Manawa ū
ki te reo Māori

A study of language motivations to enhance the use and acquisition of te reo Māori

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
TE HERENGA WAKA

Authors: Awanui Te Huia, Tai Ahu, Maureen Muller, Ririwai Fox

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Preface

Within the seven-month timeframe in which this report was designed, developed and delivered, two significant government announcements were made, which I anticipate will have a considerable impact on te reo Māori in the near future. The first of these was the announcement of a substantial increase in funding to support Kōhanga reo. The second was Te Ahu o te reo Māori, the pilot programme across four regions that saw the upskilling of staff to use te reo Māori within mainstream compulsory education. It would be worthwhile to consider how these changes impact on the Māori language speaking community in the near future.

These seven months saw the passing of life-long te reo Māori and Māori cultural advocates Hema Temara, Te Wharehuia Milroy, Wiremu Kaa, and Waana Davis to name but a few. The passing of these highly influential leaders creates an immense sense of urgency in the lives of Māori language speakers and language advocates who appreciate the considerable loss to te ao Māori as a result of their passing, and the extensive contributions they made to our Māori language communities.

It must also be said that while our team were collecting data for this project, a number of significant events took place in the area of race relations in Aotearoa. These included the massacre of 51 Muslim men, women, and children by a white supremacist in Christchurch. There was the release of He Waka Roimata: Transforming our criminal justice system (Te Uepū Hāpai i te Ora, 2019) indicating that "the effects of colonisation undermine, disenfranchise and conspire to trap Māori in the criminal justice system and that racism is embedded in every part of it" (p. 03). There were three inquiries into Oranga Tamariki, with the rate of Māori children being taken into state care referred to by many as a modern-day 'stolen generation' of Aotearoa and a fourth inquiry being requested by Māori (McLachlan, 2019). We have also seen the occupation and fight for the reclamation of rights over the land at Ihumātao, a demonstration of tino rangatiratanga led by rangatahi of the mana whenua, further highlighting the present consequences of colonisation and the collective push against such oppression (O'Malley, 2019). These issues, on the surface, may seem unrelated to language revitalisation. However, they are all visible manifestations of colonisation in our society: colonisation which hinders the ability of many Māori to flourish and prosper across a range of economic, socio-political, and Māori language/cultural contexts. These events are likely to have impacted on respondents' feelings while reflecting on te reo Māori motivations and barriers, as well as those of the report writers during the compilation of this research.

Our team worked extensively for the duration of this project to ensure that the results of this study are representative of the views that were shared with us from across Aotearoa. There is more to say on this topic and the recommendations from this report highlight areas for future research which could not be included within the confines of the current study. This report was written with a bilingual audience in mind. The quotes read in the language of which they were delivered during our interviews. The remainder of the report has been written in English. The report concludes by giving readers a list of optimal conditions that would support pre-learners, active learners, and active users to 'right-shift' (Higgins, Rewi, & Olsen-Reeder, 2014) towards increased Māori language engagement and use.

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Me mihi ka tika ki ngā kaikōrero i whai wāhi mai ki tēnei rangahau. Koutou nō ngā tai e whā, ngā uri o te tī, o te tā, katoa koutou e manawa tītī nei ki tō tātou taonga kāmehameha, tēnā koutou. Tēnā koutou i te huhua o ā koutou kōrero, te hōhonu o ō koutou whakaaro mō te haumanutanga o te reo Māori. Me he kōrero whakarāpopoto, e eke ai te reo ki te taumata tika mōna, tēnā, tiakina, kōrerohia![1]

We acknowledge the many hours of time and consideration that participants throughout Aotearoa dedicated to increasing our collective knowledge about factors influencing motivations to learn and use te reo Māori, as well as the challenges that hinder Māori language use or acquisition. We are indebted to you all for the insights and generosity shown to our team in the hope that we may be made aware of factors that could help to support the revitalisation of te reo Māori for future generations to come.

In addition to the considerable thanks that are owed to our participants, we would also like to make note of the contributors to the design and development of this research. Support in the design of the survey used in this study came from Professor Richard Benton (The Polynesian Society/ The University of Waikato), Dr Arama Rata (National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis, The University of Waikato), and Professor Chris Sibley (Psychology Department, The University of Auckland). We are immensely grateful for the expert advice and guidance given by you all.

We also acknowledge the advice given by Associate Professor Maria Bargh (Te Kawa a Māui, Victoria University of Wellington), students from Te Kawa a Māui, volunteers from the Aheiha te reo campaign from Te Matatini, and Māori language speaking whānau and friends of the research team who all supported the pilot testing of the survey. We would also like to thank Dr Ruakere Hond, Mikaia Leach, and Jonathan Kilgour from Te Mātāwai for the advice provided that contributed to the final survey design.

Considerable thanks to Te Matatini, the Aheiha campaign team, and in particular Mere Takoko, for the support in allowing our survey to be made available on the Aheiha App, as well as the support provided to our team through the provision of tablets, entry passes, and uniforms during Te Matatini. Without this support, our quantitative aspects of the results would not have been so informative. Thanks to Paul Meredith and the office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor Māori (VUW) who supported our research team to develop a relationship with Te Matatini.

[1] This report has been designed for a Māori-English, English-Māori bilingual audience. Māori words and passages have been kept in normal text. Translations are at the discretion of the reader.

We also thank those who contributed to the collection of survey responses at Te Matatini, including Venise Clarke, Te Tāruna Parangi, Kahu Haimona, and Alana Haenga O'Brien. The ways in which you all were able to communicate with participants were highly consistent with the principles of Kaupapa Māori methods. While our core research assistants in this project responsible for the majority of transcribing were Alana Haenga O'Brien and Kahu Haimona, we also thank the additional transcribers brought on to assist with the large amount of qualitative data, including Ataria Sharman, Kayla Polamalu, and Ngahuia Maniapoto.

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Considerable thanks also go to Ataria Sharman who helped manage the collation of the report during its final stages, as well as assistance in formatting, analysis of long-answer data, design of tables, proof editing, and helping with the transcription. We are so grateful for the skills that you brought to this research. We also acknowledge Fiona Maddever who provided the final proof edit, and Melissa Fiu who worked on the final formatting of this report. Finally, an acknowledgement to Professor Rawinia Higgins and Associate Professor Māmari Stephens for supporting our RFP that led to this research.

Nā Awanui Te Huia
Project Leader
Manawa ū ki te Reo

Executive Summary

In January of 2019, Te Mātāwai contracted the Victoria University of Wellington Research Trust, and its research team at Te Kawa a Māui, to conduct a national research project that explored the motivations and barriers to Māori language acquisition and use of Māori heritage language by learners and speakers. The objective of this research was to highlight aspects of the decisions that pre-learners, active learners, and active users of te reo Māori make that impact on their Māori language engagement and use. We were also asked to explore the aspects of Māori lives that inhibited the acquisition and use of te reo Māori across a range of areas.

Originally, our team were contracted to include 15 to 20 case studies, and 300 to 400 survey responses in this research. Our team found opportunities to extend the number of participants in the qualitative study to a total of 57 from a range of learner backgrounds and across Aotearoa. The quantitative results included 980 completed survey responses, largely resulting from the collaboration and support from Te Matatini and subsequently, Te Matatini (Aheiha) te reo Māori campaign. We applied a mixed methods approach, which draws from both qualitative and quantitative methods, to this Kaupapa Māori research project because the benefit of having quantitative results was thought to support some of the qualitative narratives that Māori language research has provided over the past decades. Lead researchers held one-on-one interviews and focus group discussions with participants who resided in the following regions: Kaikohe, Tāmaki Makarau, Kirikiriroa, Waipā, Whakatāne, Rotorua, Tauranga, Manawatū, Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, Hokitika, Ōtautahi, and Ōtepoti.

The combined studies indicated that there are an extensive range of factors that contribute to Māori heritage language motivations, and at the heart of the findings is the desire for connection through te reo. Connection to identity, whānau, whakapapa, wairua, marae, and whenua were all central themes highlighted in this study. This study confirmed the need to ensure that initiatives are developed and sustained to support Māori language speakers to connect with Māori language speaking communities. Furthermore, the need to enable whānau to become active users of te reo Māori was essential for enabling normalised, regular Māori language use for those with a range of language proficiency.

The barriers found to Māori language speaking followed previous research findings, indicating that community attitudes and support for te reo Māori have a direct impact on how people feel about Māori language engagement and use across communities. The impacts of colonisation were ever present throughout our findings. Our results also indicated that for learners, learning environments that are facilitated by the teacher and peers have the ability to promote language motivation through positive reinforcement of the learner, or diminish Māori language motivations by causing whakamā. These relationships combined with the style of learning were strongly related to whether participants in this study decided to sustain language learning or halt the process of learning.

This study confirmed that the process of language learning requires a considerable amount of courage, determination, and persistence, as well as social, emotional, cultural, and linguistic support if the individual is to achieve their desired language outcomes. Ways in which Māori heritage language learners can be supported to engage with and use te reo Māori to high degrees of competence are provided in this report.

Key findings

Ko ngā tūhonohono: recognising the importance of connectedness

1. **Connection to Māori identity** was the most highly rated reason why active learners were choosing to learn te reo Māori;
2. **Māori are intimately connected** with te reo Māori through whakapapa. These whakapapa relationships to te reo provide the foundation for language motivations;
3. **Access to understanding** a Māori worldview contributes to sustained language motivations;
4. **There is a strong desire to extend knowledge** about mātauranga Māori through the medium of te reo;
5. **Reconnection** can be made through relationships developed as part of Māori language learning;
6. **Historical trauma** can be healed through engagement with te reo Māori and its associated connections;
7. **Support for connections** to identity, to whakapapa, to whenua, to marae, to whānau, to wairua is necessary and highly beneficial to Māori speakers and learners of te reo;
8. **Māori are able to gain confidence** in themselves and their identity through becoming speakers of te reo; and
9. **The high value that Māori place on te reo Māori,** particularly the connection to identity, contributes to the difficulty Māori language learners experience when language/cultural errors are made.

Ko ngā take whānau: whānau related factors

1. Respondents were most likely to use te reo Māori with their pre-school aged (26.2% = all/mostly Māori), or primary school aged children (26.5% = all/mostly Māori);
2. Visiting whānau/friends was the second most highly-rated occasion where respondents noted that te reo Māori was used (57.6% of responses);
3. There was a drop in the number of respondents who spoke to secondary school aged children (17.5% = all/mostly Māori) compared to use with younger aged children;
4. Parents/grandparents were more likely than non-parents to use te reo Māori in most relationships within the whānau;
5. Although te reo Māori is more widely used in homes where there is a parent-child relationship, parents/grandparents (M = 3.34) were significantly more likely than non-parents (M = 2.44) to report difficulty in managing their commitments in order to study. This quantitative finding was coupled with the qualitative finding that parents found it difficult to find language education where they could both learn and bring their children;
6. Most whānau with children in the qualitative study had one Māori parent who was an active user of te reo Māori;
7. Hearing te reo Māori being spoken (even indirectly) was positive for language motivation;
8. Kuia and koroua who heard te reo Māori being used by younger generations (particularly grandchildren) found this experience healing and uplifting;
9. Rangatahi who were not raised speaking te reo Māori were motivated to learn due to the connections that they felt towards their Māori language speaking kuia and koroua;
10. Whānau who were transitioning households where te reo Māori is spoken more often had direct conversations about language experiences, and devised strategies to improve language use;
11. Toddlers mimic the language being used around them, providing positive affirmation for adults who use te reo Māori with children; and
12. Kōhanga reo with Māori language training for parents achieved increased Māori language use within those whānau.

Ko te taha ako: education related findings

1. Manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, aroha and rangatiratanga were values that were central to positive learning experiences and Māori language outcomes;
2. Language learning environments that demonstrated the value of te reo Māori, demonstrated the beauty of te reo, engaged students' interest, allowed individuals to track their personal progress, had clear instructions and were well organised, and allowed learners to learn through making errors in a safe space, all contributed positively to learner outcomes;
3. Learning environments that took into consideration the socio-historical context of Māori heritage language learners had positive language outcomes for te reo Māori;
4. Learners were likely to blame themselves for their lack of language ability or skill despite the complexities involved with learning a heritage language;
5. Learners who came to understand the barriers to their previous learning of te reo Māori, through understanding processes of colonisation, were relieved of the burden of thinking that their non-language speaker status was their fault. This realisation was freeing, and had positive impacts once this realisation had been made;
6. Implicit and explicit racism experienced by Māori students in mainstream education institutions can have negative impacts on decisions to engage in learning te reo Māori;
7. Rangatahi who did not attend Māori medium education made comparisons between themselves and their peers who were in Māori medium. For some rangatahi, the differences between language capabilities seemed extensive and made language acquisition something that was decided by the type of educational institution a person was enrolled in;
8. Language anxiety was reduced by having fun with te reo, through the use of games in low-stress environments;
9. Both males and females experienced anxiety when they were asked to perform ceremonial roles that put them in a spotlight. Anxiety was particularly heightened in situations where language capabilities did not match the formality of the occasion;
10. The benefit of having Māori language exposure can be maximised when an individual is familiar with the language;
11. Some Māori felt uncomfortable and intimidated by Pākehā learners who appeared to be more adept at learning te reo Māori than their heritage language learning peers; and
12. Recognition by Pākehā learners of te reo Māori would be that there are a number of challenges that Māori heritage language learners are facing, and that compassion is necessary if a bicultural relationship is to develop out of the learning classroom.

Kia tangata whenua te reo Māori ki te iwi nōna te reo: regaining the normalisation of te reo Māori

1. Having employment contributes to occasions where te reo Māori is used. 37.9% of respondents in our study indicated that te reo Māori was an essential part of their job;
2. Of those participants who had a job that required the use of te reo, the main types of employment given in the long answers included teaching, public service, health, advisory roles, and research;
3. Rangatahi reo speakers who were in the process of attaining higher qualifications expressed the expectation that te reo Māori speaking jobs would be made available to them;
4. Being raised in Māori Medium Education provided a sense that being Māori was normal, and also protected rangatahi from forms of racism and discrimination present in mainstream education institutions;
5. Māori medium education also normalised the use of te reo Māori and Māori cultural ways for rangatahi graduates;
6. Having Māori language speaking peers who valued te reo Māori was important for speakers. Through using te reo Māori, friends acknowledged its value;
7. Not everyone felt that they have a right to learn or use te reo Māori despite having a heritage connection;
8. Not all whānau were supportive of te reo Māori use and acquisition. This was most apparent amongst whānau members who had experienced and not been able to process historical trauma. Secondly, whānau who were unsupportive of te reo Māori use or acquisition were not aware of or had not witnessed or experienced the benefits of being a Māori language speaker.

Recommendations

Our research makes the following recommendations to Te Mātāwai, which are supported by more detailed findings in the report:

Recommendations for policy makers

1. Our research has identified a positive trend in some attitudes towards te reo Māori, but there were also parts of society that lack a positive attitude towards te reo Māori. The lack of positive social value attributed to te reo Māori infiltrates the institutions, such as mainstream schools, tertiary education institutions and workplaces. Racism and discrimination are key barriers to encouraging Māori to begin the Māori language learning journey.

We recommend teacher training:

   a) On how to deconstruct racism, including its origins and impacts;
   b) To understand how to demonstrate the value of te reo Māori, and the associated positive benefits of Māori language proficiency;
   c) On how to better integrate te reo Māori in day to day engagement amongst students and learners, particularly those in the early stages of learning Māori; and
   d) To encourage pre-learners to value their cultural identity through role-modelling the value of Māori culture and language to support pre-learners to transition to active language learners.

2. We have found that Māori language acquisition is stymied by high levels of language anxiety and performance stress by learners at all levels of te reo Māori, but particularly those early on in their language learning journey. Language anxiety has the ability to evolve into deep-seated emotions associated with whakamā, with the outcome of reducing Māori language use (and attempted use). In learning contexts, the teacher holds the power to influence the type of values that the class follows. When teachers facilitate the development of learning environments that are encouraging, challenging, and nurturing (whanaungatanga, manaakitanga), and well-structured, these promote positive learning outcomes.

   a) We recommend: financial support to engage teachers in training to better understand the complex issues related to language anxiety for heritage language learners, and their identity-based language learning challenges. Teachers are encouraged to support learners to develop strategies to manage language anxiety that derives from a sense that the learner should know more reo Māori (and Māori cultural related concepts) than they do on entry into their reo Māori studies. Helping to lower the sense of risk and heightening enjoyment in learning environments is key to success in reducing language anxiety, particularly for beginner level learners;
   b) Cultural performance roles should be reserved for those who are sufficiently proficient and well-supported to carry out such tasks. Practicing such roles in safe learning environments prior to being appointed to a role in a non-classroom contexts will aid the Māori speaker for roles they may take on later in their learning journey;

c) Funding needs to be expended to ensure that communities are aware of how to create 'safe' and spaces to practise use te reo Māori outside of the language classroom, encouraging a wide range of individuals with varying levels of fluency to attend and support each other;

d) Continue to apply the professional development strategy set out in Tātai Ako (Ministry of Education, 2011) within compulsory education;

e) Tertiary educators must understand where their Māori medium students are coming from and prepare adequately for changes needed in tertiary education space.

f) Understand that adult learners may have had challenging experiences in the classroom which may impact on their rate of language acquisition or preferred learning style.

g) Take into consideration the preferred learning styles of the learners.

h) Consider teaching te reo Māori through programmes that are not situated within the classroom.

i) Ensure that Māori educators in mainstream schools and Māori medium education settings are adequately resourced and supported through training where possible.

3. A key finding from this study was that proficient Māori speakers were not aware of the benefits of learning te reo Māori until they themselves had reached a state of proficiency. The path towards understanding the benefits attached to Māori language were also reached incidentally as opposed to having a direct pathway set out for the learner. Funding and support should be directed towards emphasising and making learners (and pre-learners) aware of the rewards associated with learning te reo Māori and gaining conversational proficiency. Some of these benefits include the sense of connectedness and affirmation of Māori cultural identity, as well as the instrumental rewards, such as the potential of increased employment options. Increasing the awareness of those who are interested in learning te reo as well as those actively learning about employment options may increase individual's appreciation that te reo Māori has utilitarian functions as well as the ceremonial value attached to the language. Improving understanding that te reo Māori proficiency increases the likelihood of gaining employment that is both meaningfully rewarding, and financially adequate is a key step.

4. Findings demonstrated that Māori businesses provided context for Māori language use. Te reo Māori use was highly valued and positively affirmed by employers and colleagues. As well as providing additional contexts for Māori language use employees were financially rewarded for their reo Māori skills. Māori language speaking employment contributes to the widespread normalisation of te reo Māori outside of educational contexts. Te reo Māori used in employment extends the spaces where te reo Māori is functionally utilised. Employment where reo use is normalised is also positive for te reo Māori use in homes. Our research recommends:

a) Extending Crown agency support for businesses to create strategies for te reo Māori use across a range of sectors;

b) Investing in businesses where te reo Māori is already being actively used and promoted; and

c) Seek opportunities to invest in the expansion of employment options for users of te reo Māori.

4. Further support for initiatives to increase te reo are needed to support the use of the language amongst whānau and in the home. Furthermore, learnings from programmes and initiatives that have demonstrated positive outcomes need to be shared across communities more readily. Giving whānau access to resources and strategies that have successfully been

implemented by whānau across a range of communities would support the active use of te reo Māori. At the moment, the sharing of resources, and knowledge whānau language planning happens in a haphazard way. Such sharing could be administered by a central governing body.

5. Our findings demonstrate that te reo Māori is most used by parents, but that parents are more likely than non-parents to find it difficult to manage time to attend classes. Furthermore, the lack of classes available to parents where they can bring their children to class hinders parents acquisition of te reo. Parents are keen to use te reo Māori with their children but are sometimes 'time poor'. Funding needs to be spent on supporting parents who may want to increase te reo Māori use in the home, by:
   a) supporting te reo Māori courses that allow children to attend (or learn alongside parents);
   b) providing initiatives that support the socialisation of te reo Māori-speaking whānau. These might include supporting parent groups, which are particularly likely to be useful during an individual's parental leave period; and
   c) encouraging programmes that support whānau to increase language use in the home.

6. Support an increase in greater publicisation and profile of te reo Māori in public spaces. Use of Māori in public spaces supports acceptance and normalisation of te reo Māori, thereby increasing and encouraging the acceptance and use of Māori people and Māori language learners. Initiatives that promote the use of te reo Māori amongst speakers within a society are likely to have the greatest impact in terms of shifting attitudes towards a positive orientation.

Recommendations for Māori heritage language learners

1. Understand that te reo Māori is your language and you are right to claim it;
2. Understand that there are historical circumstances which mean that you may be learning your heritage language as an adult or elderly person;
3. Understand that you are not to blame for the fact that you were born into a situation where you may not have had te reo Māori surrounding you;
4. Create relationships with other Māori language speakers, particularly those at your proficiency level and above;
5. Attempt to use te reo Māori with those who are more proficient;
6. Attempt to use te reo Māori with those who are less proficient, including children;
7. Give yourself and others permission to use te reo Māori;
8. Identify and utilise your reo Māori kaupapa whānau through consciously creating regular reo-based occasions to meet and interact;
9. Expand the number of spaces where you can safely use and practise using te reo Māori;
10. Understand that language learning does shift towards language proficiency;
11. Practise envisaging yourself as a competent speaker of te reo Māori;
12. Understand that there are identity risks to learning te reo Māori, but there also rewards;
13. Understand that everyone who is a second language learner makes mistakes and that these language related errors are part of the process of becoming more proficient;
14. The Māori heritage language learner identities are complex. However, identity can be a central motivation for language acquisition;

15. By linking one's Māori identity to language proficiency, the risk of language failure (or making public language errors) is heightened;
16. Understand that there are specific pressures on men and women that impact on their desire to engage with, learn and use te reo;
17. Cultural roles create high pressure learning environments. There are high risks in formal cultural engagements, but if a learner is well prepared for the occasion and the task is performed well, the individual can reap significant cultural rewards;
18. Having a wairua connection with te reo Māori is normal; and
19. There are age related factors to language learning, and different motivations for learners of different groups, which are all valid.

Recommendations for language speakers / users

1. Continue to engage in environments where you are expected to use te reo Māori;
2. Create boundaries surrounding the types of cultural roles that you are capable of engaging in;
3. Challenge yourself to push those boundaries within safe learning spaces;
4. Continue to encourage others to use te reo Māori within your relationships;
5. Continue to seek employment where te reo Māori is either safely used or a prerequisite;
6. Consider allowing those with less proficiency the opportunity to engage in Māori language speaking;
7. Consider the types of public narratives that are dominantly expressed by power holders in te ao kōrero Māori, and whether these are supportive of individuals who may wish to attempt to use te reo Māori;
8. Create private spaces where irritations regarding second language acquisition can be expressed.

Recommendations for employers

1. Understand that the Māori language workforce is ready and capable across a range of skill sets; and
2. Extend the current perceptions around the types of jobs where te reo Māori is used (especially outside of education spaces).

Recommendations for whānau (including whānau kaupapa reo Māori)

1. In two-parent families, having a partner who is supportive of te reo Māori use helps Māori language use.
2. Children encourage parents and grandparents to use / learn te reo Māori; harness this enthusiasm.
3. Find kaupapa kōrero to discuss where you have a common interest.
4. If you are in Māori medium education, engage with other whānau who are on a similar language path to your whānau.
5. Create opportunities to use te reo Māori within the whānau.
6. Socialise with others who have similar whānau language goals.
7. Create and use whānau language plans.
8. Establish norms and expectations around when and where te reo Māori is used. Creating Māori language only domains is particularly effective.
9. If possible, attend rumaki reo situations as a whānau that force whānau members to use te reo Māori with members that they may not usually converse with in te reo Māori.
10. Understand that there are gender gaps, with more women speakers of te reo Māori than men.
11. Work out ways in which both genders within the whānau can be supported to increase their reo Māori competencies.

12. Understand that there are some conversations that need to be held between members of the same gender – sharing of experiences as either male or female.
13. Consider creating or extending safe spaces for whānau members to feel vulnerable in their language use. This requires the absence of negative evaluation or judgement for Māori language attempts or use.
14. Speakers of te reo Māori support those who have less fluency by demonstrating to other whānau members that you are a safe person to speak with and are encouraging of language attempts.
15. Learners of te reo Māori, identify safe individuals within the whānau who they can test te reo Māori with; once comfortable in these identified relationships, extend your comfort zones to incorporate others.
16. Foster discussions between generations of speakers and non-speaking whānau members to identify how each generation can be best supported to encourage the use of te reo Māori.
17. Encourage te reo Māori to be used in informal contexts to allow users to have fun with the language.

Recommendations for hapū and iwi

1. Continue to create safe environments where te reo Māori can be used as the dominant language of communication.
2. Continue to create and engage in hui where te reo Māori is used.
3. Create space to debrief, reject and collectively cope with the negative impacts of racism.
4. Consider the employment opportunities that could be created within iwi which foster the use of te reo Māori.
5. Consider increasing the corpus base of 'reo ā-iwi'.
6. Develop and deliver more resources that focus on the dialectal variations within iwi.
7. Make such resources available to those iwi members living outside of the rohe.
8. Understand that there are challenges for both younger speakers and older speakers of te reo Māori.
9. Consider holding conversations that examine how younger and older generations can work together for the mutual benefit of te reo Māori.
10. Consider how te reo Māori can be used as a tool for healing historical trauma within iwi.

Recommendations for Pākehā language learners:

1. Understand that you are likely to have learning strategies and skills that you may be able to offer your language learning peers.
2. Understand that by learning te reo Māori, you are contributing to an increased acceptance of te reo Māori by mainstream New Zealand.
3. Understand that by learning te reo Māori, you are increasing the potential to have te reo Māori spoken in more mainstream spaces.
4. Establish support groups for Pākehā learners of te reo Māori that discuss concepts such as:

a. Understanding that there are historical circumstances which make learning te reo Māori for Māori heritage learners challenging and that these challenges are dissimilar to the challenges that you may face as a non-heritage language learner.

b. Understanding that many Māori do not have the ability to speak te reo Māori due to systematic colonial design.

c. Being mindful that due to the history of colonial dispossession that impacts on Māori, some Māori may feel perturbed or whakamā by Pākehā being more proficient at te reo Māori than Māori heritage learners.

d. Understanding that manaakitanga in the way that support is offered is crucial to relationship development in language learning contexts, and more broadly.

e. Understanding that bicultural relationships need to be developed in Māori language spaces and that bicultural relationships take time and considerable amounts of nurturing.

Recommendations at a national level

1. Acknowledge and understand the sacrifices that have been made for te reo Māori to be used in today's context.
2. Invest in activities that support the normalisation of te reo Māori across a range of contexts.
3. Invest in decolonisation training for teachers and learners of te reo Māori.
4. Consider the impact of interpersonal racism directed towards Māori in compulsory education settings.
5. Consider investing in anti-racism training within schools.
6. Invest in teachers continuing to upskill in Māori language teaching.
7. Invest in training to demonstrate the ways in which colonisation impacts on individual responses to language acquisition.

Background

Te reo Māori and its speaker population continue to evolve under a variety of socio-political conditions. The environment in which te reo Māori continues to survive and thrive is ever changing. Language cannot be analysed in isolation, as it is a direct product of the environment in which it is situated. This report attempts to capture some of the lived experiences of Māori language speakers and learners across Aotearoa through the use of a mixed methods approach.

This research project was named "Manawa ū ki te reo Māori". Similar to the whakataukī, "He pōporo tū ki te hamuti" (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 110), the title of this research captures the fact that te reo Māori speakers continue to grow and prosper despite the harsh indigenous language conditions. Motivation theorists describe second language 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" (Gardner, 1985, p. 10). "Manawa ū ki te reo Māori" was chosen as it highlights the enduring persistence that is required in order to achieve near native proficiency in te reo Māori for second language learners. This research project was tasked with identifying factors that may motivate Māori to engage with te reo Māori, actively learn and be active users. This project also identifies ways in which Māori may be dissuaded from language engagement (pre-learners), acquisition, and Māori language use.

Manawa ū ki te reo Māori is a research project funded by Te Mātāwai (Mātāwai, 2019), which is focused on addressing goals outlined within Te Maihi Māori. One central goal under Te Maihi Māori is improving te reo Māori use in iwi and communities, and in homes. Further to this, a goal is to support whānau (within homes) to "re-establish and maintain te reo Māori as a first language". Far-reaching goals of this strategy are to have 1,000,000 speakers of te reo Māori in community immersion domains by 2040. The strategy also aims to have 25% of all Māori children aged 0-7 speaking te reo Māori as their first language of communication.

This research is premised on the understanding that our Māori cultural orientation is based on concepts of interconnection. In support of this assumption, Mikaere (2010) explains how the notion of whakapapa encapsulates our sense of connectedness. She indicates that

> *"whakapapa establishes that everything in the natural world shares a common ancestry. With this knowledge of interconnection comes an acute awareness of interdependence which, in turn, fosters the realisation that our survival is contingent upon the nurturing of relationships, both with one another and with the world around us" (p. 225).*

A whakapapa connection to te reo Māori means that through the connections that we have with our tūpuna, Māori are innately connected to te reo Māori, irrespective of our current level of language competence. Access to resources and tools that facilitate the development of a relationship with te reo Māori is something not afforded to all Māori. Access to support and factors that help to nurture a Māori cultural identity are covered within this report. Māori identity related factors are highly likely to be related to heritage language motivations as demonstrated by previous research (King, 2009; Rātima & May, 2011; Te Huia, 2013).

From the perspective of language motivation theorists, Māori heritage motivations for language learning are most likely to be connected with integrative motivation (Gardner, 2001).

This motivation type is based on the concept that a prospective learner is likely to want to learn a language based on their desire to connect with the target language speaker population. However, it can be argued that the complexities associated with Māori heritage language learning cannot be accurately captured solely within this description. Māori heritage language learners are living in a range of socio-political conditions that require a greater level of analysis to understand the ever-changing nature of language motivation, acquisition and use.

This report aims to provide examples of lived experiences of Māori who have openly discussed why it is that they want to use te reo Māori, as well as the reasons they are deterred from Māori language use. Perceptions towards te reo Māori within communities were thought to have an impact on Māori language motivations. Hutchings et al. (2017) found that although there may be a superficial recognition of te reo Māori through signage in communities, participants "felt challenged by negative attitudes towards Māori people and language. Such challenges made them feel whakamā and sometimes cause them to stop speaking Māori for years" (p. 53).

A report prepared for government 20 years ago has been released this year by Benton and Benton (1999). The report provides some practical measures to include in education policy initiatives to support Māori language revitalisation. At the top of the list, they state: "The revitalisation of the Māori language is primarily a matter of sustainable economic, cultural and economic development, and like all such matters can be accomplished successfully only if those who are supposed to benefit from the development process can exercise their sovereignty in relation to it" (p. 7). Ultimately, they are describing the importance of tino rangatiratanga, and sustainable economic development at the heart of language shift. The links between economic wellbeing and sustainability, tino rangatiratanga and language retention have long been understood and documented by language revitalisation specialists and indigenous rights activists (Fishman, 1991; Mufwene, 2002; Thiong'o, 1986). In order to understand how these connections are being made in a reo Māori context in 2019, our research examined how employment impacts on Māori language motivations.

Sir Hēmi Henare explains, "Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Despite the statement being made over 30 years previously, it still holds that te reo Māori is intertwined with mana. The language permits individuals to occupy varying identity positions and has the ability to create links between its speakers and the world view of our tūpuna. With this in mind, any research that is carried out to understand the relationships that Māori heritage learners or users have to te reo Māori is likely to be drenched in layers of complex emotions. The courage and healing that is required for many pre-learners, learners and users of te reo Māori to reach high levels of proficiency is likely to be extensive given the historical trauma inflicted through processes of colonisation as documented in numerous Waitangi Tribunal reports (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, 2011).

The introduction of new technologies, social media platforms, the continual rise of Māori language in a range of educational resources (including waiata Māori and the contributions made by Māori artists), and the expansion of Māori business, all provide new avenues that Māori heritage language users can communicate within, using te reo. There are positive trends that are also explored within this study. By identifying ways in which current pre-learners, learners and users of te reo Māori are motivated to extend their Māori capabilities, and the barriers that they face in the current day, we are more prepared to understand how to support the aspirations outlined in the Maihi Māori.

Methods and methodology

Kaupapa Māori Methodology

The principles of Kaupapa Māori methodology were applied to this research, a methodology that is used to create space for discussions about how research can best meet the needs of Māori whilst questioning the deficit-based model (Waetford, 2008) and contributing to transformative change. Kaupapa Māori research is often referred to as research that is conducted by Māori, for Māori, with Māori (Cram, Smith, & Johnstone, 2003). Kaupapa Māori research assumes that Māori, their language, and their culture are at the centre of the research process (Durie, 1997; Pihama, 2012; Smith, 2013)

The research team were aware of and ensured that their research was informed by tikanga Māori, including the principles of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. Using a Kaupapa Māori approach that validates the experiences of whānau ensured they were comfortable and open to sharing during the interview process.

Other practices included (Smith, 1999, p. 120):

- Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)
- Kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face)
- Titiro, whakarongo... kōrero (look, listen...speak)
- Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
- Kia tūpato (be cautious)
- Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people)
- Kaua e mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge)

The research team utilised and implemented Kaupapa Māori methodology both in the preparation for and conduct of interviews, as well as after the interviews were concluded. For example, this included recognising the many difficult experiences of interviewees in their language learning journey, providing kai at interviews and focus group meetings, and ensuring that focus group interviews were opened and closed with appropriate karakia and formalities. Being supportive of those who shared personal stories, both at the time of the interview and within our analysis and write up of our findings, was a priority for our research team.

Methods

This research project utilised a mixed-methods approach of both qualitative and quantitative data by employing a combination of surveys, focus group interviews and one-to-one interviews. Using both a qualitative and quantitative approach provides additional evidence and support for the findings and brings together the strengths of both approaches (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). A mixed methods approach allows for the voice of the participants to be heard and interpretation of observations.

Qualitative research contributes to an understanding of social phenomena, thereby recognising the value of participants' experiences (Patton, 1990). A qualitative approach is often employed by Māori researchers as it acknowledges the voice of participants (Moewaka Barnes, 2006). Positioning researchers as cultural insiders, conducting the research through a Māori cultural framework, helps to ensure a balance of power throughout the research process (Hond, 2013). A key consideration of qualitative research is its ability to validate the participants' contributions, thereby giving them a voice and ensuring the research process is a means of empowerment (Tiakiwai, 2015).

Many of our participants had stories to share about their experiences in learning te reo Māori or being excluded from learning te reo Māori. Seen as an important part of the healing process, pūrākau, and storywork, provides a powerful opportunity for the sharing of individual and collective cultural narratives of lived experiences. In the words of Jo-ann Archibald, storywork endeavours to "educate the heart, mind, body and spirit" (Archibald, 2008). Pūrākau as an approach uses traditional knowledge systems to create new stories about our contemporary lives (Archibald, Lee-Morgan, & J De Santolo, 2019). Glimpses of these stories will be shared throughout the research report. It should be acknowledged that some of these stories were deeply personal, as many participants gave voice to the language anxiety and identity-related challenges inherent to learning a heritage language in a settler colonial nation.

Study 1: Quantitative Methods

Participants

A total of 1049 individuals from age 17 participated in this study. However, due to systematic branching of questions and some missing responses the total number of responses fluctuates per question. A total of 69 participant responses were not able to be utilised due to significant missingness, meaning that a total of 980 responses were the number of responses that we were left with who had largely completed the questions that applied. Participants include 219 males, 749 females and 9 who preferred gender self-identification. Participants were able to self-identify gender. The mean and median age-range of participants was 31-35 years.

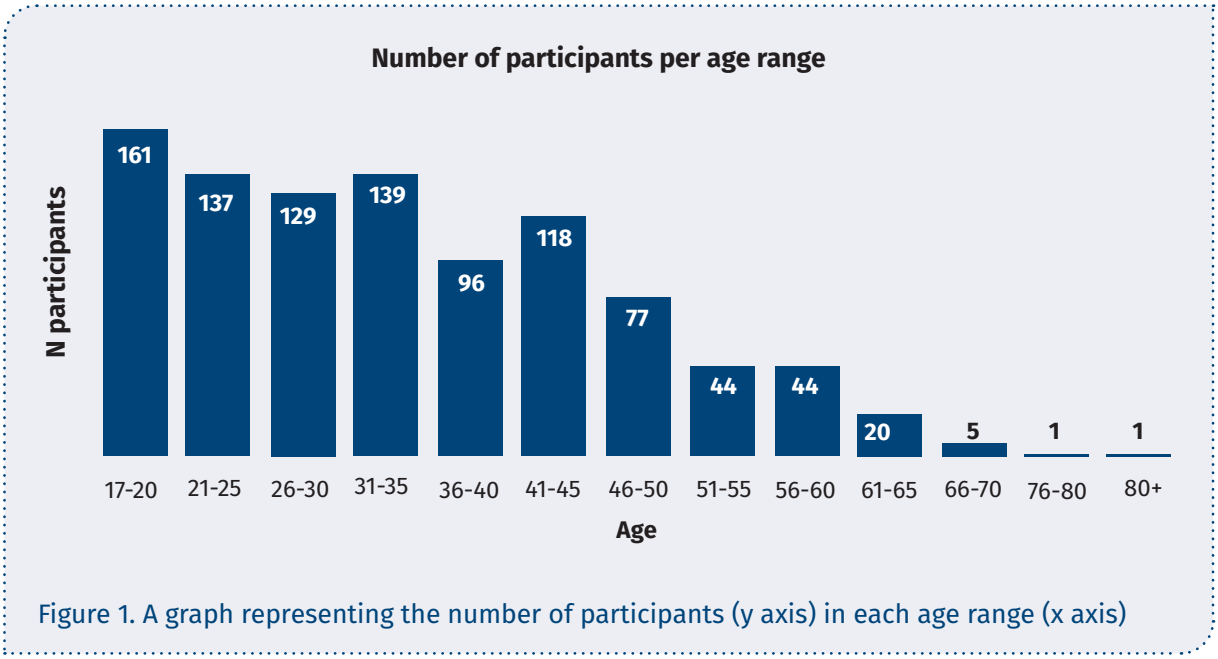


Figure 1. A graph representing the number of participants (y axis) in each age range (x axis)

Of these individuals, 520 identified as Māori, 87 identified as Pākehā/New Zealand European and 205 identified with both. Many participants identified with other ethnicities including Samoan, Cook Islander, Niuean, Chinese, and Indian. 542 participants reported being parents or grandparents.

Participants came from around the country. There was particularly strong representation from Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara (345 participants), because of the number of participants who completed the survey at the Te Matatini festival held in Wellington.

The table below shows regional representation based on participants' residence.

Table 1. Regional count for quantitative study

Regional count for quantitative study			
No	Region	Count	%
1	Ahitereiria/Australia	33	3.1%
2	Heretaunga/Hawkes Bay	49	4.7%
3	Kāpiti/Porirua	49	4.7%
4	Manawatū-Whanganui	62	5.9%
5	Murihiku/Southland	9	1.0%
6	Ōtakou/Otago	4	0.5%
7	Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland	97	9.2%
8	Taranaki	15	1.4%
9	Orongomai /Te Awakairangi/Hutt Valley	25	2.4%
10	Te Moana a Toi/Bay of Plenty	103	9.8%
11	Te Tai Poutini/West Coast	4	0.5%
12	Te Tai Tokerau/Northland	47	4.5%
13	Te Tairāwhiti/East Coast	26	2.5%
14	Te Tau Ihu/Top of the South	10	1.0%
15	Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara/Wellington	345	33%
16	Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa/Gisborne	26	2.5%
17	Waikato/Tainui	102	9.8%
18	Wairarapa	14	1.3%
19	Waitaha/Canterbury	29	2.8%
Total Regions Entered:		**1049**	**100%**

Recruitment and process

The survey Manawa ū ki te reo was distributed through a range of networks and forums. One key forum was Te Matatini ki te Ao hosted in Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara. Te Matatini had enabled our survey to be uploaded to their app which was a part of the Aheiha campaign to promote the use of te reo Māori throughout Te Matatini. Some participants completed the survey at home via the app, while others completed the survey at Te Matatini. Individuals were approached during Te Matatini by one of five female researchers or research assistants to take part in the survey. Participants had the option of completing the survey on a tablet or having one member of our research team read the research questions aloud and having the respondent indicate their response on a 5-point Likert scale. Koroua and kuia who participated in this study generally preferred to have the questions read aloud. During this process of responding aloud to

the questions, participants tended to share their personal stories regarding their reo Māori journey. These were discussed amongst the research team and contributed to the qualitative questions asked in the subsequent study.

The online survey link was also shared with students from Victoria University of Wellington. Students enrolled in Māori language classes were provided information about the project and invited to take part in the online survey. Students were provided with a chocolate bar during the information sharing session. The link was also shared with pouako from Te Ataarangi who invited students to complete the survey.

All participants went into a draw to win a range of vouchers totalling $2,500 in prizes. The prize draw included $20, $50, $100, and one $500 voucher for their participation. Prize winners either collected their prizes at a designated spot or were sent the prize via post if they were unable to pick up the prize directly.

Research tools

As a research team, we considered the factors that might impact on motivation or inhibitions towards Māori language use. Our research team comprised researchers from different academic backgrounds, including Māori studies, psychology, Māori business, law, and whānau and community language planning. We drew from our knowledge of previous research with Māori language communities in a diverse range of contexts. The survey topics include: domains of use, exposure to other speakers, the role of employment, community value of te reo Māori, attitudes toward te reo, cultural roles and responsibilities, the experiences of parents and grandparents, and identity-based motivations.

To explore some of the barriers to use the study included questions about the use of te reo Māori in the home, language anxiety and constraints to learning such as access, managing commitments and financial barriers. Once a copy of the survey had been designed, we checked the survey with a range of expert advisors, who are listed in the acknowledgements section of this report. The expert advice was largely sought on language, survey design development, and analysis.

We ran a pilot study of 40 responses. These responses were used to assess clarity of statements made within the survey, testing whether the survey flowed logically and whether the survey questions were directly relevant to the differing groups responding to questions. Amendments were also requested by Te Mātāwai, all of which contributed to the final survey. A final copy of the survey is attached as Appendix A.

As we were testing to understand a vast range of experiences, including those from non-learners, learners, through to competent users of te reo Māori, there were a number of differing branches within the survey. Therefore, survey respondents were asked questions about their proficiency level, employment situation and ethnic identity. Branching of survey questions contributes to the varying number of responses throughout the survey.

This study was approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee. The Ethics Committee process also considered Māori cultural appropriateness issues.

Study 1: Quantitative Results

Background

The survey questions drew from a range of previous Māori language and language motivation studies (Elliot, McGregor, & Gable, 1999; Hutchings et al., 2017; Statistics New Zealand, 2001, 2013; Te Huia, 2013). New survey items were developed by the Project Leader and the research team, informed by the contract with Te Mātāwai. In instances where new survey items were developed, as well as when a survey item was adapted from another survey these are listed in the corresponding section below. The key purposes of the survey were to:

- Understand the fluency and proficiency of participants across age brackets;
- Assess the amount of te reo Māori spoken within whānau (between spouses and partners, parents and other members) and language communities (pre-school, primary school etc);
- Identify the occasions and domains and contexts where te reo Māori is predominantly used;
- Compare language use across participants with different levels of proficiency;
- Assess the motivations of current and past learners of te reo Māori;
- Assess how employment assisted te reo Māori use;
- Identify the barriers to those at different levels of proficiency; and
- Identify whether community language attitudes affect individual attitudes towards te reo Māori.

Summary findings have been included under each of the main questions.

1. Language proficiency

A total of four fluency questions were asked regarding spoken language, reading, writing, and understanding. The Manawa ū ki te Reo Survey utilised survey items from the 2001 Survey on the Health of the Māori Language (Statistics New Zealand, 2001) as these were also utilised in the most recent Te Kupenga Survey (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), which gave us data to compare our findings with. These four items were combined and the average for each participant was taken to gain a mean fluency score. These items were ordered from 1 to 5: 1 being 'no more than a few words or phrases', 2 being 'not very well', 3 being 'fairly well', 4 being 'well', and 5 being 'very well'. The average fluency score was around the midpoint ($M = 3.10$). As expected, those who indicated that they were competent speakers of te reo Māori ($M = 4.24$) had significantly greater fluency scores ($F(1, 722) = 914.26$, $p < .001$) than those who did not report being competent ($M = 2.42$).

Table 2. Comparison of self-reported fluency of participants from Te Kupenga Statistics (TK) and Manawa ū ki te Reo Survey (MŪ).

Fluency of spoken reo											
Age range		Well/Very well		Fairly well		Not very well		No more than a few words or phrases		Total Number	
TK	**MŪ**	**TK**	**MŪ**	**TK**	**MŪ**	**TK**	**MŪ**	**TK**	**MŪ**	**TK**	**MŪ**
15-24	**17-25**	8%	35%	13%	16%	33%	24%	46%	25%	131500	305
25-34	**26-35**	11%	33%	15%	27%	33%	26%	42%	15%	85500	248
35-44	**36-45**	10%	33%	11%	26%	34%	26%	45%	15%	87500	214
45-54	**46-55**	8%	30%	11%	21%	32%	26%	49%	24%	79000	121
55+	**56+**	17%	18%	10%	40%	29%	24%	45%	18%	86500	62

As demonstrated in Table 2 above, the number of overall respondents is higher in the national Te Kupenga study (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). However, the proficiency rates of those from the Manawa ū ki te Reo study are considerably higher across all age brackets. Notably, these age brackets are slightly different between data sets but by no more than two years.

Summary finding 1: Higher proficiency rates across all age brackets compared to the Te Kupenga statistics, though a lower number of respondents took part in the Manawa ū ki te Reo study.

Table 3. Comparison of Language Use of Participants from Te Kupenga Statistics (TK) and Manawa ū ki te Reo Survey (MŪ).

Amount of te reo Māori spoken								
	All / mostly Māori		Māori equally with English		Some Māori		No Māori	
Person spoken to:	**TK**	**MŪ**	**TK**	**MŪ**	**TK**	**MŪ**	**TK**	**MŪ**
Parents	1.6%	10.5%	10.5%	18.8%	40.8%	48.6%	47.1%	22.2%
Spouse/partner	2.4%	12.2%	7.6%	13.1%	46.0%	46.0%	44.0%	28.7%
Pre-school children	7.2%	26.2%	11.1%	16.5%	63.4%	35.2%	18.3%	22.1%
Primary school children	5.5%	26.5%	11.7%	18.2%	62.0%	34.7%	20.9%	20.5%
Secondary school children	4.7%	17.5%	9.5%	19.0%	58.4%	36.0%	27.4%	27.5%

Figure 2 below demonstrates who the Manawa ū respondents converse with in te reo Māori. Pre-school and primary school aged children were most likely to be conversed with in te reo Māori, with a spouse or partner being the person least likely to be conversed with in te reo Māori. These are similar to findings from Te Ahu o te Reo Māori overview report (Hutchings et al., 2017).

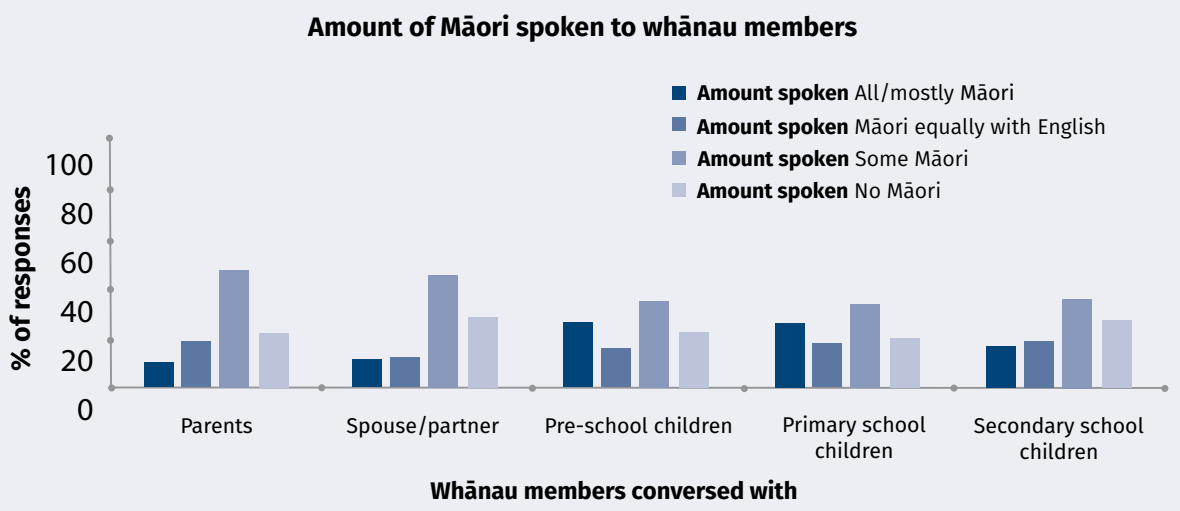


Figure 2. The amount of te reo Māori spoken at home (legend) separated by percentage of total responses (y axis) for each whānau member category (x axis).

Figure 3 below shows the people or contexts where te reo Māori was most likely and least likely to be used. As the participants in this study were all over the age of 16, the scores outlined in Figure 3 demonstrates responses expected of participants 17 and older. A younger cohort of Māori participants may be more likely to use te reo Māori in sporting events, for instance. However, for adult respondents, attending hui, visiting relatives/friends and work were the three most prominent places where te reo Māori was used.

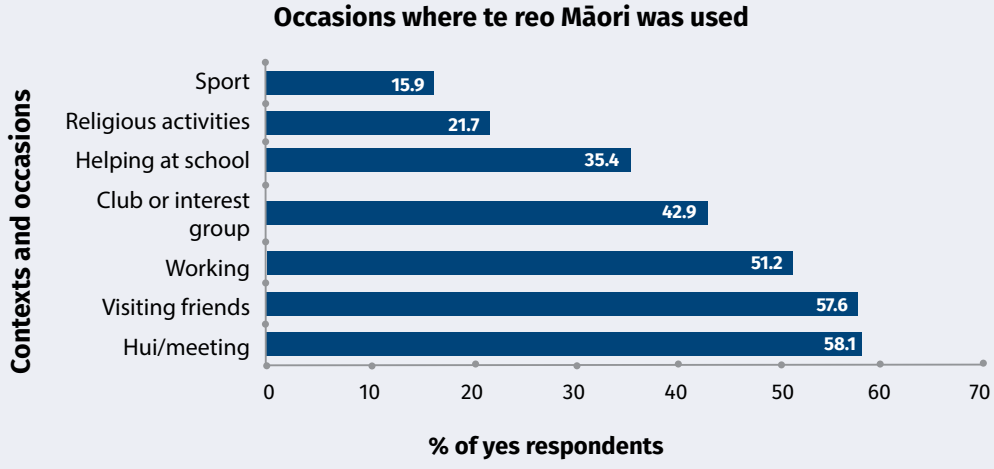


Figure 3. Occasions or activities (y axis) where te reo Māori is frequently used. X axis represents the percentage of respondents who agreed that te reo Māori was being used in these contexts for them.

Summary finding 2: Te reo Māori most likely to be used in hui/meetings, while visiting relatives/friends, or at work.

For the purpose of understanding the motivations and barriers of competent speakers and non-speakers the survey also requested that participants self-identify whether they viewed themselves as competent speakers of te reo Māori. Of the total number of participants, 340 individuals identified themselves as competent speakers of te reo Māori. There were a number of different questions (as well as overlapping questions) asked of both groups depending on their competency. These are explored below.

2. Whānau level factors for te reo Māori use (including whānau kaupapa reo Māori)

The way that the question was posed, participants were asked whether they were parents/grandparents or non-parents. From these responses 339 participants indicated that they were parents or grandparents. A total of 383 participants indicated that they were not parents or grandparents, combining to make a total of 722 responses for this question as reported in Figure 4. There were more participants who were non-parents than parents in this study.

Figure 4 below demonstrates that there were relatively similar proportions of competent speakers and non-competent speakers across both groups.

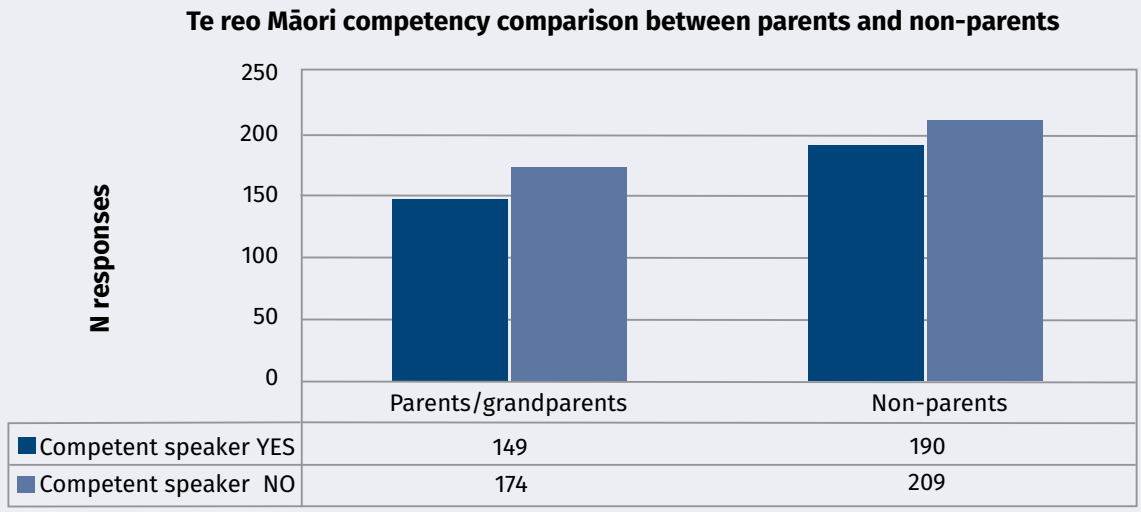


Figure 4. Number of individuals who reported their competency in te reo Māori. Comparison between parents/grandparents and non-parents/grandparents.

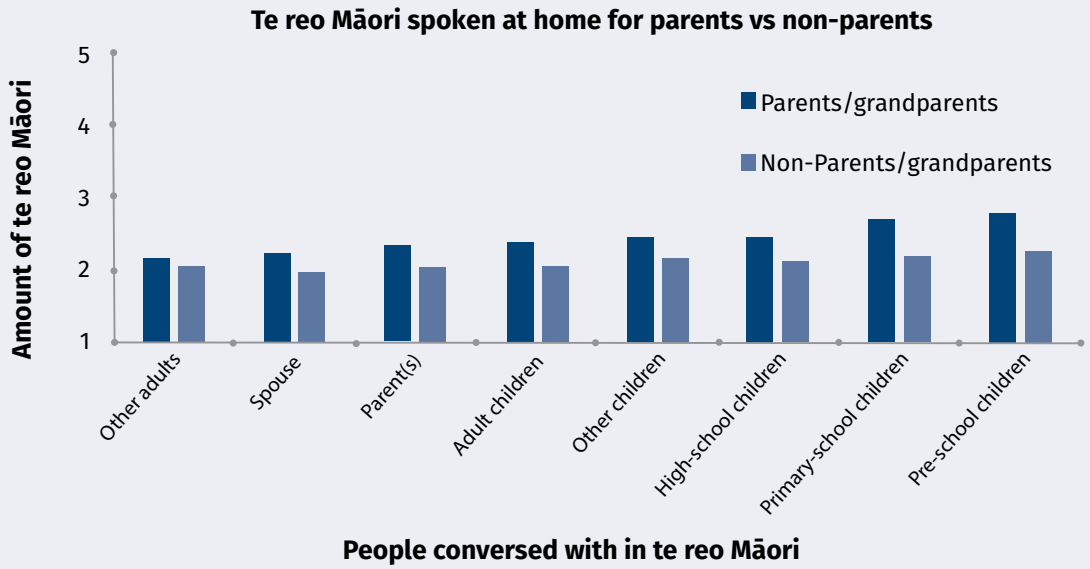


Figure 5. A comparison between parents and grandparents in the amount of reo Māori being spoken (y axis) to members of the household (x axis).

Figure 5 shows that parents and grandparents are more likely than non-parents to use te reo Māori in most relationships within their whānau. Table 4 demonstrates that, with the exception of other adults in the home, there is a small but significant disparity between the amount of te reo spoken between whānau members in the home. However, none of these responses are above the midpoint where 3 indicate te reo Māori is used equally with English, indicating that English is the dominant language being used by both groups. Non-parents include younger participants, therefore, the relationships that are listed, such as 'spouse', and 'adult children' would not be applicable to some of the younger respondents.

Summary finding 3: Parents and grandparents are more likely to use Māori than non-parents/grandparents but English remains the dominant language of the home.

Table 4. Mean scores and one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) results comparing parents and non-parents in how much te reo Māori they speak to other whānau members in the home.

	Parents/ grandparents (M)	Non-Parents/ grandparents (M)	F	DF	p
Other adults	**2.16**	2.06	1.43	1, 594	0.232
Spouse	**2.22**	1.97	9.97	1, 720	0.002
Parent(s)	**2.33**	2.03	21.26	1, 878	< .001
Adult children	**2.37**	2.05	6.52	1, 407	0.011
Other children	**2.43**	2.17	4.42	1, 383	0.036
High school children	**2.44**	2.11	6.82	1, 406	0.009
Primary school children	**2.71**	2.20	15.54	1, 512	< .001
Pre-school children	**2.76**	2.26	16.5	1, 498	< .001

While they were found to have more te reo Māori in their homes, parents/grandparents (M = 3.34) were also significantly more likely than non-parents (M = 2.44) to report difficulty in managing commitments in order to study te reo Māori (F (1, 88) = 11.30, p = .001).

Summary finding 4: Parents more likely to have more te reo Māori in their homes. Yet, they are more likely to report difficulty managing commitments to study te reo Māori than non-parents/grandparents.

3. The differences of Māori language use by those with greater fluency and those with less fluency

For the following analyses, spoken, written, understanding, and reading fluency were combined, and a mean was generated for each participant. Mean fluency scores were split with scores greater than 3 categorised as high fluency, with scores of 3 or below categorised as low fluency.

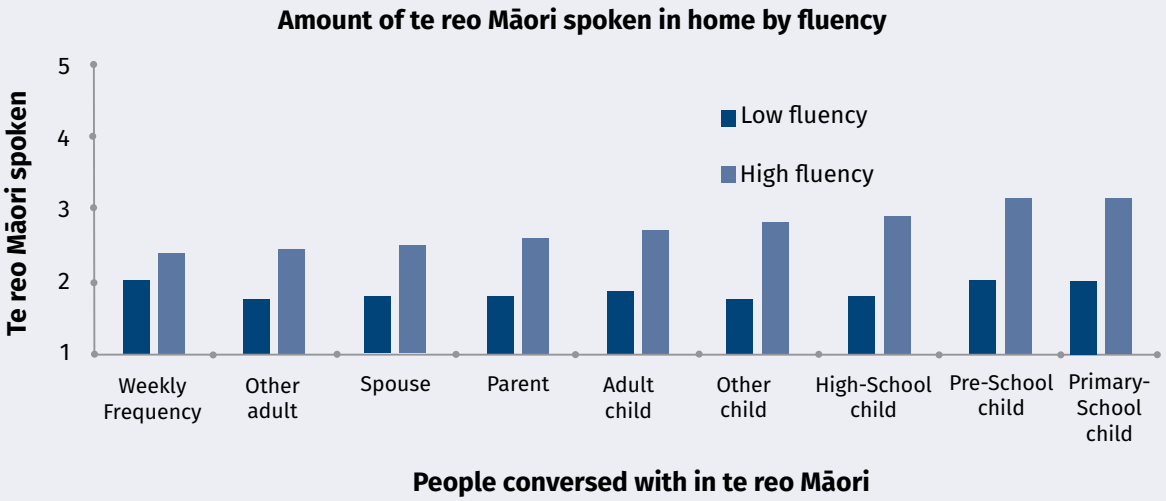


Figure 6. Comparison between high and low te reo Māori fluency by the amount of te reo Māori spoken (y axis) to different whānau members at home (x axis).

Summary finding 5: For all whānau members, low fluency learners tend to use te reo Māori less in the home than high fluency learners.

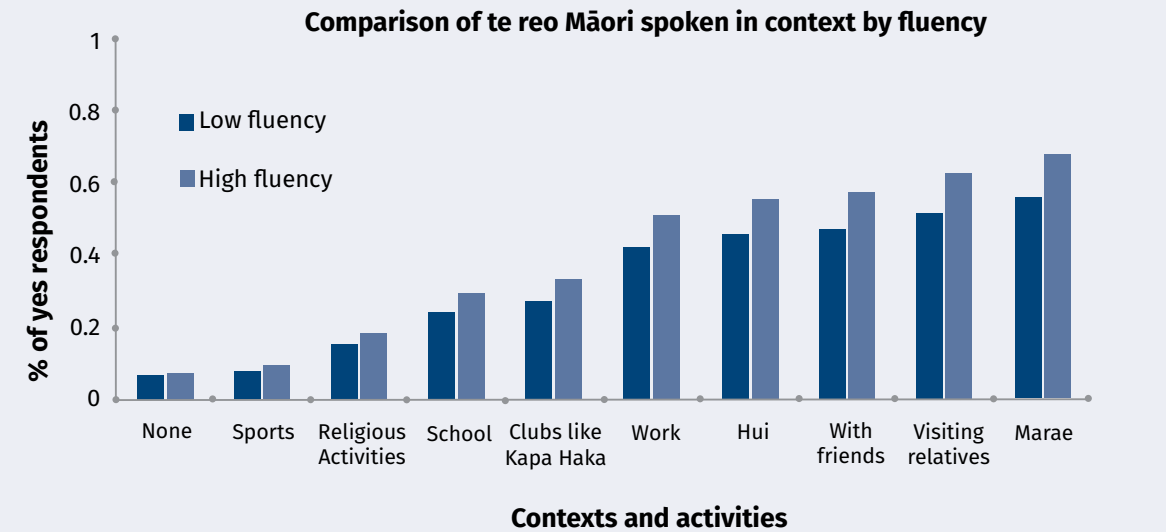


Figure 7. Comparison by fluency of percentage of total respondents (y axis) who indicated that te reo Māori was spoken in different contexts or activities (x axis) they participate in.

Summary finding 6: High and low fluency speakers report similar levels of Māori spoken in different contexts and activities.

Individuals who had begun learning te reo Māori in the past or who were currently learning

The survey also requested participants who identified that they were not competent speakers to state whether or not they had studied in the past, were currently enrolled, or had intentions of enrolling in the future. Of the 531 respondents who did not identify as being competent speakers, 182 identified that they were currently studying, and 216 that they had studied in the past. A total of 108 indicated that they had not studied (and were not studying), but intended to learn in the future, while 25 stated that they had no current plans to learn te reo Māori.

Figure 8 below demonstrates some of the motivations of respondents in this study who indicated that they were either current or past leaners of te reo Māori. Most notably from this group, cultural identity was the most common motivating factor for individuals who did not identify as competent speakers to want to learn te reo Māori. This was followed by the motivation of having Māori language speaking whānau members, friends, and co-workers. Participants also gave long-answer responses.

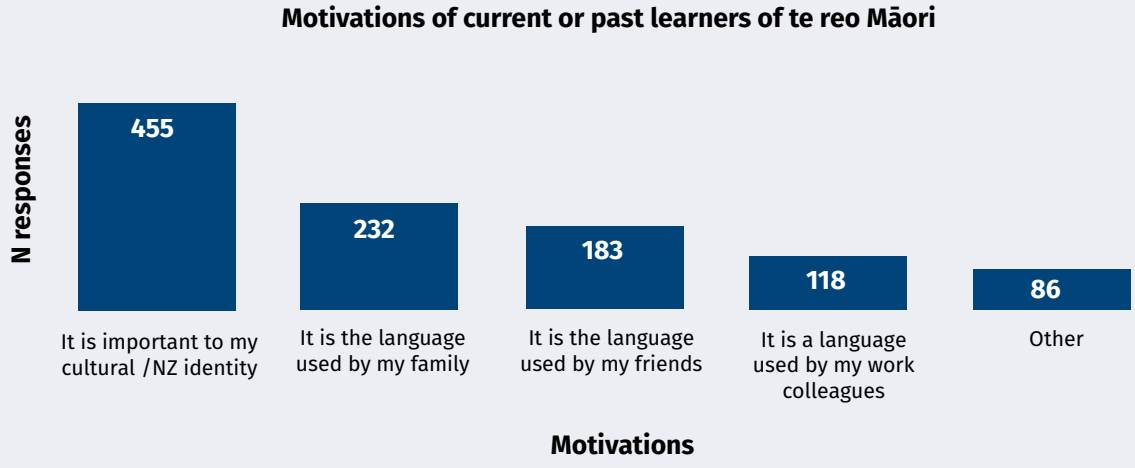


Figure 8. Motivations to learn te reo Māori.

Summary finding 7: Cultural identity is the primary motivation for current and past learners of te reo Māori.

Figure 9 below provides, at a glance, some of the learning experiences of learners of te reo Māori. Figure 9 demonstrates that the fear of judgement was the most highly rated experience by current and past learners of te reo Māori. Those currently learning, or who have attempted to learn in the past, were likely to report feelings of language anxiety, such as feeling tense or nervous in te reo Māori speaking spaces, and feeling uneasy about speaking te reo Māori. Such 'language anxiety' has the capacity to put learners into a state of preoccupation where the individual's thoughts are concerned with potential language failure. Such intrusive thoughts have the ability to impact negatively on an individual's desire to actively attempt to use the target language (MacIntyre & Doucette, 2010). Responses indicate that younger learners are perceived as having more opportunities to learn than older learners.

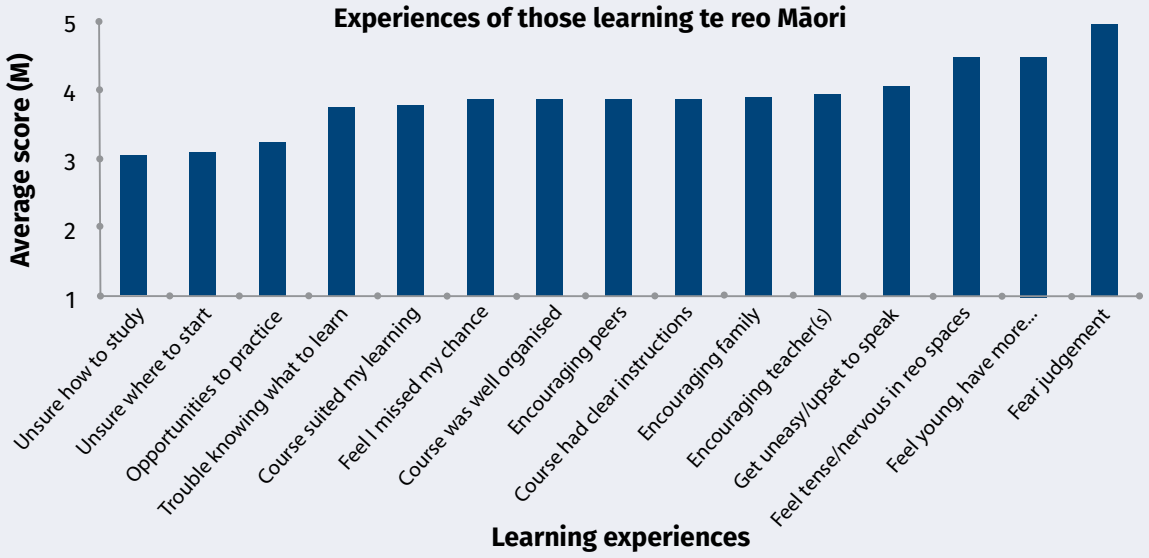


Figure 9. Degrees to which respondents agreed or disagreed (y axis) with their having had different learning experiences (x axis), from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Other factors, listed in Figure 9 above, that impacted positively on learners included having encouraging teachers, family, and peers. Having clear instructions within a course context was also above the midpoint, indicating that it was important to learners. Other experiences, including knowing how to study for a course, having a course that suited a student's particular learning style, and having opportunities to practise also impacted on learners. Feeling that one has missed their chance to learn te reo Māori was also an issue for some learners.

Other reasons provided by learners of te reo Māori who did not have self-reported competency mainly revolved around the desire to pass te reo Māori on to future generations, followed by future employment aspirations, and connecting to one's culture.

Summary finding 8: Fear of judgement is a key experience for those learning or who have learnt te reo Māori.

Table 5. Other motivations for those who have attempted to learn but who are not competent

Reason	Quotes	Number
Pass on to the next generation	"Ki te ako taku pepi" "Mokopuna." "I want to show my tamaiti it is of value." "For my kids."	24
Workplace or career plans	"Perhaps having to interact more with Māori in the future." "It will be helpful in the field of work I want to get into." "I aim to be a teacher and knowing te reo will greatly help my ability to teach all students." "Useful for career"	16
Connect to Māori culture	"Interested in knowing the language through its culture." "I enjoy the Māori culture and want to be able to speak it." "Important to others' cultural identity and so by learning it am able to support that." "To feel more connection to my taha Māori."	14
Decolonise and revitalise te reo Māori	"I am keen to actively participate in te reo revival." "To encourage my friends and colleagues to engage with te reo Māori and the history and colonisation of Aotearoa." "Te reo contains taonga in terms of world view, unique and enriching for not only Aotearoa, but for the world."	9
Te reo Māori is part of New Zealand		8
Te reo Māori is a beautiful language		4
Acceptance by Māori		2
Succession at marae		2
Te reo Māori speaking whānau and household		2
I'm the only one in the whānau who isn't competent		2
Wanting to speak more languages		1
Learn waiata		1

Long answer responses captured by those who have never attempted to learn te reo Māori also included a desire to pass it on to the next generation, identity motivations, seeing the language as important, being interested in the language, and work-related motivations.

The survey asked respondents to express or add anything else that they would like to share regarding their process of Māori language acquisition. Table 6 provides a list of responses.

Needing a range of forms of learning was the most prominent observation made, followed by the observation that reaching language fluency takes a considerable amount of time and commitment. This was followed by comments indicating that by demonstrating love for te reo Māori, positive language gains for Māori language revitalisation efforts are being made. Negative judgement was also a prominent experience that was frequently described within the long answer responses.

Table 6. Process of acquisition for Māori respondents

Reason	Quotes	Number
We need access to different forms of learning	"Having more marae-based opportunities to learn." "Access to all forms of learning is high importance as no one method works for all." "Have more programs where we can be adult learners who don't want to act and play games!!!" "Our own regional mita should be easier to access and learn in institutions."	8
It takes time and/or commitment	"I often work shift work and so having the ability to learn course material at different times (from home) is crucial." "Dedication and commitment needed." "It takes time, effort and to let yourself be vulnerable to making mistakes and being embarrassed when doing so." "Ehara he wā hei piki ake i te waeatanga ki te reo Māori."	6
Keep promoting/showing our love for the language	Ahakoa te matatau o te tangata ki te kōrero, tana kore matatau rānei, he mea nui kia whai whakaaro tonu tātou ki te whakanui i te reo; ahakoa he iti he pounamu." "Ka kōrero Māori kia ora te reo." "Spread the reo Māori around the world." "Kia kaha ki te reo Māori."	6
Other Māori are not supportive of my learning	"I have found that younger reo speakers are less encouraging and supportive of my learning than older reo speakers." "There is a lot of insecurity amongst Māori and I find some of those with great reo use it as a tool of power over those without." "The young can be very judgmental of non-reo speaking elders."	5
Whakamā/fear is a barrier		5
I don't look Māori/not Māori enough		4
Requires support and encouragement		3
Opportunities to learn weren't there/ were insufficient		3
Learning te reo is a life-long journey		2
We need more digital resources		2
Learning te reo Māori should be compulsory		1
I compare myself to Pākehā speakers		1
I need access to full immersion		1
No one to practise with		1
Learnt from grandparents		1

Preference of conversational partner proficiency

Competent te reo Māori speakers (N = 350) were asked how likely they were to use te reo when conversing with people of different proficiencies. Responses were on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 *(strongly disagree)* to 5 *(strongly agree)*. All responses were above the midpoint, with the strongest preference of conversational partner proficiency being those of the same proficiency (M = 4.11), followed by those with higher proficiency (M = 3.82), then lastly, those lower proficiency (M = 3.48).

These findings imply that Māori speakers of te reo Māori prefer to speak to those with proficiency levels that are similar to their own compared with those with higher rates of proficiency or lower rates of proficiency.

Summary finding 9: Speakers of Māori prefer to speak to those with similar proficiency levels.

Te reo Māori learning experience

Those who have studied or are studying te reo Māori were asked whether teachers, peers, and family members were encouraging of their learning. Teachers were found to be more encouraging (M = 4.35) than both peers (M = 4.02) and family members (M = 3.99).

These findings highlight the importance of developing secure relationships with those in the immediate learning environment (such as teachers and peers) for those actively engaging in language learning.

Summary finding 10: Secure and supportive relationships are critical to the learning experience.

Not yet begun learning

For those who had not yet begun learning managing commitments (M = 3.00) and particularly work commitments (M = 3.11) were found to be the strongest barriers to study, while applications for language courses being declined (M = 1.61) were not found to be significantly problematic.

Summary finding 11: Managing commitments is the primary barrier for early learners.

Differences in motivation

Comparing those who were learning te reo Māori (or had learned in the past) and those who were not and had not learned

As demonstrated in Figure 10 below, there are differences in motivations between those who have engaged in learning te reo Māori and those who have not. Perhaps unsurprisingly, we can observe that those who have not yet begun learning te reo Māori have fewer friends and work colleagues who use te reo Māori. Exposure and use of te reo Māori within these relationships is likely to impact on a person's choice to actively engage in learning. Of interest, however, is that those who reported not yet beginning to learn te reo Māori had slightly more whānau members who used te reo Māori, than those who had begun learning or had learned in the past.

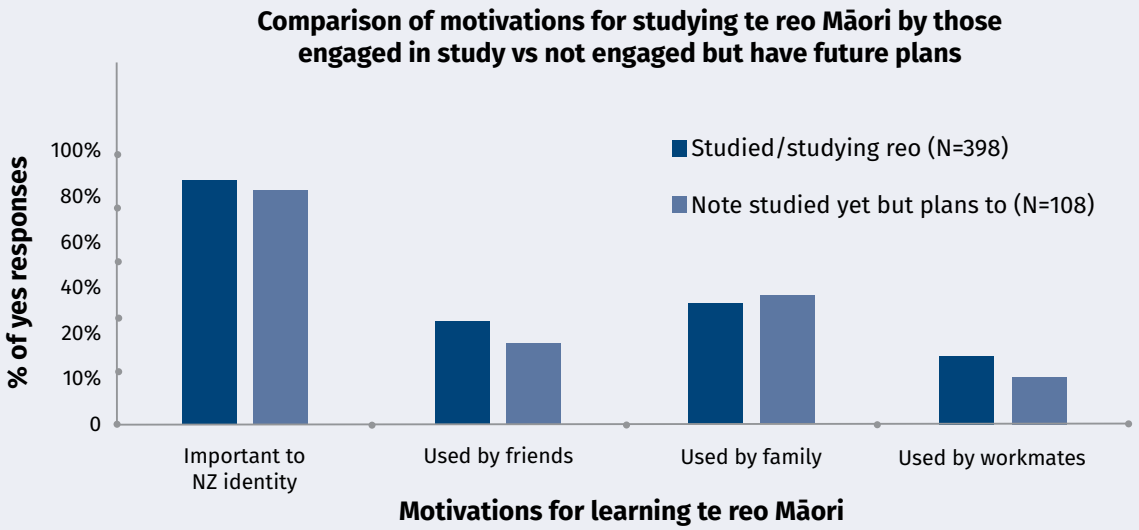


Figure 10. Percentage of total respondents (y axis) who responded affirmatively to different motivations for learning te reo Māori (x axis). Comparing those who have engaged in study to those who have not but plan to.

Summary finding 12: Exposure to use of Māori impacts on a person's choice to actively engage in learning Māori.

Employment

A total of 326 (37.9%) indicated that te reo Māori was an essential part of their job, while for 382 (39.0%) participants, te reo Māori was not an essential part of their job with 153 (17.8%) indicating that they were not currently in employment. This was particularly the case for young adults (17-20), who constituted 42.7% (N = 64) of unemployed participants. The second largest age bracket for unemployment was 21-25, comprising 14.7% (N= 22), followed by 26-30 making up 10.7% (N = 16).

Of those who said that te reo Māori was an essential part of their job, the top five forms of employment were (in order): teacher/lecturer/kaimahi/kaiāwhina reo; public service; health industry; advisory role; researcher/assistant.

Table 7. Professions in which te reo Māori was identified as essential by participants

Reason		Number
Teacher/Lecturer/Kaimahi/Kaiāwhina reo		132
Public Service		18
Health Industry		15
Advisory role		13
Researcher		10
Manager		9
Broadcasting		7
Arts		7
Administration		5
Working for the iwi, Tribal Chair/Board Member		6
Entertainment and Social Media		4
Mother		3
Student		3
Law, accounting		5
Communications		2
Nurse		2
Security, Māori Warden		3
Youth Justice Worker		2
Māori Librarian		2
Consultant		2
Museum Professional		5
Forestry Worker, DOC Ranger, Farmer		3
Customer Service		2
Communications		2
Māori Business Relationship Manager		1
Machine Specialist		1
Carpenter		1

Some indicated that te reo Māori was not a part of their job. The five fields of employment where te reo Māori was used least were (in order):

1. Management
2. Administration
3. Customer Service
4. Hospitality
5. Public Sector

A full table of other occupations where te reo Māori was not required for their job is attached as Appendix B.

Discrimination in the workplace

Māori who had been discriminated against in the workplace had significantly higher levels of language anxiety (M = 3.18) than those who had not (M = 2.80; $p < .001$). These results are similar to the Māori language research findings highlighted by Ka'ai and colleagues (Ka'ai, Smith, Haar, & Ravenswood, 2019).

Summary finding 13: Discrimination in the workplace increases the likelihood that a person would experience language anxiety.

Relocating for te reo Māori opportunities

Those who indicated that they would relocate for te reo Māori opportunities had a significantly stronger preference for work where te reo Māori is required (M = 4.28; compared with M= 3.48, $p = .001$), but this was not the case if te reo Māori was already an essential part of their work ($p = .267$).

Those who indicated that they would consider relocating regional residence for reo opportunities also indicated that it was more achievable to get a job where te reo Māori was required (M = 3.89 vs 3.15, $p = .002$).

These results indicate that the most likely individual to relocate to another residential region would a) not be currently in employment where te reo Māori was used and b) would think that it was achievable to gain employment where te reo Māori was a necessary prerequisite.

For the purposes of understanding how to support communities that want to increase their Māori language speaker population through encouraging speakers to relocate to their region, these results indicate that employment opportunities and resulting economic security, and belief that it is possible to gain Māori language employment, are crucial selling points.

Summary finding 14: Employment opportunities and the possibility of gaining Māori language employment can influence the decision to relocate.

Community language attitudes and use

The results listed in Table 8 below indicate that there is a significant moderate positive relationship between participants' attitudes towards te reo Māori and the prominence of te reo Māori in their communities (r = .22). In other words, those with positive attitudes towards te reo Māori were also likely to rate their community as being generally supportive of te reo Māori. Hearing te reo Māori (r = .62) and the visibility of te reo Māori (r = .42) were strongly correlated to community support for te reo Māori. This indicates that the more individuals that hear te reo Māori being used, and see signage in te reo Māori, the more likely they are to think that there is community support for te reo Māori. Having positive community support for te reo Māori is related to the attitudes that Māori hold towards te reo Māori. Accordingly, community languages attitutes and attitudes towards Māori language use were used in the design for this study.

Table 8. Inter-correlations between participants' view of community support of te reo Māori and their own attitudes towards te reo Māori.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Community is supportive	___					
2. Common to hear te reo Māori in community	.62**	___				
3. Community has signs in te reo Māori	.42**	.51**	___			
4. Te reo Māori is useful	.26**	.20**	.10**	___		
5. Te reo Māori is cool	.23**	.17**	.05	.77**	___	
6. Te reo Māori is relevant in my life	.22**	.19*	.06	.70**	.68**	___

*$p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Summary finding 15: Positive community support impacts on individual attitudes towards te reo Māori.

Barriers for those who are learning

For those who had not yet begun learning te reo Māori, we calculated the factors that may have created accessability issues. Our results indicate that managing work commitments was the main barrier, followed by difficulty in managing whānau/personal commitments. Out of the other options provided, the cost of study being too high was at a midpoint, meaning that it may have moderately deterred people from studying. The lack of course availability or of having an application declined did not appear to be barriers for respondents in this study.

The other barriers that we have results for include language anxiety, disorganised learning, and the specific pressures placed on Māori learners of te reo Māori that interact with anxiety in language learning contexts.

There are issues for speakers of te reo Māori which are different from the types of barriers faced for those without proficiency.

Table 9 below indicates that time and money were the most commonly reported barriers to learning te reo Māori for those who have attempted to learn te reo Māori but who are not competent speakers. Other barriers included education-related barriers and self-imposed barriers. Factors contributing to whakamā were also expressed in the long answer questions in Table 9 below.

Summary finding 16: Managing work and personal commitments, language anxiety and the perception of expectations are the key barriers to learning.

Table 9. Other barriers to learning for those who have attempted to learn but are not competent

Reason	Quotes	Number of responses
Not enough time and/or money	"Time and money" "Not having access and the money to learn." "I just struggle to prioritise studying it." "Te wā!" "Finding the time to commit to learning." "Time. I work every day and get home in time for my second job as a housewife and mother haha."	26
Education-related barriers	"My teacher scolded and made us stand in front of the class if we got anything wrong which was very humiliating, discouraging and obviously has stuck with me up to now..." "I don't like being told to play games and act in classes, na te mea ka haere au ki te korero noa iho" "I would prefer to learn Māori in a small familiar group rather than a large university class." "[The] University's systems put pressure on me in the learning environment, because I am required to be marked, when I do not want a mark, and fear of the mark may interfere with my learning processes. The ability to audit a class is no longer available. As a FT professor here myself, this puts immense pressure on me." "The courses being so popular I didn't make the courses I wanted to get on that were available."	18
I am my own barrier	"Myself really. I just need to be persistent and make time to learn." "Self-sabotage." "Self-limitations." "My own discipline, commitment, focus and dedication to studying / learning te reo was lacking."	15
No one to practise with/lack of immersive environment		11
Fear of failing/making mistakes		8
Learning te reo Māori is hard for me		5
Lack of confidence		6
Whakamā		8
Location		7
Racism		4

Reason	Quotes	Number of responses
Lack of te reo friendly environment		4
Fear of being judged/not accepted by other Māori		3
Communicating with my whānau is difficult		3
Technology-related barriers		2
My age		2
I would rather learn in my own home		1
Social and cultural pressure to learn te reo		1
I am learning two languages		1

The most prominent barriers for those who had attempted to learn te reo Māori but who were not competent were the impacts related to being time poor. Having negative educational experiences in the past also contributed to barriers, followed by negative self-beliefs. A lack of language community support was the fourth most prominent barrier.

Table 10 below indicates that the main barriers from the long answer responses were also related to resource restrictions (time and money). This was followed by being raised abroad and access related issues.

Table 10. Barriers of those who have never attempted to learn

Reason	Quotes	Number
Not enough time/money/ transport	"Not enough time to attend classes." "Just finding time around work and family as I am away from home 14-16 hrs a day 5-6days a week." "Just commitments at home and mahi." "Time energy money."	17
I live/grew up overseas	"I grew up in Australia that's why I don't know much Maor.i" "I live in Australia but yearn to learn Te Reo for myself and my family." "Being in Australia." "Being born in another country."	5
I am my own barrier	"I am my own barrier. I need to stop making excuses and commit." "Myself... Motivation to just learn" "Me" "Besides my own commitment, or lack thereof, nothing is stopping me from becoming fluent."	4
Fear of failure/being judged	"Fear of being judged for not fluently knowing our language." "Fear that I may speak it incorrectly." "I can learn well but I'm still a bit whakamā to actually speak it out loud – particularly around my family who are matatau i te reo." "Being called dumb."	4
Education-related barriers		2
Technology-related barriers		2
Want to learn own dialect		1
Age		1
No one to practise with		1
Speaking in English is a habit		1

Anxiety of learners

Language anxiety was calculated by the mean score of three items:

1. I have an uneasy, upset feeling when I think that I will have to speak te reo Māori.
2. I feel tenser and more nervous in Māori speaking environments than in other places.
3. I fear that other people will judge my te reo Māori abilities if I attempt to speak to them.

These items were taken from Schmidt and Watanabe (2001). Our application of these items had good internal reliability ($\alpha = .851$).

We also combined three items intended to measure disorganised learning styles:

1. I have/had trouble figuring out what to do to learn.
2. I am not/wasn't sure how to study for the Māori language course.
3. I am not/was not sure what to study or where to start.

These items also showed good internal reliability ($\alpha = .886$). These items were adapted from the Achievement Goals and Study Strategies scale (Elliot et al., 1999). Items were ranked on a 5-point Likert scale.

Language anxiety had a significant and moderately strong correlation with disorganised learning ($r = .33$), indicating that high levels of disorganised learning are related to high levels of language anxiety. In other words, those who have trouble knowing what to learn, or how to study, are more likely to experience language anxiety than those who do not.

Those who reported being competent speakers of te reo Māori were significantly less likely to experience language anxiety scores ($M = 2.54$), compared with those who were not competent ($M = 3.41$, $p < .001$). These results indicate that language anxiety is a more prominent experience for those who have low levels of proficiency in te reo Māori than for those who have high rates of proficiency. The results also indicate that some competent speakers of te reo Māori experience language anxiety as well.

Figure 11 provides a list of barriers that were correlated with language anxiety for competent speakers of te reo Māori. The most prevalent barrier related to language anxiety was feeling that the respondent would not understand the reply of a person who they may speak to. This was closely followed by feeling awkward in a language exchange and finding it hard to switch from English to te reo Māori. Being unsure whether someone else would understand them because of the respondents' levels of proficiency, feeling too tired, not having people to speak with, having others view the individual as 'hard out', and being unsure of someone else's level of proficiency were also related to language anxiety. Perhaps a positive from these results is that thinking that a person is 'hard out', in other words, going outside a social norm of speaking English, was nearly the lowest item related to language anxiety. This may mean that Māori are not experiencing high rates of language anxiety in response to anticipated 'othering' for their Māori language use.

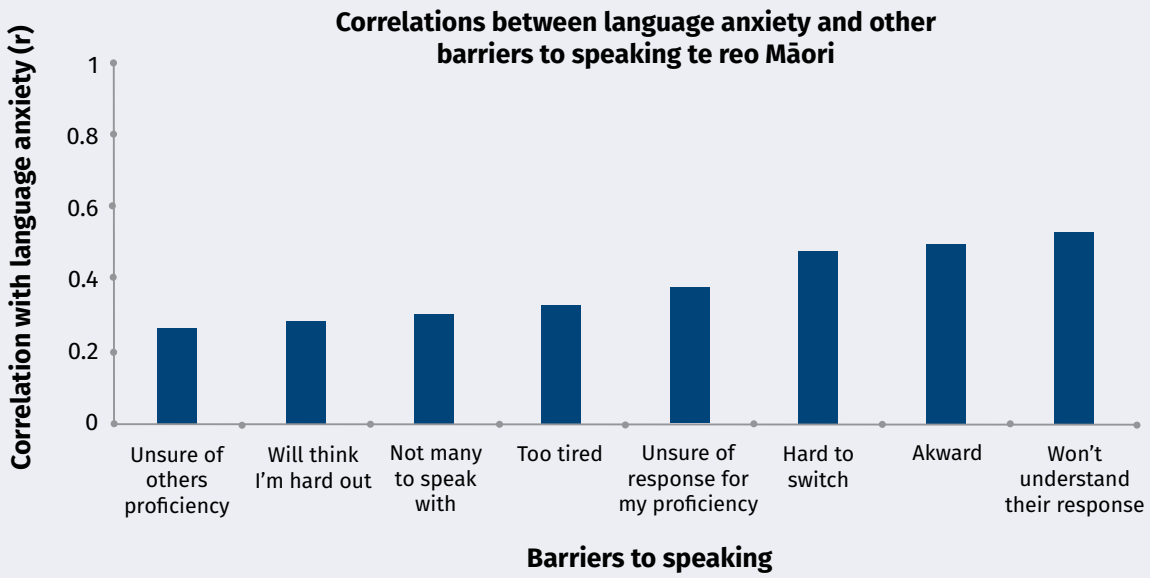


Figure 11. A graph of correlation coefficients (y axis) between language anxiety and barriers to speaking te reo Māori (x axis). All correlations are significant at $p < .001$.

Course-related factors related to language anxiety and disorganised learning

As language anxiety had a significant and moderately strong correlation with disorganised learning ($r = .33$), we analysed the relationship between disorganised learning and seven course- or learning-related factors. These consisted of: encouraging family, encouraging peers, encouraging teachers, course and learning style congruence, well organised course, clear instructions, and opportunities to practise. We also analysed the relationship between these factors and learning anxiety. The correlations are shown in Table 11.

Notably, disorganised learning was negatively related to all course- or learning-related factors except for having encouraging family members. In other words, having encouraging family members was not related to better (or worse) learning organisation. Additional factors that help reduce disorganised learning include having opportunities to practise (for instance, an accessible language community) and encouragement from teachers and peers.

For language anxiety, only having clear instructions and congruency between course and learning style were significantly related to lower anxiety levels. These results again point to the need for courses that are well suited to the learner, as well as having clear instructions and well organised courses.

Table 11. Correlations between course- and learning-related factors and both disorganised learning and language anxiety

	Encouraging family	Encouraging peers	Encouraging teachers	Course suited learning	Course well organised	Clear course instructions	Opportunities to practise
Disorganised learning	.002	-.133*	-.162**	-.281**	-.185**	-.253**	-.142**
Language anxiety	-.015	-.033	-.082	-.128*	-.054	-.118*	-.061

*Note.*p < .05, ** p < .001*

Summary finding 17: Language anxiety is a significant barrier to language learning particularly for less proficient learners. To assist, instructions need to be clear, the course needs to be well organised, and learner styles taken into consideration.

Long answer responses to why competent speakers do not speak Māori

Other reasons why competent speakers may experience barriers to reo Māori use include a general feeling of laziness, not feeling proficient enough, and a lack of confidence to use te reo Māori. Other reasons are listed in Table 12 below. Although competent speakers of te reo described their language behaviours as occasionally 'lazy', these descriptions are likely to be founded in dominant colonial narratives that position Māori as lazy and unmotivated (McCreanor, 2005). As te reo Māori is an indigenous language dominated by English, there are likely to be more adequate explanations for why individuals choose to speak English over te reo Māori, as discussed by Olsen-Reeder (2017).

Table 12. Other reasons I do not speak Māori for competent speakers

Reason	Quotes	Number
I am too lazy	"Laziness." "He mangere nōku i ētahi wā." "Mangere." "I'm lazy sometimes."	13
No one to converse with / the person I am speaking to speaks English	"Predominantly Pākehā work colleagues in a Pākehā work environment." "Te rapu hunga kaha ki te noho rumaki ki te reo, more so in terms of mahi, government departments." "People don't speak te reo Māori."	12
It is easier to speak/think in English	"Used to speaking English." "I think faster in English than in te reo Māori, English keeps creeping in like a virus." "Takes too long to speak then translate." "It's easier and quicker to speak in English and less chance of being misunderstood."	5
I am not proficient enough		5
Lack of confidence		5
Fear of making mistakes/ being judged		2
I don't want to offend elders who cannot speak te reo Māori		1
I am from a different culture		1
Don't have the vocabulary for the context		1
My whānau get annoyed at me		1

Māori heritage learner language anxiety

The language anxiety questions listed earlier on page 44 were combined with three other language anxiety questions specific to Māori respondents:

1. If I make a mistake using te reo Māori, I feel like it will impact on how 'Māori' others will think that I am.
2. I compare myself to other Māori speakers.
3. I feel like I am expected to know te reo Māori because I identify as Māori.

These six items showed good internal reliability (α = .834) and a mean score was for all items was calculated for each individual who responded to all items (N = 426). This factor was labelled Māori language anxiety. These items were designed for this particular study.

We found a moderately strong and significant negative relationship between Māori language anxiety and te reo Māori fluency (r = -.360), which suggests that high fluency scores are related to lower levels of Māori heritage learner language anxiety. These findings may imply that the more fluent that a Māori heritage language speaker is, the less likely they are to agree with the statements above (including mistakes impacting on identity as Māori, making comparisons, and feeling expected to know te reo Māori due to identity as Māori). This may also imply that Māori with lower levels of fluency are more likely to agree with the statements above.

Summary finding 18: Those who have higher fluency tend to experience less language anxiety, but anxiety is still experienced and is a barrier.

Reo Identity

Māori participants in this study were asked about their attitudes towards te reo Māori, particularly regarding its relationship to Māori identity. This factor, labelled Reo Identity, comprised the following six items:

1. I choose to learn/speak te reo Māori because I'm Māori.
2. I feel that te reo Māori is a key part of my identity as Māori.
3. Te reo is important to me because it is part of my cultural heritage.
4. Te reo Māori is important to me because it connects me to my whakapapa.
5. Having te reo Māori would help/helps me to undertake Māori cultural roles
6. Taking on cultural roles makes me want to use/improve my te reo Māori.

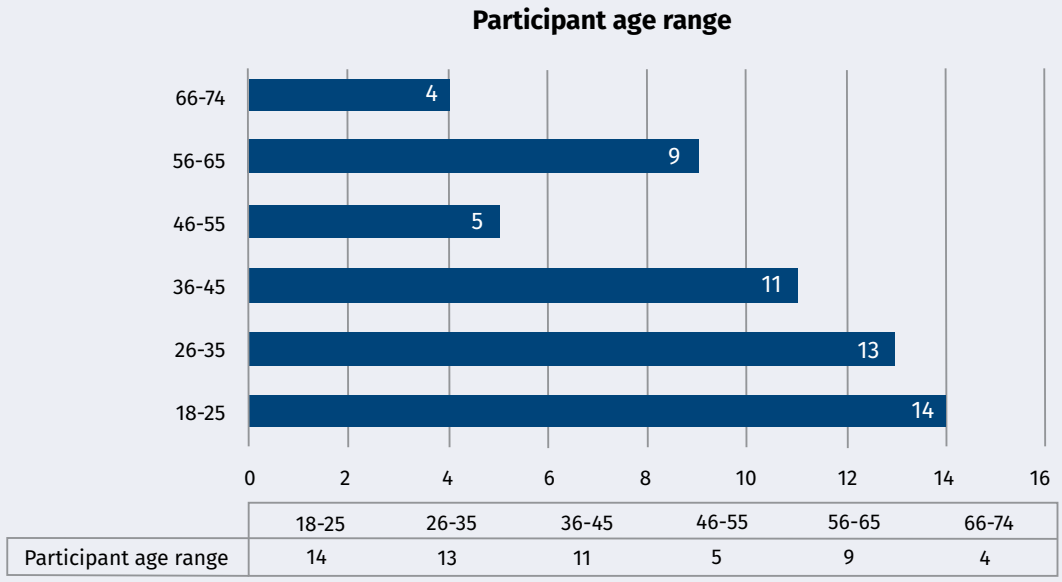
These six items showed excellent internal reliability (α = .925; N = 689). Items one to four were from a language and identity survey by Te Huia (2013), whereas items five and six were designed for the current study.

Reo Identity was not correlated with Māori Language Anxiety (r = .067; p = .336). However, there was a small but significant positive correlation between Reo Identity and Fluency (r = .114, p = .003). The latter finding indicates that higher levels of fluency are related to stronger reo identity levels.

Study 2: Qualitative Methods

Participants

There were 38 wāhine, and 19 tāne who were interviewed as part of this study. The age range of participants in this study was between 18-74 years of age with an average age of 39.70 (2dp) and a median age of 38.5. One participant chose not to disclose their age. Interviews ranged from 22 minutes to 1 hour and 37 minutes in length. The mean duration of interview length was 47 minutes and 21 seconds long. Participant ages are listed in Figure 12 below.



	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-74
Participant age range	14	13	11	5	9	4

Figure 12. Participant age range

Recruitment:

Participants were recruited through a wide range of community networks including Te Ataarangi, Whare Wānanga/Universities (Victoria University of Wellington, and Massey University Palmerston North), whānau, hapū, workplaces and friends. Participants were approached either through email, phone or in person and once their agreement was given, a time and venue was arranged to meet in person.

In total 57 individuals who identified as Māori were formally interviewed across nine regions. These locations included Te Tai Tokerau, Tāmaki Makarau, Kirikiriroa, Waipa, Whakatāne, Rotorua, Tauranga, Manawatū, Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, and Hokitika. A total of three participants were interviewed in locations outside of their residential region. The residential regions of participants recorded outside of their hometowns were Ōtautahi, Otepoti, and Manawatū. Within the results of the qualitative study, after each quotation, the age of the participant is given alongside their residential region, as opposed to the place that they were interviewed.

Interviewees from this study belonged to a total of 54 respective iwi represented in Table 13 below. Individuals belonged to more than one iwi, which has been captured in the table.

Table 13. Iwi Count in Qualitative Study

	Iwi Affiliations of Interviewees	n =			Iwi Affiliations of Interviewees	n =
1	Hokianga	1		28	Ngāti Raukawa	2
2	Iwi Morehu	2		29	Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga	1
3	Maurea	1		30	Ngāti Ruanui	1
4	Muaūpoko	1		31	Ngāti Ruateatea	1
5	Ngā Ariki (Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi)	1		32	Ngāti Tahu	1
6	Ngāi Tahu/Kai Tahu	3		33	Ngāti Tamaterā	3
7	Ngāi Tai ki Torere	1		34	Ngāti Toa Rangatira	2
8	Ngāi Te Rangi	2		35	Ngāti Tukorehe	1
9	Ngāi Tuhoe	8		36	Ngāti Tūwharetoa	6
10	Ngāpuhi	9		37	Ngāti Wai	2
11	Ngā Ruahinerangi	1		38	Ngāti Whakaue	2
12	Ngāti Awa	3		39	Ngāti Whaoa	1
13	Ngāti Haua	1		40	Ngāti Whare	1
14	Ngāti Hineru	1		41	Ngāti Whātua	1
15	Ngāti Kahu	2		42	Rangitāne	2
16	Ngāti Kahungunu	6		43	Rongomaiwahine	2
17	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa	2		44	Rongowhakaata	3
18	Ngāti Kauwhata	1		45	Taranaki	3
19	Ngāti Koata	1		46	Te Aitanga a Māhaki	1
20	Ngāti Konohi	1		47	Te Arawa	6
21	Ngāti Māhanga	1		48	Te Atiawa	4
22	Ngāti Manawa	4		49	Te Atihaunui a Pāpārangi	2
23	Ngāti Maniapoto	7		50	Te Aupouri	5
24	Ngāti Oneone	1		51	Te Rarawa	2
25	Ngāti Porou	9		52	Te Whakatōhea	2
26	Ngāti Pikiao	2		53	Te Whānau a Apanui	1
27	Ngāti Rangiwewehi	1		54	Waikato/Tainui	8
Total Iwi Represented: 54 Total Participants: 57						

Research tools and process

Semi-structured interview schedules were developed for this research and assessed by members of Te Mātāwai (see Appendix C) to ensure they reflected the project objectives. Three separate interview schedules were used. These included one for pre-learners, those who were actively engaged, and those who were highly proficient speakers of te reo Māori (including those raised speaking te reo Māori). Participants had the option of responding to the interview questions in either Māori or English. A total of 39 respondents used te reo Māori and English intermittently during interviews, with 13 using solely English, and 5 using solely te reo Māori during the interview.

Interviews were conducted by three members of the research team, the principal investigator and the associate investigators. As the lead researchers have differing relationships within the Māori language speaking community, it was possible to gain a variety of perspectives given the diverse range of participant groups associated with each of the interviewers. Most of the interviewers had a prior relationship with the interviewees, and in instances where there was no prior relationship, access to a participant group had been granted through someone within their networks who was able to support the process. These principles of recruitment are consistent with Kaupapa Māori methodologies (Smith, 2013), whereby relationships with participant groups are developed prior to engagement, with the intention that a relationship with participants will be maintained after the conclusion of the research. These understandings help to ensure that manaakitanga granted to participants is upheld by the research team. This is particularly important given the historical based trauma, language anxiety and variation of experiences some of the participants expressed about their language learning journey.

All participants were given a copy of the research information sheet (Appendix D) and were asked to sign a consent form (Appendix E) prior to commencing the interview. Participants had the option of using their given name or a pseudonym. All participants were given a koha, a supermarket or petrol gift voucher to the value of $40 in appreciation of their valuable contribution to the research project. Interviews were conducted at workplaces, kura, home, and cafes, depending on what was convenient and most comfortable for participants. All the interviews were recorded and later transcribed by members of the Manawa ū ki te Reo research team who each signed a confidentiality agreement. Transcribed interviews were sent to participants for their feedback and the option to make amendments.

Three additional informal wānanga were held, one at Te Kauwhata marae (including koroua and kuia and other adults) and two at Victoria University of Wellington with one undergraduate class and one post-graduate class. During these discussions, attendees were provided with a set of statements that were developed from the interview discussions. Attendees were asked to group the statements that they found motivating or saw as barriers on a continuum. Through this process, we were able to check whether the themes that had come through the results resonated with Māori language learners and users as well as those who had not yet engaged in language learning. Although the discussions from these informal sessions were not recorded, they assisted the process of analysis by providing more context as to why a person might see a statement as motivating or inhibiting for language progression.

Analysis

Following the interviews and any changes to transcripts a thematic analysis of transcripts was undertaken; a method that allows flexibility and is useful in providing rich and detailed data. This is a research approach that can be used to identify, investigate and describe patterns or themes in the research data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As there were multiple interviewers and transcribers involved in this study, it was important that the whole of the study was tied together by the lead researcher for purposes of cohesion. The principal investigator of this project conducted the analysis and write up of results within the qualitative section, which were subsequently checked and reviewed by the Assistant Investigators to see whether any changes needed to be made to reflect their respective interviewee comments.

All interviews were analysed in written form and most were listened to during this analysis phase. Common themes were grouped together with quotes from participants to highlight these themes. Participant quotes have been utilised in the original form, directly from the transcripts of the interviews. Given the large amount of qualitative data gathered through this research process, authors have limited the number of quotations used within the results section and have attempted to summarise the main points covered in the interviews.

Study 2: Qualitative Results

Summary of Motivations

Our analysis of participants' interviews illustrated themes which have been grouped under four overarching wāhanga as follows:

1. Ko ngā tūhonohono - recognising the importance of connection

This theme discusses issues of connectedness, through spiritual, emotional and interpersonal relationships that are developed as a result of language acquisition and use. This theme also discusses rangatiratanga through the reclamation of a Māori cultural identity and te reo Māori as a vehicle for understanding mātauranga. Within this theme, the inherent beauty of the language is acknowledged. The poetic nature of te reo Māori was often demonstrated by native speakers who had the ability to inspire others to reach higher levels of competency through prowess in the language.

2. Ko ngā take whānau

Whānau is a central aho within our findings. Whānau provide occasions for use, support for acquisition and use, as well as affirmation of language attempts. Whānau varied in their use of te reo Māori. However, participants who had Māori language speaking whānau expressed that their whānau were a core motivation for attaining te reo Māori and sustaining use. Many rangatahi expressed that part of their desire to learn came from a desire to connect with their kaumātua who were Māori language speakers. Aroha for tamariki/mokopuna in particular was also a prominent motivation for adult language learners. Whānau who had a goal of raising their children or grandchildren using te reo Māori were more likely to report utilising te reo Māori in everyday interactions. Finally, hope for a better Māori language speaking future was central to this theme.

3. Ko te taha ako

The theme *Ko te taha ako* focuses on the processes of language acquisition and their impact on motivations. Within this theme, participants stressed the importance of concepts such as whanaungatanga and manaakitanga as a critical part of their language learning journey.

4. Kia tangata whenua te reo, ko te iwi Māori ko te tangata whenua

This theme outlines factors relating to language normalisation, and societal factors that encourage the use of te reo Māori. Within this theme, employment and language exposure within communities are highlighted. The benefit of operating in spaces where te reo Māori is celebrated openly in the absence of racism is discussed in this theme.

Barriers to Māori language acquisition and use

Our analysis of participants' interviews indicated four key barriers to the acquisition and use of te reo Māori.

1. Te pūtake o te whakamā me ōna āhuatanga

Concepts relating to Māori learner specific language anxiety is discussed in this theme. The root causes that prevent learners from processing new language information, as well as issues relating to language output are explored through concepts such as whakamā. Inherited trauma connected to processes of colonisation are closely linked to this language anxiety and whakamā. The limited number of speakers places high levels of expectations on all Māori even though they have a range of language proficiency. Expectations surrounding age, gender and identity as Māori were factors discussed in this theme.

2. Te tāmi o te reo i ngā wāhi ako

Education related constraints are explored within this theme. Challenges relating to preferred methods of learning are presented. Classroom related factors, including varying methods of teaching, inter-relationships between students, and the limited number of resources for learners (particularly those with high levels of proficiency) are examined. Furthermore, experiences of marginalisation in learning contexts, as well as racism present in compulsory mainstream education are discussed as barriers for language attainment and use. Older speakers of te reo Māori also presented issues relating to the acquisition of words that they were unfamiliar with.

3. Hapori kōrero Māori

Issues surrounding the absence of highly accessible language communities where learners and users of te reo Māori are able to engage using te reo Māori were highlighted in this theme. The devaluing of te reo Māori had a negative impact on individuals' decisions to engage in te reo Māori learning and use. Whānau who had not been exposed to the positive benefits of being speakers of te reo Māori were also negatively impacted by societal devaluation of te reo Māori. Participants presented the dominance of English as a concern for the use of te reo Māori across domains, including specific Māori ceremonial occasions.

4. Ko ngā whakatoihara

The overt presence of racism across a range of encounters interacted with barriers for Māori language acquisition and use. Internalised racism is also a cause presented for the decision to use (or withdraw from) te reo Māori. The over-representation of Māori in negative social indicators was linked to societal perceptions of Māori. These negative perceptions were linked to the devaluation of te reo Māori by individuals connected to participants in this study.

Key values underpinning the Māori language experiences

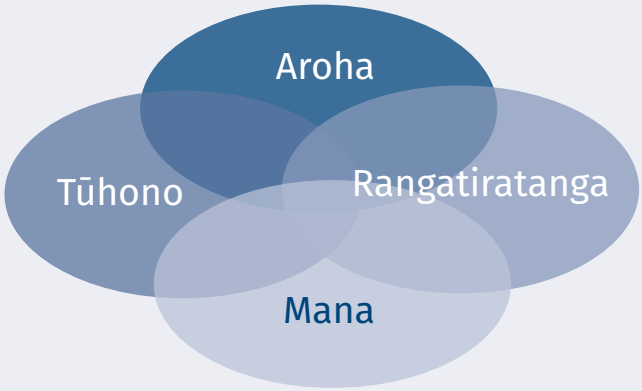


Figure 13. Central values underpinning the results of the qualitative study

Aroha:

Users need to feel challenged, yet comfortable to use te reo Māori in a range of interactions. Aroha in its purest sense of unconditional compassion allows for a greater range of social interactions to take place where te reo Māori is the means of communication, opening possibilities for language use and revitalisation.

Tūhono:

Having the ability to be interconnected on a number of levels, including interpersonal connections, connections with tohu whenua and at a wairua level are part of te reo Māori motivations. Inter-connectedness provides a sense of grounding and centring, particularly during times of uncertainty that occur during processes of identity reclamation. Te reo Māori allows language users to connect with concepts that might have seemed more distant prior to language acquisition.

Rangatiratanga:

Rangatirangata in a reo Māori revitalisation context acknowledges the fact that Māori have the authority to learn, and use, te reo Māori across all social domains, as a birthright. Having autonomy over thought processes, self-beliefs, and one's ability to achieve language proficiency is helpful for language revitalisation. Within this value, Māori see value in their heritage language and shift towards a self-determined te reo Māori future.

Mana:

Te reo Māori is tightly interwoven with concepts of personal and collective mana. When individuals feel that they are in a position to uphold personally set standards for interacting in te reo Māori, this was viewed as positively contributing to the mana of an individual and the collective groups that they were part of. Interpersonal language communications place individuals in positions where they may feel that their personal or collective mana is either upheld, or at risk, depending on the context of use.

Motivations for learning te reo Māori

Wāhanga tuatahi: Ko ngā tūhonohono: recognising the importance of connection

This theme is centred on the notion of connectedness. Interpersonal relationships, connection to whenua, wairua and mātauranga Māori are connected to Māori identity and motivation to learn and progress as language learners and speakers of te reo Māori.

The key findings presented in this theme are:

1. Te reo Māori has the ability to portray cultural meaning not available in English;
2. The inherent beauty of te reo Māori inspires those who have learned some Māori to continue to progress. However, exposure to positive examples is crucial;
3. Te reo Māori provides a view into the thought processes of our tūpuna;
4. There is a strong desire to increase knowledge about mātauranga Māori, including the use of pūrākau;
5. Te reo Māori provides individuals with spiritual grounding;
6. Some Māori feel that disconnections that they may have experienced prior to learning te reo Māori are corrected through the learning that are associated with te reo Māori;
7. Historical trauma inflicted through systematic language loss had the potential of being addressed through engagement with te reo Māori and the associated learning processes;
8. Feeling able to reclaim a cultural identity, and being comfortable as Māori, came from learning te reo Māori and the associated cultural learning; and
9. A sense of self-confidence was gained through language acquisition for speakers of te reo Māori.

Language related factors/beauty of te reo

Speakers of te reo Māori described the inherent value and beauty of te reo Māori and discussed that it was the appropriate language, or most effective language to use in order to express their inner emotions. Seeing te reo Māori as a language of personal analysis in the sense that one is able to use the language to describe the inner workings of their emotional thought processes is perhaps a goal for language revitalisation.

> *Whaitiri:*
> *That's a cool way to describe how someone could be feeling, and you can see, like you can see what wairangi means when you see someone like that, like those are the words you can't describe in Pākehā with like one word. (Waipa, 18-25)*

Second language learners, who were at varying stages of language acquisition (from highly proficient to intermediate) noted how hearing te reo Māori, particularly from native speakers who were able to demonstrate prowess in the language, elicited motivation. The language was seen by these participants as something that is dynamic and able to express a range of emotions through te reo Māori.

> *Tīhou:*
> *When I went to my first kura reo, I think it was, so I went to a kura reo when I was 16, so I was still at the kura, and when I went there, I think I saw the beauty of it. So, listening to, like seeing those kaiako I thought wow, there is real beauty to our language, to our reo. And yeah, just the poetic nature of it, and I think my motivation went from being able to communicate to being able to um... to just learn it, probably being able to learn that thing of beauty. (Hokitika, 26-35)*

The poetic nature of the language and its intricacies contributed to the overall appreciation of learners of te reo Māori. Even those who were only in the first three or four years of study noted how having te reo Māori opened up the ability to freely express oneself in a manner that was consistent with their cultural worldview. One example was given by a writer who had previously published on topics relative to Māori people in English. Having the ability to express oneself opened possibilities for alternative ways of interpreting the world. Being able to capture the worldview of our ancestors was another factor noted.

> *Ana:*
> *I feel like it's just a beautiful language, it's a beautiful language like, I feel like when you learn your native tongue you also learn like with that, the way they think. Because the way the Māori language is it's so beautiful. Like I don't know you learn so much more, it's like so deeper than that. (Te Papaioea, 18-25)*

Participants noted that during childhood, some individuals would use te reo Māori without understanding its meaning but could hear the beauty of the language. These language behaviours demonstrate that for some learners, the motivation to learn te reo Māori happens many years before the process of acquisition may take place. These comments also demonstrate that there is an inherent value, ownership and pride that children place on their cultural heritage and language is central to understanding one's place in the world.

Mātauranga Māori

Learning te reo Māori provided speakers with the opportunity to extend their knowledge of mātauranga Māori. Motivation to learn more about Māori ways of viewing the world was coupled with the desire to improve participants' abilities in te reo Māori.

> *Kristina:*
> *But I guess for now too, one of the big motivating factors is like … there's like so much of learning about te ao Māori too and I think you can only do that with the reo, like learning about the planets and learning about the way we do our kai and like to me like ancient, not ancient but the way our tūpuna used to cultivate and things like that I'm really getting into that and I know that the only kind of way to really fully grasp it is to keep going with the reo. (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

Kōrero pūrākau were other aspects that were discussed by participants as inciting motivation to learn more, particularly by competent speakers of te reo Māori. Other aspects articulated by this group of participants were the improved ability for them to move between Māori and Pākehā dominant spaces and thought processes.

> *Heremia:*
> *I guess [my motivations] are not only the reo, but also the pūrākau which is always why there's a strong motivation for me to come back here, to Te Hāroto, ah because like my tamariki, I still have a yearning to learn and understand our kōrero and our pūrākau from the marae. Obviously if we don't have those stories, we're just saying words. I want for our, for my tamāhine and for our tamariki, to actually understand some of the essence in behind the words and the stories that we use, so that it's not just another word that's being spoken that doesn't have any real sustenance to it or substance to it. (Heretaunga, 36-45)*

Spiritual grounding and connectedness:

Some common ways in which participants referred to how they felt about engaging in te reo Māori were through terms such as "grounding", "spiritual", and "centring". Recognising that there was "something bigger than one's self" was empowering for some participants.

> *Kristina:*
> *I think the reo too for me … 'cause when you're able to understand the karakia and the waiata and the kōrero and even though there's still a lot to learn there's deeper things within those things it's like a spiritual thing 'cause it's something higher than yourself … (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

For many participants who were comfortable to share these experiences described how they viewed te reo Māori as a spiritual journey that helped them feel whole and reduced feelings of disconnection. Participants who were not raised speaking te reo Māori and learned it at a later stage of their life explained that they felt that there was something missing and that their connection with their culture through te reo Māori provided such connections. Having te reo Māori as a means of communication allowed individuals to develop themselves holistically. Examples are provided in the quotes below.

> *Hone:*
> *Ki au nei, i au e kōrero Māori ana, kua tino mārama ahau ki au anō. There isn't a disconnection nē, umm, i au e kōrero Māori, it's clear, its consistent, it's wai ki taku whakapono, koia pea te rongoā ki roto i te reo umm, koinā ka kōrero au i ngā kōrero i makere noa mai i aku kaumātua, ana kua hoki aku mahara ki ā rātou, tērā momo nē. Ka kōrero Māori ahau, ka hoki aku mahara ki te moana, ki te awa, ki te ngahere, i ahau e noho ana ki roto i wērā āhuaranga. Koirā pea te rongoā mōku. (Te Tai Tokerau, 18-25)*

> *Georgia:*
> *I think for me it's more of a spiritual thing, like knowing who I am myself. It's given me confidence. I guess within that confidence I'm able to get out there more and be more confident in myself. (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

It must be noted that participants were unprompted in their disclosures about the spiritual value of te reo Māori. Within one particular focus group discussion with language educators, individuals talked about the importance of having an open wairua to learning. When the wairua is open to learning, positive outcomes can occur for learners.

Within the theme of having a wairua connection with te reo Māori, participants discussed how te reo Māori acts as a form of rongoā. Common phrases used included, "It makes me feel good/better." Participants explained that te reo Māori provided them with a sense of tūrangawaewae, and how it helps in times of uncertainty, or when feeling lost. Part of the rongoā related to te reo Māori was the language itself. Other elements that participants found helpful to their wairua were the ability to connect with others who placed value on te reo Māori, and being in spaces, such as marae, where te reo Māori was normalised.

The following participant expresses how she would love to continue coming back to class year after year due to the healing nature of her experience with the class.

> *Heather:*
> *Like yeah "I'm back again, kia ora it's my fifth, sixth year," you know [laughing]. Yeah, yeah so I just you know, that's why I'm always at everything that's just sorta going - it just yeah, it just makes you feel so much better, even when I think of people that are on you know – drugs and you know, meths and all of that I think maybe if they could just get into a reo class you know something might click for them. Yeah, yeah or just go to a waiata class you know? (Rotorua, 36-45)*

Participants who discussed the healing aspects of te reo Māori indicated that they wanted to share these attributes with others who they could see were struggling with making sense of their identity in our societies.

Waiata was used as a means of therapeutic release for many participants who felt that they were able to connect spiritually with the concepts being discussed, even in instances where they were not completely confident in the meaning of the lyrics.

Many participants described having a feeling that there was something missing prior to learning te reo Māori, and these feelings lessened through their learning journeys.

> *Andrea:*
> *I can yes because I know that that whole thing that was missing in my life when we started talking about what motivated, that's definitely … I feel more complete, I feel more whole and I think it's actually helped a lot with me dealing with past issues in my upbringing and things. It just gives me another lens to be able to look at the past and know that I'm valued and I do have some worth (Kirikiriroa, 56-65)*

Participants were also asked to describe how te reo Māori relates to wellbeing; as previously described connectedness was a central feature of wellness.

> *Marlana:*
> *I see [wellbeing and te reo Māori as] being connected because in order to like, for me being Māori incorporates reo. And so, um my need or wanting to improve my reo to me means improving my wellbeing. Ah doesn't mean that I'm not whole, it just means that I can only ever umm… deepen and enrichen and grow even further. You know what I mean? Yea so it goes hand in hand. Um mm not understanding things, that brings a sense of um missing out? Because there's a part of the world, that I really want to know about that ah I don't understand the language side of it, but I can feel it. Yeah. So, that's in there too, if that makes sense. (Kirikiriroa, 36-45)*

Healing of trauma

Through engaging in language acquisition, participants indicated that reo Māori learning and engagements associated with te reo allowed participants to heal from historical trauma. Included in these discussions were acknowledgements about the traumatic events suffered by older generations. In contemporary contexts, participants provided examples about how te reo Māori in mainstream contexts can be healing, particularly when discussing topics heavily influenced by colonisation. The use of waiata and karakia in Pākehā dominant spaces also offered participants protection in these spaces of high cultural risk.

One example a participant gave described an occasion within the criminal justice reformation space, where historical trauma was highly topical and present within a public discussion. Filling the space with te reo Māori allowed Māori present to reclaim their position in an occasion that was highly emotionally charged.

Participants also expressed immense sadness through seeing kaumātua learning te reo Māori at an older age; however, being able to reconnect with te ao Māori through te reo Māori was also explained as healing for both generations.

> *Werahiko:*
> *As part of this podcasting thing we went to interview this really cool kaumātua organisation in Hamilton called Rauawaawa. They are not just for Māori kaumātua, but of their kaumātua are Māori and they have something like 500 on their books that come in and do courses on raranga, lots of different things and they most go out on trips and you know, [...]. And when we were there, they had a te reo Māori class. And I went in there and honestly, I was in tears, looking at these kaumatua learning their reo. I was like aww that's so beautiful [begins to cry] and sad you know. That they would have to be, you know have to be learning it now [upset] sorry. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 36-45)*

Participants also acknowledged the harm of colonisation that had been inflicted upon Māori, and how these actions had directly impacted the learners. Participants indicated that in order to reduce the negative impacts of harm of colonisation on the following generations, parents needed to take direct action to prevent future generations continuing to carry the hurt.

> *Anahera:*
> *Ultimately I got to the point of, 'No fuck that!'. You know, like there comes a point in which I'm making the mistake, you know, mistakes have been made and colonisation has hurt us, but there is a point in which I am continuing to allow that to happen to me. Whereas I now get to choose to make it different even though it will hurt. Even though it's potentially gonna be really uncomfortable. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 46-55)*

There were at least four participants in this study who had parents who were able to kōrero Māori, but their children were not made aware of this fact until they were adults themselves. Historical trauma that had impacted on the policy and practice to silence older generations' language use was at the centre of why te reo Māori had not been used in the presence of their children.

> *Rex:*
> *I'm like I'm 21 and I didn't know my mum could speak that much Māori and honestly that cut because they um just knowing that they can and then don't speak te reo Māori, that was quite hurtful for me. (Te Papaioea, 18-25)*

The occasion described above demonstrates the emotions involved with learning that parents could speak te reo Māori and had chosen not to speak to their child. The example above was described by the participant as hurtful; however, revelations like these were also described as healing and uplifting for some participants to know that the silencing of their parents' reo had been resolved in some instances.

Māori Identity

Te reo Māori in relation to identity exploration and confirmation was prominent throughout the interviews. Aspects of identity are prolific throughout these results with connection being a central thread of identity. Having te reo Māori in Māori dominant spaces allowed participants freedom to participate. Individuals often discussed identity in terms of 'knowing who they are' and feeling confident in themselves as Māori. These aspects relate to McIntosh's (2005) concepts of claims making, in the sense that when we state that we are Māori we are making a claim of ingroup belonging. Te reo Māori and the compounded relationships that are involved with the identity development process were prolific throughout our results.

The power of the imagination also comes into play when considering the potential of becoming a language speaker. Borrowing from Ushioda and Dörnyei's (2009) future selves concept, a learner is thought to have two prominent ways in which they see their future language speaking self, including the 'ought' and the 'ideal' self. The 'ought' self is based on feelings associated with obligation and the expectations that come with attempting to become a speaker of the target language (Dörnyei, 2009). The 'ideal' self on the other hand is associated with more positive emotions, such as the desire to align the current self (actual self) with a self that one can imagine in the future who has language speaking capabilities. The 'ideal self' is thought to be "a powerful motivator to learn the L2 because of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 29). One question that was asked to some learners of te reo Māori in this study was whether the individual could envisage themself as a speaker of te reo Māori. In some instances, participants found it difficult to envisage themselves as speakers. However, when asked whether they could describe how they might feel as a Māori language speaker, participants responded in by saying that they would feel connected, confident and proud.

The responses below include those from learners of te reo Māori who were contemplating the emotions associated with current and future language states of being.

> *Louise:*
> *For me it is my true self I feel. I wish I could speak te reo Māori all the time every day but I'm not there yet and I don't even know if Aotearoa is there yet but when I can kōrero and be able to do that without having to think am I saying this right or first translate and then say it if it just flows naturally then I will feel completed, there'll be a proud feeling. Yeah. (Tauranga, 26-35)*

> *Werahiko:*
> *I do think it's actually mostly about my sense of identity and kind of wanting to feel, you know that, that important part of my identity has kind of manifested in the way I talk. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 36-45)*

> *Rangitāne:*
> *It was definitely about .... reclaiming that part of myself insofar as starting that journey, you know, just really starting that journey. It wasn't um, I don't really look at it as the final um the be all and end all because I'm still on that journey, like I'm definitely, I'm not there, but it's an ongoing thing. (Kirikiriroa, 36-45)*

Competent speakers of te reo Māori equally noted the immense sense of self-confidence gained through being speakers of te reo Māori. This confidence was connected to their identity as Māori.

> *Hiria:*
> *Reo is about identity so um knowing where I come from. Who I come from, and also being able to connect to those things through reo is I think a thing that makes me healthy, you know. Because if you don't know those things and you can't speak about those things in your language. Think there's a lot of, there'd be a lot of mamae and just emptiness, you know, 'cause te reo is a big part of who I am. Even though I don't use it all the time at, on a daily basis, it's there. It would just be like cutting a big chunk out of my body. That's what I think. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

> *Rebecca:*
> *I think that's what everyone needs. Everyone needs it. Kia whakatau tō ngākau, tō tinana. That's how you find yourself. [...] I think if you feel lost, if you jump in Te Ao Māori you find yourself. (Rotorua, 26-35)*

These points were coupled with the idea that through connection to te ao Māori, individuals are able to find balance in their sense of self.

> *Andrea:*
> *I don't know I just feel more balanced, I feel like I'm free, I'm free to use it, there's no restrictions put on me ... I've never really thought about that before. I've gained more confidence in myself and who I am (Kirikiriroa, 56-65)*

Although some participants indicated that they were confident with their connections to their heritage sites of significance, having a sense of connection with te reo Māori was a prominent reason for Māori language motivations.

> *Corban:*
> *Knew we were from Tuahiwi. Knew that it was in North Canterbury. Knew that it was close to the Wai Makariri and a few other bits and pieces. But I think that sense of finally being grounded and having a sense of ... tūrangawaewae I suppose. So if you kind of know who you are and where you fit in the greater fabric of things, i.e. whakapapa, then kind of yeah, it gives you that sense of belonging that can be quite powerful. (Ōtautahi, 26-35)*

Some participants explained how feeling comfortable in Māori spaces was a result of having increased te reo Māori capability. Having access to Māori language spaces contributed to individuals' sense of identity.

> *Marlana:*
> *I think I can name it now, name what I probably felt then, that kind of innate draw or yearning to be connected through the reo. That probably came from um some sense of disconnection or dislocation from not being raised on marae. Being around marae but being raised on marae and not feeling comfortable in those spaces. I think now they are definitely more comfortable spaces for me, so if there is anything Māori happening, kaupapa Māori I wanna be involved in it in some sense. (Kirikiriroa, 36-45)*

Wāhanga tuarua: Ko ngā take whānau: Family-related motivations

Whānau who were able to learn alongside one another reported a number of benefits in terms of their ability to use the language together as a whānau. In two-parent families, having a supportive spouse who was either a speaker of te reo Māori, an active learner of te reo Māori, or someone who actively permitted the use of te reo Māori (irrespective of their own fluency) positively contributed to language use. Māori medium education contributed to the normalisation of te reo Māori within whānau. Parents and grandparents (and future parents) were focused on a future where their child or children were Māori language speakers in a society where te reo Māori was normalised. Aroha for tamariki and mokopuna made goals for learning and improving te reo Māori more immediate for parents in particular who often needed to keep up with their child's learning. These factors are further explained in the theme below.

Key findings from this theme included:

1. Most families in this study had one Māori speaking parent in the home;
2. In two parent homes, having a spouse who was supportive of te reo Māori improved the likelihood of te reo Māori being used in the home;
3. Hearing extended whānau members speak te reo Māori normally, even in a passive sense, provided motivation to potential learners;
4. Hearing te reo Māori being spoken was healing for older generations;
5. Being able to be a guide or language authority (for instance someone who could provide language advice or support) for younger generations was a motivation for older learners;
6. Rangatahi viewed their commitment to learning and using te reo Māori as a means of creating connections with their kaumātua who were Māori language speaking; and
7. Being able to understand te reo o te paepae was a reason why some individuals (particularly males) were motivated to learn and speak te reo Māori.

Whānau-related factors

Whānau were central to the acquisition and sustained use of te reo Māori. Some of the features related to this theme were having a pou reo or someone within the whānau who made a concerted effort to use and promote te reo Māori within the whānau. Given that there was an over-representation of women in this study, it is not surprising that many of the mothers in each family played the role of pou reo; however, children and fathers were also reported as contributors to this role.

It was nearly always the parents who played a role in whether a child was educated through Māori medium education or English medium. While parents made the initial decision regarding education, rangatahi participants indicated that it was important that they themselves felt that they had autonomy to decide that they wanted to be speakers of te reo Māori, as opposed to needing to learn due to the expectations of a parent.

A strong motivation for parents in this study was to have te reo Māori normalised in their children's lives. Parents took active steps to ensure that te reo Māori was a constant language that was used with their children. In two parent families, te reo Māori proficiency often varied between partners; however, nearly all partners were supportive of their partners' process of language development. Some partners demonstrated this support through creating resources for their partner or making time to practise with their partner.

The points below demonstrate some of the benefits of having a partner who is either a speaker of te reo Māori, or who is actively learning. In this study, there were very few partners who were unsupportive of speaking te reo Māori in the home.

> *Anahera:*
> *My partner has been so adamant that he will learn. Which is amazing. Um but it's been hard, he's been trying. So he got all the Scotty Morrison books and he's been trying, because he's working full time as well, you know, and he's trying to learn, and I'm trying to yeah yeah. And um he has not been able to. So this year he has enrolled into Ataarangi with my son. So, and what's really amazing about that is that, which I found really exciting, is that a lot of the women that I've met there who speak te reo they, their partners and children are coming after. So the women are leading that again, you know, as in history, you know, and they're bringing their whānau with them and that's so [emphasis] awesome to me. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 46-55)*

> *Eru:*
> *E ngana ahau ki te whakamahi i te reo i ngā wā katoa. Engari, kei reira ētahi o ōku whānaunga kāre anō kia tino aro mai ki te reo. Engari, you know, waimarie katoa ahau ko ōku mātua, he kōrero Māori, ko ōku tāina, he kōrero Māori anō hoki. Tāku wahine, he kōrero Māori, āku hoa mahi he kōrero Māori te nuinga. You know, whakapau kaha kia mau i te reo. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 18-25)*

The point raised by Eru above is that even in situations where speakers do not have family members who kōrero Māori, having a partner and a supportive speaker cohort is important for allowing speakers to continue using te reo Māori.

There was one point made by a participant who indicated that although they were largely supportive of other learners, sometimes it is more difficult to be patient with language learners who we are very familiar with.

> *Heather:*
> *I teach um, my husband so we both – so I come here and then I take him to night classes twice a week as well and so I teach him, I'll go over what we've learned and teach him a bit at home. Um, I find I'm not very patient - teaching somebody that you're comfortable – that comfortable with. You know like, other people you know, you find yourself quite patient - "oh yeah" and I'm like [deep breath] you know? Yeah, yeah so maybe I'm not a good teacher in that aspect but um yeah I do that... (Rotorua, 36-45)*

Having fun as a whānau with te reo Māori was also something that was noted by participants with families. There was an active attempt to make te reo Māori 'not always tapu' or a reo ōkawa. Playing games with one another supported this language goal.

> *Heremia:*
> *Te reo is always a main focus of mine. Again, just coming back to trying to normalise it a little bit for my, my girls just so that they don't feel that there's something to be afraid, or whakamā about when it comes to conversing in Te Reo Māori. It's just a natural language, a natural reaction, a natural usage that you do wherever you are. So that's the motivation, and that's, I guess those are the times when I use it is continually throughout the day. (Heretaunga, 36-45)*

> *Mania:*
> *So, when [my sister] first started Uni um ... she would try to pick/make um games that we could do at home when she came back. [...] When she came back she would always go, 'ooh let's play, let's play a game'. [...] So we'd try play those games and yeah when she started doing her Māori papers, she would get way more engrossed in it and how she is so um, how do you say, inspired by everybody else around her and then she brings it home and makes us inspired by her. (Waipa, 18-25)*

A few points are raised in the excerpt above. Firstly, a language community can have a positive impact on a learner who does not come from a Māori language speaking whānau. Secondly, it only takes one family member to learn te reo Māori to have an impact on the rest of the immediate whānau. In situations where the whānau enjoys one another's company, te reo Māori games can be introduced to produce language outcomes for whānau who may be at the beginning stages of acquisition.

Tamariki-related factors

Children provided a practical motivation for language use. Most parents indicated that their children acquired new language features quickly. Parents who were learning alongside their children indicated that they were actively challenged to learn more and use more Māori than prior to making the decision to speak te reo Māori with their children. Having full sentence cards around the house helped parents who were new learners. However, there was a point at which children's language growth sometimes exceeded the acquisition of their parents.

> *Anahera:*
> *Whatever you were doing in your life, whatever exciting adventures you were having your children tether you to the whenua nē? So, and you want for them what you didn't have. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 46-55)*

> *Georgia:*
> *I think as I got older, when I had my first daughter I went to Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and did like the first basic class there 'cause I just felt like I really wanted her to know Māori. I had cousins and their kids could kōrero Māori and I just felt like she would be just missing out. She would be like me, she would grow up and end up twenty something and being like I still can't kōrero Māori. (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

> *Hiria:*
> *It's number one priority on my parenting list pretty much. Yip. Along with safety and [laughs] and nurturing. But no, it's like, because it's our language of communication, my baby and I. Um it's really important. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

Children's language use was described as particularly healing for kaumātua who relished hearing their mokopuna speak te reo Māori. Hearing te reo Māori spoken by children was also healing for older generations of participants in this study.

> *Louis:*
> *Just on that one too, you know my mokos. To hear them kōrero Māori and that and to hear children kōrero Māori you know it's just wonderful. To know that they, they've got it. (Kirikiriroa, 56-65)*

> *Andrea:*
> *The main motivating thing I think for me at the moment is my grandchildren, so really trying to be kaha for them. So yeah, it's like the original reasons, I've settled that kaupapa, it's evolved and now I'm on the next level. (Kirikiriroa, 56-65)*

> *Pēti:*
> *Well I use mine quite often with the mokos, moko tuarua and um most of all it's when I get to the kōhanga and meeting other … ah, ētahi o ngā kaumātua or ngā mea mōhio ki te reo, kei te tāone [Moko: agrees] or ki hea rānei, ngā tangihanga ah ngā mahi Māori. (Whakatāne, 36-45)*

One of the challenges for parents was creating spaces where te reo Māori was the normal and dominant language used. Children adapted to their social environments quickly. This was demonstrated through the switching of languages from Māori to English in spaces that they had relegated as English language domains. This was a challenge for some parents who described having children who would use Māori at school and with other people of authority, yet would switch to English once home, or with their parents.

Intergenerational relationships and benefits

Many rangatahi in this study viewed te reo Māori as a language that was connected to their koroua and kuia. This connection was described as being highly emotional and demonstrated the intrinsic link that can occur in their relationships. Te reo Māori provided some rangatahi with a feeling that they were able to enhance their relationship with their elders through the acquisition or use of te reo Māori.

Processes of colonisation have created conditions where role reversals in cultural contexts have been produced due to the limited number of speakers that we have to take on particular roles.
These challenges are described in greater detail later on in this report and include rangatahi describing their discomfort taking on roles traditionally fulfilled by kaumātua. With the challenges of having more rangatahi able to speak te reo Māori in many contexts than in their parents' (and sometimes grandparents') generation, there was also a lot of beauty and compassion discussed. Mature generations described the joy that they felt when they heard rangatahi speaking te reo Māori, and in some instances were motivated to learn more te reo Māori due to the positive impact of hearing te reo Māori spoken by rangatahi generations.

Rangatahi expressed empathy with the language anxieties that they observed in older generations and in all instances, understood the circumstances under which such conditions had arisen.

> *Terrance:*
> *[Kaumātua] would rather talk in te reo there. And they joke around a lot and I know they do. But um I wanna be able to be included in that conversation in that kōrero and not just be a bystander? And like if one of the kaumātua's throwing shade on another one, I wanna know that, I wanna know what you are saying about my dad! So um that what motivates and inspires me is to be able to tautoko mum and dad when they come home. (Te Papaioea, 18-25)*

> *Heremia:*
> *the whole intention for me to learn Te Reo Māori was to be able to understand what our kaumātua were talking about on the paepae. I mean I'd sit there and I'd be listening and you know, it just sounded like a whole lot of information that I was missing out on and I wanted to understand it. So the intention was meant to get some understanding and some enlightenment in terms of what we're doing out here. (Heretaunga, 36-45)*

Reconnection with whānau was a central point raised by participants in this study. This was the case for those who lived outside of their tribal boundaries as well as those who may have been raised within their own rohe.

> *Sarsha:*
> *Reconnects you with all your whānau, you know, it reconnects you with everything really. (Rotorua, 66-74)*

> *Te Reimana:*
> *So, um. I don't know just like growing up you know when you're little you're on the marae, and you see all the old koros talking in their reo, and after a while you're just like, 'Man I wish I could understand what they're saying.' Like my koro [name], nanny [name]. So that was another reason why I wanted to learn te reo. Was to, so I can um, what's the word? Kind of feel a little more close to home. Or like, um yeah just understand what my, you know, my kaumātua, my kuia are saying. And to ah, um, I don't know, it just makes me feel more Māori. (Ōtepoti, 18-25)*

Wāhanga tuatoru: Ko te taha ako: Education-related motivations

This theme focuses on education related factors that contribute to Māori language motivations. Cultural concept guidelines such as whanaungatanga and manaakitanga were fundamental principles underlying positive teaching and learning practices in Māori language settings, thereby increasing language use and acquisition. These findings are aligned to other Māori education research (Bishop, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2007; Ministry of Education, 2011). Allowing participants the space to demonstrate vulnerability was also very important particularly during initial learning phases. Teaching strategies and styles that were well-suited to learners also improved the chance that learners would maintain motivation to learn te reo Māori through to higher stages of proficiency. Kura kaupapa Māori graduates who entered into tertiary education institutions indicated that being challenged to understand the finer intricacies of te reo Māori was also positive for their motivation to improve their capabilities.

Key findings included:

1. Manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and aroha were highly desirable characteristics necessary in language learning environments;
2. Learners of te reo Māori utilised strategies such as watching Māori TV, listening to waiata Māori, labelling, or writing out sentences in Māori to help support their use of te reo Māori;
3. Relationships developed between peers, as well as with teachers, had the ability to sustain student motivation to continue learning and using te reo Māori;
4. The value assigned to te reo Māori in educational institutions has the ability to impact on individuals' decisions to engage or distance themselves from language learning;
5. Choosing a course that is well-suited to an individual's learning style directly impacts on language motivation;
6. Courses that promote higher levels of language analysis (linguistically) can be challenging and rewarding for users of te reo Māori; and
7. Māori medium education, including involvement with Te Kōhanga Reo, allowed some families to see the direct value of te reo Māori through their involvement with and exposure to te reo Māori in normalised community settings.

Cultural values in educational settings

Those who had acquired te reo Māori in formal learning situations came from a range of learning contexts, including wānanga, Te Ataarangi, universities and compulsory education (both English and Māori medium).

There were two critical concepts used in an education-related context that were related to enhancing motivation to learn and sustaining language use. These included manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. Manaakitanga was vital for establishing positive learner outcomes and increasing students' motivation to continue to pursue language learning. The contexts of manaakitanga involved the behaviours between students as well as the relationship between teacher and student.

> *Hiria:*
> *Manaakitanga. Whanaungatanga. Um aroha ki tētahi, tētahi, tētahi ki tētahi. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

> *Whaitiri:*
> *[In an ideal learning environment] there would be like quite a lot of manaakitanga around, and you know just support around to learn the language. There would be a lot of like umm, whakawhanaungatanga around, like I would just be in an environment where I am comfortable with the people that I am learning with, umm, learning something that I actually like, has value to me. (Waipa, 18-25)*

The importance of both of these concepts was central to our findings. In a learning context, having the space to create relationships with peers and teachers was central to the feeling of the learning experience. Safety within relationships allowed participants to feel free to use te reo Māori. Relationships contributed to a sense of connectedness that learners were seeking within their language learning experiences. In instances where whanaungatanga was lacking in a particular course the course felt less authentic and less aligned with what a student might expect in a Māori language course.

Having peers who were supportive of te reo Māori, and the learning process, was also critical for learners' initial desire to engage in te reo Māori as well as learners' motivation to continue to pursue their language studies.

> *Marlana:*
> *Friends, whānau, colleagues. Yep I've got a pretty supportive crew that would be pretty encouraging. I've got a crew of friends that um we all signed up to a reo course last year all together [...] it was cool to have them to kind of talk with, I've got friends who are reo speakers um a native speaker, second language learners, reo teachers. So, I've got people around that are really encouraging and supportive and patient, patient. And um yea supportive in terms of they give a space that is actually nurturing, yeah that you can be brave and actually give it a go. (Kirikiriroa, 36-45)*

Learning techniques

There were a number of individual level factors related to language motivations in education contexts. These included being able to monitor progress; seeing themselves as a competent learner; and having the autonomy to change their learning outcomes based on a change of language learning practices. Being able to see progress in learning contexts was helpful. In instances where individuals were able to identify that they had skills that were particularly suited to language learning, these experiences were positive. Participants who could clearly see themselves as language speakers in the future tended to have clear reasons for learning, matched with clear learning pathways. Seeing oneself as a 'good' learner was related to learner autonomy also.

> *Anahera:*
> *It was kind of delightful to realise you understood. But I also understood things that he didn't repeat in English. Maybe because they weren't necessary, but it was kind of delightful, you know? Um, but that real caretaker um that must be such a hard thing to navigate as Kaiako, but that real nurturing sense of 'Kei te pai', you know, 'pai tonu', you know? 'Kōrero reo Māori', you know, and keep trying, and keep going, and ahakoa te raru. So there were a number of assessments which were awesome. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 46-55)*

Some specific techniques applied by participants in this study included the use of audio resources, Māori Television, and labelling of contexts inside of the home. Older learners tended to describe listening to tapes, while younger learners listened to podcasts, or Spotify. These results indicate that it is worth investing time to support older learners to upskill on the more recent resources that are available to support their learning.

The labelling of household items was a common technique that participants used to promote the active use of kupu Māori. Some participants provided labels with full sentences in some instances to support learners within their households.

> *Georgia:*
> *What I've actually done is I've gone around our whole entire house and I, last year, the year before last I did He Kāinga mō Te Reo, I labelled everything, like all the kupu Māori for everything and then once everyone learnt all of those kupu, I've actually done sentence structures last year. After doing Te Tohu Paetahi I did sentence structures all around the house and phrases as well. So I use Scotty Morrison's book and he's got heaps of phrases and so by your bedroom is all the phrases, everything, what you would say, whakawetohia te rama all of those sorts of things, all over the wall. [...] I decided to put sentence structures on the wall just because I could see my husband was struggling so much with keeping up with our daughter. (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

A point raised by many participants was that learning at home needed to be an active process. Being aware when new words were introduced to the home and taking action to learn these words was a useful strategy applied in some homes.

Sarsha:
I've got a whiteboard at home and my goal this year is to um learn at least ten kupu, understand them properly so I just go over them. So I've got a big whiteboard and I've got a little one that I wrote my kupu on and even if I'm watching TV I put it there and watch TV, pause, you know and then go over you know just for that memory thing. (Rotorua, 66-74)

Anahera:
And television, Ako, and Ōpaki. Ōpaki was awesome when I was first starting. I couldn't understand a thing, you know, I was like, this should be really easy. I was like, what? And listening to Ako was the same. You know, some episodes I'm like, you know I pretty much understood that. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 46-55)

Music was a more relaxing (passive) way of acquiring the language. But it still had a positive impact on learners as waiata often created emotions that promote learners to learn more.

Marlana:
Um I listen to a lot as much as I can, so through music. So, I listen to waiata i te reo and there's so many cool contemporary artists out now. And music is more readily available I suppose, so through platforms like Spotify and online, YouTube and that. So, I try and listen as much as um... and then I pick up through phrases hearing it ah radio. (Kirikiriroa, 36-45)

Teaching practices and relationship development

The relationship that students build with their kaiako was closely linked to motivation. Individuals who noted that their style of learning was consistent with the teaching practices of a given kaiako experienced the most successful language outcomes in terms of end language production. Having learner expectations match the classroom experience is discussed in research by Norton (2013). Norton proposed that even though a learning technique applied by a competent language teacher may be well thought through and work well with some students, if the learning experience that a student expects does not match with the experience proposed, a learner may have an adverse reaction to the learning experience. Teachers were credited often for motivating students. Having positive experiences with teachers was particularly important for shifting motivations and emotions surrounding learning for older learners who may have experienced poor teaching practices in the past. Positive teaching practices were empowering for Māori language learners across participant groups.

Max: I think because the tutor had the ability to create a really safe learning environment you kind of ... it became competitive in a healthy way. So although you were nervous sharing stuff you really wanted to work in that environment and it's the way she did it. I've not seen that learning style done for ages, but she was able to engage everybody at their particular learning style so for me the initial learning process was, it wasn't nervous it was actually quite energetic and you know, proper learning for me. So to have a holt all of a sudden only reflects what's happened as a result of being in different places with ... it's usually the kuia that growl you and that's what I get and I try and isolate myself from the kuia and stay with the males for that supporting role. (Tauranga, 46-55)

Some speakers of te reo Māori in this study were also teachers. From the perspective of teachers, having a 'ngākau whakaiti' was central to creating positive relationships with students. Teachers were also keenly aware that learners came into the learning context with set beliefs about who should be teaching te reo Māori. In instances where learner beliefs about who should be teaching contradicted the situation, the teacher used humility (backed by a firm belief that they were an appropriate teacher) to alleviate learner concerns about the teacher's right to be teaching. One particular male teacher (in their 20s) often had students who were kaumātua in their reo Māori classes. The kaiako in this situation emphasised the fact that so long as the teacher is humble in their approach it is appropriate for them to be in this role. Furthermore, understanding of the colonial context, which has resulted in the circumstances of a young person teaching an elderly person their heritage language was important in maintaining positive relationships.

> *Philip:*
> *And I think our lecturers also have a key part to play in that, because they will speak to you in Māori if they know that you can understand and they will just tell you all if you can speak it, but it's sort of coming to that mutual understanding with some of the lecturers, pērā i a Hone. (Te Papaioea 18-25)*

As demonstrated in the quantitative sections of the results, having courses that were clearly organised and designed, with clear instructions for how learners could succeed were also related to how students felt about the learning experience. Organisation and clarity have the ability to reduce levels of language anxiety in course contexts. A reduction or absence of language anxiety has positive outcomes on language acquisition and language production (Horwitz, 2010; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994; Young, 1991).

Learning preferences

As indicated in our quantitative results, learners may have a clear and organised teacher but if the structure of the class does not fit their preferred style of learning – for instance, having an aversion to university lecture style, or a community rumaki based learning style – this can have an adverse impact on the learning experience. Some learners preferred structured learning environments where there were high elements of reading and writing. Others preferred learning environments where there was less of an emphasis on reading and writing. There were elements of each style that were enjoyable yet individual preferences dictated whether a style of teaching matched the participant. This suggests supportive environments include teachers who can be adapt to different learning styles of the students. It also means that if a student's expectations of how they are going to be taught differs from the reality they may find it hard to enjoy the learning experience irrespective of teaching style, as demonstrated in other studies (Norton, 2013).

> *Hiria:*
> *Providing again, providing the right tools. Um ... maybe just learning more about your students to establish what type of learner they are. What type of personality they are, so that you're not just doing the one size fits all model um on people that don't fit their model, 'cause otherwise you're setting them up for failure. And then, I mean, that's half the reason why I didn't pass some of my things at University, because of that. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

Rumaki

Having Māori language dominant spaces were very important for learners. Rumaki domains were identified as valuable partly because they gave Māori language learners and also speakers of te reo Māori the permission to use te reo Māori. Giving permission to use the language is vitally important in contexts of Māori language revitalisation as Māori speakers and learners are highly sensitive to the perceived risk of offending individuals with lower levels of proficiency.

Rumaki environments allow learners and speakers the ability to use their language irrespective of whether they are correct in their language use, which was a central concern for both groups. Inhibitions for language use are still present in these contexts. However, the granting of permission is a key benefit of these environments.

> *Andrea:*
> *I found Te Ataarangi because that way of learning really really suited me and I didn't … oh not hate, it was a love hate relationship [laughter]. Like the scary like oh I don't want to do total immersion … I need the English, I need English. But nah, best thing I ever did. (Kirikiriroa, 56-65)*

> *Georgia:*
> *I think that is the main thing for me. One thing for me I think at this level now that I'm at an intermediate level it would be awesome to see a kura for us now, people who can actually kōrero Māori but be in an environment, full time. Full immersion is really important. I'm a little bit worried about going out now and not being in that. (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

> *Werahiko:*
> *Like every time someone speaks to me in te reo Māori I go like, I freeze like I'm going to get this wrong. And I do get it wrong like all the time you know and so that just makes it even more. So, I did get the Raukawa one, because after a while everyone was like, you just have to do it, you have to get it wrong. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 36-45)*

Kura Kaupapa graduates in the context of tertiary education

Some of those who grew up speaking te reo Māori in Māori medium education chose to take te reo Māori at university. Participants from this group indicated that although they had learned te reo Māori at school, or had spoken te reo Māori in the home growing up their formal studies contributed to having an increased awareness about the intricacies of language. There was value in learning about grammar which heightened some participants' appreciation for the dynamism of the language.

In tertiary education graduates of Māori medium education found enrolling in Māori language classes a space where they could excel. Māori language spaces in Pākehā dominant tertiary contexts also provided a space where their cultural lived experiences were normalised, particularly where participants experienced marginalisation in other courses, or parts of the university.

Hohaia:
Well to be honest, it was more something that I thought I'd already, you know be grounded in and fly through because you know, learn Māori you know why do I, I'm not learning Māori I already know how to speak Māori so it's only when you get into the-

Hariata:
Easy credits.

Hohaia:
Actually, when you get into the nitty gritty of it of ngā kupu hāngū, ngā tūmahi, ngā tūoti, ngā tū aha, tū rānei, then realise actually, I know what all of those words mean but I don't know what those words are. So, all of a sudden, it's not so easy. (Tāmaki, 26-35)

Kōhanga reo

Kōhanga reo provided opportunities for parents to participate in Māori language domains. In many instances, exposure to te reo Māori within kōhanga reo did not result in improved language use unless the non-Māori-language speaking parent was actively involved with learning te reo Māori. One focus group discussed how there was a programme run in their kōhanga reo in conjunction with Te Ataarangi, and this reportedly provided a good opportunity for parents to improve their reo, while also having a language community based around a shared goal of education for their tamariki.

Tīhou:
When we were younger and she saw us going to kōhanga reo, she thought it was bad because it wasn't as structured and all that type of stuff and then she learnt well kōhanga wasn't about being structured and getting these outcomes, it was about, it was a language revitalisation strategy, and it was about bringing whānau into one place and creating a community of reo speakers. And I think that for me is a challenge these days for the revitalisation of our reo. Yep it is getting popular and people are going to the classes and stuff to learn, but what's being missed is that community of people that speak with one another. (Hokitika, 26-35)

Being associated with kōhanga provided parents a practical motivation to learn te reo Māori in that they were able to directly use te reo Māori in their daily lives within the kōhanga, which provided a language community.

Heather:
And then the kōhanga started um a project up with Ataarangi – the kōhanga, Te Ata Raukura I think and Tāti ran it and that was one day a week. So the kaiako from the kōhangas around Rotorua. [...] Yeah it was starting to you know – get into it? And then I just wanted more from there and then I ended up here and I've been here for two years and I'm just here this year again, I'm not sure what I'm doing this year that's why so yeah. Yep that's me. (Rotorua, 36-45)

Wāhanga tuawhā: Kia tangata whenua te reo Māori: A normalised language of communication

This theme centres on language normalisation. Societal factors, such as the promotion or silencing of te reo Māori are discussed. Having occasion to use te reo Māori was fundamental to the amount of Māori language used by participants in this study. Employment where te reo Māori was necessary, or at least viewed as a positive attribute had a valuable impact on language use.

Key findings from this theme included:

1. There was a perceived positive shift in how 'mainstream' New Zealand viewed Māori (particularly by those in the 36 + age bracket);
2. Media contributed to increasing the support of non-Māori for te reo Māori through the improvements made in broadcasting;
3. Younger participants who were not large consumers of mainstream media utilised other forms of social media where te reo Māori was used positively;
4. Individuals immerse themselves in more insular communities where te reo Māori is viewed positively;
5. Hearing te reo Māori used by speakers of te reo Māori in social settings sometimes gave permission for te reo Māori use by other speakers who may have felt the need for permission;
6. Employment where te reo Māori is necessary for the job provides occasion to use te reo Māori as well as an income;
7. Having te reo Māori in employment settings often provides the employee with an 'x-factor' amongst colleagues within mainstream organisations;
8. Financial benefits were most prominent for Māori speakers who also held a tertiary qualification;
9. Māori businesses and iwi employers are actively seeking to employ Māori speakers;
10. Māori speakers in younger generations have expectations that businesses should cater to Māori language speakers;
11. The employment opportunities Māori speakers gained were most often unanticipated benefits, so greater awareness needs to be promoted to current or potential learners about the economic benefits associated with being a reo Māori speaker;
12. Marae were still the most common spaces where te reo Māori was used and heard;
13. Language rights associated with being tangata whenua were also motivations for language learners; and
14. Language speakers felt a responsibility towards te reo Māori as to why they chose to learn.

Te reo Māori positive communities

In many instances, te reo Māori was viewed positively by society. Participants noted that there had been positive shifts in the ways in which non-Māori viewed Māori. In many instances, participants noted that being Māori was seen in their own communities as something to be celebrated. Participants noted that te reo Māori was something that others wanted to be a part of. A shift in the way that the media was reporting about te reo Māori, and in te reo Māori, was partly credited for this societal shift in attitudes. Two participants who worked within the media industry noted that there had been a positive uptake by non-Māori staff of in-house te reo Māori lessons. These lessons proved to be positive for Māori language use in mainstream broadcasts.

> *Hariata:*
> *I love it here [mainstream media production agency]. I love the whole, because there is such an appetite for learning te reo Māori in this building. Um when they first put the classes on they expected like maybe 20-30, 50 tops but then over a hundred applied for the class so they had to put on more. Um and it's being taught by Scotty and Stacey so they've had to actually I think there's three classes all up and there's still a waiting list. So, it's um I don't know... there seems to be a shift. At least here anyway. And I think um being in the industry we are in, it's a good shift um because you know it gets out, it gets out to the wider population and if it becomes the norm where people hear te reo Māori on um the airwaves or on their screens then you know hopefully there will be more people speaking it. Um but yea, otherwise yea. (Tāmaki, 26-35)*

Alongside traditional forms of media, such as radio and television, the use of social media was positive for some of the younger users. Having access to social media platforms where te reo Māori is used increases the number of ways in which Māori are expanding their use and exposure to te reo Māori.

> *Kristina:*
> *And maybe that's just because of the groups and things that I'm a part of like on social media that I only follow specific things like I might, like I follow a few NZ news places and that's where I will see if there is anything negative but otherwise there's some sort of competition or challenge, something to really engage or get people, I'm seeing that a lot, to get people to speak Māori or just be involved. (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

Participants who worked in organisations whose role was to promote te reo Māori indicated that Māori and non-Māori were keen to utilise te reo Māori in the promotional activities that they ran. One example was given in the example below:

> *Hiria:*
> *Okay, I think positively. Yip. Especially with that attitude shift towards the use of reo Māori. Um because that's the community I'm focusing on so um ... lovers of the language. Um so I, I do a bit of social media and marketing for my mahi. And um for example last week we did some valentines stuff, and ninety-nine point nine percent of the um response was positive. Probably got maybe one person that didn't like it of the thousands who did. So yeah, I'm sensing that it's positive attitudes. Mmm. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

In international contexts, Māori were also viewed positively by other cultures. There was a sense of exotification of Māori; however, the ways in which Māori were referred to was a point of positive distinction. Participants who had travelled abroad tended to be in the 20-40 age bracket, and highlighted how the act of travelling provided them with alternative ways of viewing the world and the positive framing of te reo Māori.

Older generations who had lived in Australia and had returned to Aotearoa indicated that being away from Aotearoa contributed to their decision to re-engage. The motivation for re-engaging with te reo Māori was part of a process of re-connecting to their culture.

> *Louise:*
> *The community that I know, that I've immersed myself in, it's accepted, it's growing, it's celebrated and there's so much acceptance. [...] I think that Māori are perceived as a huge part of the community (Tauranga, 26-35)*

> *Max:*
> *Where some of the best players in New Zealand are actually Māori as well so that kind of fosters that growth. A lot of the non-Māori love being around Māori, whether it's the guitar sessions or just sitting down at a table or whatever, they love them, they love being around that, whatever that generates in a social environment, they love it. 'Oh you Māoris are so lucky' and all that sort of thing. Oh why is that? (laughter) It's that language. 'Oh you guys are so awesome you've got something... (Tauranga, 46-55)*

Normalisation of te reo Māori in communities

In order for language learners and speakers of te reo Māori to maintain their reo Māori use, participants needed to make a concerted decision to seek out Māori language communities, which were not always readily available. Having access to speakers of te reo Māori who were fluent users of the reo was highly important for their sustained language use.

In order for Māori language normalisation to be maximised, participants indicated that the use of te reo Māori by fluent speakers allowed others permission to use te reo Māori. Te reo Māori usage demonstrated the value that the speaker gave te reo Māori. Therefore, the use of te reo Māori was encouraged by learners.

Other factors that supported the normalisation of te reo Māori was the acceptance of language used by those with various levels of proficiency. Being supportive of learners, particularly while they were making mistakes, increased the likelihood that individuals would attempt to use te reo Māori without fear of judgement. Any use of te reo Māori was considered positive in the move towards language normalisation.

In community contexts, having te reo Māori visible within public spaces gave participants an indication of the support that a given community had for te reo Māori.

In instances where te reo Māori was not normalised or used regularly, such as employment, Māori language advocates were seen as vital. One example of this came from Hokitika, where te reo Māori was not normalised. The participant indicates that having a strong Māori advocate come into the community from a community where te reo Māori was strongly supported was beneficial for speakers (and potential learners) of te reo Māori in Hokitika.

As mentioned above, having a connection to Māori medium education provided participants with a community of people who at the very least were supportive of te reo Māori.

Some participants indicated that te reo Māori becoming more mainstream was positive, as it meant that te reo Māori was not solely restricted to private domains. The following quote is one example of this perspective.

> *Rerewha:*
> *I think now, with it being more mainstream, I noticed from when you were growing up as kids at kura there were, Māori wasn't anything outside the walls of the home, of the marae or the kura, but now, everyone's coming to understand, their view is Māori is a part of Aotearoa. Yeah, that's why a lot of them, at the very least are starting to umm try and get the pronunciation and, which has always been a big thing for me because my name is Rerewhaiterangi. (Ahuriri, 18-25)*

Participants indicated that part of making te reo Māori a normal language of communication requires deliberate action on the part of the speakers. This point is made in the following quote.

> *Willy John:*
> *I have listened to Timoti Kāretu and all this, everybody else talk about the best place to learn and use Māori is everywhere, and I sort of take that heart you know, even that there needs to be a deliberate use of the language even when it is uncomfortable. [...] I think being deliberate and almost forcing it into your life is an important part of making it a real part of your life, that's at least my current view on it. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 36-45)*

The visibility of te reo Māori in public spaces contributed to participants feeling that te reo Māori was normalised in particular communities. In the aftermath of the 15 March massacre, Rangitāne explains that there is generally less tolerance towards racism in Aotearoa than in previous years, and te reo Māori can be used to heal and consolidate communities impacted by this act of terrorism.

> *Rangitāne:*
> *[Te reo is] more visible and even with you know, the vigils that have happened, there's lots of te reo Māori being used even by our Muslim whanaunga and all of that. And I think even in the last five years or so it's, it's come a long way than before that, and I think there's more of an intolerance towards all those nay-sayers you know, the Don Brash's of this world. Um ... um so that, I mean that's made me more excited um definitely how it's getting normalised, I think that's the technical lingo ... Ahh yeah so that, that does help me, you know motivate me to you know, get back into it. (Kirikiriroa, 36-45)*

Employment-related factors

Having employment options that allowed Māori to learn and use te reo Māori was highly valuable for the normalisation of te reo Māori. Having employment where te reo Māori was recognised as valuable was also important for sustaining motivations of users of te reo Māori.

Most of the participants in this study who were in employment (some were students, or retirees), had employment where te reo Māori was valued by their employers. In some instances, te reo Māori was the reason why they were appointed to particular positions. In employment settings where te reo Māori was required employees were empowered in multiple ways. Employees who use Māori language were seen as a benefit to the organisation; the relationships that they developed internally and externally were enhanced by their language skills; individuals gained professional identities that were positive in the eyes of their colleagues; and they were financially rewarded for their unique skill sets.

It must be noted that many of the participants in employment where te reo Māori was used in this study were also holders of tertiary degree qualifications. They were therefore skilled in their respective areas of study as well as being competent speakers of te reo Māori.

Māori businesses provided opportunities for Māori language use. Māori organisations who employed Māori language speakers did so with the knowledge that the Māori language speaking employee would be able to develop and sustain relationships with key stakeholders because of their dual skill sets.

Nearly all participants indicated that employment was not the original motivation for wanting to learn te reo Māori. Instead, employment was an unanticipated by-product. Some individuals indicated that the growth in positive attitudes towards te reo Māori provided more opportunities to teach te reo Māori, which had an employment outcome. Graduates of Māori medium education who were now tertiary students had an expectation that the workforce would become more diverse to include greater opportunities to be employed in organisations where te reo Māori was valued and normalised.

There was only one instance, an older focus group, where it was indicated that Māori should not be viewing te reo Māori teaching as an opportunity for financial gain. There was a sense that mahi aroha would be a more morally acceptable approach.

> *Pēti:*
> *No, our [motivation] is the aroha [crosstalk: agreeance] it's more aroha than paper.*
>
> *Moko:*
> *Yeah nah I don't think there's any you know thing for the economic [gain] [Pēti: agrees]*
>
> *Pēti:*
> *Are, are, are you know they're trying to add all these kupu hou nē kupu hou instead of being natural and all they're doing is [Makere: yeah that's right] for money, I don't think it's for love but that's just me those are my thoughts .. um you know, there's some kupu that are here that they say "oh, nō nehe rā" ērā kōrero but kāore au i whaka- i rongo i ērā, ētahi o ērā kōrero i tērā wā so um you know all to do with money, sad to say... [group agrees] (Whakatāne, 36-74)*

The point raised above indicates that the speaker group may be linking the economic gain that may come from being a speaker of te reo Māori with younger generations (as indicated by the use of 'kupu hou').

There was consistent feedback, particularly by participants in the 50+ age group that individuals would 'give back'. The concept of 'utu' in a Māori language learning context is researched by Rātima and Papesch (2014), who indicate that Māori language teachers and learners consider reciprocity an important element in language revitalisation. They explain how teachers will invest considerable amounts of time in a particular group or individual with the expectation that the debt be repaid, not immediately, or to the teacher themselves, but perhaps in the following generation.

In employment settings, expectations of using te reo Māori were sometimes positive, as employers provided incentives to upskill. In organisations where individuals held a Māori title in a mainstream organisation there were dual responses as to how individuals responded to expectations placed upon the speaker. In situations where the Māori language speaking employee was supported by their organisation through training, or by behaviours that indicated that the organisation would like to make a shift towards Māori language normalisation, expectations were a positive motivator. Furthermore, participants explained that their individual choice to improve their own Māori language skills often had a positive impact on their colleagues. The colleagues were in some instances given permission to advance their Māori language goals through the actions of their Māori language speaking and learning colleagues.

Participants provided multiple examples of how te reo Māori gave the individual an 'x-factor' or a positive point of distinction which they could use to their professional advantage. Māori media participants provided examples of how being able to interview 'talent' for television in te reo Māori gave their story a point of difference that was celebrated by their organisation. One example of this is provided:

> *Hohaia:*
> *You know, I had gone to the interview thinking I'm going to go back to work and my boss is going to think I'm cool because I found this Māori player – rugby player – that can speak Māori and it's going to look cool on TV but it was that moment when I saw everybody else looking at me, and then I realised that actually here we are in the middle of New Zealand's game and everyone you know all eyes – all ears – are on te reo Māori right now. So, hopefully anyway everyone else is going to go back to their respective organisations with te reo Māori ringing in their ears. And I thought, that's what, that's actually cooler than what I am going to take back to my work, is thinking that everyone else is going to go back. (Tāmaki, 26-35)*

> *Hariata:*
> *I was hired purely on my language skills, both in te reo Māori and in English because um my first role here was as a caption-er, a subtitle-er. So that basically meant I had to translate te reo Māori into English for non-Māori speakers. So, yeah that got me through the door here. (Tāmaki, 26-35)*

A point raised by participants was the fact that different professions and organisations had different options for Māori language use. We had individuals who had transitioned from English language dominant industries, such as forestry and transportation, to holding jobs where te reo Māori was used more readily. The example provided below was by someone within a social work profession who had previously worked in the transport industry.

Rerewha:
For me, I use it predominantly because of working with a lot of iwi entity and, and doing a lot of stuff with them, and for them, so I end up using it a lot more than if I would say, if I was the accountant who dealt with, our Māori accountant who dealt with mainstream entities. (Ahuriri, 18-25)

Individuals who held positions of authority in organisations were able to make decisions that supported speakers of te reo Māori into employment. Some individuals said that appointing te reo Māori speakers was a targeted strategy for their organisation.

Willy John:
The young people we have brought on as observers are speakers of Māori, so I think part of, part of our strategic maybe it's our covert strategy, our strategic choice is to choose people who are able to um speak Māori or have an understanding of Māori so it is more visible and can be heard and creating an environment where it's natural for Māori to be heard and there's really, its, from my point of view, it's a deliberate um, it's a deliberate decision. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 36-45)

Participants who were speakers of te reo also indicated that their skills were valued by their organisations. Some of the value they noted of having te reo Māori speakers in an organisation included a speaker's ability to normalise te reo Māori, provide guidance or support in a cultural and linguistic capacity and to create shifts in organisational culture. The excerpt below gives an example of these points.

Andrea:
I know that when I was employed the CEO really saw my role as someone that would start to normalise the reo around … because she asked me specifically about doing classes which I wasn't keen on because I hadn't done them for so long and I do actually really see that as part of my role is just to even say things like 'mōrena', make an effort where it's much easier … so now they know when they see me even the ones that don't, they'll say mōrena back. So it's slowly, it's little things like that that are starting to come in. (Kirikiriroa, 56-65)

One focus group noted that job opportunities were advertised on iwi Facebook pages. These advertisements are made visible to iwi members who are speakers of te reo, learners, and those who may be in a contemplative stage about language acquisition. Advertisements demonstrate that employers are interested in providing employment for speakers of te reo Māori, which may impact on iwi members' awareness of te reo Māori employment options.

Heather:
I see lots of jobs advertised you know on the Te Arawa Facebook page, you know they're always putting up jobs but I think, I feel that's for like profession – you know professional people that can kōrero Māori. I'm like "oh no that looks too hard they're looking for somebody that can – you know is matatau as" [laughing] you know I'm like "ooh no," (Rotorua, 36-45)

There was an indication that support for te reo Māori was coming from rangatahi who would be soon entering into the workforce. Therefore, participants noted the need for potential employers to recognise the demand, and the unique attributes of Māori language speaking rangatahi in employment. This point was captured in the following excerpt.

> *Adam:*
> *So, I actually do think that the economic potential of te reo and te ao Māori in general are really important, and actually are underestimated by society as a whole. Yeah, I think there is definitely going to be a shift. Especially, you know, for example, if you catch the Māori language parade down on Lambton Quay now, there are thousands of people show up, 10 years ago, it would not have been anything like that. And it is mostly younger people, so those people are going to grow up, those people are going to be the people in the workforce doing things. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

The following point is made by a te reo Māori speaker who reiterates that services need to be made available to Māori language speakers who want to utilise a service in te reo Māori.

> *Hiria:*
> *I want to do my banking, I want to you know, be able to communicate to my banker about, but in te reo Māori. Just day to day use I suppose. I also use te reo Māori with my doctor 'cause my doctor can speak Māori, and she also speaks to my baby in Māori. So that's quite a cool domain to be able to use te reo. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

One of the struggles that was raised was the fact that in past times, parents (and society at large) did not see te reo Māori as a viable language for economic gain. These results indicate that parents (and broader society) need to be made aware of the employment opportunities available to their children, even if those opportunities are not directly apparent in their own communities.

> *Corban:*
> *It's kind of opened up a door in terms of career opportunities. I mean something my parents always said was that te reo was never gonna take me overseas. The fact of the matter is, is that nearly every big overseas trip I've been on, in my professional capacity, has basically come down to the fact that I can speak te reo or, you know, I've got a knowledge base around things in te ao Māori in general that I wouldn't have had if I hadn't started learning te reo. (Ōtautahi, 26-35)*

Marae-related factors

Te reo Māori motivations often stemmed from a desire to reconnect to their marae or tūrangawaewae. Marae were still commented on as being the most likely place where they would hear te reo Māori being spoken. The paepae was the place where te reo Māori was heard most frequently, during hui or tangihanga.

Participants indicated that they were motivated to improve their Māori language use in order to support their marae through taking on Māori language roles specific to marae related practices. One participant below describes how even though she did not enjoy the public nature of Māori language learning (such as learning to karanga), she would put aside her own challenges in order to support the greater health of her paepae.

> *Hiria:*
> *Um even though I don't like public speaking and karanga, I do want to be able to give back to my marae um and be able to deliver karanga on my marae because our marae don't have it. And I know that if I, if I was to get upskilled in a safe environment, I would be more comfortable in doing so on marae. Yeah, so that is something that I really do want to do. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

Some suggestions were given to support the increased use of te reo Māori on marae, and these included Māori language classes, or rumaki situations to be held on marae. One of the challenges identified was that people are conscious not to humiliate non-Māori speakers in marae contexts. If marae hold sessions where te reo Māori is taught, this could help to alleviate this concern, and transition back into having te reo Māori normalised outside of the paepae.

> *Georgia:*
> *It would be cool to see more marae setting up and I guess we have to just do it ourselves as whānau but just going back to the marae and having rāhui on reo Pākehā just going back. You know like doing Te Ataarangi, those ways need to be incorporated because you get told no reo Pākehā and you're thinking I don't even know any reo Māori but all of a sudden, you've got all these things going on [laughter]. (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

Older speakers indicated that they were motivated to improve their skills because they were expected to transition from holding roles in the kitchen to 'keeping the paepae warm'. These transitions were not always the first preference of the participants but they recognised that the roles needed to be fulfilled.

Political motivations

All participants understood that te reo Māori was undergoing processes of revitalisation and that they were contributing toward Māori language revitalisation through their own use of the language. Graduates of Māori medium education commented on the fact that they were often reminded of the sacrifices that were made in order for te reo Māori to be alive.

There were many references made regarding the sacrifices and contributions that tūpuna made in order for te reo Māori to be spoken as widely as it is today. The appreciation of Māori language loss was also coupled with an immense sense of grief, particularly towards older generations.

Some participants indicated that they were motivated to use te reo Māori because experiences of racism had made them want to attempt to push back.

Individuals also indicated that they wanted to learn te reo Māori as a birthright and as an expression of tino rangatiratanga. Having the ability to speak te reo Māori reinforced the view that Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa and that te reo Māori should be recognised as such.

> *Hannah:*
> *It's part of who we all are and I think it is an important way of going forward for NZ, for Aotearoa. (Tauranga, 26-35)*

> *Louise:*
> *I love it because we are Aotearoa and we are Māori. It's not only our heritage but it should be their right to have both languages. (Tauranga, 26-35)*

> *Ariana:*
> *It definitely is in our context, a claiming of space. An assertion of our indigenous rights. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

In the context of assimilation, and cultural reclamation, for some participants it was important that Māori had some form of tino rangatiratanga. Some individuals indicated that their motivation to learn te reo Māori stemmed from a desire to demonstrate their cultural authority particularly when working in spaces where Māori knowledge and language was marginalised. Feeling proud of one's cultural heritage and demonstrating an affiliation with culture through te reo Māori use was at the centre of these discussions. Taking cultural and linguistic ownership of te reo Māori was positive in the sense that the individual demonstrated that they viewed te reo Māori as valuable and something that marked them as different from the mainstream.

> *Werahiko:*
> *I find myself almost kind of enjoying that position [including Māori rights discussions within professional spaces], enjoying is not quite the right word but sort of enjoying the position of being the kind of antagonist. Particularly with these white professors you know that don't give a shit about [Māori]. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 36-45)*

A few participants recalled during childhood having an affinity to te reo Māori as the connection to their culture.

> *Georgia:*
> *I always always wanted to learn and I remember [laughing] 'cause I had heaps of Pākehā friends and I used to pretend that I could kōrero Māori [laughing] and I used to just make stuff up. (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

An interpretation of the excerpt above may indicate that the participant may have felt that it was important as a child to demonstrate their connection to their culture, irrespective of their actual language abilities.

There was a feeling of responsibility of needing to know the language for some participants. Language loss was readily acknowledged and was mainly a point of reference as opposed to a direct motivation. However, one participant explains how knowledge of the state of the language impacted on their motivation.

> *Corban:*
> *I suppose I felt a responsibility to know my own language even though I wasn't aware of the state of the language at the time and things. (Ōtautahi, 26-35)*

Barriers for Māori language acquisition and use

Wāhanga tuatahi: Te pūtake o te whakamā me ōna āhuatanga

Concepts relating to specific Māori learner language anxiety is discussed in this theme. The root causes that prevent learners from processing new language information as well as issues relating to language output are explored through concepts such as whakamā. Inherited trauma relating to processes of colonisation are closely linked to language anxiety and whakamā. Being a Māori person who is unable to speak one's heritage language was debilitating for many adult learners. The role of expectations and their ability to reduce feelings of autonomy across a range of contexts are discussed.

Key findings relating to this theme included:

1. Te reo Māori is described as highly valued and connected to Māori identity;
2. Viewing te reo Māori as highly valued can inhibit learners from using the language, as language errors can be detrimental to personal and/or collective mana;
3. Both language learners with low proficiency as well as those with high proficiency experienced language anxiety;
4. Speaking to those with more fluency was anxiety provoking;
5. Speaking to those with less fluency was described as uncomfortable;
6. Expectations placed on Māori to be speakers of te reo Māori was a common experience;
7. Some Māori non-speakers of te reo Māori internalised the idea that Māori should be speakers of te reo Māori. This inadvertently reduced the likelihood that these individuals would feel permitted to enter into Māori dominant spaces where te reo Māori is used;
8. Having fun with te reo Māori, through the use of games in low-stress environments, had the effect of reducing anxieties around Māori language use; and
9. Both males and females experienced anxiety when they were asked to perform ceremonial roles that put them into a spotlight position. Anxiety was particularly heightened in situations where language capabilities did not match the formality of the occasion.

Whakamā

The barriers associated with learning te reo Māori stemmed from an inherent sense of conflict between wanting to be a speaker of te reo Māori, and not having the appropriate tools or experiences needed to do so. The central cause of these emotions came from a belief that te reo Māori was something that they placed high emotional value upon, yet were, for multiple reasons, not at a stage where their values and behaviours were aligned. Whakamā was a resulting feeling associated with being in this state.

There was an assumption that te reo Māori held high cultural value. Participants commonly acknowledged that their desire and motivation to attain te reo Māori was high, yet self-beliefs, and fear of judgement, were at the base of why they were unable to reach their language goals. Having a language that holds such high value, and a language that is tightly connected to in-group belonging or heritage, was not always positive for learner outcomes. A visual depiction of this interaction is made in Figure 14 below.

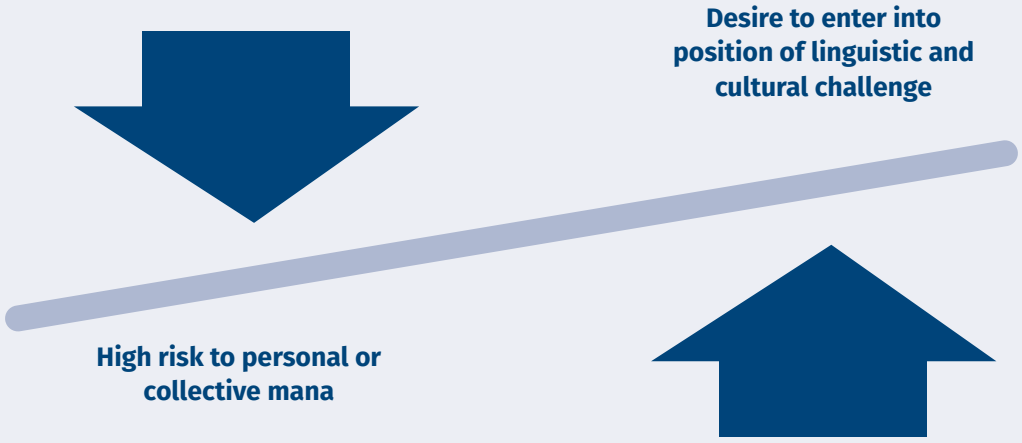


Figure 14. Interaction between linguistic and cultural challenges and risk

The stakes of failure were high for learners particularly given that the value they placed on te reo Māori was high. Individuals were less likely to place themselves into positions of cultural risk through attempting to use te reo Māori because of their understanding that failure could be detrimental to their personal or collective mana. As language learning requires a person to speak with another there is a highly public element to the learning process. Language anxiety is a term used to describe the fact that there are specific emotional processes involved with language learning that can be detrimental to the goal of language acquisition. The main barriers described by learners were barriers related to not wanting to be incorrect, not wanting to appear inferior in front of others, and fear of judgement.

There was also a tendency to have self-beliefs relating to not being a 'good learner', or difficulty in being able to visualise a Māori language speaking future-self. Learners who had not reached language competency expressed their immense sense of frustration as they indicated that they were able to learn other non-Māori language topics yet could not understand why they were unable to acquire their language. These individuals held advanced degrees and were competent professionals in their respective fields. Such findings indicate that language learning is something quite different from other types of learning.

Participants also expressed how being a learner of te reo Māori involved negative self-talk, and self-imposed barriers to speaking te reo Māori.

> *Marlana:*
> *I think sometimes we are our own barriers. I am probably my own worst inner critic and barrier of myself. Yeah, I prevent myself from having the courage and being brave to just do it. (Kirikiriroa, 36-45)*

> *Huhana:*
> *The main barriers in my life is myself. Not pushing myself when I know I've got the ability to. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 36-45)*

Individuals expressed the whakamā that came from being an adult learner who was engaging with language structures that were attainable by kōhanga-age children. Participants used terms such as 'humiliation' and 'shameful' when describing the knowledge that children had more language skills than they may have held as adults.

Some individuals who eventually reached high levels of language proficiency indicated that they needed to unlearn certain patterns of thinking that were detrimental to language use. The potential for negative evaluation from others required reframing for learners. In many instances individuals 'blamed' themselves for their negative self-evaluations in language learning contexts suggesting that although they anticipated negative judgement from others it did not eventuate in reality. One individual provides an example where he indicates that once he realised that his peers only wanted the best for him or for him to do well in a public speaking exercise, some of his language anxiety was relieved.

Individuals experienced person-specific language anxiety. They reported being able to speak the language with people whom they had high trust relationships with, though even competent speakers of te reo indicated that they struggled to speak to some highly esteemed language experts because of anticipation of language errors. Participants indicated that the power distance between language speakers needed to be reduced in order to achieve the most productive language outcomes for learners.

Participants who were highly competent speakers of te reo Māori also provided instances where they experienced language anxiety. The following example demonstrates this point:

> *Hiria:*
> *Criticism, yeah, and judgement. So that's something that I, um [laughs] even though it's my first language, it's something that's um grown over time. So the more up-skilling, the more anxiety. Which isn't good, and I think that there are a lot of speakers who feel that way, yeah, so. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

There were specific anxieties for highly competent speakers of te reo Māori relating to the use of particular registers of language, such as te reo ōkawa (formal language). In these instances, individuals found that their inability to engage with te reo ōkawa sometimes created feelings of anxiety when that type of language was expected.

A solution proposed by a competent speaker was to be gentle with oneself. As Māori acquiring our heritage language, we all have aspirations; however, compassion is necessary when we are unable to attain our preferred desired state within a particular time frame.

> *Heremia:*
> *Ko te wero nui kia ngāwari, kia ngāwari te haere. Ko te taumata o te ako, i ētahi wā ka pēhi i a koe i roto i tēnei hīkoi, ka pātukituki i a koe. Nā reira, koinā tētahi o wāku mea, kia ngāwari te haere. Ētahi wā ka noho tangata whenua nei ngā kōrero, ētahi wā ka marara haere, ka noho manuhiri noa. Engari ko te mea nui ki au nei, kia ngāwari te haere. Kaua e pēhi i a koe ki te ako whai atu ki te ako i ēnei mea. Yeah, koinā noa iho i tēnei wā. (Heretaunga, 36-45)*

Negative learning experiences made learners wary of their environment, usually resulting in feelings of whakamā that had a lasting impact. The following point provides an example:

> *Max:*
> *So I've had to have some honey with that [negative experience] to sweeten it, that was a bitter pill to swallow. But it didn't prevent me from carrying on, it made me aware of the environment and the people that are there and the context. Because if you get it wrong that's … you know. That's not the way I like to be taught if you do something wrong there are ways around it but to be chastised in front of people was actually really hard to take. So … that makes it a lot more difficult for the next stage because you're in that environment and you're thinking about what people are going to think about you. (Tauranga, 46-55)*

Negative experiences occur when a person actively uses te reo Māori and is publicly criticised. These experiences contribute to communication apprehension (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986), which is closely tied to language anxiety.

Fluency-related anxieties

The variation in levels of fluency within Māori society produced feelings of anxiety for speakers and non-speakers of te reo Māori. Language anxiety was higher for learners who were speaking to more fluent speakers than vice versa. Those with lower levels of proficiency tended to think about negative evaluations that might result from making language errors. However, a sense of discomfort was also felt by competent speakers while speaking to those with less fluency. Fluent speakers were keenly aware of the power discrepancies between both groups and attempted to level the power distance through switching to English on occasions where they suspected another had lower levels of proficiency. The decision to switch from Māori to English was usually made to uphold values of manaakitanga toward the individual with less fluency. However, individuals also described that it was easier and less awkward to speak in English on occasions where language fluency levels between speakers differed.

Many proficient speakers indicated that they would initiate a conversation using English and then change to te reo Māori.

> *Rerewha:*
> *Some people dial it back, because they don't know if you know Māori or they don't think that they are capable enough to conversate with you because you are on a different level of te reo, and normally it is just a misconception or they say nah I don't usually run into people that openly start off in te reo Māori, normally it's a, you start off the conversation in English and it goes on and you start adding more and more Māori words and they start getting a bit more comfortable and umm, slowly but surely start, yous end up having the whole conversation in te reo. (Ahuriri, 18-25)*

The barrier in this case is that speakers are not assuming that someone speaks te reo Māori, and therefore there is a risk that they may not transition from English to te reo Māori.

There were challenges in speaking to those with lower levels and higher levels of proficiency, which largely stemmed from the unease that was created by the differential language competencies. This point is made in the following excerpt.

> *Hohaia:*
> *For me I find it and it you know, I don't want to use the word but it is. It is a bit of arrogance on my behalf if I don't feel that um I feel that if there is somebody who is not at my level of communication, I find it hard to keep up the conversation. So, I'll slip back into default English, something that I feel is more comfortable for the both of us. Conversely um I can also feel that way too if I feel if I'm getting into a conversation with someone I feel is more proficient and I don't want to show my inadequacies, so I'll try and again sneak it back into English where I know we're both, I'm more comfortable in. (Tāmaki, 26-35)*

Expectations of Māori

The first set of expectations placed upon learners of te reo Māori came about in the context of colonisation. Each of the anxieties listed below are directly related to colonial processes. In-group and out-group dynamics were brought about by existentialist beliefs relating to who is perceived to be allowed to claim in-group membership as Māori, which stem from colonial notions of self-categorisation (Durie, 2001). The second set of expectations are tied to language loss. Participants who could speak Māori, even to a basic level, were often placed in positions where they would need to use the language that they had for ceremonial occasions. In instances where te reo Māori is healthy, the challenges listed below would not occur. However, due to the fact that we are undergoing processes of language revitalisation, there are fewer speakers to take on a greater number of cultural roles, in many instances without the prior training or support to feel confident taking on such roles. These are explained within this theme.

There were a range of ways in which expectations hindered the acquisition or use of te reo Māori for participants in this study. Participants themselves reported having expectations placed upon them as inherently competent speakers of te reo Māori because of their self-identification as Māori. This was unhelpful in situations where the individual was not a speaker. Such expectations created a heightened fear of failure for many.

Participants commonly had colleagues or knew of others who had felt unable to engage in Māori language contexts due to their pre-set ideas regarding Māori in-group belonging. Feeling unable or unworthy to participate due to their inability to speak te reo Māori or disconnection from marae and other Māori identity markers often acted to exclude Māori from participating in events and activities. Feeling uncomfortable about participating in Māori contexts had a fall-out effect for te reo Māori. Participants indicated that some Māori would be less inclined to attempt to join these contexts because of internalised beliefs that certain competency criteria must be met prior to te reo Māori participation.

There were a number of Māori identity-related challenges in a Māori language context. Te reo Māori was viewed by many participants as a key marker of identity. The value placed on the language was high, and therefore the risk to identity and personal mana also felt high. In plain terms, people who viewed their identity (personal mana) as being attached to language abilities could feel unable to use the language if they viewed their own abilities as limited or potentially incorrect.

> *Sarhn:*
> *I think it is expected as people see, oh he's the Māori, he should know, which is not always the case. I mean we know some stuff obviously but not always ...*
>
> *Maureen:*
> *You're looked at as the expert*
>
> *Sarhn:*
> *Yeah, yeah, especially when you're the only Māori there. He should know, what this, this, this? Oh, I don't know? That kind of adds a drive to me personally that they expected me to know but I didn't know ... so now I want to know now, what is that actually? So I'll go try find that. (Tauranga, 26-35)*

One antidote that participants gave for identity-related fears of language use was to create safe spaces to use te reo Māori where the language was practised. Creating 'fun' environments or activities where the risk to identity or personal mana was low was seen as positive.

> *Kristina:*
> *And there's times when you've just gotta have fun and gotta be silly, it's like what are you saying, oh it's really deep you can't understand, but it's something very simple. And then too I was able to go to certain things and sit up the front … oh come come, you're Māori (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

Other individuals indicated that in situations where expectations were high, and the risk to personal mana was also high, setting personal boundaries was essential. After experiencing some high-risk situations where there were real-life cultural implications for personal mana, participants indicated that they needed to be clear about their personal limitations in language use and understanding of cultural protocols. Individuals would set boundaries by agreeing to take part in some cultural processes and not others depending on their skill sets. This was perhaps the most adaptive approach to coping with expectations that were put upon them because of limited numbers of speakers being present on a given occasion.

Men in this study reported difficulties in creating meaningful whaikorero in different contexts. The public nature of performing whaikōrero meant that individuals were under stress, especially in instances where they did not have high levels of Māori language fluency and understanding of cultural norms. Being in such situations often left individuals in positions of vulnerability. In some instances, individuals noted that they would feel put down by kuia who made comment on their performances in a negative way. Some participants discussed additional stress of how to manage whakamā of kaumātua who could not perform the whaikōrero role. Being expected to be a spokesperson for a whānau was also a barrier for some individuals who perceived this task to be unachievable or carrying too much cultural weight.

Concepts of Māori male roles were discussed. Men described needing to seek safe spaces with other men to discuss some of the challenges that they experienced when entering into highly public speaking roles.

> *Max:*
> *Yeah so I guess I've spoken about the simple situations when we are in groups and you're the only Māori male there, that's an expectation as well, which is okay. I guess the more official the occasion the higher the expectation is to kind of formalise a conversation. That's what I find really difficult.*
>
> *Maureen:*
> *So is it a mihi, is it a karakia?*
>
> *Max:*
> *It will be more the kōrero after the mihi and the karakia, then it's the kōrero after that. I sweat quite a lot when I do it [laughter] and you get really nervous. I find it really difficult. The karakia and the mihi, the welcome and stuff is okay but it's the other stuff that I find really difficult so I don't do it. I don't know what it is. I know my limitations and that's a limitation and rather than embarrass myself or get chastised or whatever it's just better not to do it. So I let them know at the beginning of the whole process that I'm happy to do A, B and not C and D. (Tauranga, 46-55)*

Wāhine also commented on being called upon to take on roles of kaikaranga in situations that they were not trained for, such as karanga during tangihanga. The more important and formal that the participant deemed the occasion to be, the more stress the individual experienced. In some occasions, those with lower levels of fluency or less experience at occasions such as tangihanga refused to carry out the role and this was seen as a way of respecting the mana of the kaupapa. The risk of breaching tikanga in these instances was high, which had repercussions for personal and/or collective mana because of the whakamā that may result in a breach.

> *Louise:*
> *That's exactly how I felt with the karanga because we were the manuhiri but I was just … I'd done a few karanga but never a tangi one. Out of your depth and you feel ashamed, I felt ashamed that you have to say no, but you have to [emphasis] because the thought of getting it wrong [laughter] is even harder. (Tauranga, 26-35)*

There were expectations of elderly people who often were adult learners themselves. The expectations placed upon them were often described as debilitating and had the outcome of making individuals feel whakamā if they perceived themselves to be unable to meet the expectations.

Expectations of rangatahi were reported mainly in tertiary education Māori language learning and employment contexts. Those who had graduated from Māori medium reported being expected to know a lot about the structure of te reo Māori and to perform at high levels. These expectations were not always a barrier but they became unhelpful if the individual felt unable to meet the expectation.

There were also internal whānau dynamics relating to being a tuakana (or teina) that impacted on participants' acquisition of te reo Māori, and the expectations that were placed upon various participants. An example is provided in the excerpt below.

> *Heremia:*
> *I guess ah growing up, I've always felt an expectation being the eldest of my siblings. I have um quite a few siblings through varying arrangements, marital arrangements. Um so the expectation of um, has always been there. I've always felt that pressure. I guess over time I've just realised to try and relax a little bit on the expectation. Because at times it can feel heavy, and sometimes you, you know, you wonder why you do some of the things sometimes um because of this expectation. But yeah at times, there is a bit of expectation but I guess you just have to manage that as best you can. (Heretaunga, 36-45)*

Wāhanga Tuarua: Te tāmi o te reo Māori i ngā wāhi ako: Education-related barriers to te reo Māori acquisition

Education-related constraints are presented within this theme. The central issues covered within this theme are the impact of teacher and peer relationships and preferred teaching methods. Experiences of racism in mainstream education were highlighted by recent high school graduates as well as mature participants. Age-related challenges are also discussed in the context of language acquisition. Finally, factors surrounding language proficiency are raised.

Key findings in this theme include the need for:

1. Relationships with teaching staff and peers impacted on the levels of enjoyment that learners gained from being involved with a particular course;
2. Having teachers who understand how to teach te reo Māori is a specific skill that requires knowledge of the language and how to break it down for learners;
3. Finding a course that suited individuals' learning styles was important, and sometimes took a number of courses before a learner found an appropriate match;
4. An increase in the number of full-time tertiary courses where te reo Māori is the central focus of the qualification across more locations in Aotearoa would be helpful to learners;
5. Cultural safety was important in situations where 'tapu' content was being taught, including teaching by example;
6. In educational institutions where racism was present, Māori were unlikely to want to associate with te reo Māori learning and would actively distance themselves from anything that would make the Māori student a target of racism;
7. Learning te reo Māori as a mature student can be challenging, so creating classes that are aimed at supporting mature learners could be positive for some learners;
8. Time and money were prominent factors for why individuals reported finding it difficult to actively engage in te reo Māori at high levels of acquisition;
9. Building proficiency is crucial to maximise benefits for those who have Māori language speaking exposure. Therefore,having exposure without vocabulary to understand what is being communicated does not allow for improved proficiency in many cases;
10. In community settings where te reo Māori was normalised, non-Māori who speak te reo Māori were viewed positively;
11. In learning contexts where Māori and non-Māori were learning alongside one another, there was a need for conversations to be had about how learners could best work alongside one another;
12. Some Māori felt uncomfortable and intimidated by non-Māori learners who appeared to be more adept at learning te reo Māori than their heritage language learning peers; and
13. Recognition by non-Māori learners that there are a number of challenges that Māori learners face.

Teaching and course-related factors

The pace that the class was taught at impacted on learner motivation to persist with a given course. If the pace of course was too slow or too fast, this was also detrimental to motivations to continue in a given course. As explained in the quantitative aspects of this paper, having a learning environment that suited the learners' particular needs was central to individuals' enjoyment of the course. Having a course that matches one's personal learning style was also correlated with levels of language anxiety and whether or not they felt disorganised in their learning. Teachers who understood how to teach the language as well as being competent speakers of te reo Māori was also a barrier identified by both speakers and learners of te reo Māori in this study.

> *Corban:*
> *I think probably one of the biggest barriers is the quality of teachers for those that are wanting to learn te reo. You know I see what some people teach and I'm just like mutunga hia mai o te hē. And then when you get to a certain level of proficiency there's just this lack of resources. They no longer exist. And even with wanting to continue to utilise and use te reo as much as possible, unless you've got people you live with or people you interact with on a daily basis it can be quite easy to, not forget that you've got the ability to speak te reo, but you know, ka tahuri atu ki te reo Pākehā hei kawe i ngā kōrero … (Ōtautahi, 26-35)*

The recommendations made by Benton and Benton (1999) 20 years ago mirror the points being highlighted in the quote above. Having quality teachers is key to quality language acquisition.

Some learners were persistent with their learning, in that they would attempt to learn te reo Māori through a large range of courses in order to find the right fit. The type of course that individuals wanted to enrol in were those that were intensive courses for a full-year block. However, these courses appeared to be restricted to specific locations. Examples given included courses offered from Te Wānanga o Raukawa and Waikato University. Having few courses structured in this way meant that individuals would need to relocate in many instances in order to commit to a course. Furthermore, they would need to take leave for a full year to achieve their intended outcome, which was a barrier for most employment situations.

The relationships that learners developed with their teachers impacted on motivation in this study. As previously explained above, the teaching factors that helped to motivate learners included the ability to engage students (personal charisma, as well as encouraging whanaungatanga), having clarity in their teaching methods, and teaching with manaakitanga. Barriers that were related to teaching included the absence of those aspects previously described. Individuals provided examples of poor teaching practices, which usually were explained as shaming, or expecting the students to know more than they did at a particular level of teaching. Shame and whakamā were the central practices that led to students not enjoying their learning experience.

> *Anahera:*
> *There was no whakawhanaungatanga. I didn't know anybody in that room. We went in and we sat down, and we had workbooks in front of us, and we were at desks, and she put things on the board, and we had to do them in our book. And I remember, we're talking 25, however many years ago now [laughs]. We had to go this other separate room in our own time and put headphones on and listen to something. You know it was very weird. It felt like television programmes I'd seen of learning American things. And nobody talked about contentious politics or difficulty. Nobody raised the very factors as to why [we're in this situation]. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 46-55)*

Cultural safety

Feeling culturally safe in learning environments was important. Having the ability to make errors allowed participants to grow and develop their productive language skills. Aroha ki te tangata was a paramount feature of creating safe learning spaces for Māori to converse in te reo Māori. Some students preferred to have their teachers lead by example. This was particularly the case in instances where the topic being taught had a wairua component, such as karakia, whaikōrero or karanga. Having a teacher who students could trust to provide cultural safety in these 'tapu' learning spaces was highly related to the overall experience.

> *Hiria:*
> *''Cause it's like learning to ride a bike without your helmet, your you know, your safety gears to keep you safe. Because that's a really tapu thing karanga, and, so, you would think that teachers make you safe. And within yourself, and um and for others I guess. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

Another point raised was that although educators are unable to control the wider responses towards learners outside the classroom it is possible to create learning spaces for individuals to gain confidence in. An example of this point is raised below.

> *Tīhou:*
> *Um, what I see on people's faces and have experiences that have, to not know your reo, it can be quite confronting for you personally, and a space of shame perhaps. So if you are, so one is you can create a safe environment for them to come into and explore that but as soon as they go out I think we have quite a judgemental community outside of the places we have with each other.*
>
> *Mere: Yeah.*
>
> *Tīhou: So safety probably yeah. A safe space to express or try and fail. (Hokitika, 26-45)*

Educational environment factors

Māori indicated that they had varying experiences of te reo Māori in formal education. Those who went to mainstream schools often indicated that te reo Māori was relegated specifically to the classroom and not integrated anywhere else in their learning. Participants also indicated that they experienced racism, both overt and covert, during their high school years, which contributed to their decision to either engage or withdraw from te reo Māori. Generally, experiences of racism towards Māori at high school had the impact of reducing motivation to engage or use te reo Māori by Māori as they were attempting to protect themselves from the negative backlash. The framing of te reo Māori or Māori cultural activities was also impacted upon by the wider school culture and how Māori were perceived by their peers.

> *Mania:*
> *We didn't have an option to do it in Intermediate. There was only kapa haka. But the school that we grew up in, kapa haka was seen to be like the hori kids, you didn't want to be a part of that. [...] And then got to college. It was um... it was labelled as being Māori wasn't cool enough. And that bought like our... feelings down and wanted to put us into a different category of where we're from. So that's what also stopped me from further looking into it. Whereas, other kids would have seen it as, 'Oh my God, I'm so happy to be Māori' when they're white. Whereas, um when you're actually Māori, you looked at it to be really a disgraceful for how other people portray it. (Waipa, 18-25)*

Generally, participants in this study learned about our colonial history and racism at a university level and after processing this information made a concerted decision to learn te reo Māori. Tertiary contexts often allowed individuals the academic freedom to explore their history and identity, while at the same time, provided opportunities to form close relationships with other Māori students and staff who were supportive of te reo Māori and values. However, in situations where participants were in low power positions (such as being a minority in a mainstream school), and where racism and marginalisation were high, these institutions were not safe places for learners to begin engaging with te reo Māori.

Some mature aged participants in this study were sent to both Māori and non-Māori boarding schools. These had varying impacts on individuals. In schools that were deemed as 'good' schools, but were heavily Pākehā dominant, participants indicated that being in a position of marginality was not supportive of their goals to learn te reo Māori, or more so that when that had Māori language goals, these were left dormant in Pākehā dominant schools.

> *Te Reimana:*
> *So I took a paper on that this year and definitely, even in my health science papers, umm I was taking a public health paper and whenever we look at, you know, low socioeconomic umm statistics, they're always compared to Māori population. And so straight away, you know, if you're umm Māori, Pākehā, International, and you see these values, straight away, you know, you see Māori as being, you know, a umm low socioeconomic people. Umm a lot of health problems. You know, in poverty. Umm, you know, making lower wages. So that in itself, you know, just makes people perceive Māori as being like lower class citizens, yeah. (Ōtepoti, 18-25)*

Bullying was negatively related to motivation. In one instance, a student enrolled in Māori medium experienced bullying, and this was off-putting for the student, as the participants wanted to distance themselves from this context, even at the expense of te reo Māori.

> *Kristina:*
> *I think too like the environment you're in. I remember when I was like I didn't want to go to school 'cause the kids were horrible. Even though everything was te reo Māori, it was just like you still get bullied in te reo Māori especially if you're not from that area. So it's just like I would rather not speak Māori ever again than go to that school and get bullied. (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

Some rangatahi participants who had not been through kura kaupapa Māori discussed the divide between their own language aspirations and those of their Māori language speaking peers. There was a sense that rangatahi who did not attend MME (Māori medium education) viewed themselves as not being expected to know te reo Māori. They made self-comparisons between their Māori language-speaking peers. These comparisons resulted in some individuals feeling that the goal of attaining te reo Māori was unachievable, as they would find it too difficult to reach the same levels as those who had been through MME.

Age-related factors

For older learners, being enrolled in classes with younger learners was sometimes described as inspiring, but also did not provide the older learners the time that they needed to process the new learning material. They reported that younger learners often acquired the information more quickly and when older learners compare their own progress to the progress of younger learners, it could feel disheartening. Older learners also indicated that they preferred to repeat papers again year after year so that they could try to grasp the information. Part of the reason why older learners were re-enrolling was because the classes provided them with a language community, which they lacked outside of class in many instances.

Some learners felt that the class environment felt competitive and was less comfortable than instances where they were familiar with hearing te reo Māori spoken, such as in familiar marae contexts. A possible outcome of this finding might involve classes that are specially tailored to older learners.

> *Anahera:*
> *It was hard to come and learn te reo here. It was hard because I'm old, you know, in comparison with quite a lot of the younger students, who are like 18, 19, 20, who walk in. [...] I'm like, ooh man shame. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 46-55)*

Resource and accessibility-related factors

While most participants were aware about resources that were available, such as Spotify, Māori TV and radio, there was a general consensus that more resources were needed to support both learners and competent users of te reo Māori. Speakers of te reo Māori indicated that for those with higher levels of fluency, there were few resources that challenged their ability to learn more about the intricacies of the language outside of formal learning contexts.

Classes were out of reach for some students who participated in this study. Some individuals indicated that the time that was needed to learn te reo Māori exceeded the amount of time available to the Māori communities that they belonged to. Some individuals indicated that they had been encouraged as Māori to take a full-time te reo Māori course but had subsequently been notified that they had been cut off from their benefit. Participants in this study highlighted how learning te reo Māori could directly result in employment opportunities and that this needed to be recognised by Work and Income when they were creating criteria for eligible training for an employment outcome.

Those high-income earners within this study indicated that they were often time poor. Seeking out classes was something that they needed to do outside of work hours, and involved up to 30 minutes of travel one way. Having online learning options could be a possible solution in instances where employers are not willing to allow learners the time away from work to study during work hours.

> *Whaea Judy:*
> *Yeah. I think that is one issue I have is Work and Income New Zealand. Um they urge their pupils to go in for a course but as soon as they get a course they cut them off their benefit.*

Heather:
'Cause they don't feel as if that's going to help somebody get a job so you – yeah so that's why you'd find a lot of them just cut it off.

Whaea Judy: I've had students come crying to me of "why I've lost my benefit 'cause I'm doing a course".

Heather:
Yeah they just make sure they put it in their job plan that they're doing this course 'cause they wanna work in this field, this field and this field and that's gonna – their te reo Māori's gonna help them get this job. (Rotorua, 36-55)

Proficiency-related issues

There were proficiency related issues that prevented individuals from communicating in a natural way. If individuals lacked the appropriate sentence structures, or the vocabulary to participate, this resulted in code switching from Māori to English. Vocabulary and sentence structures were necessary to allow participants to hold meaningful discussions with one another. Proficiency-related issues were a central reason why individuals in this study did not speak te reo Māori.

Louise:
I actually went to a wānanga run by Scotty Morrison and Stacey Morrison, I can't remember what it's called [Kura Whakarauora], but they had an action plan and it was, speak te reo for one hour a day, whether that be in the morning or the afternoon, you dedicate that one hour. So after that wānanga I thought, yeah cool, this is really neat, I'm going to, I'm going to speak te reo for one hour. It lasted about 15mins because myself is a barrier, I got hōhā I didn't know the kupu. (Tauranga, 26-35)

Sarsha:
That's where I fell back was on the kupu. I didn't have enough kupu to understand what was being said but what I did know – what kupu I did know I understood, but the rest. So it's all in the kupu, the vocab you know, so the more kupu you have. (Rotorua, 66-74)

While rumaki reo learning was beneficial, particularly for those with an intermediate or higher grasp of te reo Māori, those who did not have enough vocabulary or grasp of the language struggled to see the benefit of these situations. With that said, learners from Te Ataarangi were more familiar with this style of learning, and while they may have had an initial feeling of rejection of the approach, they gained from the immersive style of learning. This was perhaps coupled with the fact that there are set stages of acquisition within the Ataarangi framework that may support learners to engage as opposed to having learners come together with the expectation that they facilitate themselves in rumaki contexts.

Anahera:
I know there are lots who do, but I know there are some who are freaking out. So I have massive empathy for the freaking out people. It's not, I don't like that we make, we don't ever mean to, but I don't like that we, that people are freaking out. And I know there's kind of the idea of 'oh well, just immerse and everyone will be fine and eventually they'll stop freaking out'. That sort of, you know, flooding for anxiety measures and stuff. But I'm like mmm but, for me, I don't want to frighten people away or make them feel like they're not, they have no place or, you know, I really believe that all the voices are necessary if we're really gonna shift everything. We really need to hear where everyone's actually at. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 46-55)

The point above is reiterated in the following quote that indicates that forming meaningful relationships was challenging for some given the limited language abilities of learners in rumaki contexts.

Werahiko:
[In rumaki contexts] you would see people like, if they were really wanting to have a kind of I don't know, a more meaningful and deep conversation they would flip to English because they could say what they wanted to say in English but they couldn't in Māori. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 36-45)

The decision to speak to someone with higher or lower levels of proficiency was highly intertwined with mana. Individuals often choose to speak with those who had the same levels of proficiency as themselves, as it felt most comfortable. Discomfort in speaking with those who had greater levels of proficiency tended to come from a place of whakamā, or anticipation that the speaker would make an error in the presence of those more proficient. Making an error had the potential of resulting in a perceived decrease level of personal mana for the speaker who made the error (or anticipated making the error).

Speaking to someone with lower levels of proficiency was uncomfortable, largely because of the idea that the speaker may make someone with lower levels of proficiency uncomfortable, leading to a perceived lowering of mana of the individual with less fluency. A second reason given in the case of speaking with someone with lower proficiency was also the fact that it was 'hōhā' and/or created an unease in the relationship. Barriers related to speaking to those with lower proficiency was not so much an issue for teachers in this study who were more familiar with negotiating relationships where the teacher had more fluency than their audience.

What these results indicate is that there is a sense of permission required of the person of greater fluency for the language learner with less fluency to make a language attempt, even if they are incorrect in their language use. If these negotiations are made explicit it may alleviate some of the discomfort in the unequal language proficiency relationship.

Participants were also quite clear that many of them had a good deal of language exposure through attendance at Poukai, hui or other events. This was particularly the case for older learners who recalled their language exposure during childhood. However, this exposure did not equate to language acquisition. Participants needed to be engaged in some type of language learning process in order for the language exposure in more natural settings to be of use to growing their proficiency.

Although language exposure did not usually tend to equate to language proficiency, it did contribute to motivations to learn in later life. Therefore, exposure does play a key role in motivating individuals to attain the language. The benefits of language exposure can be maximised when the individual has some proficiency to make sense of their Māori language surroundings.

> *Huria:*
> *We'd ah go to the ah odd hui or like there were poukai or something like that aye where te reo was quite quite prominent and um, and listen to it there even though we didn't understand it. Even though we didn't kōrero or it was just a basic kia ora, ka pai and that was it for us as kids and that was where I heard a lot, at those kind of hui. And my mum and dad even though they could kōrero Māori they never really spoke it in front of us so I heard it from my kuia and koroua. Down here at Ohinemutu my um, um koro Pararaki and my nanny Mere Peruma they always used to kōrero in fact yeah, and um, that was kind of encouraging even though I was only a tiny toddler at the moment I heard it, I recall hearing it. I recall going to listen to them on the marae and all the koroua and kuia around there yeah so, yeah that started my journey I guess you know, never kind of left me. (Rotorua, 56-65)*

Bicultural conversations and the role of Pākehā learners

Participants had varying views towards Pākehā learning te reo Māori and whether or not it contributed to their own motivation to learn or upskill. Those who saw Pākehā learners contributing to Māori language motivations were generally people who were already speakers of te reo Māori themselves. These individuals often indicated that "seeing Pākehā learning might encourage our own whānau to learn". Some of the tension that arose within this relationship stemmed from the fact that many Māori were learning their own heritage language alongside Pākehā. In some instances, Pākehā were more advanced speakers of te reo Māori, which learners themselves found problematic.

> *Rerewha:*
> *I think now in this modern era where there is a lot of other tauiwi starting to learn our language, so the onus is starting to come back onto to us to kind of learn, because if they can do it, we should be doing it ten-fold. (Ahuriri, 18-25)*

Results from participants varied in their discussions surrounding the inclusion of Pākehā learners into Māori language classes. The experiences of Pākehā speakers of te reo Māori was not a focus of this study; however, participants raised discussions about their experiences of learning alongside Pākehā learners of te reo Māori, or Pākehā speakers of te reo Māori, and these have been included. Some of the challenges that inhibited Māori support of Pākehā speakers of te reo Māori resulted from the pain that came from knowing that Pākehā were more adequate speakers of their own heritage language than they themselves may have been. In contexts where there are higher levels of linguistic vitality (as expressed in the focus group with individuals from Whakatāne), Pākehā language use was more normalised and accepted.

> *Pēti:*
> *You find a lot of Pākehā ināianei they probably go to Aotearoa and ka kōrero i te reo "Oh mōrena Whaea" nē and it's nice to hear that if we had our Māori ones at the counter saying that to us aye [...].*

Moko: Even in that shop in town, those Koreans .. did mihi to me in Māori.

Pēti: The staff at ah PAKnSAVE, they hardout. (Whakatāne, 36-74)

There were two prominent advantages that participants saw Pākehā learners as having. One of these was advantageous learning strategies but most prominently, the ability to learn te reo without having to digest the historical trauma associated with te reo Māori language loss was seen as an advantage to Pākehā learners.

There were advantages for Pākehā learners who were observed by Māori participants in the sense that accessibility to learning may not have been such a barrier to learning. Many tertiary institutions offering te reo Māori courses have a minimum grade entry. This means that many Māori who may want to enrol (before the age of 25) may be excluded due to grade entry requirements. Also, the point made below was that many Māori have competing responsibilities that leave them less able to participate than Pākehā learners.

Werahiko:
Yeah it, there was a political kind of, it became about thinking about the politics of being Māori and stuff and I know, and I know that [Pākehā colleague] tries really hard to do that well, you know being a Pākēhā speaker of te reo, and she tries really hard to put other Pākehā in their place when they become really kind of, I'm going to answer their questions or I'm going to, it comes about their being the top of class as opposed to actually is part of a wider political thing that where you know Māori have lost their language and you know, you've got the luxury of being able to pick it up. You know when lots of people you know, don't have the luxury of being able to drop things, you know they've got kids or whatever is it. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 36-45)

Participants recognised that conversations between Māori and Pākehā learners of te reo Māori needed to take place prior to and during the course of language acquisition. Furthermore, if Pākehā learners were welcomed to learn te reo Māori it was encouraged by participants that learners be taught tikanga Māori, with a particular emphasis on needing Pākehā learners to be explicitly taught the value of manaakitanga in the context of language learning. When asked what the main values were that needed to be demonstrated by Pākehā learners of te reo Māori, the following response was given by one focus group.

Everyone: Manaakitanga [laughter].

Kōtuku:
Mai rāno ko te manaakitanga tētahi o ngā tino tikanga kua tino you know, whakaū.

Ana:
Ko te manaakitanga ngā mea katoa, te taiao, papatūānuku, like ngā tāngata, ngā manuhiri, like

Kōtuku: Yeah, ko te manaakitanga pea, tētahi o ngā.

Rex:
Ki ahau nei, kāore he kupu Pākehā e ōrite ana ki te kupu manaakitanga, tata ōrite, engari ehara i te ōrite rawa. Ko manaakitanga te kupu.

Kōtuku:
He nui ngā, he rite tonu te manaakitanga ki tētahi rākau, he nui ngā peka ka heke I te manaakitanga.

Awanui: Yes ka pai.

Rex: Kei raro I te manaakitanga ētahi atu tikanga. (Te Papaioea, 18-25)

Some challenges arose when participants viewed Pākehā learners as lacking empathy towards the emotional challenges that Māori heritage language learners might experience, given the heightened emotional state that heritage language learning entails.

Some of the positive factors raised about Pākehā learning te reo Māori involved the idea that Pākehā would be in a better position to support Māori language through correct language use. Participants in this study generally did not expect the wider Pākehā population to gain high levels of proficiency. However, they appreciated the fact that more Māori speakers, whether Māori or non-Māori, would contribute to an increased critical mass. A greater critical mass allowed for more opportunities to use te reo Māori in spaces that were not confined to Māori dominant, public spaces.

Ana:
Nah I think if they are learning it then it will set, more of their people will be accepting of te reo Māori and like it will be normalised properly because I don't know this is just my opinion, if the dominant whoever group or whatever is pushing for the not-dominant groups one then white people are more likely to listen to white people than Māoris, like men are more likely to listen to males than females, like that kind of thing so I think it is good to make it accepted at their level. (Te Papaioea, 18-25)

Challenges resulted largely due to historical colonising processes that have left te reo Māori in its current state. Some of the power imbalances that were raised in discussions with participants centred around the fact that they were uncomfortable in situations where they felt that their cultural authority over te reo Māori was being breached by Pākehā learners or speakers of te reo. Some participants who were still in the process of language acquisition themselves found it challenging to learn alongside some Pākehā. In particular, being corrected by Pākehā learners was difficult to digest for some participants.

Anahera:
One of the things that happens in the classes where there are a lot of Pākehā learning is they're actually really good at it, it seems. And it's just real easy. And it's really complicated to sit there and have a Pākehā person sit there and tell you, you did it wrong. And it's just so, it doesn't have any meaning to them. There's nothing deeper. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 46-55)

The advantages of having Pākehā learners in Māori language classes included Pākehā learners' ability to share their learning strategies, and when learners were given an opportunity to build relationships with one another in a bicultural manner, these benefits were able to be shared between learners.

One point made by the following participant describes how it is important for Pākehā learners to hold space for Māori learners to undergo the emotional processes that they may be experiencing in a language learning classroom.

Ariana:
So there's multiple layers to this whole thing, and it requires an investment and a commitment from all parties. And sometimes it can happen quickly within a certain space, sometimes it's like, no you just fucked me off I'm just gonna [laughs]. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)

There was only one participant who openly was uncomfortable with Pākehā learning te reo Māori. The reasoning provided by this participant was largely due to the role of colonisation and the direct impact that colonisation had on her own life experiences.

Wikitōria:
I think there is an acceptance. Um there's a large community of non-Māori and I get quite envious of them. Um and I think, OMG if yous can do it I can do it. Yeah. I'm not sure if I'm accepting of that. Honestly, I don't know if I'm accepting of non-Māori learning our language before us. That sounds terrible doesn't it. (Te Papaioea, 56-65)

The point below indicates that some of the expectations placed on Pākehā learners of te reo Māori are more positioned towards having learners acknowledge Māori as tangata whenua, as opposed to having high linguistic expectations of learners.

Corban:
I'm not expecting all Pākehā to become fluent and be able to get up and do a whaikōrero, you know, let them do the karanga on the marae or something. But if they can get an insight into what we're saying, what we're doing, why we do it and how we do it, you know, it's gonna make it easier for the generations to come to be able to interact and actually be active participants in a bi-cultural society. (Ōtautahi, 26-35)

Overall, there was a general agreement that Pākehā learning te reo Māori was positive for the normalisation of te reo Māori. However, for Māori heritage language learners, who were experiencing challenges that derived from historical trauma, this bicultural relationship in a language classroom required negotiation.

Wāhanga tuatoru: Hapori kōrero Māori: Challenges for the use of te reo Māori

This theme focuses on the importance of language communities and the impacts that having limited access to speakers of te reo Māori has on both speakers and learners of te reo. The devaluation of te reo Māori through processes of colonisation was raised. Furthermore, learning te reo Māori increased the likelihood of engaging with colonial processes of oppression, which was challenging for learners, yet also healing.

Key findings:

1. Developing and maintaining Māori language speaking communities were essential, but challenging for Māori speakers of te reo Māori, particularly for those who were proficient enough to not be attending classes;
2. In many instances, speakers of te reo Māori did not have many speakers from within their immediate whānau who were accessible to speak te reo Māori to, heightening the need for speaker communities;
3. Through processes of colonisation, it was sometimes difficult to demonstrate the value and associated benefits of speaking te reo Māori to non-reo speaking whānau members;
4. There was resistance towards the use of 'new' words and the use of te reo ōkawa in non-formal settings by some participants;
5. First language Māori speakers were less likely to be familiar with the processes involved with seeking out and learning unfamiliar words;
6. Learning te reo Māori also brought about new learnings associated with our colonial history;
7. There were a variety of emotional responses to learning about colonisation, including grief, loss, anger and frustration and it was important that space was given to allow for these emotional responses; and
8. Having an understanding of historical trauma and its impacts on te reo Māori were freeing for some learners, as there was an innate sense of internalised blame associated with being unable to speak one's own language. Learners could contextualise their own learning experiences.

Lack of L2 Community

There tended to be a lack of L2 community for most of the proficient speakers in this study. This was challenging for those who still needed to grow their proficiency and for those who had families. Learners who were attempting to improve their proficiency were often restricted to the relationships that they formed during classes. Being enrolled in a course therefore became a condition for keeping the language community. Needing to be enrolled in a course is problematic, as courses tend to have a specific end date – often, not longer than three years.

Participants who had families were often motivated to seek out other Māori speaking individuals to form a community where the language was normalised for the benefit of their children. In situations of Māori medium education, parents indicated that they found the motivation and ability to speak te reo Māori varied between parents. Therefore, it was sometimes difficult to find other parents who were at the same level of proficiency or had similar family language goals.

> *Hiria:*
> *I haven't really created a solid language community where I can bounce off somebody. So I was trying to do that on my maternity leave um with our reo pēpi sessions, but that kind of dwindled. So we gotta, we've gotta start that back up again so, yeah. So creating a language community. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

While parents were able to create positive Māori language habits in their own homes, they noted that the dominance of English outside of the home, or through their smart devices, intruded on their desire to have te reo Māori normalised in the home. The dominance of English in social media spaces was another concern.

Whānau-related challenges

The majority of challenges that occurred for participants involving their whānau tended to be that participants themselves had taken a language pathway that differed from their whānau. Participants sometimes did not have the support of whānau to learn or improve their reo Māori due to the fact that they themselves were not learners or speakers of te reo Māori.

Some of the difficulties for participants who were competent speakers of te reo in this study was the fact that non-Māori speaking whānau had not been exposed to the benefits of speaking te reo Māori and therefore found it difficult to see the positive aspects of being a speaker. Processes of assimilation and colonisation meant that speakers of te reo Māori in this study often described feeling like other whānau members did not place a high value on speaking te reo Māori. Having varying levels of language support in a whānau created challenges for creating Māori language speaking domains. In one particular instance, a participant described how her father had raised the children as Māori-only speaking. This had the impact of isolating this Māori language speaking participant from her non-Māori language speaking cousins. At a child to child level, the Māori-only speaking family were made fun of for being unable to speak English, which created friction in the relationship.

Heremia:
I guess the barriers I guess, for some of our whānau because of being ah in that colonised frame, some of our whānau still don't see the value in learning te reo Māori. They don't see that there is I guess, financial benefit in knowing a language. But if we keep going back to that, that kōrero again, it's not about just learning words. You're learning so much more. You're understanding history. You're understanding culture. You're getting to appreciate um people. Not just Māori. You get to appreciate people. And I guess that's the, the financial side. That intangible side that they don't value at this point in time, they don't see the value in that at the moment. (Heretaunga, 36-45)

There are tensions between Māori speaking whānau members and non-speaking whānau members that take a considered effort to navigate for both children and adults alike. Those who were competent speakers were readily exposed to the unanticipated benefits of speaking te reo Māori. These benefits were sometimes difficult to explain or demonstrate to non-speaking whānau members.

Hone:
Me pono āku kōrero, ko au pea anahe, torutoru noa iho te hunga, o taku whakatupuranga, taku reanga, e kōrero Māori tonu ana. Ki au nei ko te raru kē, kīhai rātou i tino kite i te, i ngā hua, ka puta i te reo, engari ko au tētahi e tino whakapono ana, kei kōnei au e mahi ana. (Te Tai Tokerau, 18-25)

Rangatahi who had been raised in te reo Māori through the choices of their parents indicated that they wanted to feel some sense of ownership over their decision to be Māori language speaking. Re-engaging in te reo Māori as an adult allowed these participants to feel empowered in the sense that their language choice was intentional, as opposed to feeling like it was something that they were being pushed into by their parents or grandparents.

Reo specific challenges

For those who had not acquired te reo Māori as a second language words that they were unfamiliar with growing up were sometimes described in confronting ways. These speakers of te reo Māori were less familiar with the process of needing to look unfamiliar words up in the dictionary. There tended to be a rejection of unfamiliar words, describing such terms used by younger speakers as 'new words', even if the words had come from old sources. For older speakers, not being familiar with the process of searching for an unfamiliar word in a dictionary contributed to the dislike for the word usage.

Related issues surround the use of te reo ōkawa. In some instances, the use of te reo ōkawa in informal contexts was described as sounding pretentious. With this said, participants indicated that they understood the need to understand te reo ōkawa in particular settings but were selective about when they themselves opted to use this type of language.

There were also feelings in some settings that in the field of language study, te reo ōkawa was prioritised over te reo ōpaki. In instances where te reo ōpaki was highly valued by a participant (or their iwi preference), feeling that there was a sense of inequality between the two language forms was off-putting in a language learning context.

Hiria:
We had to do a kauhau about um reo um o te marae, and I focused my energy on promoting te reo o te kāuta. But the attitude from the teachers was like why, why would you put more um, um significance I suppose on that type of reo... [...] (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)

The decline in speakers was notable in formal settings with multiple participants indicating that they had observed te reo Pākehā being used on the paepae that they themselves had defined as a Māori-language only space.

Tīhou:
I think it will depend on the manuhiri, if the manuhiri were really important and they didn't know what we were saying, there was nothing put in there for them to know then I will probably speak English. But there's never been anything like that. So the most important thing for me like that is um normalise te reo in that space, get them comfortable with hearing it more and more. (Hokitika, 26-35)

This discussion raised in the focus group above continued through. One participant explains the reasoning given in one instance for the use of English during a pōwhiri. The reasoning for the use of English was largely due to audience language factors.

Tīhou:
I heard a story in the weekend about [name of iwi], did you ever meet [name] [Iritana: Yes] or hear about him. So apparently at [name] Marae they were having a pōwhiri and there were eight speakers or something, [kaumātua] stood up and was the only one who spoke English. Afterwards, [name] asked him why did you speak in English uncle, and he goes there were only eight of us who knew what we were saying. I could've just been speaking to a wall if I had spoken in te reo. I was like oh, so it must have been an important hui to speak English.

Mere: Was he first or last?

Tīhou: Last I think. (Hokitika, 26-45)

Increased awareness of historical trauma

Almost all participants in this study referred to historical trauma in the context of te reo Māori. Many of the highly fluent speakers of te reo Māori in this study had a tertiary education qualification or were in the process of gaining a tertiary level qualification. Through the process of language learning, individuals identified that they had observed an increase in their critical awareness about the historical processes of colonisation and the resulting trauma induced by colonisation.

Participants generally discussed learning about the colonial context of Aotearoa in post-compulsory education. Courses often opened up such discussions. In many instances, Māori students were enrolled in tertiary courses where they were a minority. In some courses, Māori students were being made aware of inequalities between Māori and Pākehā in situations where the teacher was non-Māori, the class was predominantly non-Māori and the content being taught was negatively framed toward Māori and was not culturally safe for Māori students. In many instances, Māori students were learning about historical injustices and experiencing the emotions associated with such learning, such as sadness and grief, as well as anger and frustration. Yet, in situations in which they were learning with non-Māori peers, they were aware that they needed to adjust their emotional responses to a place of calmness and reason for their non-Māori peers to listen to their perspectives towards injustices.

> *Te Reimana:*
> *Going back to uni and like you learn how colonisation worked, and you learn how hard they tried, you know, to um, you know, make Māori only speak English and that's why so many young people um don't have, ohh can't speak te reo. Um so that's why it only seems as if, like it's only relegated to, you know, our olds um, but I don't think so. 'Cause there's still a whole lot of, you know, there's still a whole lot of young Māori that can, you know, that are fluent. (Ōtepoti, 18-25)*

For those participants who had gone through kura kaupapa Māori, participants described learning about colonisation and racism in Aotearoa as a 'culture shock', or shocking to learn about. Learning about colonisation had a profound impact on most participants in this study irrespective of their levels of proficiency at the time of the interviews.

> *Ana:*
> *Nah so even I feel like even in kura kaupapa I didn't really learn, oh like we learnt more than mainstream but it still wasn't enough. It makes me sad but it probably wasn't only until two years ago that I really truly understood the in-depth effects of colonisation and it's crazy to think that because, because that's like me growing up in kura kaupapa I was even thinking like, oh we can't force people to learn our language, why do we need to do that, like that happened ages ago, like we should just move on. I was actually like kind of thinking like that and it really wasn't until I did a paper on it, I had to do a paper on Indigenous Contemporary Issues. All indigenous peoples the same issues occur, which is colonisation of their peoples and then the same effects, you know loss of language, loss of culture, autonomy and all that. (Te Papaioea, 18-25)*

Having an increased understanding about racism in Aotearoa allowed participants more understanding about their own language learning situation and the experiences of other heritage language learners. Some of the benefits of understanding about historical trauma and colonisation allowed learners to defuse some of the self-directed shaming that they felt towards themselves due to their being heritage language learners. These quotes demonstrate this point:

> *Anahera:*
> *Āe. It did. It won by far over that. And also the realisation it's not my fault. I could relieve myself of some of the whakamā. It's still here but I could take some of that off, you know, remove a little bit of that korowai and put it aside and go, actually, there are more important things than my individual distress about that. And that is my whānau, the generation below and the generation above and um, and yeah. Yeah. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 46-55)*

Supportive peers who were also unpacking the historical trauma associated with language learning was vital to learners. Participants described that they actively needed to 'rewire' their brains towards decolonised patterns of thinking. Allowing participants space to understand colonisation and the personal price that Māori heritage language learners experience was described as necessary for learners.

> *Ariana:*
> *They can make me really angry and so I'm like, 'Fuck you, I'll show you'. Um which is actually the heavier road to have to go down, but it is a driver nonetheless. For spaces that are encouraging then, then I find it really healing in a way actually. Especially for those underlying anxieties, so it's like there's always this drive that will push me through but because of the racism in our country and the history that we have, there's these internalised anxieties that will, that will kind of be fed by the environment as well, and so developing my own coping strategies with those and the more that I learn and become conscientised to different histories or understandings of my current context also helps to take away the power of those anxieties. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

Participants indicated that political conversations need to take place in order to address the harm of colonisation and its impact on language acquisition and use.

> *Ariana: I would argue, the only place to find true, full healing of the situation. You must look at something in its truth, its tika and its pono, anything else is not actually tackling the core issue that underlies things. So to have conversations about whether or not you would use a ko or he sentence in a situation and then you somehow end up in like, 'What the fuck did colonisation do to my language and my people', and because of that colonisation I am now having to sit here as a thirty year old and talk about ko and he sentences, which kōhanga babies have. You know, to be able to link those things together but then recognise that I have the tools and environment around me now that I can have this conversation and so future generations aren't going to have to, and see in the kōhanga, that they're not having to have these conversations quite like how I am. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

Understanding the impacts of colonisation was positive in the sense that learners were able to understand why they may have experienced challenges when they were attempting to become learners of their heritage language. Also understanding the decisions that were made by their own grandparents or parents arose as individuals were more cognisant of the challenges associated with language loss.

> *Rangitāne:*
> *I don't question whether my nana loved te reo Māori but um for whatever reason she decided that it wasn't you know, a priority for me. (Kirikiriroa, 36-45)*

Some learners explained that they were competent learners of other subjects but found it nearly impossible to learn their heritage language due to the compounding impacts of colonisation.

Many individuals in this study described the fact that they were not always consciously aware that some of the blocks surrounding heritage language learning were linked to their inherited trauma. In these instances, individuals were more likely to see trauma being linked to one generation but not seeing the direct threads towards their own situation.

In some instances, older participants indicated that they were elated when their own children or grandchildren had decided to learn te reo Māori but felt that they could not push te reo Māori on their children or grandchildren as they themselves had not learned. This position neglects self-empathy and the understanding of the deeply embedded, widespread, systemic racism that older generations experienced surrounding te reo Māori. Older participants recalled multiple examples where they did not have access to language teaching or training but were publicly shamed for not being able to speak their own language. The combination of the two left many feeling conflicted.

Teaching older students was sometimes described by teachers as challenging due to the multiple barriers that they held. Helping older learners to not feel as though they were expected to know te reo Māori already was an important observation made in the following quote.

> *Judy:*
> *Ko ngā mea tau pakeke, e haramai ana ka noho whakamā, nā te mea ko taua whakaaro, oh me mōhio au, ko ahau te pakeke, ko ahau te kaumātua. Engari ki roto i te akomanga, kāore anō ētahi kia kite, ehara i te mea me mōhio koe, ko te mea kē, me tūwhera koe kia ako ki ētahi tūāhuatanga e whakaae ana ki roto i a koe. Tērā tūāhuatanga. (Rotorua, 46-55)*

Wāhanga Tuawhā: Ko ngā whakatoihara: The impacts of racism and 'othering' of te reo Māori

This theme discusses societal factors, including the impact of racism, colonisation, and employment related challenges that impact on te reo Māori use. Racism is a barrier to the revitalisation of te reo Māori. Racism directed toward Māori was raised in a number encounters and interactions, across all generations of participant ages and regions. Expressions of racism had the impact of reducing the value attributed towards acquiring and using te reo Māori. Once learners were confident speakers of te reo Māori, they often were part of communities that were supportive of te reo Māori. Meaningful relationships with others who were supportive of Māori were powerful in supporting speakers of te reo Māori.

Key findings:

1. The visibility of te reo Māori in public spaces provided an indication about community attitudes toward te reo Māori;
2. Both overt and covert 'othering' of te reo Māori impacted upon individuals who were still in the process of acquiring confidence with their reo Māori use;
3. Racism directed toward the participant, as well as racism directed towards others, had a negative impact on the value placed on being Māori, and subsequently, te reo Māori;
4. Reclamation of mātauranga Māori, and te reo Māori required an 'unlearning' of deep-seated colonial-derived beliefs;
5. Monolingualism and the feeling that a speaker should cater to English speakers had a negative impact on te reo Māori use in English-dominant language spaces;
6. Internalised racism was less easy to articulate and required a good deal of conscious effort to identify and address;
7. Some industries were more supportive of te reo Māori use and acquisition than other industries;
8. Employers varied in their level of resource support to enable employees to upskill in te reo Māori. Even though some employers relied on staff for their Māori language capabilities, they were unsupportive of allowances to support staff to improve;
9. There was a perception that te reo Māori employment options were limited to teaching of te reo. Such perceptions meant that some speakers of te reo Māori dismissed the idea that they could seek out employment where te reo Māori was used due to the perceived limited number of industries where te reo Māori is used; and
10. Employers sometimes placed staff in positions of cultural risk when they called on junior Māori language speaking staff to carry out formal ceremonial events in an employment setting. The power imbalances that occurred between management and the employees made it less likely that Māori speaking staff would reject a request to perform a culturally unsafe role.

Community perceptions of Māori

Community perceptions of Māori varied across regions and participant groups. It was not always the case that a high Māori population in a given region equated to greater intercultural relations. The visibility of te reo Māori through signage provided some indication to speakers that a community was supportive toward te reo.

In some instances, te reo Māori was not actively frowned upon, though it was equally not normalised. The lack of normalisation of te reo Māori reduced the number of spaces where Māori speakers in this study would use te reo Māori. Ways in which Māori speakers were made to feel te reo Māori was not the norm were through body language or through unsupportive comments. The attributions that individuals made about others' behaviour also contributed to how supportive or unsupportive they viewed their community as being toward the language.

> *Georgia:*
> *It feels like people like in the area that I live they're not used to it. But nobody's ever told me, stop speaking that language or anything like that, you just get looked at sometimes. (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

The lack of active promotion of te reo Māori in some regions also prompted participants to report feeling that the language was unsupported in their community.

> *Iritana:*
> *The reo, for me, and I fear that they are not promoting it. You know, they are not promoting it at all. They could have all these signs up and everything, but you ask them what's this happening, you know. I start getting angry I suppose, and frustrated. (Hokitika, 66-74)*

Although the wider outside community or region may have been unsupportive toward te reo Māori, most participants sought out their own community where te reo Māori was valued and supported. The importance of a close internal Māori speaking community provided a sense of protection from external perceptions toward te reo and Māori more generally.

Perceptions were described as changing for the better. However, some negative values placed on te reo Māori restricted the access of young people to te reo Māori through their parents' perceptions towards te reo Māori. If society, including parents, does not see the applicability, employability or useability of te reo Māori, they are likely to redirect younger generations away from te reo Māori acquisition and use. There was a sense that these negative perceptions were improving. However, widespread education is necessary to prevent future generations being dissuaded from engaging with te reo Māori.

In some regions, 'othering' behaviours towards the language contributed to feelings that te reo Māori was not yet normalised within their community.

Corban:
And even now if I take my nephews out, you know, go to the movies or whatever, kāore e kore ka tahuri mai, ka āhua pūkana mai ētahi tāngata Pākehā ki te kōrero atu au i te reo Māori ki āku irāmutu nā reira, you know, I think it was only last year. Took them to the park one day. Talking in Te Reo to them and then this little old Pākehā lady comes up and asks where I'm from, and I'm like, 'I'm from Christchurch, from here'. 'Oh no, no, but what language are you speaking?'. 'I'm speaking Māori'. And so you know, just this lack of awareness sometimes from some people within Aotearoa that you know, te reo is a living language. And for some people it's their main form of communication. Main language. (Ōtautahi, 26-35)

Racism: externally-driven and internalised

Racism was a key issue relating to the devaluation of te reo Māori. Racism was not always directed specifically toward individuals in this study, but in many cases, it was. Racism was attributed to the value that our Māori communities place on learning and using te reo Māori and also where te reo Māori was able to be used comfortably. Some participants indicated that racism contributes to us 'forgetting our greatness' and the unique skills and attributes that we have as Māori.

Ana:
Yeah. It is and I really think it's because our people we've just, there's just become so much negative towards what it is to be Māori, that we've forgotten our greatness, we've forgotten what we came from and how great our culture really is. You know how great our men were, we weren't just a statistic, they were amazed at our mental health, "How are these Māoris so healthy?", "Why are they treating their kids so great?". And then now we've lost that and, because of that, that gap.

Kōtuku: Colonisation [whisper]

Ana:
That gap, our people just think we are a statistic now. That's all that is portrayed about us. You are not going to hear that we were fucking great navigators, that did all this all this great stuff.

Kōtuku: T
hey were the meanest scientists in the world. Our tīpuna were great scientists. We forget that. (Te Papaioea, 18-25)

In education settings, there appeared to be an over-emphasis on deprivation and poverty without the provision of historical context. Participants recalled having to argue with educators in positions of power to provide a fairer analysis. These examples came from a range of subject areas, such as health, media studies and geography.

A push by some Pākehā towards monolingualism in Aotearoa was another way in which te reo Māori was relegated to Māori-only domains. The lack of Māori speakers in both Māori contexts and bicultural contexts was another issue for the language.

Although racism directed towards Māori tended to be easier to identify, internalised racism was discussed as being more insidious and difficult to decipher. Participants explained that we may not be aware of our own prejudices that have been ingrained within us through overt and covert means.

Exposure to racism varied across participants. The following excerpt is given by a participant with fair skin, who indicates that being mistaken as non-Māori increased her exposure to racism directed towards other Māori.

> *Ariana:*
> *As I've grown up and then start to realise the racism that goes on around me, and in particular, being fair skinned to my dark-skinned um whanaunga, I've noticed the different ways that I have been treated and privileges that I've been afforded in umm sharing te reo in a space. But also, being hit with racism that people who thought that I was Pākehā wouldn't otherwise have shared, and te reo being one of those spaces where they mangle or hash out our kupu Māori umm thinking that this is a safe space for them to do so. So when those things have all added to my umm ... my reasons, my why, is to why I continue to, to move along my, my reo path so that I can speak reo in spaces and feel confident with it in how I whiua my reo so that umm a) I can sort of be a push back to those people who feel like this might be a safe space for them to be racist. I show them that actually it's not, and to lead a space and show that um for others in the space, this is actually a safe space for te reo Māori, and lead and show for others who might just, just be kind of neutral in, in that spectrum, but to show them that this is an empowering thing that you could be a part of. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 26-35)*

As highlighted in the point above, a desire to speak back to racism gave some individuals motivation to increase their reo Māori capabilities. Also, the desire to empower others was a motivation for learning.

Employment-related concerns

There was also a sense that in some instances, te reo Māori positions were not available in some professions. The dominance of English in many industries was challenging for Māori speakers who wanted to use the language. Although the majority of participants who were speakers of te reo Māori in this study who were in employment held positions where te reo Māori was used they often recalled previous employment situations where te reo Māori was not spoken.

> *Louis:*
> *It's um it's a great opportunity um having worked in social services for the last 20 plus years, I've had the opportunity to enhance my learning of te reo Māori um yea whereas before that I was just working as a truck driver but not being able to um kōrero Māori yeah in those um industries or employment. But this, working in social services has opened that door. Yeah. (Kirikiriroa, 56-65)*

Many participants who worked in Pākehā dominant spaces recalled being dissuaded from using te reo Māori based on their own fears that they were themselves the topic of conversation. In other words, if a Māori speaker was using the language, the assumption made by their non-Māori speaking colleague was that the Māori speaker was talking about the non-Māori speaker.

Individuals indicated that a reason why they continued to work with individuals who held racist views toward Māori was due to their hope for a better, more equitable future. These participants understood that there were positive outcomes that could come from decreasing ignorance about Māori, irrespective of the personal toll that it took on the educator.

Participants noted that there were varying levels of support from their organisation to learn te reo Māori to a degree that would enable the individual to speak te reo Māori confidently. Main barriers in these contexts were a lack of financial backing and not providing staff with time away from their position to attend courses.

> *Werahiko:*
> *Wouldn't it be great if the institution was a little bit more like overt in its encouragement of staff and um and instead it's sort of on this ad hoc basis that either you get support to do te reo Māori lessons or... because [my employer] did pay for that Te Ataarangi course – but that was like $300 bucks or something [laughing] – um which is way too low really for a whole year course. But if the institution could come up with some really clear pathways or, and say this is a legitimate option for study leave you know, to be able to study te reo Māori um. Yeah so, I think that would be good. I will try, I will get together a whole year's worth and then try next time probably with [a more senior Māori manager's] help um but yeah just you know, any kind of discouragement along the way is kind of [off-putting]. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 36-45)*

There was also a sense that teaching was one of the central options for Māori speaking employment options. Those who did not want to become teachers of te reo Māori found it difficult to envisage their place in a Māori language speaking workplace outside of the teaching profession.

> *Georgia:*
> *I would love to have a job where I could kōrero Māori but that's not the reason I am doing it. I would really love to get a job that I could kōrero Māori in and I considered kōhanga but I just don't want to change those nappies [laughter]. I love kids but I just couldn't handle that. That's a difficulty actually and I wouldn't think that there are a lot of job options out there that offer that. Like I would love that. I was saying to my husband the other day, when I was four my dad taught me how to ring up the ambulance but how do we teach our babies who kōrero Māori because is the other person on the other end going to know what they are saying? I would love to see more of those opportunities open, you know like an ambulance worker, sorry, the person that you call being able to kōrero Māori. They need to open up those areas for us and make that more accessible. (Kirikiriroa, 26-35)*

Employment-related expectations

Participants who were employees of non-Māori organisations were often placed in situations of cultural risk in their workplaces when they were part of a Māori team who held marginal status. In some instances, participants worked in environments where the organisation was mostly Māori, but had few Māori speakers. In these instances, individuals were also put into positions of risk.

The main forms of cultural risk came from organisations placing high expectations on their Māori staff to use te reo Māori to fulfil ceremonial duties, which were sometimes out of their comfort zone, or outside of their capability level.

> *Missy:*
> *Most times that a lot of management level rely on you fullahs [rangatahi speakers of te reo], aye, because see you look at me and [colleague], they'll never pick me and [colleague] because we don't have as much you know knowledge that you fullahs do. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 36-45)*

Some organisations created risk through expecting junior staff with high levels of Māori language capability to undertake whaikōrero in situations that were sometimes inappropriate. The issues usually stemmed from not being given enough information about who they were expected to welcome, or inadequate time to prepare for a given whakatau. On occasions where the participant was not briefed about who they were addressing, the whaikōrero felt shallow and contradicted the purpose of the whakatau process. Those who were not given enough time to prepare reported feeling overwhelmed by the task, which created discomfort from the feeling of being in cultural risk. Placing employees in positions of cultural risk also created feelings of resentment toward the organisations in some instances, as the language related tasks sometimes felt tokenistic.

> *Eru:*
> *Ko tētahi atu take e tika ana kia tōia mai ki te tēpu nei, ka tino wiri ngā pona ina kāre i reira te puna whakaaro, nā te tokoiti o ngā tāngata e āhei ana te kōrero Māori, ka kaha whakahau atu, tāngata kē atu, i te hunga kōrero Māori, māu te whaikōrero. Kāre āku hononga ki ēnei, kāre au i te paku mōhio ki ēnei tāngata ā kua maroke te puna whakaaro. Ko tāku noa, he tū, he aha ngā kōrero, you know, kei hea te whakaaro, and ka rangona e te iwi te maroke o tō puna whakaaro. Cause ka āhua surface noa iho tō kōrero you know. (Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, 18-25)*

The pressures that employees felt were not only relegated to rangatahi, they were observed across a number of participants who worked in mainstream organisations. A further example below explains:

> *Andrea:*
> *Then I was working at a Māori organisation and every time there was a pōwhiri or something to do with Māori they'd always turn to me because I was the Māori and expected me to just … to be able to do things, um you know … to do the karanga and to do what was needed in the pōwhiri and I didn't have a clue so I felt really inadequate. So I just thought, no I really need to go and learn so I decided … (Kirikiriroa, 56-65)*

Overview of Findings and Implications for Future Directions

Factors supporting Māori language use from qualitative and quantitative findings

The findings from the previous two studies have been used to inform the following observations. The conditions to improve maximum language outputs are discussed in this section under four categories. An adaption of the ZePA model (Higgins et al., 2014) has been applied to explain how those who are in the contemplative stage of acquisition may be encouraged to 'right-shift' towards active language engagement. We have also consolidated the findings of this research to highlight the conditions that support those who are active learners, and active speakers, to maximise their language outputs. As this study recognises the importance of whānau language use, there are also a compilation of conditions that support language use amongst whānau. A taxonomy of factors that act as barriers to language use are also provided.

Conditions that improve the likelihood of engagement with te reo Māori acquisition (encouraging non-learners to begin learning or engaging):

The main conditions to encourage non-learners to begin the journey include a safe environment where there is no cultural discrimination, seeing other people value the language and demonstrate its importance and value in familial contexts, and being exposed to increased use in different public and private contexts.

The key conditions from participant interviews include:

- Absence of racism and discrimination targeted at Māori people, culture or language;
- Positive language and cultural experiences;
- The demonstration of the prowess and beauty of te reo Māori, ideally by native and highly proficient speakers;
- Hearing te reo Māori spoken either actively or passively used in a range of everyday forms;
- Having the value of te reo Māori demonstrated by family members and other members of the community;
- When the benefits of Māori language speaking, ā-tinana, ā-wairua, and the sense of connectedness that speakers gain, are communicated and made known to learners;
- Increasing the relevance and use of te reo Māori through a variety of mediums;
- Continuing to use te reo Māori in mainstream media; and
- At a community level, hearing te reo Māori being spoken, and clear visibility of te reo Māori through signage to indicate that te reo Māori is supported by that community.

Conditions necessary for learners to improve maximum language output:

The main conditions required for learners to improve their use of the language were a culturally supportive environment where trust exists between those who hold power and authority, such as teachers; being actively supported in managing language anxiety through manaakitanga and aroha and encouraging contexts where the learner is supported to develop the agency required to become more fluent. The key conditions from participant interviews include:

- Absence of racism in the immediate environment where the learner is engaged, particularly in public spaces, such as schools or workplaces;
- Teachers, peers, and supportive whānau, including L2 kaupapa whānau, adopting and employing strategies and behaviours that reduce the experiences of language anxiety in language classrooms and learning environments, particularly where there is a performance element expected of the learner;
- Development of emotional skills to cope with potential language errors made during the process of language acquisition to prevent debilitating impacts of language or cultural competency based whakamā;
- Presence of aroha, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga in learning environments (learning environments are not restricted to classrooms);
- Relationships developed on trust with teacher and a commitment by teachers to demonstrate the value of the language;
- Teachers who facilitate the development of trust relationships between learner cohorts;
- Choosing a course that is well suited to the preferred style of learning to the individual;
- Ability to see progress in language learning;
- Teaching that is well organised and delivered in a way that demonstrates the learning goals to students;
- Contexts to develop relationships with learning cohorts outside of the classroom context;
- Affirmation by peers and significant others for language progress;
- Conditions that create an expectation from the L2 community that the learner will use the language that they have acquired;
- Agency to envisage the future-self as a language speaker of te reo;
- Agency to use te reo Māori, irrespective of potential errors or missing kupu during the learning phase;
- Access to specific learning tools and resources that can be introduced into the daily lives of the learner;
- Language learning that is integrated into a language community, such as kōhanga reo or similar;
- Increasing the occasions where the learner can engage in 'real-life', natural language encounters outside of the classroom setting; and
- An understanding that becoming a speaker of te reo Māori has direct, tangible benefits, including the application of language skills in employment settings, an increased sense of connection, and accessibility to cultural frameworks that are beneficial to wellbeing.

Conditions necessary for te reo Māori speakers to use more Māori language:

The prominent factors that support Māori language use by speakers of te reo Māori include agency, resources, access to speakers, expectations for language use, ability to cope with language failures, and engaging in interactions that are constantly placing the speaker in a position of high risk to personal or collective mana. Language communities, including the normalised use of te reo Māori in the workplace also support te reo Māori speakers.

- Having the agency to extend the language skills that are necessary to enable full emotional expression;
- Resources that support the further development of language skills needed across engagements, including within culturally specific roles (such as karanga and whaikōrero);
- Access to speakers with greater levels of fluency to take guidance from;
- Having some expectation that a capable speaker will use te reo Māori across a range of encounters;
- Affirmation and encouragement of language use by significant others and people in positions of power or authority;
- Ability to cope when an individual makes a linguistic error, particularly in a public engagement (not allowing a negative interaction to result in deep-seated, debilitating feelings of whakamā), and also encouraging teachers who do not cause whakamā when correcting mistakes;
- Having a variety of te reo Māori interactions where there is low-risk to mana or identity;
- Having a community that allows for language use across a range of interactions;
- Being engaged with events and occasions where te reo Māori is the normalised language of interaction;
- Having employment where te reo Māori is supported by colleagues and leadership.
    - Support by leadership includes: the provision of resourced-based support to attend hui that help to maintain or improve language capabilities;
    - an organisational culture that supports the normalised use of te reo in the workplace;
    - the absence of placing Māori staff who may have some te reo Māori skills into situations that require someone with more advanced language skills to adequately undertake a culturally based task; and
    - the absence of placing junior staff into roles that are culturally unsafe irrespective of their high language competency; and
    - In employment contexts, having colleagues to interact with who have equivalent or greater levels of language proficiency.

Conditions that support maximum whānau language output:

The main conditions under which whānau language use thrives include access to activities and resources to encourage full expression, setting and implementing goals, use of the language by parents and having wider whānau who are supportive of te reo Māori. The conditions include as follows:

- Increasing te reo Māori vocabulary (and sentence structures) to enable language use across the range of activities that whānau engage with;
- Having the language skills necessary to allow for full emotional expression;
- Having specific language goals that are agreed upon by the whānau (and led or upheld by a pou reo);
- In two-parent families, having at least one parent who actively uses te reo Māori directly to the child or children. In the case that the second parent is not a speaker of te reo Māori, if active support through direct language learning is not possible, having the parent's passive support is positive for whānau language use;
- Having a wider whānau that is supportive of te reo Māori use around non-speakers, irrespective if they themselves are not actively engaged with te reo Māori;
- Having access to a supportive language community;
- Māori medium education supported the language outcomes of rangatahi in this study. In instances where Māori medium education is accessible, engagement with Māori medium education provides support for whānau reo outcomes; and
- Allow rangatahi the space to define their own language goals. Although allowing rangatahi to make their own language choices may be challenging for parents, if rangatahi have exposure to positive language speaking examples in their social networks, it is probable that they will lean towards being active users of te reo Māori.

Individual barriers to language use

The following section describes some of the key contributors to why individuals may choose not to engage with or use te reo Māori. The table below identifies some of the factors that contribute to language use. The far-left column describes the presence of the condition listed along the bottom of the table. For instance, when exposure to positive language use examples are low, this can be a barrier for te reo Māori engagement through to use.

Table 14. Barriers related to language use.

Exposure to positive language use examples (including the benefits of te reo)	Language skills, knowledge of kupu, and sentence structures to enable extensive usage	Occasion to use te reo with Māori speaking others	Expectation to use / perform in a range of private and public social contexts. Agency to use te reo in a range of interactions.	Risk of language failure to mana / identity	Affirmation of language use by sig. others including peers, teachers / mentors, whānau, L2 community	Experience of coping with making language errors (L2 anxiety) as part of the L2 process of acquisition.	Strategies to cope with historical trauma involved with language loss.

Barriers to language use include the inability to express oneself due to the absence of kupu and or sentence structures necessary to convey a message. Having few occasions where te reo Māori is used actively or passively around the individual is restricting. Occasions for use include public and private domains. The more regularly that individuals are able to engage in environments where te reo Māori is used, the more positive the effects will be for potential learners, active learners and speakers.

Expectations can be both positive or detrimental to learners and users of te reo Māori. In instances where an individual feel that they have the capability to undertake a task but may feel the cultural pressure associated with language use in a particular occasion, expectations can be positive. However, if an individual is not well prepared, or does not feel that they can adequately use the language for a particular task, this can have negative consequences to the mana of the user resulting in whakamā (Pohe, 2012; Te Huia, 2017). Formal or ceremonial encounters create conditions of risk, the result being that when individuals feel inadequate to achieve the language-based task, negative outcomes may occur for the speaker. Conversely, high proficiency speakers of te reo Māori placed into environments where they are not expected to use te reo Māori (or are not afforded agency) are unlikely to maximise the benefits of being a speaker of te reo Māori. When people who can speak te reo Māori do not speak te reo Māori, language speakers, learners and potential learners in the presence of that silenced speaker also miss out on the opportunity to be in an environment where te reo Māori is used (Higgins et al., 2014).

Language choices that Māori make, involving the decision to choose one language over another, are tightly connected to a range of complex decision-making processes (Olsen-Reeder, 2017). One on one interactions also pose risks. For example, the speaker is likely to make an assessment about whether the use of te reo Māori will create discomfort in the relationships. Findings from this study demonstrate that speakers are more likely to choose not to speak to individuals with less proficiency than themselves due to a desire to manaaki the individual with less proficiency and because the interaction feels unnatural. In contexts of language revitalisation discussions between low and high proficiency speakers that set an agreement about persisting in te reo Māori conversation despite the power imbalances might be helpful for overcoming this barrier.

Affirmation of use by people of importance to the learner and the wider society are important for those who are initially making the decision to engage in learning te reo Māori. Affirmation from the wider society includes the absence of racism. In situations where communities are unsupportive/ unsupported, including the low number of speakers, an absence of te reo Māori signage and the presence of racism and discrimination, te reo Māori is unlikely to be seen as valuable by potential learners. As learners progressed to higher levels of proficiency, the impact of low community support for te reo Māori had less of an impact on the language speaker's decision to use te reo Māori. These findings confirm that speakers have the ability to create new localised communities where te reo Māori is respected, and the opinions within these ingroups are valued to a higher degree than the opinions of outsiders. These findings are consistent with Phinney and colleagues' findings (Phinney, Horenczyk, LIebkind, & Vedder, 2001) involving migrant groups who face hostility from the majority group. This study demonstrated that minority group members who chose to assert pride in their ethnic group membership were able to use this ingroup solidarity to defend themselves against some of the negative impacts of racism.

Language anxiety was the most common learning experience of individuals in this study, no matter what level of proficiency. Language anxiety for Māori heritage language learners can have a range of causes and consequences. The root cause of language anxiety was fear of negative judgement. As te reo Māori is valued in many parts of Māori society, the impact of being either unable to speak te reo Māori, or unable to use it as adequately or eloquently as desired, can reflect negatively on someone who is highly invested in an identity that is supportive of te reo Māori. Creating conditions of low risk and low stress enables learners and speakers of te reo Māori to engage in language use with less fear of receiving negative judgement for mistakes. Developing and maintaining conditions of low risk are primarily important for those who have low levels of fluency and confidence with language use. Conditions of low risk have the impact of reducing language anxiety. Once a speaker develops the skills and confidence to use the language, they are more likely to be prepared to receive critiques and corrections, and subsequently use the critiques in a way that enhances their language capabilities.

For some Māori heritage language learners, the stress associated with the historical trauma can be debilitating. Historical trauma came up in numerous forms throughout the qualitative study. Learners who engaged with studies that focused on understanding the processes of colonisation were better equipped to understand the process of language loss and why they may be in a position where they themselves are adult language learners. The entrenched sense of guilt and shame associated with not being a language speaker was partly overcome by the knowledge that the learner was not to blame for the fact that they were an adult who was unable to speak their 'mother tongue'.

Concluding comments

The Manawa ū ki te reo Māori study focused on the experiences of Māori adult learners over the age of 17. This study explores the motivations and barriers for the use of te reo Māori. Te reo Māori motivations interact with the decisions that Māori make to engage with, learn, and use te reo Māori. However, the environment and the external conditions surrounding Māori will ultimately determine when, where, and how te reo Māori is used, and who Māori will speak to. While a few people will be motivated to learn te reo Māori due to a pure love for language learning, many Māori are motivated to learn and subsequently use te reo Māori due to identity and connectedness related factors. In other words, the positive value that we place on being Māori is included in the decisions that many Māori make about whether to engage with and use te reo Māori.

The socio-political climate can increase or reduce engagement with language learning. Those who are well-supported in their language use are in a better position than those who are not to push through the socio-political challenges.

The relationships that we have with whānau, including our relationships with tūpuna and future generations all contribute to Māori language motivation. Māori language speaking children in whānau have the potential to be a catalyst for language change and sustained language use in whānau (Muller, 2016; Te Huia & Muller, 2017). In Māori language speaking households, children also tend to provide a sense of immediacy in terms of the acquisition of new terms, and the direct application of new language learning in conversation or directives towards the child. Having a language community for children in which to grow their language skills was a goal of most parents.

When we are in positions of economic security, we are more able to engage with learning. Furthermore, te reo Māori can become a tool for creating economic security for those who are adequate language speakers, particularly for those who hold a tertiary qualification, as seen also in Jackson and Fischer (2007).

There are also power dynamics at play when it comes to the use of te reo Māori. Confident users of te reo Māori have the power to create a safe language use environment, more so than those who have lower levels of proficiency. Power-related dynamics are important to consider, particularly in the range of ways that te reo Māori is currently being used, including online platforms. Power holders determine the types of responses that users have towards particular kaupapa and have the ability to influence how and whether learners and speakers engage or withdraw from language use across domains (Norton, 2013). Dominant narratives that focus on correctness of te reo Māori may be helpful for proficient users of te reo Māori but may have the opposite effect for those with lower levels of language confidence and proficiency.

Barriers to te reo Māori acquisition are closely tied to beliefs surrounding the value that a society places on te reo Māori, the belief that it is achievable to become a language speaker and the desire to become a member of the Māori language speaking community. If an individual is not provided with examples of the benefits associated with becoming a language speaker, it may be difficult to maintain motivation to learn and use the language.

Te reo Māori can provide access to a Māori cultural identity and sense of self that is enriched with connectedness (Te Huia, 2017). The feeling of connection to whānau (including tūpuna), the land, and wairua can be immensely satisfying for Māori heritage language speakers (M. Rātima & Papesch, 2014). The challenge in our current society is continuing to push towards conditions that enable more Māori who are on the verge of learning, or those who are using te reo Māori, to actively extend themselves.

In the process of language revitalisation, we are also tasked with the challenge of overcoming deep-seated historical based trauma that have left silences across communities caused by generations of language loss. These are the soul-wounds (Duran & Duran, 1998) described by indigenous American scholars who have witnessed cultural and linguistic genocide. The acquisition and maintenance of te reo Māori by Māori heritage language learners involves a process of acknowledgement of cultural and linguistic harm. It involves processes of reclamation of identity, mātauranga Māori, and tino rangatiratanga, all of which are highly emotionally charged, and which is partly why te reo Māori can be challenging to learn. Learners are going through emotional processes that they may not be familiar with and may not have developed (or have been supported to develop) skills that help them to address the array of emotions that they may experience. On the one hand, reaching a state of resolution can be highly beneficial and rewarding, both emotionally and spiritually. However, the road towards this state of resolution can be incredibly laborious and emotionally draining.

Te reo Māori revitalisation has the ability to be led by the values described by John Rangihau where at the centre of Māoritanga is aroha (Higgins, 2004) in its most pure form. The value and enactment of aroha has the potential to enhance motivation for language use, and also diminish the compounding barriers that learners and speakers face in the context of a colonial settler nation. Leadership by those in power positions may help to accelerate the speed at which this value is established across a range of use domains.

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Appendix A: Survey

Manawa ū ki te reo: Te reo Māori survey

Information about this survey

Who is conducting the research?

- **A team of researchers from the Te Kawa a Māui at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW), including Dr Awanui Te Huia (Principal Investigator), Dr Maureen Muller, Tai Ahu and two research assistants named Alana O'Brien and Kahu Haimona. This study has been approved by VUW's Human Ethics Committee (#27073). This study has been commissioned by Te Mātāwai. There are a set of four questions that have been requested by Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori, which are sign posted in the survey.**

What is the purpose of this research?

- **The purpose of this study is to look at the Māori language motivations of learners and speakers of te reo Māori. We are particularly interested in finding out about the types of aspects that encourage Māori language use. We are also interested in finding out about some of the barriers that learners experience when using te reo Māori across a range of contexts.**

What is involved if you agree to participate?

- **If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete a survey. You will be asked to rate your agreement or disagreement with a number of statements. The questions asked will include questions about your perspectives about the types of things that keep you motivated to learn or speak te reo. An example of a question you may be asked includes: "People who speak te reo are valuable to my community".**
- **The survey should take no more than 15-20 minutes to complete.**
- **You are free to withdraw at any point up until you submit your survey response and the data pertaining to you will not be included in the analyses.**
- **If you participate, you will go into a draw to win $20, $50, $100 and $500 vouchers which will be emailed to you (or an email address of your choosing) or mailed to you by post should you prefer. Your name or email address will be used for no other purpose than to let you know the outcome of the draw. You will only be notified if you are successful.**

Privacy and Confidentiality

- **No information will be attributed to you personally. Information will be aggregated.**

Please feel free to contact the project leader Awanui at Awanui.tehuia@vuw.ac.nz should you have any questions or concerns about this survey.

By completing this survey, I understand that the information I provide will be used for Māori language purposes.

1. I am over the age of 16.

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

2. Residential region (for instance, Wellington)

3. Gender:

- ◯ female
- ◯ male
- ◯ prefer to self identify

Please specify self identified gender

4. Age:

5. Location survey completed

- ◯ Matatini
- ◯ University
- ◯ Wānanga
- ◯ Te Ataarangi
- ◯ At home
- ◯ At work
- ◯ Elsewhere

Other (please specify)

6. Number of people in your household?

7. Are you a parent or grandparent?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

8. The next questions are about Māori language you may speak or hear.

	very well	well	fairly well	not very well	no more than a few words or phrases
How well are you able to speak Māori in day-to-day conversation?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
How well are you able to understand spoken Māori?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
How well are you able to read Māori, with understanding?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
How well are you able to write in Māori, with understanding?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

9. When you are at home, how much Māori do you yourself speak to:

	no Māori	some Māori	Māori equally with English (or another language)	mostly Māori	all Māori	not applicable
your parent or parents?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
your partner or spouse?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
your pre-school child or children?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
your primary school child or children?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
your secondary school child or children?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
your adult child or children?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
other children living with you?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
other adults living with you?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

10. What best describes how often you would use Māori in an average week?

◯ no Māori ◯ some Māori ◯ Māori equally with English or another language ◯ mostly Māori ◯ all Māori.

11. In which main contexts that you participate in is te reo Māori used around you? Select all those that apply.

- [ ] when visiting relatives
- [ ] with friends
- [ ] at work
- [ ] when playing sports
- [ ] when helping out at school / pre-school
- [ ] during religious activities
- [ ] at a club such as kapa haka
- [ ] during hui
- [ ] at the marae
- [ ] te reo Māori is not used in contexts that I participate in.
- [ ] Other (please identify)

12. How much Māori did you yourself speak the last time you were involved in that / those particular activity / activities?

- ○ no Māori
- ○ some Māori
- ○ Māori equally with English or another language
- ○ mostly Māori
- ○ all Māori

This series of questions asks about your community. There are also questions that ask about attitudes that people have about Māori language speakers and people.

13. This next set of questions asks about the community where you reside and the amount of Māori language used in this community.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
It is common to hear te reo Māori being used in the community that I live in.	○	○	○	○	○
People are supportive of te reo Māori use in the community where I live.	○	○	○	○	○
There are many public signs in my community that are written in te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○

14. This set of questions is about attitudes that people have about te reo Māori. Please rate your agreement with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
Te reo Māori is a useful language.	○	○	○	○	○
Te reo Māori is cool.	○	○	○	○	○
Te reo Māori is relevant in my life.	○	○	○	○	○

15. This set of questions have been requested by Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori and asks about Māori language revitalisation.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
I am confident te reo Māori will be revitalised in the next 20 years.	○	○	○	○	○
New Zealanders are generally supportive of the revitalisation of te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
I am confident more non-Maori will be learning te reo Māori in the next 20 years.	○	○	○	○	○

16. I would like to know more Māori words or terms for the following areas of my life.

17. Would you consider yourself a competent speaker of Māori?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

This series of questions asks about some of the things that you find helpful when using te reo Māori. It also asks about some challenges that people might face when using or attempting to use te reo Māori.

18. I'm more likely to use te reo Māori when:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
I am with those who expect me to use it.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I feel like someone is monitoring my language use.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I am with a person / people who I feel that I can make mistakes in front of.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I am in a full-immersion Māori language environment.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I am speaking to a person / people with lower levels of proficiency than I have.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I am speaking to a person / people with the same level of proficiency as I have.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I am speaking to a person / people with higher levels of proficiency than I have.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I am with another person / other people from my Māori language community.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I am in a residential region that is supportive of bilingualism.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

19. Are there any other reasons why you are motivated to*use* te reo Māori?

20. This set of questions asks about some of the challenges to speaking te reo. Please rate how strongly you agree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly agree
When speaking to someone in te reo, I focus on the mistakes that I might be making.	○	○	○	○	○
I have an uneasy, upset feeling when I think that I will have to speak te reo.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel more tense and nervous in Māori speaking environments than in other places.	○	○	○	○	○
I fear that other people will judge my reo abilities if I speak to them.	○	○	○	○	○

Are there any other barrier/s to your learning te reo Māori?

Please explain:

21. Some other reasons why I don't speak te reo Māori more are:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
I'm not sure whether people will want to speak back to me because of my proficiency level.	○	○	○	○	○
I'm not sure whether people will be able to speak back to me because of their proficiency level.	○	○	○	○	○
I'm not sure that I'd understand the person's response in te reo.	○	○	○	○	○
I don't have many people to speak with.	○	○	○	○	○
It would be a bit awkward.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel like people will think that I'm too 'hard out'.	○	○	○	○	○
I find it hard to switch in to te reo Māori from English.	○	○	○	○	○
I'm usually too tired.	○	○	○	○	○

Other reasons why I don't speak te reo Māori are:

* 22. Would you consider relocating to a region where te reo Māori is spoken to a greater degree than the region where you currently reside, specifically to improve the opportunity to use te reo?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ N/A

23. Please select the answer below that best describes your learning experience.

- ○ I have enrolled in a course to learn te reo Māori in the past.
- ○ I am currently enrolled in a course and am learning te reo Māori (or will be this year).
- ○ I have not studied te reo in the past, however, I intend to learn te reo Māori in the future.
- ○ I do not have any current plans to learn te reo Māori.

24. What best describes why you might be motivated to learn / improve your competency in te reo? Select as many that apply to you.

- ☐ It is important to my cultural identity / NZ identity.
- ☐ It is a language used by my friends.
- ☐ It is a language used by my family.
- ☐ It is a language used by my work colleagues.
- ☐ Other (please identify)

25. This set of questions is about the things you found helpful or challenging when learning te reo Māori. Please indicate whether you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A
My family are / were encouraging when I attempt / attempted to use te reo.	○	○	○	○	○	○
My peers are / were encouraging when I attempt / attempted to use te reo.	○	○	○	○	○	○
My teacher is / was encouraging when I attempt / attempted to use te reo.	○	○	○	○	○	○
In the course I took / am taking, the way that the course is delivered suits / suited my learning style.	○	○	○	○	○	○
The course is / was well organised.	○	○	○	○	○	○
The instructions and explanations given by the teacher were clear and easy to follow.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have lots of opportunities to practice speaking te reo Māori with others outside of the classroom.	○	○	○	○	○	○

26. This set of questions asks about some of the challenges to speaking te reo. Please rate how strongly you agree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly agree
I have an uneasy, upset feeling when I think that I will have to speak te reo.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel more tense and nervous in Māori speaking environments than in other places.	○	○	○	○	○
I fear that other people will judge my reo abilities if I attempt speak to them.	○	○	○	○	○
I have / had trouble figuring out what to do to learn.	○	○	○	○	○
I am not / wasn't sure how to study for the Māori language course.	○	○	○	○	○
I am not / was not sure what to study or where to start.	○	○	○	○	○
I sometimes feel like I have missed my chance to become a speaker of te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
Younger speakers have more opportunities to use te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○

Are there any other barrier/s to your learning te reo Māori?

Please explain:

* 27. Has social media had a positive impact on your desire to learn te reo Māori?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Not sure

28. What best describes why you might be motivated to learn / improve your competency in te reo? Select as many that apply to you.

- ☐ It is important to my cultural identity / NZ identity.
- ☐ It is a language used by my friends.
- ☐ It is a language used by my family.
- ☐ It is a language used by my work colleagues.
- ☐ Other (please identify)

29. The next set of questions asks about some of the barriers that might prevent you from learning. Please rate how strongly you agree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly agree
The financial costs associated with learning are too high for me.	○	○	○	○	○
I'd find it difficult to manage my whānau commitments to make time to learn.	○	○	○	○	○
My work commitments make it difficult to make time to learn.	○	○	○	○	○
There are no reo courses available for me to enrol in at the moment.	○	○	○	○	○
I've attempted to enrol in a te reo Māori course and have had my application declined.	○	○	○	○	○
The reo courses available are too far from home.	○	○	○	○	○
I sometimes feel like I have missed my chance to become a speaker of te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
Younger speakers have more opportunities to use te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○

Are there any other barrier/s to your learning te reo Māori?

Please explain:

30. Is speaking te reo Māori an essential part of your job?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ I am not currently in employment.

31. Please rate your agreement with the following statements regarding te reo and employment.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
My work encourages me to use te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
My work benefits from me using te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
My relationships with others in my work place benefit from me using te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
My work is connected to my Māori language community.	○	○	○	○	○
Increasing my proficiency in te reo will have financial benefits for me.	○	○	○	○	○
I prefer to be in employment where te reo Māori is required.	○	○	○	○	○
Te reo Māori is crucial to my undertaking my job well.	○	○	○	○	○

32. Please indicate your profession

* 33. Have you experienced discrimination in the workplace based on your use of te reo Māori?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Not sure

34. Please rate your agreement with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
I would prefer to be in employment where te reo Māori is required.	○	○	○	○	○
It is possible to stay in my current profession and use te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
It feels achievable to me to get a job where te reo Māori is required.	○	○	○	○	○
My relationships with others in my profession would benefit from my using te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
I would be more employable if I spoke te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
Increasing my proficiency in te reo will have financial benefits for me.	○	○	○	○	○

35. Please indicate your profession.

Identity and te reo Māori

This series of questions asks about your ethnicity and about your identity.

36. Which ethnic group do you belong to? Select the ethnicity or ethnicities which apply to you.

- [ ] Māori
- [ ] New Zealand European
- [ ] Samoan
- [ ] Cook Island Māori
- [ ] Tongan
- [ ] Niuean
- [ ] Chinese
- [ ] Indian
- [ ] Other such as Tokelauan, Dutch, Japanese

37. Do you choose to identify as Māori?

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) No

38. Please rate how strongly you agree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
Learning te reo Māori makes me feel like a full-citizen of Aotearoa NZ.	○	○	○	○	○
Learning te reo Māori connects me to my identity as a New Zealander.	○	○	○	○	○
It is important for me as a New Zealander to learn te reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
Learning te reo makes me feel more connected to Māori culture.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel that I understand Māori culture more since learning te reo.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel more like I have a better appreciation of Māori culture since learning te reo.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel more anxious learning te reo than other languages.	○	○	○	○	○
Sometimes my knowledge of the colonial history of New Zealand makes me feel uncomfortable learning te reo.	○	○	○	○	○
As a non-Māori, I feel as if my right to learn te reo Māori is sometimes challenged.	○	○	○	○	○
I'm not sure whether Māori people are comfortable with my learning te reo.	○	○	○	○	○

Is there anything that you would like to add about your process of Māori language acquisition?

Please explain:

* 39. Do you feel that New Zealanders are generally accepting of languages being spoken other than English?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Not sure

40. The next part of this survey contains a list of statements about te reo Māori and identity. There are no right or wrong answers.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
I choose to learn/speak te reo Māori because I'm Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel that te reo Māori is a key part of my identity as Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
Te reo is important to me because it is part of my cultural heritage.	○	○	○	○	○
Te reo Māori is important to me because it connects me to my whakapapa.	○	○	○	○	○
Having te reo Māori would help/helps me to undertake Māori cultural roles.	○	○	○	○	○
Taking on cultural roles makes me want to use / improve my reo Māori.	○	○	○	○	○
If I make a mistake using te reo, I feel like it will impact on how 'Māori' others will think that I am.	○	○	○	○	○
I compare myself to other Māori speakers.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel like I am expected to know te reo Māori because I identify as Māori.	○	○	○	○	○

Is there anything that you would like to add about your process of Māori language acquisition?

Please explain:

He mihi nui - Email to prize entry

Tēnā rawa atu koe i tō ū ki tēnei patapātai. Thank you for completing this survey. We are very grateful for your thoughtful responses.

We will email if you are a successful prize winner. Prizes will be drawn at 3pm each day.

41. Email

42. Name

Appendix B:

Other occupations where te reo Māori was not required for their job

Table 15 Professions for those who te reo Māori is NOT an essential for their occupation (Attach as appendix)

Position	n =		Position	n =
Manager	26		Support for people with disabilities	2
Administration	23		Legal	2
Customer Service	21		Personal Trainer	2
Hospitality	13		Manufacturing	2
Public Sector	12		Transport	2
Student	12		Developer	2
Academic sector	11		Chef	2
Nurse	10		Truck Driver	2
Childcare	9		Artist	2
Retail	8		Engineer	2
Teacher	8		Builder	2
Health Industry	7		Director	2
Advisor	7		Freelancer	1
Social Worker	7		Security	1
Banking and Finance	6		Librarian	1
Labour work	6		Executive Assistant	1
IT Industry	5		Farmer	1
Tutor	4		Payroll	1
Community Support	4		Flight Attendant	1
Architecture and Design	4		Television	1
Housekeeping	4		Police	1
Department of Conservation (Ranger)	3		Corrections Officer	1
Logistics	3		Social Services	1
Education	3		Trade Union Policy	1
Consultant	3		Tour Guide	1
Youth Worker	3		Counselling	1
Receptionist	3		Circus performer	1
Swim teacher3	3		General Practitioner	1
Analyst	3			
Internship	2			

Appendix C:

Interview schedules for Advanced active users, Active learners, and Pre-engaged learners

Interview Schedule (both focus groups and individual interviews): Advanced Active users

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

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

Part 2: Interview (approx. 30-50min)

1. Demographics:
   a. Age:
   b. Gender:
   c. Ethnicity:
   d. Tribal affiliations:

2. Motivation:
   a. Can you describe some of the reasons why you began learning te reo Māori? Or did you learn intergenerationally (i.e through a parent or grandparent)?
   b. Have those motivations changed from then till now? If so, how and why?
   c. When are the times that you feel most like using te reo Māori?
      i. Who are you around, what occasions?
      ii. How often are you in these occasions?

3. Economic choices and restrictions
   a. How much is getting/retaining meaningful employment part of your choice to learn/improve your reo Māori skills?
   b. How do you see te reo Māori contributing to your economic wellbeing?
   c. Are there jobs available to you where te reo Māori is used? What is your profession?
   d. Is there room to improve your reo skills in your job?
   e. Do you feel that your profession actively supports you as a reo Māori speaker to use te reo Māori meaningfully in your job?

4. Wellbeing:
   a. Do you see te reo Māori being connected to your wellbeing? If so how and in what ways?

5. Language exposure:
   a. How much had you heard te reo Māori spoken before you began learning?
   b. How frequently are you able to be around or use te reo Māori, and in which contexts?

6. Identity and personal connection:
   a. Do you feel that there are expectations that are placed on Māori to speak Māori? If so, how has this impacted on your decision to learn and progress?

7. Benefits:
   a. What do you gain from speaking te reo Māori?
   b. How does speaking te reo Māori impact on your daily life?

8. Language support
   a. Who would provide you with the most support to use te reo Māori?
   b. If your main support comes through a teacher/course, how do you envisage maintaining your motivation once you no longer have this ongoing support?

9. Barriers?
   a. What do you perceive to be the main barriers to learning te reo Māori?
   b. How are Māori perceived by your community?
   c. How is te reo Māori perceived by your community?
   d. Has studying in this/these course/s impacted on your opinion about how Māori are perceived by mainstream New Zealand? If so, how?

10. Learning strategies
   a. What are the learning strategies that you use in order to improve your reo?

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

Interview Schedule (both focus groups and individual interviews): Actively learning

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

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

Part 2: Interview (approx. 30-50min)

1. Demographics:
    a. Age:
    b. Gender:
    c. Ethnicity:
    d. Tribal affiliations:

2. Motivation:
    a. Can you describe some of the reasons why you began learning te reo Māori? Or did you learn intergenerationally (i.e through a parent or grandparent)?
    b. Have those motivations changed from then till now? If so, how and why?
    c. When are the times that you feel most like using te reo Māori?
        i. Who are you around, what occasions?
        ii. How often are you in these occasions?
        iii. How might you increase the amount of times where you are in these situations? Is that something that you'd like to do?

3. Economic choices and restrictions
    a. How much is getting/retaining meaningful employment part of your choice to learn/improve your reo Māori skills?
    b. How do you see te reo Māori contributing to your economic wellbeing?
    c. Are there jobs available to you where te reo Māori is used? What is your profession?
    d. Is there room to improve your reo skills in your job?

4. Wellbeing:
    a. Do you see te reo Māori being connected to your wellbeing? If so how and in what ways?

5. Language exposure:
    a. How much had you heard te reo Māori spoken before you began learning?
    b. How frequently are you able to be around or use te reo Māori, and in which contexts?

6. Identity and personal connection:
    a. Do you feel that there are expectations that are placed on Māori to speak Māori? If so, how has this impacted on your decision to learn and progress?

7. Language support
   a. Who would provide you with the most support to use te reo Māori?
   b. If your main support comes through a teacher/course, how do you envisage maintaining your motivation once you no longer have this ongoing support?

8. Barriers?
   a. What do you perceive to be the main barriers to learning te reo Māori?
   b. How are Māori perceived by your community?
   c. How is te reo Māori perceived by your community?
   d. Has studying in this/these course/s impacted on your opinion about how Māori are perceived by mainstream New Zealand? If so, how?

9. Learning strategies
   a. What are the learning strategies that you use in order to improve your reo?

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

Interview Schedule (both focus groups and individual interviews): Anticipated learner

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

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

Part 2: Interview (approx. 30-50min)

10. Demographics:
    a. Age:
    b. Gender:
    c. Ethnicity:
    d. Tribal affiliations:

11. Motivation:
    a. Can you describe your experiences with te reo Māori?
    b. Would you be interested in learning te reo Māori? If so/not why?
    c. When are the times that you feel most like using te reo Māori?
    i. Who are you around, what occasions?

12. Economic choices and restrictions
    a. How much is getting/retaining meaningful employment part of your choice to learn/improve your reo Māori skills?
    b. How do you see te reo Māori contributing to your economic wellbeing?
    c. Are there jobs available to you where te reo Māori is used? What is your profession?
    d. Is there room to improve your reo skills in your job?

13. Language exposure:
    a. How much had you heard te reo Māori spoken before you began learning?
    b. How frequently are you able to be around or use te reo Māori, and in which contexts?

14. Identity and personal connection:
    a. Do you feel that there are expectations that are placed on Māori to speak Māori? If so, how has this impacted on your decision to learn and progress?

15. Language support
    a. Who would provide you with the most support to use te reo Māori?
    b. If your main support comes through a teacher/course, how do you envisage maintaining your motivation once you no longer have this ongoing support?

16. Future learner selves:
    a. When you think about learning te reo Māori, how does it make you feel?
        i. For instance - content, nervous, etc.
    b. Can you envisage yourself as a speaker of te reo Māori? If so, what does that look like?
    c. Do you think that learning would come easily to you if you were to begin?
    d. How do you feel when you think about yourself as a language speaker?

17. Barriers?
    a. What do you perceive to be the main barriers to learning te reo Māori?
    b. How are Māori perceived by your community?
    c. How is te reo Māori perceived by your community?
    d. Has studying in this/these course/s impacted on your opinion about how Māori are perceived by mainstream New Zealand? If so, how?

18. Learning strategies
    a. What are the learning strategies that you use in order to improve your reo?

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

Appendix D: Information sheet

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON TE HERENGA WAKA

Individual Interview Information Sheet

Topic: Māori language motivations

Who is conducting the research?

- A team of researchers from the School of Māori Studies at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW), including Dr Awanui Te Huia (Principal Investigator), Dr Maureen Muller, Tai Ahu and two research assistants named Alana O'Brien and Kahu Haimona. This study has been approved by VUW's Human Ethics Committee (#27073).

What is the purpose of this research?

- The purpose of this study is to look at the Māori language motivations of learners and speakers of te reo Māori. We are particularly interested in finding out about the types of aspects that encourage Māori language use. We are also interested in finding out about some of the barriers that learners experience when using te reo Māori across a range of contexts.

What is involved if you agree to participate?

- If you agree to participate, you will be interviewed. The questions asked will include questions about your perspectives about the types of things that keep you motivated to learn or speak te reo. An example of a question you may be asked includes: "Can you please describe why you began learning te reo Māori?"
- With your permission, the interview will be recorded and be transcribed later by a member of the research team, who will sign a confidentiality agreement. A copy of the transcription will be sent to you so that you can ensure its accuracy. Following this, the transcripts will be analysed by the research team.
- The interview will take no more than one hour. You are free to withdraw at any point up until the 30th of March, 2019 and the data pertaining to you will not be included in the analyses.
- As a token of our appreciation, we will give you a grocery voucher ($40) at the end of the interview.

Privacy and Confidentiality

- You are free to choose a pseudonym or once will be assigned to you.
- You may choose to disclose your own name if you wish.
- Only members of the research team will have direct access to audio files and transcriptions of interviews.

What happens to the information that you provide?

- The results of this research may be published on the website of Te Mātāwai, in research journals or be presented at conferences.

Feedback

Results of this study will be available by approximately 30 July 2019. You can provide your email address or postal address, if you want us to notify you of the results of this research.

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact Awanui (details below). If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Dr Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028.

Thank you for your participation.

Ngā mihi nui,

Dr Awanui Te Huia
(Ngāti Maniapoto)
Te Kawa a Māui, Victoria University, PO Box 600, Wellington 6140
Email: Awanui.tehuia@vuw.ac.nz
Phone: 04 463 6733

Appendix E: Consent form

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
TE HERENGA WAKA

Statement of consent

- ☐ I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project before April 30 2019, without having to give reasons.
- ☐ I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.
- ☐ I give my consent to participate in this interview that will be recorded and later transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I will have an opportunity to check the transcripts of the interview before research reports are published.
- ☐ I understand that the data I provide will not be used for any other purpose or released to others without my written consent.
- ☐ I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential to the research team, which will consist of Dr Awanui Te Huia, Dr Maureen Muller, Tai Ahu and research assistants Alana O'Brien and Kahu Haimona.
- ☐ I understand that the recordings of our interview will be transcribed by a member of the research team who will have signed a confidentiality agreement.
- ☐ I understand the published results will not use my name, and that no opinions will be attributed to me in any way that will identify me unless I explicitly state that I would like to be named.
- ☐ I understand that a transcript of this interview will be returned to me for checking within a timeframe of one month from the time that I receive the transcript.
- ☐ I understand that the recording of interviews will be wiped at the end of the project.
- ☐ I would like to receive a summary of the results of the research when it is completed.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

(Please provide your email address or postal address below if you would like the transcript, interview recording, or research summary sent to you)

Email Address: _____ (or)

Postal Address: _____

Te
Mātāwai