. While learners can rely on their **kaupapa whānau** for language support, **whakapapa whānau** provide a complementary type of support or relationship with the learner. When individuals develop relationships within their **Māori** language community and with others who are culturally affirming of their cultural identity, individuals are empowered to develop new connections including those relationships with their own wider family connections.

As **whakapapa whānau** are highly valued within **Māori** cultural domains, having strong relational ties with **whakapapa whānau** is encouraged by the **Māori** language-speaker community. **Māori** HL2 learners who are empowered to seek and secure relationships with their own **whakapapa whānau** was often one of the most powerful forms of embedding cultural belongingness. These observations have been outlined in Figure 5 below.

Limited access to whakapapa connections (**whānau**, **hapū**, **iwi**).

Kaupapa whānau provides community language support.

Language and cultural foundation strengthened.

Cultural values and skills support re-establishment of **whakapapa** relations.
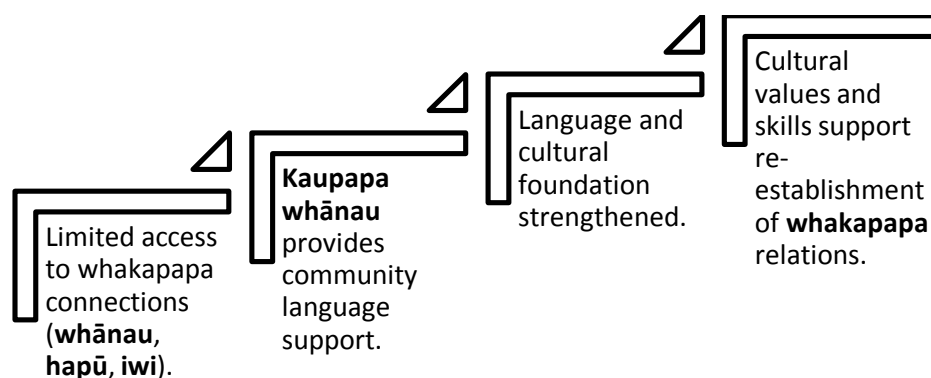
Figure 5: Support for those with limited access to relational connections

This thesis has focused on adult learners who have made a conscious choice to learn **te reo Māori**. The processes that led them to make the choice to learn their heritage language were often complex and highly tied to identity development. Some of the barriers that initially restricted **Māori** from initiating their HL2 journey derived from the negative discrimination they faced from others. For adult **Māori** language-learners, **kaupapa whānau** and **whakapapa whānau** were essential in dispelling negative imagery as evident in Chapter 4.

Through relationships with others who were affirming of **Māori**, individuals are more likely to be motivated to learn **te reo Māori**. The process of dispelling negative imagery appears to be an ongoing process for **Māori** who choose to remain in New Zealand where levels of discrimination are higher than those experienced internationally (Te Huia & Liu, 2012). However, for **Māori** who have chosen to learn **te reo Māori**,

their choice to do so is likely to have been made with the knowledge that **Māori** are represented poorly by the New Zealand mainstream. **Māori** are more likely to rely on relational others to provide them with access or support in order to reach higher levels of fluency.

5. *Familiarity with Māori-governed domains*

The final aspect contributing to **Te Mauri ka Tau** derived from interviews outlined in Chapters 4 and 7. **Māori** HL2 learners are learning a language that has been tightly woven into the story of colonisation in New Zealand. The processes that forced many **Māori** to assimilate has direct implications for current **Māori** HL2 learners. In particular, students are coming into learning spaces that are governed by **Māori** protocols and practices. For many individuals, this is the first encounter they may have had in being in such a space. Smith (1989) explained that an outcome of assimilation policies was that they drove **Māori** cultural practices from the public domain into the private domain. Through this process, **Māori** culture and language became restricted. One of the difficulties that continue to impact on **Māori** HL2 learners today is that **Māori** culture and language still predominantly occupy the private domain. For young **Māori** adults who are interested in becoming more familiar with their language and culture, these private domains may seem difficult to enter into as a result of the leaner's lack of familiarity and perceived cultural inadequacies.

Because of **Māori** culture occupying private domains (non-mainstream domains), **Māori** who are not actively seeking out connections to their culture are likely to have fewer chance encounters with their culture. If individuals are seeking to learn their language, they must make an active choice to seek out such environments. It is argued that many tertiary education providers offering **te reo Māori** as a subject are also 'private' in the sense that these opportunities are accessible to those who are comfortable in formal learning environments.

Given that over half of **Māori** left compulsory education with no formal qualification (Education Counts, 2011), the experiences that **Māori** have of education may impact on the educational options they choose to engage with as adults. Furthermore, while tertiary institutions are 'open' to the public, the numbers of **Māori** who qualify to enter are disproportionately low, resulting in **Māori** having fewer opportunities to learn **te reo Māori** through non-**wānanga** based tertiary institutions. **Māori** who enter into

tertiary education to learn their heritage language are a minority of the general population of **Māori**. This raises the importance of community-based education, for instance, Te Ataarangi, Kura reo and **iwi**-based language programmes and other community language initiatives that are offered without educational pre-requisites.

For many learners, there is a reluctance to enter into **Māori**-governed spaces when they have limited cultural or linguistic capabilities. As learners progress, the psychological barriers that prevented them from engaging with others begin to break down. A core reason why individuals were reluctant to enter into **Māori**-governed environments was a fear of their inadequacies being exposed. **Māori** undergraduate HL2 learners commonly reported that their limited language abilities often corresponded with limited exposure to their culture. Being limited in the number of physical spaces that individuals feel comfortable entering means that they will have fewer engagements with significant others (including elders) who they may have wished to engage with.

Following Spivak's (1988) sanctioned ignorance theory, although **Pākehā** may be afforded the right *not* to know about **Māori** culture or language (Abel & Mutu, unpublished), the same ignorance is less acceptable for **Māori**. The impacts of colonisation cannot be removed from the identity development of **Māori** in New Zealand (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). **Māori** language-learning environments can be both familiar and unfamiliar concurrently for **Māori**. Through the language-learning process, individuals develop a set of skills and relationships that enable them to become familiar with a **Māori** culturally based identity. The language provides **Māori** with an additional skill set that assists them in a wider range of social negotiations and interactions with both **Māori** and non-**Māori**.

The normalisation of **Māori** spaces contributed to the framework **Te Mauri ka Tau**. Although **Māori** language and culture was located within the private domain, this domain became a space that was comfortable to occupy for **Māori** HL2 learners. Within this space, learners can experience their culture removed from public discrimination. **Māori** spaces are central in the process of cultural re-integration, in which language too contributes towards considerably.

Contributing factors to Te mauri ka tau

The five factors that are outlined above all contribute to creating a stable psychological foundation for **Māori** HL2 learners. When even one of the factors above is

missing, the likelihood of progressing to higher levels of language acquisition may be reduced. Removing each of the individual factors outlined above will have a unique response for the HL2 learner. For HL2 learners to be fully equipped to reach the automaticity of thought phase (Gardner, 2007) whereby the HL2 learner no longer thinks about the language, but instead, can think in the language, each of these enabling factors are vital.

Outcomes from the position of Te mauri ka tau

Challenges that **Māori** HL2 learners face are both identity-based and linguistically based. **Te mauri ka tau** does not represent a hierarchical position like a peak of performance; rather, **Te mauri ka tau** signifies a state of comfort individuals feel within their identity as **Māori** HL2 learners. Like **mauri**, individuals' identity positions are dynamic and shifting. When individuals reach a state where they feel comfortable within multiple spaces as **Māori**, including those spaces where **te reo Māori** is spoken, they may use this state of being to initiate new approach behaviours.

Te mauri ka tau also symbolises a point of confidence that **Māori** HL2 learners reach during their language learning. Having reached a point of **mauri tau**, individuals are more likely to take on risk-taking behaviours that lead to positive outcomes. In **Māori** language contexts, risk-taking behaviours are those behaviours that the individual may not have engaged in previously due to a fear of failure or perceived personal incompetence. Being able to seek refuge in the state of **mauri tau** empowers individuals to engage in numerous aspects of self-development including: a claim of identity, engagement in **Māori** language contexts, such as marae and other **Māori** dominated spaces; and the seeking of connections with others who share relational ties.

This framework does not imply that learners who achieve a state of **mauri tau** are always operating in a safe or comfortable space but, rather, they have a safe psychological space to return to once they engage in a risk-taking behaviour (see self-regulation theory (Bandura, 1991), whereby social influences both mediate and provide the foundation for behaviours). Bandura (1991) explains that individuals will hold set goals for themselves, and act on particular behaviours based on what they think they can achieve. However, an important component raised by Markus and Kitayama (1991) is the importance of interdependent self-construal and collective consciousness. **Māori**, who perhaps behave similarly to other relationally based cultures, are more inclined to merge

personal goals and group goals. **Māori** who are operating with a sense of **mauri tau** are regulating their behaviour not only with a sense of self-efficacy, but also with the social/cultural support of their group. As individuals who are relationally oriented, they are more inclined to 'feel good' when their behaviours or attributes are encouraged or recognised by others, rather than a personal claim (Heine, 2005).

The foundations that create the overall emotional experience of **mauri tau** are tied to the components outlined above. Unlike other fundamentally individualistic models of self-actualisation whereby the individual is responsible for reaching higher states of functioning or consciousness (Ivtzan, 2008), **Te mauri ka tau** framework is built on the foundation of relationships and 'other' based reinforcement. It is the view of this thesis that individuals are unable to reach the platform of **Te mauri ka tau** without the support and confidence of relationally tied others.

This framework incorporates identity development, alongside cultural and linguistic development. The outcome for those who reach a state of **mauri tau** is a general feeling of empowerment to explore new domains both linguistically and culturally. The previous Figure 4 provided the foundations for developing a psychological safety platform, and Figure 6 below highlights how **Te mauri ka tau** empowers **Māori** HL2 learners.
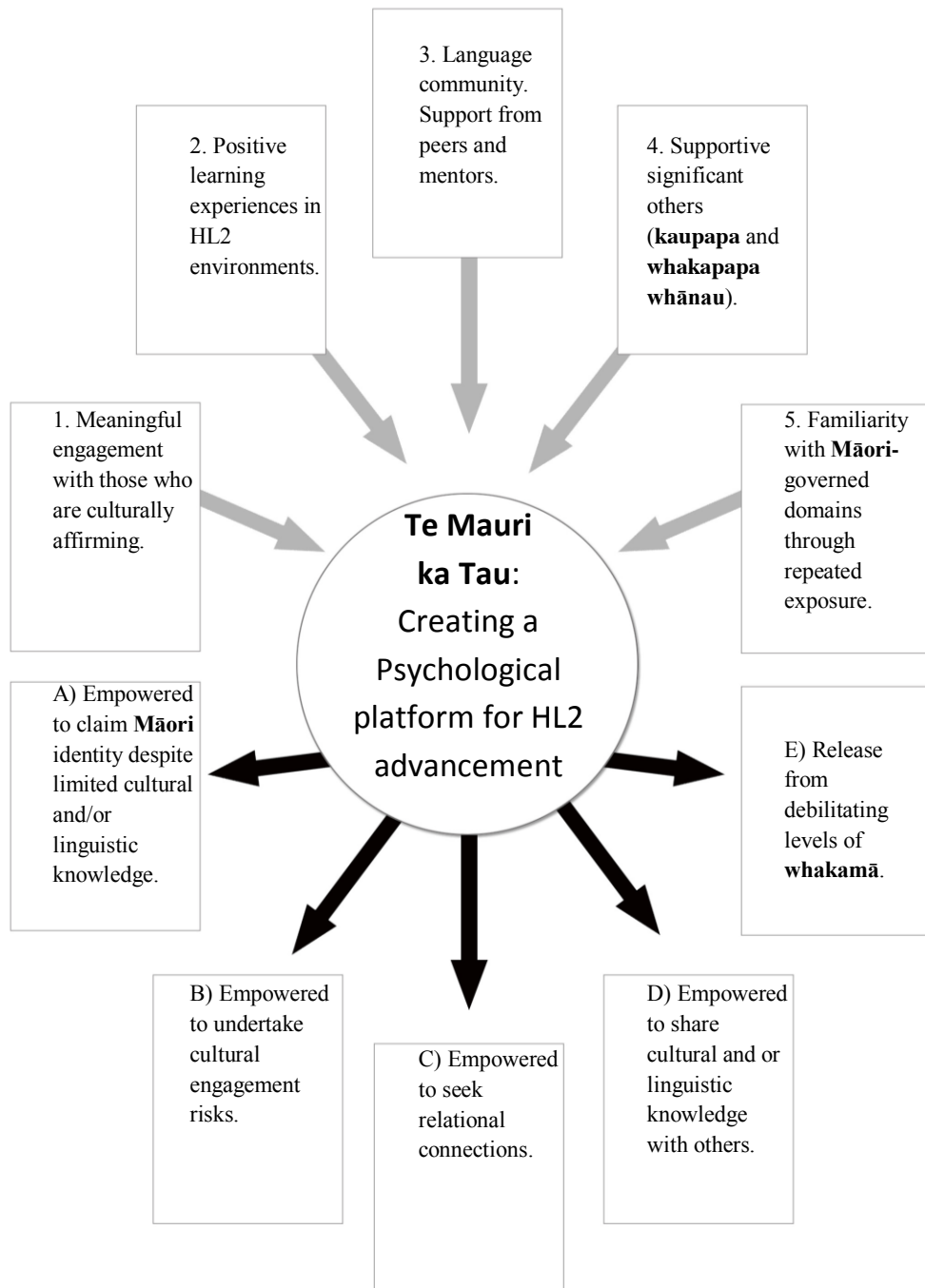
Figure 6: Te mauri ka tau: A position of psychological safety for Māori HL2 learners

In this figure, each of the outcomes that result from individuals reaching the platform of **Te mauri ka tau** have been described below.

A. Cultural Identity

From a place of **mauri tau**, **Māori** HL2 learners can explore a wider range of possible identity options. These options are widened due to the relationships they share with others who are both culturally affirming and/or linguistically enriching. Language provides a tool for which to both initiate these relationships and also maintain relationships. In Chapter 4, participants described that **Māori** identities were both exploratory and inherited (**whakapapa**-based). For those who viewed **Māori** identity as an exploratory process, **te reo Māori** was commonly used as a binding agent to create **Māori** identities where they were comfortable as **Māori** in both language-speaking spaces, as well as in non-**Māori**-speaking engagements with **Māori**.

B. Cultural Engagement

Individuals who reach the platform of **mauri tau** are able to extend their cultural engagement. **Māori** HL2 learners may still experience discomfort during some engagements. However, avoidant behaviours decrease and approach behaviours increase as individuals find their psychological platform of **mauri tau**. Not only are HL2 learners more likely to value engagements, but initiate engagement with others. Essentially, the **Māori** HL2 learner who reaches a space of **mauri tau** is operating from a place of safety and trust. **Māori** HL2 learners are no longer rejecting or avoidant of **Māori** places or engagements with **Māori** speakers due to fear of failure or perceived incompetence. These observations were described in Chapter 4 and 7.

C. Relational Connections

Due to the increased access to **Māori** engagements, **Māori** HL2 learners have an increased number of opportunities to develop relationships with peers and mentors. Through the security that is developed in these relationships, individuals develop a confidence within these relationships. The confidence that is based within their relationships with others is generalisable to other areas of their lives. **Whakapapa** connections also contribute to the journey of cultural reclamation. **Whakapapa** and **kaupapa whānau** are not mutually exclusive (Lawson-Te Aho, 2009) and when both are operating concurrently, this is most beneficial for **Māori** HL2 learners. For individuals who lack security in these **whakapapa** relationships, they can rely on their **kaupapa whānau** to reach their common goal of language proficiency.

D. Sharing of Knowledge

As **Māori** HL2 learners gain confidence in their abilities, many HL2 learners use their skills in positions that assist others to learn, including their own children, family members or the wider community. The desire to share knowledge was observed in Chapters 5 and 7 particularly by advanced level learners. Rātima and Papesch (2013) discuss the concept of **utu** in language settings indicating that learners enter into an engagement of reciprocity. However, it is only once a learner views his or her own knowledge as worth sharing that HL2 is likely to offer their skills to others. Individuals who gain a psychological platform of **Te mauri ka tau** are more likely to see value in the skills they have acquired, as others approve their skills.

E. Release from fear-based whakamā

One of the most debilitating factors for **Māori** language-learners is the combination of language anxiety and **whakamā**. There were multiple causes of **whakamā**, including the desire to avoid appearing culturally or linguistically incompetent. **Whakamā** also occurred as a result of feeling embarrassed or guilty about previously rejecting their **Māori** identity, which was largely a product of negative discrimination by the community toward **Māori**. These factors were discussed in detail in Chapters 6 and 7. When individuals reach a state of psychological safety, they are less inclined to view environments from a position of fear or guilt. Release from **whakamā** provides opportunity for positive potential. When individuals operate with a view that opportunities are positive challenges, they begin to interpret feedback in a way that supports linguistic and cultural growth.

Reaching higher levels of language proficiency

The framework **Te mauri ka tau** spans across levels of language proficiency. However, a key distinguishing factor for those who reached higher levels of language proficiency appears to be the level of personal investment they had in the language, and whether or not their language community reciprocated this investment. The higher the HL2 learner's level of promise, commitment or skills they demonstrated, the more their communities invested in the learner. Although an individual may feel they want to take on additional cultural roles, they are likely to need the support of mentors to both guild and permit them develop into such roles.

Those with high levels of fluency within this study were also those who held many leadership responsibilities. It is not always the case that HL2 learners will develop leadership responsibilities as a result of their language skills. However, this was commonly observed within this particular group. Similar to the **whakataukī** "**Haere i muri o te tira parāoa**",[134] it is well recognised that those who are supported by people of influence will be guided into such roles or positions. This also appears to be true for language. The more individuals invest and commit to their language and culture, the more likely others will be to acknowledge this commitment and reciprocate (see Rātima, 2013).

Learners who reach higher levels of proficiency hold language-specific goals that are shared by their peers and mentors. Therefore, these HL2 learners are assisted to achieve their goals as it is also a goal that their significant others supported. These factors are outlined in Figure 7 below.

| 1. Language initiated in a positive learning space. Friendships developed. | 2. Community supports language development with investment from peers and mentors. | 3. Achieved identity security in **Māori** culturally governed spaces. Language use normalised. | 4. Leadership opportunities afforded to those who show commitment and skill. | 5. High levels of language proficiency attained and sustained. |

Figure 7: Process of attaining high levels of language proficiency

Pākehā second language-learners of te reo Māori

Symbolically, learning **te reo Māori** provides the language community with information about the learners' cultural and, potentially, political alignment. Results from Chapter 6 indicated that **Māori** and **Pākehā** both choose to learn **te reo Māori** with a view to gaining a set of relationships. Levels of **Pākehā** support for **Māori** culture and language vary substantially (Pearson, 2005). **Pākehā** who support **Māori** language revitalisation efforts through learning **te reo Māori** are necessary. Their motivations for

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[134] Travel in the company of chiefs. The application today would be to "travel in the company of those people knowledgeable in things **Māori**" (Brougham, Reed & Kāretu, 2009, p. 22)

learning are likely to stem from particular political alliances they share within their micro units, including family and friends. However, research in this study has indicated that **Pākehā** learning of **te reo** is highly affected by mainstream discrimination towards **Māori**, which manifests through language anxiety. The connection between mainstream discrimination and the process of language acquisition cannot be diminished.

For **Pākehā** PCL2 learners, it appears that a separate set of factors support and inhibit their learning of **te reo Māori**. Parental support for learning **te reo Māori** is necessary for young adults who are still likely to be influenced by their parents' values. While this was also true for **Māori** learners, community influence was highly influential for **Māori**. **Pākehā** PCL2 learners appear to be less involved with both the **Māori** langauge community and had less involvement with **Māori** more generally. It is likely that these factors lead them to withdraw from the learning process sooner than for **Māori**.

As well as community engagement factors, it is likely that **Pākehā** PCL2 learners are satisfied with lower levels of language proficiency than **Māori** HL2 learners. Similar to the principles expressed in santioned ignorance theory (1988), both **Māori** and the mainstream are likely to have lower expectations for **Pākehā** language success. Qualitative research with **Pākehā** participants could provide further insights into their learning processes and experiences.

Limitations

This research was set within the context of higher education (Victoria University of Wellington and Te Panekiretanga). Both of these environments provided a sound basis for exploring **Māori** heritage language motivations, enablers and inhibitors, and identity exploration and development. Although these experiences were highly informative, it is likely that they are restricted to individuals who are in an educationally privileged position.

Research that is undertaken with individuals who do not hold formal qualifications may provide different insights from what have been expressed within this thesis. Furthermore, although individuals in this study discussed experiencing feelings of marginalisation and assimilation in the past, at the time they were interviewed, assimilation or marginalised acculturation profiles were not highly represented. Therefore, the generalisability of these findings is possibly restricted. Furthermore,

individuals who were raised speaking **te reo Māori** were excluded from the qualitative components of this research.

An area that was not represented in this thesis was the centrality of **iwitanga**[135] amongst **Māori** language-learners. This was partly due to the fact that the majority of participants were residing outside of their tribal regions, and for most undergraduate participants, **iwitanga** was not something that they had yet explored. Participants who were enrolled at Victoria University were not being educated specifically about their **iwitanga**. Winiata (1984) discussed how the establishment of **wānanga** was based on the desire to create graduates who were bilingual and fully aware of their **iwitanga**. As the development of **iwi** identity is potentially better addressed within **wānanga**, further research may investigate the centrality of **iwitanga** in **Māori** HL2 within those institutions.

In addition, **Pākehā** views were limited to survey data. Finally, the majority of data was collected from those who resided in Wellington. These decisions were made due to the timeframes and the scope of the research. However, these groups may provide additional information about the learning influences of **Māori**. On average, people aged over 15 have higher incomes than those in other regions nationally. For instance, 14% of the **Māori** living in Wellington earn over $50,000 compared with 10% of the total **Māori** population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Furthermore, anecdotally, government provides a high proportion of employment opportunities for graduates of Victoria University of Wellington. If students perceive government as supportive of **Māori** language use, then these perceptions could have skewed instrumental motivations observed within this study. Increasing the scope of this research to include other geographical regions would have involved greater financial costs, which were limited within this study.

Future research

In order to attend to the limitations outlined above, future research could include the views of **Māori** who have chosen to learn **te reo Māori** through community-based education programmes, or Kura-a-Iwi programmes. Future research could also investigate diversity across regions other than Wellington. The employment options and the

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[135] **iwi** identity

relevance of **te reo Māori** across different sectors are likely to vary and this could also be explored in future research.

Regions that have established **iwi**-based language strategies may also provide additional factors that contribute to **whakapapa**-based language-learning projects. Including interviews with native speakers may also provide knowledge about transitioning intermediate-level proficiency learners to highly proficient speakers.

Recommendations for educators

1. Understand that **Māori** HL2 learners are undergoing a series of culturally bound developmental processes during their language learning.
2. Provide safe learning environments that promote the development of linguistic and cultural confidence.
3. Encourage a culturally affirming learning environment where **Māori** language *use* is prioritised.
4. Provide opportunities for learners to develop friendships within the classroom that can be further developed outside the classroom.
5. Offer support to learners who are undertaking cultural identity exploration.
6. Consider how and when it is appropriate to provide critical feedback.
7. Facilitate use of **te reo Māori** outside of the classroom.

Recommendations for Māori language students

1. Form friendships with peers who share similar language goals.
2. Develop relationships with mentors who are willing to support and develop language proficiency.
3. Engage in approach behaviours in situations where **te reo Māori** is spoken.
4. Increase engagement in spaces where **te reo Māori** is the dominant or sole language spoken.
5. Provide support to others who are experiencing **whakamā** or language anxiety.
6. Find opportunities to use the language as frequently as possible.
7. For those considering beginning a family, choose romantic relationships where your partner is either a **Māori** language learner/speaker, or is at least supportive of **Māori** language use within the home.
8. Be kind to yourself and other language-learners, as HL2 learning is highly complex and emotionally strenuous.

Recommendations for Māori language policy developers

1. Consider the development of a structured language community that consolidates resources and language-speakers.
2. Continue supporting language initiatives that promote the development of language communities.

3. Provide resources that support opportunities for language development outside formal education settings, for instance, investment in non-stage-based programmes.

Recommendations for psychology researchers

1. Consider the historical context in which the language-learner is embedded.
2. Approach heritage language motivation in a separate manner from which L2 learners with no heritage connection learn languages.
3. Continue to explore the unique processes involved with HL2 and PCL2 learning.
4. Take into account the cultural orientations of speaker populations.

Recommendations for Māori language-speakers

1. Support the use of **te reo Māori** through using **te reo Māori** with other speakers and learners.
2. Initiate conversations with second language-learners to encourage use.
3. Be compassionate toward learners; where criticism or correction is needed, provide feedback in a way that upholds the **mana** of the HL2 learner.
4. Provide opportunities for learners to rectify their errors.
5. Encourage HL2 learners to learn through identity affirming rather than shame- or fear-based practices.
6. Understand that some **Māori** are not in environments or psychological positions to begin their heritage language journey.

Conclusion

This thesis explored the influences that impact on **Māori** heritage language-learners in contemporary society. The centrality of relationships was observed throughout this research. Relationships with specific significant others impact on **Māori** HL2 learners' decisions from pre-actional phases through to high levels of fluency. The results of this research indicated that not only do relationships influence **Māori** HL2 learners' motivation, but also the extent to which they are enabled to learn the language. Unlike ethnolinguisitic theory, which focuses on wider societal views of the language-speaker community (Giles et al., 1977), **Māori** HL2 learners to an extent expected a level of dismissiveness by the mainstream towards the language and culture and maintained their motivations for language-learning through lower-level relational networks.

This thesis applied an interface approach to research through combining Western knowledge with **Māori** concepts and knowledge. A combined emic and etic approach informed this research through the use of qualitative interviews and quantitative surveys. The combined information from the results chapters of this thesis provided the foundations for **Te mauri ka tau** framework. This framework offers insights about how

to provide psychological balance to **Māori** HL2 learners. Once the individual has attained a position of psychological safety, they are more empowered to undertake guided risks that promote both cultural and linguistic development. There are a range of factors that contribute to the holistic development of **Māori** HL2 learners as **Māori** who are learning about a part of their heritage. Understanding that **Māori** HL2 motivation cannot be treated synonymously with other L2 learners who have no heritage connection to the target language is crucial for researchers and educators.

Recommendations that resulted from the findings of this research were detailed above with the view to supporting **Māori** heritage language development. Essentially, the recommendations from this research provide the foundations for enabling individuals to reach a psychological state of **mauri tau**, from which point they may be empowered to reach higher levels of language proficiency. Through reaching higher levels of proficiency, **te reo Māori** has a fighting chance at being a langauge that is used and understood for generations to come.

He Kōrero Whakakapi

I ngā tau e toru kua hipa ake, **i whakatō i roto i ahau ngā akoranga katoa kua tipu mai i tēnei mahi rangahau**. **Mehemea e mōhio ana te kaipānui ki te momo tāngata i whai wāhi mai ki tēnei o ngā kaupapa, ka mōhio hoki he aha i pērā rawa te whānui o ngā akoranga**. **Nō reira**, **nei tonu ahau e noho nama ana ki ēnei whakaaro kua tukuna mai e ngā kaiuiui**.

I started this PhD research as someone who had only recently become familiar and comfortable with myself as an HL2 learner. Part of this PhD journey meant dealing with the factors that had impacted on my own learning of **te reo Māori**. Hearing the stories of those who participated in this research confirmed for me how emotionally involved learning **te reo Māori** is for a number of **Māori** who have a **whakapapa** connection to **te reo Māori**. Our personal and collective histories are completely intertwined with the factors that inhibit us from learning. However, our relationships with our history and our ancestors also give grounds to the immense collective satisfaction that comes with language acquisition.

Being both a student of some participants and a teacher of other participants made me constantly evaluate the integrity and validity of the assumptions I was making about these shared experiences. I have learnt so much from each of these individuals in a number of ways. The insights I have gained from this research have undoubtedly contributed to my teaching practices, and also of how I see myself as a learner. My hope is that by sharing the learning journeys of a number of highly proficient and influential **Māori** speakers, as well as the learning experiences of those who have recently begun learning, other learners and potential learners will see a path forward. Through understanding the complexities, future learners and educators of **te reo Māori** may learn from these experiences.

It is important to acknowledge the long and often arduous process that many individuals trudge through before they even enter into a language classroom. Our job as educators of **te reo Māori** is one that could have a positive lasting impact on others. **Māori**, like many indigenous cultures, face numerous strains that interface with our

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colonial history. In order for us to liberate ourselves from the constraints of colonisation, our relationships with others who affirm that being **Māori** is positive are imperative.

An experience I had recently resonated with the ideas expressed by some of the participants in this study. I had been asked to perform a **karanga** in a work context to bring on some new students. I declined this responsibility on this particular day, as I was in the final stages of completing this document, and I knew I was in a state of **mauri rere**. After reading this thesis, you may have gathered that a likely outcome of performing this role while I was in this state was that I would not perform this role correctly. Before the **pōwhiri** began, our **ruahine**[136] asked a poignant question "**Ki te kore mātou i konei, ka aha koutou**?"[137]Although her question may have been specifically related to the matter at hand, what I felt at that time was a real sense of sadness. What would we do without her? What would our language and culture do without her? Each of our native speakers carries the burden of knowing that our language is in danger. While it is not my intention to leave this thesis on a downward note, I feel that as language-learners, we need to be actively seek out factors that will not only enhance our own language abilities, but also be encouraging other learners to ultimately develop near-native levels of proficiency. This study has confirmed for me how important it is as **Māori** HL2 learners to be generous of spirit to others who may be considering, or have already begun, the challenge of learning their heritage language.

Kua tae ki te mutunga o tēnei kaupapa rangahau ki te taha o te tohu kairangi, **heoi anō**, **he nui tonu ngā akoranga kei mua i te aroaro**. **I tuhia tēnei tuhingaroa hei whakaarotanga mā tātou te hunga ako reo**, **me te hunga hiahia ki te ako**, **ahakoa kāore anō pea te tangata kia tīmata ki te ako**. **He nui ngā pēhitanga i runga i a tātou**, **mehemea he āwhina ēnei whakaaro i ngā whāinga o te tangata ki tōna reo Māori**, **ki tōna tuakiri Māori rānei, nōku kē te whiwhi**. **Kia kaha tātou ki te whai i ngā kōmata o te reo Māori ahakoa te teitei o te piki**.

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[136] A respected elderly woman
[137] If we (the caretakers of the marae) weren't here, what would you do?

Glossary

Ako: teaching, learning

Ākonga: students, pupils

Aotearoa: New Zealand

Aroha: love, compassion

Awhiawhi: support

Āhuatanga: aspects

Hapū: subtribe

Haukāinga: home

Hinengaro: mind

Hui: gathering

Iwi: tribe

Iwitanga: **iwi** identity

Kaiako: teacher, mentor

Kaikaranga: female performing a **karanga**

Kāinga: home

Kaiwhaikōrero: male performing a **whaikōrero**

Kapa haka: **Māori** performing arts

Kāpunipuni: to congregate

Karanga: a ceremonial call of welcome to visitors onto a marae

Kauhau: a presentation given using the **Māori** language

Kaumātua: elderly male

Kaupapa: subject, topic

Kīwaha: colloquialisms

Kiwi: native bird, New Zealander

Koha: gift

Kōhanga: nest

Kōrero: talk, speech, discussion

Kuia: grandmother, elderly woman

Kura: school

Kura kaupapa: **Māori** immersion primary school

Mana: authority, control, influence, prestige and power

Manaakitanga: hospitality

Manuhiri: local people of a **marae**

Māori: indigenous people of Aotearoa

Māoritanga: **Māori** identity

Marae: ceremonial area

Māramatanga: knowledge

Matauranga Māori: **Māori** knowledge

Mauri: source of emotions

Mauri rere: to be panic stricken

Mauri tau: absence of apprehension

Mihi: greeting

Ngākau mahaki: mild mannered

Noho marae: sleep over in a **wharenui**

Oho mauri: to be startled, alert

Pae: orators' bench

Pākehā: New Zealanders of European decent

Pākehātanga: **Pākehā** identity

Pao: short, impromptu song

Patu: weapon, club

Pepeha: **whakapapa** affiliations

Pōwhiri: formal welcome

Reo: language

Reo ōkawa: formal language

Ruahine: elderly woman of importance

Tā moko: **Māori** tattoo

Taha Tinana: physical sphere of wellbeing

Takohanga: responsibilities

Tangata whenua: people of the land

Tangi: to cry, grief ceremony

Tangihanga: grief ceremony

Taonga tuku iho: Prized possessions passed down from previous generations.

Tau: settled

Te ao Māori: the **Māori** world

Te huarahi pai: the good path

Te huarahi tika: the correct path

Te reo Māori: the **Māori** language

Tikanga: protocol

Tino rangatiratanga: ultimate self-determination

Tuakiri: identity

Tūrangawaewae: a place that one belongs

Tutuki: to be finished or complete

Tūtuki: to collide or stumble

Utu: reciprocity

Waiora: health

Wairuatanga: spirituality

Wānanga: learning institution

Whaikōrero: formal speech-making

Whakaaro Māori: **Māori** ways of thinking

Whakamā: shame or guilt

Whakapapa: genealogy

Whakataukī: proverbial sayings

Whakawhanaungatanga: building or maintaining relationships

Whānau: family

Whanaungatanga: support from relationships

Whare kura: **Māori** immersion secondary school.

Wharenui: meetinghouse

Whatumanawa: seat of emotions

Wheke: octopus

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TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Information Sheet for Undergraduate Participants

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What is the purpose of this research?

1. The purpose of this study is to understand the experiences of second language learners of te reo **Māori**. As students studying te reo **Māori**, you will be asked about your experiences of learning tikanga alongside studying te reo **Māori**. I am also interested in your ideas about cultural identity and well-being of learners of te reo **Māori**.

Who is conducting the research?

1) We are researchers from both the School of Psychology and Te Kawa a Māui at Victoria University of Wellington. Awanui Te Huia (Ngāti Maniapoto) is conducting research for her PhD thesis and is supervised by James Liu, Rawinia Higgins (Ngāi Tuhoe) and Paul Jose. This study has been approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee under delegated authority of the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee.

What is involved if you agree to participate?

1. If you agree to participate in this study you will be asked to take part in an interview where you will respond to questions such as "Can you describe a challenge that you faced during your learning to speak te reo **Māori** and how you overcame that challenge?". With your permission, the interview will be taped, then transcribed. We anticipate that the interview will take you no more than two hours to complete.
2. Quotes from the interview, not identified by name, will be used in my PhD thesis and publications derived from the interviews.
3. A copy of both the audio recording and the transcript will be given to you for editing in case you would like to either elaborate on sections of the conversation or delete any parts of transcript you are not comfortable with. You will be asked to respond within a month after you have received the transcript, otherwise, it will be assumed that you are comfortable with the transcript.
4. During the research you are free to withdraw, at any point before the interview has been completed.

Privacy and Confidentiality

1. We will keep your consent forms, anonymised transcripts, recordings and demographic information for five years. Consent forms will be stored in a secure location where access

is limited to my supervisors and me. Transcripts will be held as a computer file with password protection.

2. You will never be identified by name in my research project or in any other presentation or publication. The information you provide will be coded by a pseudonym.
3. Your participation in this study will have no impact on your course grade.
4. In accordance with the requirements of some scientific journals and organisations, your coded transcript may be shared with other competent researchers.
5. Your coded transcripts may be used in other, related studies.
6. A copy of the coded interview will remain in the custody of Awanui Te Huia held at Victoria University Wellington.

What happens to the information that you provide?

a) The transcript and demographic information you provide may be used for one or more of the following purposes:

The overall findings may be submitted for publication in a journal, or presented at conferences.

The overall findings may form part of a PhD thesis that will be submitted for assessment.

If you would like to a summary of the key findings of this study, they will be available approximately between September and December 2012 from the following sources:

☐ Emailed to you
☐ Posted to you
☐ Discussed with you over the phone

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact any of the researchers involved with this project.

Awanui Te Huia

Appendix 2: Consent Forms for Both Undergraduate and Advanced Participants

Statement of consent

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time, prior to the end of my participation.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Copy to:

> [a] participant,

> [b] researcher (initial both copies below)

I consent to having our discussion audio taped.

Signature: _____

I would like to receive the audio discussion via email / post (please circle one)

Email address:_____

Postal address:_____

_____

Once findings from this study are put together, I would like a copy of the information

Yes / No.

If you selected yes to the previous question, please select (by circling a numeral below) how you would like to receive the findings.

> Emailed to me
> Posted to me
> Discussed with over the phone (please leave a phone number that you are likely to use
> in the next two years)

Age: _____

Age I began formally learning te reo **Māori**. _____

I would like to choose a pseudonym to be used for this study: Yes/No

Pseudonym: _____

Appendix 3: Interview Schedule for Undergraduate Participants (Qualitative Study)

Part 1: Introduction to the study (approx. 10 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. Experiences of being a language learner (10-15min)
    a) Can you describe the process that you went through to learn te reo **Māori**?
    b) What motivated you to learn te reo **Māori** at university?
    c) Are you continuing to improve your capabilities in te reo **Māori** outside of class? If so, how?
2. Views towards goal attainment (15-20min)
    a) What are your goals for learning te reo **Māori**?
    b) Can you describe a challenge that you faced during your learning to speak te reo **Māori** and how you overcame that challenge?
    c) In your opinion, who in your life can appreciate the achievements you make in your language learning?
    d) What do you think have been the benefits of you learning to speak te reo **Māori**?
    e) When you think about studying te reo, do you think of it as something you should know already? Or something that you'd like to know more about?
    f) What do you think mastery of te reo **Māori** is?
    g) Do you believe that you can or will achieve mastery in te reo **Māori**?

3. Impact of language on cultural efficacy (20-30min)
    a) How would you describe a **Māori** identity?
    b) How has learning te reo impacted your **Māori** identity?
    c) When was your **Māori** identity most salient in your learning?
    d) How would you describe your interaction with the **Māori** culture before you started learning to speak te reo?
    e) Would you say you felt any more or less comfortable in **Māori** environments after beginning to learn to speak te reo **Māori**? Please explain.
    f) Which relationships do you think have been most central in your learning of te reo **Māori**?
    g) Who do you think your role models for learning te reo would be? In general, how have you learnt about **Māori** practices and protocols?
    h) Can you think of a time where you were expected to know how to behave in a **Māori** environment and you got it wrong?
        a. How did you respond?
        b. How did people around you respond?
        c. How did that experience make you feel about yourself as **Māori**?
        d. Who do you usually talk to about things like this, how do you debrief?
    i) Has learning to speaking te reo **Māori** had an impact on your relationships in with **Māori** or **Pākehā**? Please explain.
    j) Are you expected to perform roles in **Pākehā** contexts that you wouldn't have before you started learning to speak te reo **Māori**?

Part 3: Conclusion, includes the exchange of gifts and debrief when necessary (approx. 5-10min)

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Information Sheet for Advanced Participants

Awanui Te Huia	James Liu	Rawinia Higgins
PhD Student	Supervisor	Supervisor
Email: *Awanui.tehuia@vuw.ac.nz*	*James.liu@vuw.ac.nz*	*Rawinia.higgins@vuw.ac.nz*
+64 (4) XXX	*+64 (4) XXX*	*+64 (4) XXX*

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this study is to understand the experiences of second language learners of te reo **Māori**. As experts in te reo **Māori**, you will be asked about how the fostering of mastery is taught to second language learners. I am also interested in your ideas about cultural identity development and well-being in learners of te reo **Māori**.

Who is conducting the research?

We are researchers from both the School of Psychology and Te Kawa a Māui at Victoria University of Wellington. Awanui Te Huia (Ngati Maniapoto) is conducting research for her PhD thesis and is supervised by James Liu, Rawinia Higgins (Ngai Tuhoe) and Paul Jose. This study has been approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee under delegated authority of the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee.

What is involved if you agree to participate?

If you agree to participate in this study you will be asked to participate in an interview where you will respond to questions such as "Can you describe how you would foster mastery of te reo **Māori** in second language speakers?". With your permission, the interview will be taped, then transcribed. We anticipate that the survey will take you no more than two hours to complete.
Quotes from the interview, not identified by name, will be used in my PhD thesis and publications derived from.
A copy of both the audio recording and the transcript will be given to you for feedback.
During the research you are free to withdraw, at any point before the interview has been completed.

Privacy and Confidentiality

We will keep your consent forms and data for at least five years after publication.
You will never be identified by name in my research project or in any other presentation or publication. The information you provide will be coded by number only.
In accordance with the requirements of some scientific journals and organisations, your coded transcript may be shared with other competent researchers.
Your coded data may be used in other, related studies.
A copy of the coded data will remain in the custody of Awanui Te Huia held at Victoria University Wellington.

What happens to the information that you provide?

The data you provide may be used for one or more of the following purposes:
The overall findings may be submitted for publication in a scientific journal, or presented at scientific conferences.
The overall findings may form part of a PhD thesis, Master's thesis or honors thesis that will be submitted for assessment.
If you would like to know the results of this study, they will be available approximately 2012 from the following sources:

      Emailed to you
      Posted to you
      Discussed with you over the phone
If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact any of the researchers involved with this project.

Your participation in this research is invaluable, thank you.

Awanui Te Huia

Appendix 5: Interview Schedule for Advanced Participants

Part 1: Introduction to the study, including confidentiality (approx. 10 mins)

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

1. Learning experiences (10-15mins)
   a) Can you describe the process you went through to learn te reo **Māori**?
   b) What motivated you to learn to speak te reo **Māori** in the first instance?
   c) Did those motivations change as you started to develop greater proficiencies?
   d) Can you describe at which stages those changes occurred, and what prompted those changes in motivation?
   e) How do you maintain your level of fluency?
   f) Can you think of a time were you received negative feedback?
      a. When you received negative feedback (or a bad grade), what was your initial response to the situation?
      b. What were the reasons you gave to yourself about why you may not have achieved what you wanted to?
   g) Are you continuing to improve your capabilities in te reo **Māori**? If so, how?
      a. Who do you speak to?
      b. How do you challenge yourself?

2. Views towards higher levels of language attainment (15-25 mins)
   a) Can you describe what you think mastery of te reo **Māori** would encompass?
   b) In new learning situations, what goals do you set and how do you go about achieving those goals?
   c) How would you describe the feeling you get when you achieve a goal?
   d) Can you describe a challenge that you faced during your learning to speak te reo **Māori** and how you overcame that challenge?
   e) Is the example you provided a general approach you use to overcome challenges?
   f) In your opinion, who in your life can appreciate the achievements you make in your language learning?
   g) Do you believe that you can achieve mastery in te reo **Māori**?
   h) For students who are beginning the process of learning te reo **Māori** what would you suggest they do when they meet a challenging situation?

3. Impact of language on cultural identity and well-being (15-20 mins)
   a) How would you describe cultural well-being and do you think there are any links between mastery of te reo and and wellbeing?
   b) How would you describe Māori identity?
   c) In your experience, when was your Māori identity most salient in your learning of te reo Māori?
   d) Have your language abilities been put to question by others? How did/would you respond? What do you think was the basis of why they chose to challenge your proficiency level?
   e) Do you think learning te reo Māori has influenced your identity? If so how?
   f) At your level of proficiency, what are the benefits you gain from being a speaker of te reo Māori?
   g) How does speaking te reo Māori impact on your ability to engage in Pākehā domains?
   h) How would you describe cultural competency?

Part 3: Conclusion, includes exchange of gifts and debriefing when necessary (5-10 mins)

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Information Sheet

Awanui Te Huia	Prof. James Liu	Assoc. Prof. Rawinia Higgins
PhD Candidate	**Supervisor**	**Supervisor**
Awanui.tehuia@vuw.ac.nz	*James.liu@vuw.ac.nz*	*Rawinia.higgins@vuw.ac.nz*
+64 (4) XXX	*+64 (4) XXX*	*+64 (4) XXX*

What is the purpose of this research?

- This research will tell us about the motivations **Māori** language learners have when studying at university. This study will also explain how the goals people have for **Māori** language learning and how the explanations students make for achievements in class influence future behaviours.

Who is conducting the research?

- Awanui Te Huia is conducting this research as part of her PhD thesis. This research has been approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee under delegated authority of Victoria University of Wellington's Human Ethics Committee.

What is involved if you agree to participate?

- If you agree to participate in this study, you will complete a short survey where you will respond to questions such as "It is important for me to understand the content of this course as thoroughly as possible". We anticipate that the survey will take you no more than 40 minutes to complete.
- During the research you are free to withdraw, at any point before your survey has been completed.

Privacy and Confidentiality

- Please do not write your name on this survey as it is completely anonymous.
- The last four numbers of your cell phone number will be asked of you. This is to match your survey with any future survey's you may complete in semester 2.
- We will keep your survey for five years, after five years, the survey will be destroyed.
- In accordance with the requirements of some scientific journals and organisations, your coded survey may be shared with other competent researchers.
- Your coded data could be used in other, related studies.
- A copy of the coded data will remain in the custody of Awanui Te Huia.

What happens to the information that you provide?

- The data you provide may be used for one or more of the following purposes:
  - The overall findings may be submitted for publication in a scientific journal, or presented at scientific conferences.
  - The overall findings may form part of a PhD Thesis or Masters Thesis, that will be submitted for assessment.

If you would like to know the results of this study, they will be available approximately December 2012 from blackboard.

Thank you for considering participating in this research.

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

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By completing this survey you are giving your consent for the information to be used for Māori language research purposes.

Date of Birth:		Are you male or female?	☐ Male	☐ Female
Course code:		Last four digits of your cell phone number:	___ ___ ___ ___	

Will you continue to study te reo at VUW in semester two?	☐ Yes	☐ No

If you won't be returning, could you briefly explain why?

Did you attend a kaupapa Māori Primary School?	☐ Yes ☐ No	From age……	to……
Did you attend whare kura?	☐ Yes ☐ No	From age……	to……
Did you study te reo Māori as a subject in a mainstream secondary school?	☐ Yes ☐ No	From age……	to……

What is the spoken level of te reo of your parents?

☐ Fluent	☐ Average	☐ Basic fluency	☐ Very minimal	☐ None

How proficient would you say you are right now?

☐ Fluent	☐ Average	☐ Basic fluency	☐ Very minimal	☐ None

How fluent would you like to be in te reo Māori in the next 5 years?

☐ Highly Fluent	☐ Fluent	☐ Basic Conversational	☐ Basic introductions	☐ I'm pretty happy with where I am now

Instructions: This section asks about your target goals, please circle only one answer that best fits your situation.

1.	On average, how many hours do you study te reo **Māori** per week outside of class?	16	12	8	4	1 or less
2.	From an A+ to a E grade, what grade would you hope to achieve for this course?	A+	A	B	C	D	E
3.	If you don't achieve the grade you hope for, what grade would you be satisfied with for this course?	A+	A	B	C	D	E

		Strongly Disagree ⇩						Strongly Agree ⇩
1.	I can identify different grammatical sentence structures in Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I know when it's appropriate to use different types of sentence structures.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I can't really read aloud confidently.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I know most words that I need to in order to have a conversation in te reo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I can speak te reo with ease to other Māori speakers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	I struggle to write in te reo Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	I can comprehend well when Māori speakers speak to me in te reo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	I can understand well what is being said on the marae during karanga or whaikōrero.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	When I speak Maori, I can imitate the sounds of te reo Māori easily.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	In general, I am a good language learner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	How I feel about my cultural identity has nothing to do with whether I receive a good mark in this class.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	How I feel about my cultural identity is one of the main reasons why I've received my highest mark in this class.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	If I receive a bad grade for this class, it's likely to negatively impact on how I feel about my cultural identity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I feel worse about receiving a bad grade in this class than I would in other classes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	If I receive a bad grade in this class, it doesn't really matter that much.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	If I received a good grade in this class it would mean more to me than if I received a good grade in other classes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Definitely NOT			Unsure				Definitely YES
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**		**6**	**7**

1.	I want to learn as much as possible from this class.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	It is important for me to understand the content of this course as thoroughly as possible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I want to completely master the material presented in this class.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I worry that I may not learn all that I possibly could in this class.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	Sometimes I'm afraid that I may not understand the content of this class as thoroughly as I'd like.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	I am often concerned that I may not learn all that there is to learn in this class.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	It is important to me to do better than the other students.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	It is important to me to do well compared to others in this class.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	My goal in this class is to get a better grade than most of the other students.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	I worry about the possibility of getting a bad grade in this class.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	My goal in this class is to avoid performing poorly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	My fear of performing poorly in this class is often what motivates me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Instructions: These next questions asks about your study skills and learning experiences. Please rate how strongly you agree with each of the following statements.							
1. I have trouble figuring out what to do to learn the material.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I'm not sure how to study for this course.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I don't know what to study or where to start.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Regardless of whether I like what we're working on in class, I work my hardest to learn it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I spend extra time and effort understanding the difficult topics.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I work very hard to prepare for the assessments.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. My grades have been pretty good in the past.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Past experiences tell me that I'm a good learner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Up until now, my learning experiences haven't been that good.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. My friends and I have a reputation for being good students.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. It's pretty normal in our group of friends to do well at uni.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Getting good grades is not really a focus in our group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. I really enjoy learning te reo Maori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Learning te reo Māori is a challenge that I enjoy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. I'd practice learning by myself even if no-one knew I was doing so.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Being able to speak te reo Māori will add to my social status.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Increasing my proficiency in te reo will have financial benefits for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. I will be more likely to be considered for more jobs if I speak te reo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Learning te reo Māori is important because it will allow me to interact with others who speak it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Learning te reo Māori is important because it will allow me to interact with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Definitely NOT			Unsure				Definitely YES
1	2	3	4	5		6	7

1. I want to be more a part of the group who speak Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. When someone speaks to me in te reo, I focus on the mistakes that I might be making.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I have an uneasy, upset feeling when I know I will have to speak.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I feel more tense and nervous in Māori speaking environments than in other places.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Since learning te reo, I feel more confident in Māori speaking places.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Since learning te reo, I feel more confident generally.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I don't feel much different in terms of confidence in Māori speaking spaces since I've begun learning te reo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

		Strongly Disagree ⇩						Strongly Agree ⇩
1.	Since learning te reo, I frequently attend gatherings of people in the Māori community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	Since learning te reo, I feel close to the Māori community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Since learning te reo, I have been more involved with other Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	For my whānau/family, spending time together is very important.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	We can easily think of things to do as a whānau/family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	It means a lot to me to be a member of my whānau/family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	My whānau/family is who I talk to when I have troubles.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	I have support from other people in the Māori speaking community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	My whānau/family supports my learning of te reo Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	My friends support my learning of te reo Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	Overall, Māori are considered good by others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	In general, New Zealanders respect Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	In general, others think that Māori are lazy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	Learning te reo Māori has nothing to do with me being a New Zealander.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	Learning te reo Māori connects me to my identity as a New Zealander.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	It is important for me as a New Zealander to learn te reo Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	Learning te reo doesn't really have any impact on my national identity as a New Zealander.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. Do you identify as Māori?	☐ Yes	☐ No

If you answered 'Yes', please skip the next questions continue to the next section. If you answered 'No', please answer the next question.

2. Please rate how you best describe ethnicity:

☐ New Zealander	☐ New Zealand European	☐ Kiwi	☐ Pākehā	☐ Other ☐ _____

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

The next part of this survey contains a list of statements about what you think being Māori means to you personally and how you might feel about being Māori. It is only relevant to people who answered 'yes' to having Māori ancestry.

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 a 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.

		Strongly Disagree ⇩						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.	You can always tell true Māori from other Māori. They're different.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	You can tell a true Māori just by looking at them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	Being Māori is cool.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	True Māori hang out at the marae all the time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	I love the fact I am Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	I don't know how to act like a real Māori on a marae.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	I can't do Māori cultural things properly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	I'm comfortable doing Māori cultural things when I need to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	I reckon being Māori is awesome.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7