TE WĀHANGA
HE WHĀNAU MĀTAU HE WHĀNAU ORA

NEW ZEALAND COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
TE RŪNANGA O AOTEAROA MŌ TE RANGAHAU I TE MĀTAURANGA

He Whānau Mātau, He Whānau Ora

Māori adult literacy and whānau transformation

HELEN POTTER, KATRINA TAUPO, JESSICA HUTCHINGS, SUE MCDOWALL, AND PETER ISAACS

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WHAKARĀPOPOTOTANGA

Ka horaina e tēnei pūrongo ngā whakakitenga o tētahi kaupapa rangahau, ko tōna whāinga tonu, he whakamārama atu i ngā pānga ki runga i te whānau, tae atu ki ngā tamariki, mai i te whaiwāhitanga atu o ngā mātua ki ngā hōtaka tuhi-pānui. Ka tohua hoki te kaupapa rā e te tirohanga kaupapa Māori e hāngai pū ana ki te tautoko i te tino rangatiratanga Māori. Ko ngā whāinga o te rangahau, he whakakao raraunga e pā ana ki te hononga ki waenga i te akoranga tuhi-pānui me te whakakotahitanga o te whānau. Ko te whakaaro kē, mā te tāpae taunakitanga ki te hunga whakatau kaupapahere mō te tuhi-pānui ā-pakeke, tērā pea ka whakapakari ake ai te whakatutukitanga ā-ākonga Māori i te kura ā, i tua atu, ka mauritau te hauora o te whānau. Ka whaiwāhi atu te kaupapa rā ki te uiui pouako, ākonga pakeke tae atu ki te whānau o aua ākonga pakeke i ētahi wāhi e toru e whakarato kōhi tuhi-pānui ā-pakeke ana; he mema hoki nō te rōpū o Literacy Aotearoa.

I kitea e mātou, nā te whaiwāhitanga ki ngā hōtaka tuhi-pānui ā-pakeke, ka nui ake te āhei ki te āwhina i ā rātou tamariki i ngā mahi akoako, tae atu ki ngā akoranga i te kura tonu. Ka piki ake te uara o ngā mātua ki te akoranga me te mātauranga ā, ka whānui ake ō rātou moemoeā mō ā rātou tamariki. Ko ngā pānga ki ngā tamariki, he harikoa ake i ō rātou akoranga, kura hoki; he pai ake te kuhu i a rātou anō ki te eke panuku, ki te whakatutuki taumata i te kura. Mō te whānau hoki, kua mōhiotia, ko ngā pānga o te tuhi-pānui ā-pakeke, he whakapanonitanga mō te whānau. He kaha ake te whai i te tino rangatiratanga whaiaro me te waihanga tūnga mōna ki roto i te ao nui tonu, tae atu ki te ao Māori. Ka whakapakarihia anōtia ngā hononga ā-tangata ki waenganui i te whānau nā te whakapaipai ake i te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro ā, ka ngāwari ake te mahitahi me te māherehere kaupapa mō ngā tau kei mua.

I puta mai ētahi taunakitanga ā-kaupapahere, ā-rangahau hoki mai i ngā whakakitenga, e mea ana, ka whakapakari ake ngā tatauranga whakatutuki o ngā tamariki Māori i te kura, mā te whakauru rautaki hei whakawhanake i ngā pūkenga o ō rātou mātua tae atu ki ō rātou wāteatanga ki ngā hōtaka tuhi-pānui ā-pakeke. Ka puta anō mai i ngā whakakitenga te whakaaro kia tautokona, kia whakawhanaketia ngā pūkenga tuhi-pānui o te whānau hei wāhanga o te kaupapahere o te Whānau Ora. Mā konā e whakaū ai tōna angitū mā te whakakotahi i te hunga whakarato kaupapa tuhi-pānui ā-pakeke ki roto i taua kaupapa. E tika ana, mā te rangahau ā-pae tawhiti kē e whānui ake ai te māramatanga me te arotakenga o ngā pānga o te akoranga tuhi-pānui ā-pakeke ki ngā ākonga pakeke, tae atu ki ā rātou tamariki me ō rātou whānau.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of a research project that sought to map the impacts of Māori parents' participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes on themselves, their whānau, and particularly their tamariki. In contrast to a deficit model which positions Māori (students, parents, whānau) as a problem to be remedied, the project has been informed by a kaupapa Māori approach which is concerned with supporting Māori self-determination. The project was funded by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research's (NZCER) Purchase Agreement with the Ministry of Education and was carried out in 2010–11 by Te Wāhanga, the Māori research unit of NZCER in collaboration with Literacy Aotearoa.

BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

The objectives for this research were to generate evidence of the relationships between adult literacy and numeracy learning and children's learning, and between adult literacy and numeracy learning and whānau transformation. The purpose was to provide recommendations to policy makers on adult literacy and numeracy which could help improve Māori student engagement and achievement in schools and enhance whānau wellbeing.

The overarching research question was, "What are the impacts on whānau when parents/caregivers undertake programmes to develop their literacy and numeracy in English?" The project has focused on literacy in English because Māori parent literacy and numeracy learners want to be able to help their children with school-based learning, and most of their children are enrolled in mainstream schools and classes.

The project involved interviewing tutors, adult learners and whānau of adult learners at three adult literacy and numeracy providers, each of whom were members of Literacy Aotearoa. In total, we interviewed: four adult literacy and numeracy tutors, two of whom were also managers; 23 Māori adult learners; and seven whānau members. Collectively, the adult learners had participated in a range of programmes. We wanted to be able to hear of the impacts on tamariki and whānau when parents had undertaken adult literacy and numeracy learning *in general*, rather than as a result of one particular type of programme such as whānau literacy programmes.

Our research team collected data using semi-structured interviews. The data were analysed according to themes identified at a one-day research team analysis hui. These themes came from the data and were informed by both the literature and the expertise and experience of Literacy Aotearoa. Further themes and insights emerged in the writing and feedback stages of the project.

KEY FINDINGS

Our main findings were that:

- Literacy and numeracy learning was successful when the adult learners were able to learn in supportive culturally-safe environments, in small classes with tutors who cared about their learning success, and where whānau support was recognised as important. Also important was that the programmes were tailored to meet the learning goals and needs of each learner and taught via a strengths-based approach, and that the curriculum was relevant to learners' lives with learning assessed against learner goals.
- The adult learners were motivated to participate in adult literacy and numeracy programmes in order to positively contribute to their whānau, and especially to better support the learning of their tamariki or mokopuna. Despite these motivations, some struggled to maintain their commitment to adult literacy learning due to financial barriers.
- The personal outcomes experienced by the adult learners as a result of participation in a literacy and numeracy programme included: being able to participate more in whānau and community life, and in the labour market; an increased sense of self and enhanced understanding of others; and greater independence. Most had also developed aspirations for further learning and were aware of new opportunities and possibilities that were opening up for them.
- As a result of participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes, parents said they were now (more) able to help their children with learning, including school-based learning, and were creating opportunities at home to do so. They had more books at home and participated in more literacy activities like reading and going to the library. Parents and grandparents said they had come to perceive their tamariki and mokopuna as competent learners, they talked more about school and learning with their children, participated more in school activities, and were more comfortable talking with teachers. They valued schooling and education more, and had greater aspirations for their tamariki and mokopuna. Parents and grandparents communicated these aspirations indirectly through role modelling, and directly through having different conversations about the future. Where courses taught Māori literacies, parents and grandparents told us these were also transferred to their children at home.

- Parents and grandparents reported that the impacts of their literacy and numeracy participation on their tamariki and mokopuna were more enjoyment of learning and schooling, better engagement at school, and better performance and achievement at school.
- As a result of participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes, the adult learners said they were now (more) able to contribute to their whānau and assist their whānau to be self-determining, either directly through participating in literacy-based activities like meeting with agencies or indirectly through being a role model for learning and further education. Literacy and numeracy learning had strengthened the use and transfer of Māori literacies in whānau, particularly as a result of courses run by Māori adult literacy providers or run at marae. As a consequence, the adult learners said they were able to be more active participants in their whānau, and whānau were enabled to be more active participants in the worlds around them, including te ao Māori.
- Participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes had strengthened whānau relationships as a result of the adult learners having greater communication skills. The adult learners said this had led to greater whānau togetherness and cohesion, and being better able to plan together as a whānau and work through painful past issues.

POLICY AND RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

A number of policy and research recommendations emerged from the findings, and are collated under the following headings: adult literacy and numeracy providers; education policy; social development policy; whānau ora policy; and research. While the recommendations have been placed under these headings for ease of reading, all may have relevance for adult literacy and numeracy providers and government policy makers.

Adult literacy and numeracy providers

- Expansion of the curriculum in adult literacy and numeracy programmes (including workplace programmes) to include components on supporting children's learning, given that Māori parent learners are largely motivated by helping their tamariki.

Education policy

- Inclusion of strategies to develop Māori parents' literacy and numeracy skills and access to adult literacy and numeracy programmes in policies to improve the engagement and achievement rates of Māori children.
- Greater investment in the implementation and development of specific whānau literacy programmes which prioritise helping whānau to help their tamariki and mokopuna.

Social development policy

- Development of policy initiatives and mechanisms that provide greater assistance for parents to support the learning of their tamariki and mokopuna.

Whānau Ora policy

- Integration of adult literacy and numeracy providers and programmes into the Whānau Ora initiative to build whānau literacy capabilities and capacity.
- Provision of literacy support for whānau in the development of whānau literacy plans.
- Provision of training for Whānau Ora brokers so that they are able to recognise and address whānau literacy and numeracy development needs and goals, and refer whānau appropriately.

Research

- Development of a kaupapa Māori adult literacy assessment framework to assess Māori adult learner progress against their personal and whānau goals, which could be used alongside the Tertiary Education Commission's assessment tool.
- Longitudinal research on the outcomes and pathways for Māori from participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes, to better understand and assess the wider benefits of participation.
- Development of a research programme to support the implementation and development of programmes (such as whānau literacy programmes) that incorporate adult literacy and numeracy learning into approaches to lift child literacy and numeracy achievement.
- Longitudinal research to generate evidence of the impact of Māori parents' participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes on the school achievement rates of their tamariki, and on the participation and completion rates of their tamariki in post-school education.

The findings detailed in this report are not unique to the adult learners we interviewed. Indeed, other learners, other adult literacy and numeracy providers, and other tertiary education organisations may have experienced the same or similar impacts on learners' tamariki, mokopuna and wider whānau. What is important is that these impacts are given consideration in the development of policies to improve the educational success of Māori children and in policies to promote whānau self-determination.

1. INTRODUCTION

Tohua ngā whakatipuranga ki te inu i te puna o te mātauranga
Kia hora ai te whakaruruhau o te ora ki runga ki te iwi.
Kia kaha, kia toa, kia manawanui.

Show the young how to drink from the spring of knowledge
So the sheltering mantle of wellbeing may spread over the nation.
Be strong, be courageous, be resolute.

THE PROJECT IN BRIEF

This report presents the findings of a research project that sought to map the impacts of Māori parents' participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes on themselves, their whānau, and particularly their tamariki. In contrast to a deficit model which positions Māori (students, parents, whānau) as a problem to be remedied, the project has been informed by a kaupapa Māori approach which is concerned with supporting Māori self-determination. The project was funded by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research's (NZCER) Purchase Agreement with the Ministry of Education and was carried out in 2010–11 by Te Wāhanga, the Māori research unit of NZCER in collaboration with Literacy Aotearoa.

THE CONTEXT FOR THE PROJECT

Recent international surveys conducted in New Zealand have estimated that large numbers of adults have literacy and numeracy difficulties, including more than half of Māori adults.[1] These difficulties impact on people's everyday lives in many ways, such as support for their children's learning, involvement in community life and engagement in employment. The low English literacy rates experienced by Māori adults have been

1 Analysis by Walker, Udy, and Pole (1996) of the findings of the OECD's International Adult Literacy Survey conducted in New Zealand in 1996, showed that 70 percent of Māori adults surveyed had literacy below a level considered necessary to function in daily life and at work compared with 40 percent of Pākehā. Analysis by Satherley and Lawes (2009) of the findings of the Adult Literacy and Life Skills (ALLS) survey conducted 10 years later in 2006 showed that, while literacy levels had improved overall since 1996, more than 50 percent of Māori continued to have low literacy.

explained as a consequence of colonisation and the marginalisation of Māori in the state school system.[2] Publication of the Hunn Report in 1960 provided the first statistical evidence of Māori disadvantage in the school system and more than 50 years later, little has changed in Māori school achievement rates.[3] Some Māori educationalists, such as Penetito (2010), have argued that this is because the assimilatory goal of state schooling has not changed. Instead, what is needed is a greater capacity for Māori to determine the education of Māori.

Successive governments have sought to improve the English literacy and numeracy skills of Māori school children and have developed a number of policy initiatives to raise current achievement levels, including the recent introduction of National Standards in schools. Other initiatives, such as whānau–school partnerships, have sought to increase the involvement of Māori parents and whānau in their children's school-based learning because research has shown that increased parental involvement raises children's educational achievement.[4] The Ministry of Education's current Māori education strategy, *Ka Hikitia* (2008), has a focus on whānau and the specific contribution of this report is to highlight the value of supporting the literacy and numeracy development of parents and whānau to be full participants in their children's education.

International research reports on the positive impacts of adult literacy and numeracy programmes on children's learning and school achievement as a result of parents being better able to support school-based learning.[5] Evaluations of adult literacy and numeracy programmes in New Zealand report similar findings.[6] Research has also

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2 Māori Adult Literacy Working Party (2001).

3 See the Education Counts website www.educationcounts.govt.nz, Ministry of Education.

4 See for instance, Biddulph, Biddulph, and Biddulph (2003), Desforges and Abouchaar (2003), Silva and Stanton (1996), and Sylva et al. (2003).

5 See for instance, De Coulon, Meschi, and Vignoles (2008) and Tett et al. (2006).

6 See Kempton (2005) who discussed the 'flow-on effects' for whānau as a result of Māori participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes. These included enhanced family relationships and communication, and greater engagement in their children's school-based learning. The Department of Labour (2010) also found that participation in workplace literacy and numeracy programmes generated wider social outcomes for learners such as improved relationships with family and friends, greater participation in community life, and increased involvement in their children's school learning.

been undertaken in New Zealand to evaluate the effectiveness of specific family[7] and whānau[8] literacy programmes on adult and child learning. However, no research to date has looked explicitly at the impacts of Māori parents' participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes on their children's learning.

Consequently, a key objective for this project was to show the connection between adult literacy and numeracy learning and children's literacy and numeracy learning by "mapping out" the changes in the learning experiences of Māori children as a result of their parents' participation in an adult literacy and numeracy programme. Our aspiration was that evidence of these changes might help inform policies and strategies to improve Māori student literacy and numeracy achievement in schools.

There is a considerable body of research that shows the relationship between parental education and qualification levels and the educational achievement of their children, and that low literacy is often intergenerational because parents with low literacy are less confident and able to support their children's learning.[9] The relationship, however, is neither fixed nor static. Instead, research has shown that children's achievement levels can and do increase as a result of parental participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes.[10] A key focus of research has been to examine the new parental practices that work to improve children's learning. The new parental practices identified in the literature include: reading with children; involvement in school-based learning such as helping with homework and meeting with teachers; increased expectations and aspirations for their children's education; and perceiving their children as capable learners.[11] The changes are understood not just as a result of new parental skills and

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7 Benseman (2004). In this evaluation report, Benseman detailed the impacts of the Manukau Family Literacy Programme on participants. Findings for parents were similar to those reported from other successful adult literacy programmes, and those for children included improved completion of homework, greater motivation to go to school, improved literacy skills, and better communication skills. The unique contribution of the family approach to literacy were the family-based impacts, including improved parent-child relationships, spending more quality time together including on literacy activities, and sharing more positive attitudes to education and schooling. A significant issue, however, was that each parent could only nominate one child for inclusion in the programme.

8 May, Hill, and Donaghy (2004). This review of the kaupapa Māori whānau literacy programmes provided through Literacy Aotearoa, showed the programmes to be successful in meeting the literacy learning needs of whānau. The review found that whānau literacy programmes are particularly appropriate for Māori given the central emphasis placed on family and community contexts to learning and teaching, and that they are a useful complement to work-based literacy programmes that draw on more functional approaches to literacy.

9 See, for example, Wylie, Thompson, and Lythe (2001), Wylie et al. (2004) and Wylie and Hipkins (2006).

10 De Coulon et al. (2008) and Tett et al. (2006).

11 Clark (2007), De Coulon et al. (2008), Eccles (2005), Magnuson (2007), Tett et al. (2006), Wylie et al. (2001), Wylie et al. (2004) and Wylie and Hipkins (2006).

practices, but also as a result of a more positive and engaged view of learning and education which is shared with children and influences their motivation and engagement and, over time, their achievement levels.[12] Some research has also highlighted the positive impact of wider family literacy practices on the schooling achievement of children alongside that of parents.[13]

Another recent government policy initiative has been "Whānau Ora", an "inclusive, culturally-anchored approach to provide services and opportunities to whānau and families across New Zealand".[14] The Whānau Ora initiative assists whānau to identify their collective health, wellbeing and education needs and to develop a programme to address those needs, the object of which is for whānau to become self-managing.

Adult literacy and numeracy programme evaluations have reported on the positive impacts of participation on learners' personal lives at home with their families and whānau, including enhanced relationships and communication.[15] Iwi-based research has linked successful Māori participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes to the capacity of the programme to support whānau (hapū and iwi) determined learning aspirations.[16] Indeed, the work of the Māori Adult Literacy Working Party (2001) to construct a Māori definition of literacy, sought to place literacy learning in a whānau development context. No research has been undertaken to date, however, to specifically examine the impacts of Māori participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes on their whānau and what this might mean in terms of whānau development or whānau self-determination.

A further key objective for this project, therefore, was to show the relationship between adult literacy and numeracy learning and whānau transformation by "mapping out" the changes experienced by whānau as a result of a whānau member's participation in an adult literacy and numeracy programme. Our hope is that evidence of these changes might help inform the development of Māori adult literacy policy more broadly, and the successful implementation of the Whānau Ora policy initiative in particular.

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12 See, for instance, Eccles (2005), who describes the process of change through reference to a "Parent Socialisation Model".

13 See, for instance Reese, as cited in Ortiz (2004), whose research on the literacy practices of Mexican households found that rather than just parents, the literacy practices and education of parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents also strongly correlated with the schooling achievement of children.

14 www.tpk.govt.nz/_documents/whanau-ora-factsheet.pdf

15 See, for example, Benseman (2004), Department of Labour (2010), Kempton (2005), and May et al. (2004).

16 Rawiri (2006).

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

The 12-month project involved interviewing tutors, adult learners and whānau of adult learners at three adult literacy and numeracy providers, each of whom were members of Literacy Aotearoa. Literacy Aotearoa is a Te Tiriti o Waitangi-based national organisation of adult literacy providers, including Māori literacy providers.[17] The organisation, formerly the Adult Reading and Learning Assistance (ARLA) Federation, was established in 1982 to develop, promote and deliver accessible, quality literacy services that enable adults to become critically literate.[18]

While Literacy Aotearoa promotes the view that literacy in te reo Māori and English are both necessary components of Māori literacy, this research project has focused on literacy in English. This decision was made for a number of reasons, including that Māori parent literacy and numeracy learners want to be able to help their children with school-based learning, and most are enrolled in mainstream schools and classes. As stated in the Ministry of Education's school curriculum document (2007), English is the medium for most learning in mainstream schools.

RESEARCH QUESTION AND OBJECTIVES

The research objectives were to:

- generate evidence of the impacts of Māori parents' literacy and numeracy development on their children's experiences of learning
- generate evidence of the wider transformative potential for whānau from participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes.

The overarching research question was, "What are the impacts on whānau when parents/caregivers undertake programmes to develop their literacy and numeracy in English?"

KAUPAPA MĀORI METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This research project has been informed by and conducted within a kaupapa Māori methodological framework, which is necessarily grounded in a Māori worldview. This approach takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge, language, and cultural practices, and is located within a wider context of tino rangatiratanga, Māori self-

17 www.literacy.org.nz.

18 Along with Literacy Aotearoa, there are numerous providers of adult literacy and numeracy learning in New Zealand, including institutes of technology, polytechnics, wānanga, industry training organisations, Workbase, and private training establishments.

determination. As such, working within a kaupapa Māori methodological framework places an onus on researchers to work collaboratively with Māori communities to address community issues of concern in ways which are consistent with "being Māori", and for the research work to generate positive benefits for Māori.[19]

A key concept in kaupapa Māori research is that of whānau,[20] which refers to notions of relationships, collectivity, obligation, and accountability.[21] Whānau in this methodological context is the whānau of the research team and research participants. The concept provides methodological guidance on how to organise a research project in terms of roles and responsibilities, how to work collectively and respectfully with Māori communities, and how to give voice to community concerns and aspirations.[22]

Research whānau

Participants

Three adult literacy member providers of Literacy Aotearoa with high numbers of enrolled Māori parent learners were asked to participate in the research. At each provider, we interviewed an experienced adult literacy tutor and/or manager and between seven and nine Māori adult learners. At two of the providers, we also interviewed two adult learners with members of their whānau, which included their parents, partners and school-aged tamariki. In total, we interviewed: four adult literacy and numeracy tutors, two of whom were also managers; 23 Māori adult learners; and seven whānau members.

Two of the three participating adult literacy providers were Māori-run providers. Collectively, the participating providers delivered a range of programmes including whānau literacy, driver licensing, financial literacy, computer literacy, and dedicated and embedded adult literacy and numeracy programmes. Most of the programmes were run on site at the provider's premises, and some were run in learners' or tutors' homes, community spaces, workplaces, and at local marae.

Most of the Māori adult learners we interviewed had successfully completed a literacy and numeracy programme, and some were in the process of completing a programme. As a whole, the adult learners had participated in a range of programmes, and almost all had participated in programmes with explicit literacy and numeracy learning. We wanted to be able to hear of the impacts on tamariki and whānau when parents had undertaken adult literacy and numeracy learning *in general*, rather than as a result of one particular type of programme such as whānau literacy programmes.

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19 Irwin (1994), Smith G. H. (1992), and Smith, L. T. (1999).
20 Ibid.
21 Pihama (2001).
22 Smith, L. T. (1999).

Research team

The research project was a collaboration between Te Wāhanga, NZCER and Literacy Aotearoa. Our research team consisted of four researchers from Te Wāhanga, NZCER, three of whom had experience in kaupapa Māori research, and adult literacy and numeracy advisers from Literacy Aotearoa also with experience in kaupapa Māori research. Te Wāhanga and Literacy Aotearoa collaborated on the planning, fieldwork, and data analysis phases of the project, and Literacy Aotearoa provided feedback on the drafts of this report.

In terms of the wider research whānau and research participants, each participant was sent a copy of their transcript to check for accuracy and to enable them to add or delete comments. Participants were also sent a draft report, and some contributed feedback which is incorporated here.

How the data were gathered

We collected data in pairs using semi-structured interviews, and interviews started with mihimihi and an overview of the project's objectives. The interview sheet was developed out of the literature and using the institutional knowledge of Literacy Aotearoa. A Literacy Aotearoa project adviser introduced the fieldworkers to the staff of the participating Literacy Aotearoa providers prior to the research taking place, and this adviser also participated in many of the interviews.

While our goal was to give centre-stage to the adult learners' voices, the inclusion of whānau members and tutors allowed us to triangulate the findings from the adult learners.

Analysis

We analysed the data according to themes identified at a one-day research team analysis hui. These themes came from the data and were informed by both the literature and the expertise and experience of Literacy Aotearoa. Further themes and insights emerged in the writing and feedback stages of the project.

DEFINITIONS

Whānau

There are a number of publications which provide lengthy and full discussions on the ways in which "whānau" can be defined.[23] For this project, what we wanted to highlight is that

23 Durie (2001), Pihama and Penehira (2005), and the Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives (2010).

whānau refers to the extended family, linked by whakapapa and whāngai relationships, and includes past, present and future generations.

Literacy

The definition of literacy used by Literacy Aotearoa is informed by sociocultural and Māori literacy theories, where literacy is "listening, speaking, reading, writing, numeracy and critical thinking, interwoven with the knowledge of social and cultural practices".[24] As explained above, however, the main focus of this project is literacy in English.

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Following this introductory chapter, there are five chapters which report on and discuss the experiences of the adult learners we interviewed, and the impacts that literacy and numeracy learning had on their lives and that of their whānau. Chapter 2 outlines the multiple layers of exclusion experienced by the adult learners prior to taking up an adult literacy and numeracy course. Chapter 3 outlines the learners' experiences of the adult literacy and numeracy programmes they attended. Chapter 4 outlines the impacts of successful adult literacy and numeracy participation on the personal lives of the learners. Chapters 5 and 6 outline the impacts on the learners' tamariki and whānau respectively. The final chapter, Chapter 7, provides a summary of the policy and research recommendations made in the preceding chapters.

24 www.literacy.org.nz/aboutus.php?PHPSESSID=1811147e32694e427e09dcfc3e3dddb5

2. STORIES OF MULTIPLE EXCLUSION: WHĀNAU AND LITERACY LEARNING

This chapter outlines the whānau literacy practices and literacy learning experiences of the adult learners as they reflected on their upbringings. It begins with an overview of their whānau literacy histories, and then reports on the support they had from whānau for literacy learning at school, the expectations their whānau had for their schooling, followed by the adult learners' experiences of schooling. The findings reported in this chapter end with an overview of the personal impacts of low literacy for the adult learners interviewed.

WHĀNAU LITERACY HISTORIES

Half of the adult learners told us they had parents or grandparents who spoke te reo Māori and would do so with others of their generation, but not with them. Each noted that this was an outcome of the policy to suppress Māori language in schools, a finding that has been documented and discussed by a number of researchers:[25]

> My parents and grandparents spoke te reo to each other but not to us kids. They didn't want us to experience what they had experienced at school. (Whānau member)

As a consequence, very few adult learners grew up as speakers of te reo Māori and only two had tamariki in kōhanga reo. One adult learner had a daughter in a Māori immersion class at primary school due to the support of grandparents.

Just under half of the adult learners reported the transfer of other forms of Māori literacy such as whakapapa, tikanga, marae kawa, waiata, rongoa, and maara kai, as part of whānau life:

> Growing up was about being at the marae with the whānau and hanging out with all the cuzzies. (Adult learner)
>
> We spent a lot of time at the marae, at tangihanga, those sort of things. (Adult learner)
>
> My education that I got was mainly at home ... I learnt how to cook and grow kai and things like that. (Adult learner)

25 See for instance, Benton (1978).

The main literacy in the upbringing of almost all of the adult learners was kōrero in English: being participants or observers of whānau conversations and discussions:

> The bigger we got we'd sit up and have family talks, and I follow that practice with my children and mokos. (Adult learner)
>
> We'd kōrero as a family all the time. (Adult learner)

A few adult learners, however, described whānau that were more characterised by silence and an absence of explanations, which was also carried over into the upbringing of their own children:

> We didn't have a lot of things verbalised to us in our household.... and a lot of things were spoken about over the top of our heads. I carried that into the environment that I went into because, one, I had missed out on schooling, and two, I'd missed out on that socialisation so I was just green as grass. You've got these children and you think you just wash their faces and keep them nice and tidy and the job is done. The whole dialogue and school work was not there. (Adult learner)

In terms of print literacy, most of the adult learners described a home life that did not include reading and writing. Most also noted that there was very little or no reading material in their homes. Where there was reading material it was predominantly newspapers, the Bible, and Mills and Boon romance novels. Almost all of the adult learners said their parents had not helped them with school learning or homework. They related this to the fact that their parents had had little schooling and did not have the literacy skills in English to help them:

> My Mother ... had very little schooling, and my Dad had literacy problems too so we never got any help with our schoolwork at home. We had to muddle on our own. (Adult learner)
>
> My Mother and whānau did not have much of an education ... so she was not really able to help me with my homework. I knew more than her. (Adult learner)

The adult learners we interviewed with older children told us that the same pattern of not being able to help support their children's English literacy development had been repeated prior to taking up an adult literacy course.

WHĀNAU SUPPORT FOR LITERACY LEARNING AT SCHOOL

Most adult learners told us that, although their parents or grand-parents had wanted them to do well at school, they were not able to help them as they did not know how. As a consequence, most adult learners did not feel supported by their whānau with school learning.

Many of the adult learners said that their whānau were supportive in a general sense in terms of caring and providing for them, but only a few adult learners were actively supported by their whānau with English literacy learning. For these few, their parents or another whānau member read to and with them, helped them with homework, and attended parent–teacher interviews and sports days at school. Some adult learners spoke of having an advocate for schooling and education in their wider whānau, but in the main there were few education role models:

> There was hardly anyone you could turn to for help – we were a small little rural community. (Adult learner)

> There weren't really any role models at home to move us forward. (Adult learner)

The parents and whānau of many of the adult learners had very little or no engagement with their schooling—and this was particularly so once the adult learners moved from primary to secondary school. A few of the adult learners noted that the only time their parents went to their school was when they were in trouble. Some said that their parents disliked school and did not like to talk about it or go there. They explained this as the result of their parents or grandparents being physically punished for speaking Māori at school:

> My Mum hated school. She was in the era of being strapped for speaking Māori in the playground. In that era, English wasn't our first language and no matter how hard our parents tried, they didn't stay at school for very long ... Mum never really came to the school. (Adult learner)

For some, these experiences have established a legacy of alienation from schooling that is still very real and present:

> A lot of my whānau don't get into education because of our Nanny's experience of getting the cane at school for speaking Māori. (Adult learner)

Many of the adult learners told us of the socioeconomic difficulties faced by their whānau. For some, their parents' struggles to support their whānau, and sometimes as the sole care-giver, meant working long hours and thus not being available to help them with their learning:

> The routine was get up and go to work, come home and feed the family – they worked hard. There was no literacy around, they weren't into education. (Adult learner)

> Mum was a solo parent and I can't ever remember being pushed or encouraged. She was always working. (Adult learner)

Some adult learners told us there was little time for reading at home and homework because they were busy helping to care for younger siblings or elderly whānau members. These adult learners also had household responsibilities such as housework and helping with kai. Some told us that their mothers were also often busy caring for younger siblings and whānau members which had impacted not only on their mothers' schooling, but on their mothers' ability to actively support their learning:

School was hard as I had lots of [siblings] to look after and had to keep house while ... Mum was having babies. (Adult learner)

Mum didn't have much schooling. Back then the whānau kept her at home to look after the old people. Our parents didn't help with school work – Mum was very busy ... I'm the sixth of 12 children. (Adult learner)

While household responsibilities for children are part of a cultural tradition of whanaungatanga, they have also been explained as a result of policies that have eroded whānau structures of support. These support structures enabled a greater sharing of caregiving and domestic roles between the households of a whānau. [26] A number of adult learners also told us stories of alcohol, domestic, and sexual abuse that meant their learning at home was derailed. Many of the adult learners did not experience the intergenerational support of grandparents and other whānau or hapū members during their upbringing or when raising their own children. Often this was because they had moved away from their ancestral lands and communities, or other whānau members had moved away leaving them quite isolated:

I'd say most of the people in our community at the time left school as soon as they could and went away to work .... Some of my cousins went off to do trade training. (Adult learner)

WHĀNAU EXPECTATIONS

The whānau of many of the adult learners had expectations that their tamariki and mokopuna would get an education at school. However, and as already alluded to, most of these whānau were unable to provide any learning-related support for the expectations they held because they did not have the literacy skills to do so. Nor did they have knowledge of the schooling and tertiary education systems and know of the options provided by these systems:

My Mother and Grand Aunt—both Māori speakers, one with broken English—were trying to write a letter to the government to protest the taking of the land of our marae. I'd just started school, I was five years old, and they were asking me to help them spell the words. So the expectation of us from our elders was to succeed at school, but there was no way they were able to help us with that. (Adult learner)

For our children, my husband and I wanted them to reach their potential but we didn't know how to put them in that direction. We didn't know what was beyond high school. In terms of university, it was like 'What's that?' (Whānau member)

Parents don't understand the education system so they can't help or advise their children. They get frustrated ... so they think it's the school's responsibility. (Tutor)

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26 Walker (1990).

Instead, the whānau of many of the adult learners expected that school would teach their children and guide them through the education system. Some whānau were not aware that their tamariki had struggled with reading and writing:

> You're actually silent and you're deficient and it's not being picked up. They [my parents] were grounded but didn't pass it on—they must have thought I was being taught at school. (Adult learner)

Prior to taking up an adult literacy course, some of the adult learners had had similar expectations of the school system with their own children: that schools would teach them what they needed for a successful employment future and steer them in the right direction to get there.

In terms of expectations for themselves from education, some adult learners told us they had very little or no aspirations when they were younger because they did not know what was available or possible:

> I didn't know what I needed to know, and so I didn't dream of anything higher than maybe going to work at the dairy. (Adult learner)

> There were no goals because nothing was put in front of us. It was like 'Well, there's the factory up the road.' (Whānau member)

Many of the adult learners, however, did have aspirations for themselves but said they did not know how to make them happen:

> Growing up I didn't get to see who and what I wanted to be like ... I was ambitious but I wasn't really aware of where to look; I didn't know how to access things. (Adult learner)

EXPERIENCES OF SCHOOLING

Almost all of the adult learners left school early and without qualifications, and many left school at a very young age. Most talked about feeling as though school was not worthwhile because they were not learning, and some also talked about not feeling included. Some noted that the transition from primary to secondary school was when their experience and enjoyment of schooling started to go from good to bad.

Many of the adult learners shared similar experiences of schooling, and said that they had been aware of being behind with their learning but had been unable to ask for or receive help because of feeling shy and/or ignored by the teachers:

> I didn't do all that well at school so the teachers just left me behind. I noticed I was lagging behind and got shy because I couldn't keep up—so I didn't say anything about it. (Adult learner)

> I found school hard too because of my hearing difficulty. I told the teachers and was straight up about it but they didn't take much notice. (Adult learner)

Relationships with teachers were a key issue raised by many adult learners. Of those who talked about teacher relationships, half reported experiences of abusive, racist teachers who treated them as a problem or a failure:

> I hated the teachers ... I felt they were bullies and unfair and always against Māori. (Adult learner)

> I didn't like teachers just pushing me in the corner and leaving me there. I felt lonely and neglected. (Adult learner)

The other half, however, reported positive experiences with their teachers—often a single, stand-out teacher whom they remembered as particularly supportive:

> It was mostly about the teachers—if they were cool, I would go to that class. (Adult learner)

> The person I looked up to was a teacher ... That was the only time I enjoyed school because he was a good teacher. (Adult learner)

A considerable number of adult learners also specifically raised the issue of class size and felt there were too many students so that teachers were unable to help them. Some also said that even those teachers who seemed to want to help them were too busy to do so:

> There were too many kids and not enough teachers. The teacher would be focused writing on the board and I would just copy it down. (Adult learner)

Interestingly, many of the adult learners told us that they had enjoyed learning or had wanted to learn and tried hard to do so:

> But I persisted. I was always eager to try and learn. (Adult learner)

> When I knew what to do at school, I was into learning. (Adult learner)

PERSONAL IMPACTS OF LOW LITERACY

Almost all of the adult learners felt that their literacy difficulties had impacted on their ability to be a good parent—to be able to support their children's learning at home and at school, and to be in a position to provide for them financially:

> I didn't get a quality education. I didn't learn the things that I needed ... to be able to help with my children's learning. If you don't know things, you can't teach them. (Adult learner)

Almost all also told us how having limited literacy had been a barrier to achieving their aspirations of getting a job, gaining a qualification, or being able to consider a greater range of employment and career options:

> I was doing a chef course and I could do all the hands-on skills ... but when it came to the pen and paper it was over, and that really bummed me out. (Adult learner)

> I wanted to be a police officer, but I needed English. I didn't want to be a bushman, or a timber mill worker, or a fork-lift driver, or what I'm doing now. (Adult learner)

For some, it had meant they were less able to do a good job at work or keep up with the growing literacy demands of their workplaces:

> The pressure was coming on me to be certified and to do note-taking whereas before it was more about awhi. You didn't have to write anything up. (Adult learner)

In terms of social interactions with whānau, friends, and colleagues, many of the adult learners felt very excluded and isolated from the day-to-day activities of life such as participating in conversations and putting forward an opinion. They told us they often felt unable to understand what other people were saying and did not want to speak up and embarrass themselves:

> I hardly ever used to talk at all. (Adult learner)

Some talked of hiding their struggles with literacy from their whānau, including partners and children. Others told us of the the strategies they used to avoid reading, writing, or speaking with people:

> I was really mute ... I wouldn't even make doctors appointments on the phone because I didn't want to talk to other people ... I'd get other people to do it for me. (Adult learner)

Some also talked of the strain this placed on their mental health and wellbeing.

DISCUSSION

The adult learners faced many different barriers to English literacy learning during their school years. This was partly as a result of their experiences of schooling and partly as a result of limited whānau support for school-based literacy learning, which was further muted by urban migration and the erosion of whānau, hapū, marae structures of support. Many of the adult learners also talked explicitly about the impact of socio-economic hardship and struggle on their learning as they were growing up—in terms of the time they had for learning and school work, and their parents' availability to help them with learning and reading. More latterly, and as discussed in the following chapter, financial hardship and struggle has impacted on their ability to access adult literacy learning. The adult learners were acutely aware that the transfer of te reo Māori at home had been disrupted by the Māori language suppression policy in schools. The policy also impacted on their English literacy learning at school because, for some adult learners and their whānau, the policy had created a persisting dislike and/or disinterest in schooling and education as a whole. They felt excluded from mainstream schools by this history and, at the same time, were unable to participate in Māori immersion school settings.

The impacts of low literacy in English on the lives of the adult learners have been multiple and have affected every aspect of their lives socially, economically, and politically in many different ways. In describing their lives prior to participating in a literacy and numeracy programme, the most common state expressed by the adult learners was one of being in hiding; of being apart from the worlds around them.

The multiple layers of exclusion reported by the adult learners as a result of often intergenerational literacy difficulties in English, might be understood, in part, as an outcome of colonisation and assimilationist education policies, as discussed earlier. State education policies for Māori from the mid-1800s to the early 1960s were explicitly about assimilation. Despite the ideology of egalitarianism, the goal was to provide Māori with sufficient English literacy to be the manual and domestic workers in the emerging national and global captialist economy, based on assumptions of English cultural and intellectual superiority. Teachers' expectations were shaped by this context with many having little academic expectations of Māori students. The demands of the developing economy, and particularly the manufacturing industry, led to a more subtle "integration" focus for the education of Māori from the 1960s. The goal was to encourage Māori school leavers to the cities to take up employment opportunites as factory workers and trades people. Integration was superseded by a policy emphasis on multiculturalism in the 1970s, and by biculturalism from the mid-1980s as a result of public challenges by Māori about the injustice of monoculturalism and monolingualism and its impacts on Māori schooling achievement.[27] Many Māori educationalists, however, assert that mainstream state education for Māori remains assimilatory and needs to become more Māori-determined if Māori achievement rates are to improve.[28] Recent research reveals that teacher expectations and classroom support of Māori students also remain problematic.[29]

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27 Walker (1990). See also the working paper on Māori adult literacy, which locates Māori adult literacy in an historical context of colonisation (Potter, 2011).
28 Penetito (2010).
29 Bishop et al. (2007).

Future implications

Recommendations drawn from the findings in this chapter include:

- Rebuilding of whānau support structures, such as through the Whānau Ora policy initiative. Whānau self-management and whānau cohesion are key goals of Whānau Ora.[30]
- Development of policy initiatives and mechanisms that provide greater assistance for parents to support the learning of their tamariki and mokopuna.

30 Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives (2010).

3. STORIES OF TRANSITION: ADULT LITERACY PROGRAMMES

This chapter outlines the motivations that led the adult learners to enrol in literacy and numeracy programmes, and details their experiences of them. It reports on: learner goals; whānau support; programme development and delivery; and the challenges faced by the learners.

LEARNER GOALS

For almost all of the adult learners, a key purpose for enrolling in an adult literacy and numeracy course was to help their children with learning. Many adult learners also told us they wanted to upskill themselves in order to gain employment, to progress in their current job, or to enter a new field in order to better support their families:

> My goal is to learn as much as I can and to gain some qualification so that I can get out there and work ... I want to better myself and teach my children. Basically, all my decisions are based around my children. (Adult learner)
>
> Having my son, I wanted to be able to help with his homework and not just wait until his Dad got home. (Adult learner)
>
> I was offered an adult apprenticeship and took it up to have a bit of security behind me and my family. I'm doing the numeracy course because I haven't got the maths skills ... All of my decisions revolve around my family. (Adult learner)

Many said they were also motivated by a personal desire for a better life and future, and to participate more in the world around them:

> I wanted to get an education—to further myself, to get somewhere ... I've got injuries from physical work, so I need an education. (Adult learner)
>
> Wanting to do a literacy course probably started from ... wanting to be included and not being left out. (Adult learner)

The adult literacy tutors interviewed also told us that the biggest driver for learners was the education and wellbeing of their tamariki or mokopuna and learning how to help them. The tutors noted that this was true of both men and women learners who were parents.

WHĀNAU SUPPORT

Almost all of the adult learners told us they felt supported by their whānau to participate in their literacy and numeracy programmes. Each felt this was an important factor in being able to achieve their learning goals. Indeed, for many of the learners it had been a particular member or members of their whānau who had encouraged them to enrol:

> They support me all the way. They encourage me and do my housework so I can focus my mind here. (Adult learner)
>
> My partner really likes it that I'm here. (Adult learner)
>
> A whānau member brought me here to do the karaoke literacy programme, and through that I found out about the other courses here like literacy and numeracy and computing. (Adult learner)

One tutor noted that although whānau support might not be initially forthcoming for some adult learners, it develops as a learner's whānau starts to notice the changes in what they are able to do as a result of the course.

In recognition of the importance of whānau support, one tutor told us that they collaborate with learners' whānau by bringing them in at the beginning of each year to ascertain what learning support mechanisms might be needed at home so learners can be present and participate, such as childcare. Time is spent helping the adult learners set up such support.

PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT AND DELIVERY

Learner-centred goals

Learners' goals are instrumental in how the adult literacy and numeracy programmes are run:

> We're student first, not tutor first. It's their learning needs that are the priority. (Tutor)

The tutors told us that an individual learning plan is designed for each adult learner as a result of an initial assessment of their learning goals and what they need to do to achieve them. These learning goals and the resulting learning plans are very much whānau learning plans for many adult learners, as they are constructed around both whānau and individual learning needs. The learning plans develop and evolve as further goals emerge.

Supporting self-assessment and learning progression

The tutors told us there was regular assessment of learning towards learners' goals, where learners would reflect on what they had learnt at the end of each class or week of classes. Some commented on the importance of ensuring learners are able to regularly reflect on their learning journey so that they remain motivated and encouraged. One tutor noted that learners can sometimes become discouraged by the length of time learning takes or when their learning plateaus.

These "metacognitive" processes, where learners talk about what they are learning, enabled each of the adult learners to have a clear idea of what they had learnt and what they were aiming for next. As a result, all were aware of how they were progressing towards their goals:

> I'm on the second tier of progressions. The tutor shows me how I'm progressing. (Adult learner)

For some, it also meant they had a greater awareness of how they learn and what they need to do to advance their learning:

> I've learnt how to learn, and to learn with others and from others as well. (Adult learner)

> I still don't use my spelling or writing as much as I should. That's probably why I have a lack of learning, because I don't practise them at home enough. (Adult learner)

Some tutors commented on the importance of recognising success along the learning journey, by issuing certificates, for example, to assist learners to gain a sense of progress and achievement.

The tutors also talked about the need to recognise that literacy learning is a "stop-start process because life happens", and the need to be flexible so that learners could learn at their own pace. This was especially noted and appreciated by some of the adult learners we interviewed:

> They were very accommodating with my children and working full time. (Adult learner)

Relevant, real-life learning

The tutors told us that their literacy and numeracy programmes are designed around and grounded in the real-life worlds of adult learners, making learning both relevant enjoyable:

> We develop our programmes based on community needs. We go by what they want to do. We've developed a fishing and kai gathering programme ... and a cooking in the home programme. We had three tutors running those programmes: one to look after the tamariki; one to teach literacy and numeracy; and one to teach the fishing, gardening, or cooking. (Tutor)

> We have a range of programmes including the young women's venture group which supports young Māori mothers. It runs in their homes or in community houses. The literacy focus is around employment, home management, and parenting. (Tutor)

> The young women's course is based around children and we've learnt things to do with cooking, health and budgeting. I've always got lots of questions in that course for my children. (Adult learner)

It also means that the programmes start with what learners already know, and build on existing literacy and numeracy strengths.

In addition to parenting and whānau self-sufficiency programmes, tutors and adult learners described how the programmes embed literacy and numeracy in real-life activities like reading bills, filling out forms, recording whakapapa and whānau histories, reading and writing emails, and reading newspaper articles and learning how to critique what was reported. All of the providers also run a driver's licence programme which includes learning to read the Road Code.

One adult literacy provider also runs a whānau karaoke literacy programme to teach reading and reading comprehension. The manager told us that this novel approach to literacy learning was successful because it addressed a key need, that of reading comprehension, and did so by drawing on the community's love of singing and the desire of their adult learners to have opportunities to learn with their tamariki, mokopuna and wider whānau:

> And it's fun. You've got to make learning fun or they won't participate. (Tutor)

Many of the karaoke programme learners go on to enrol in other adult literacy and numeracy courses offered by the provider.

Further reinforcing the real-life ethos of the programmes, some are delivered directly in the contexts in which the adult learners live, which also enables greater access to literacy learning. As noted above, some programmes are run in people's homes or in community spaces. One provider delivers programmes in gang communities for their members. This provider also runs literacy and numeracy programmes at local marae:

> The [provider] has run literacy programmes at our marae which has been very beneficial for our people. There were some of our people without jobs and with low achievement at high school, so I welcomed [them] to come out and run their programme. I went around and gathered all the unemployed for them to have the opportunity to learn something new. (Adult learner)

Alongside the development of reading and writing, the tutors told us that their programmes had a particular focus on developing the speaking and listening skills of learners. More than just speaking and listening, the goal was to build learners' abilities to participate in and contribute to "discourse communities" such as those associated with schools and government agencies.[31] This was because learners often did not know how or have the confidence to interact with people in positions of authority:

> Some of the schools say 'We don't see the parents that we really need to see'. But what we've found is that they don't know what to ask, so we've run workshops on what to ask and how to interact with teachers and so on. (Tutor)
>
> We help them learn how to fill in their forms for things like ACC. We do role plays, too, to teach them how to deal with those agencies face to face. (Tutor)
>
> We learnt how to deal with questions, and how to respond and not just say 'yes'. (Adult learner)

Whānau learning environment

The importance of whanaungatanga and a supportive, caring learning environment was highlighted as a key factor by all adult learners and tutors:

> It's comfortable here. It's like a whare. (Adult learner)
>
> Whakawhanaungatanga is critical for the classroom, and also tutors being accessible outside of the classroom. It's important for all cultures, but the need seems to be intrinsic for Māori—that sense of belonging. (Tutor)

Most of the adult learners said they felt that a whānau learning environment had helped them achieve their learning goals:

> It's been choice. I've achieved my goals but it's taken a long time. It was fun and the good people kept me going. There's a whānau environment here. (Adult learner)

Many also made particular mention of being able to bring their tamariki or mokopuna into the learning space and participate in particular activities together such as noho marae. For some parenting or whānau-based literacy courses, childcare and homework clubs for school children were provided. Many of the adult learners and tutors talked of the importance of the learning environment being "not like school", and instead being inclusive, relaxed and learner focused.

For many of the adult learners, friendships with other adult learners has been important, both in helping to create a whānau atmosphere and to normalise their learning and give them confidence:

> This is one of the best places I could have come to because they gave me an environment of other adults like myself. (Adult learner)

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31 According to Gee (2008), discourses are the ways in which particular groups of people behave, interact, value, think, believe, speak, listen, read, and write. Thus learning how to be part of a "discourse community" is about learning how to use the discourses of that community or group.

> I was in a nurturing environment with other adults and got confidence there. (Adult learner)

Another factor that helped create a supportive, whānau learning atmosphere was that class sessions were run in small groups (generally eight to 10 people). This fostered learning support amongst the learners and enabled greater access to tutors. Some of the adult learners made particular mention of this, and particularly the opportunity for one-on-one time with tutors:

> There's more one-on-one learning here. There would be 10 people maximum in one class. At school there were too many people. Small groups are better—tutors have more time for each person. (Adult learner)
>
> The one-on-one has been really good for me. (Adult learner)
>
> Group support is really important—we have a maximum of eight learners in a group. They really support each other. (Tutor)

Learner–tutor relationships

Also important to creating a positive, whānau learning environment were the relationships learners were able to form with their tutors. In contrast to their experiences with teachers at school, many of the adult learners told us they felt supported and encouraged by their tutors:

> I knew one of the tutors which helped me fit in, and she would settle me if anyone got on my nerves ... If it wasn't for her, I wouldn't have lasted here. (Adult learner)

A number of the adult learners also said that their relationships with their tutors were important in getting them through their past negative school-based learning experiences and into thinking of themselves as capable learners:

> The course was pretty hard at first and I didn't want to come back, but I just kept going and started liking it ... I had to bond with my tutor and give him my trust. It got easier because I was willing to learn. (Adult learner)
>
> I was scared of the teachers at school ... the teachers used a stick and our Mum and Dad never hit us kids. I was able to pick up things quickly from the [literacy] tutor ... The image of the teacher with the stick has gone now. (Adult learner)

While some struggled with the learning initially, or experienced difficult learning patches, it was often the relationship with the tutor that got them through. None of the adult learners reported any negative experiences with their tutors.

The tutors themselves were equally as enthusiastic about and committed to their roles as teachers of adult literacy:

> What I enjoy most is working with people, being in the community—seeing people go through transformations and be part of society; taking their place in the community. (Tutor)
>
> I get real joy at seeing the progression in our students and their kids and whānau. (Tutor)

CHALLENGES FACED BY LEARNERS

Only one adult learner spoke of any negative whānau impacts as a result of undertaking an adult literacy course:

> My daughter has noticed the changes in me but it scares the hell out of her. Her cousins tell me that she wants to do the literacy course too, but feels like I'm showing her up. It really hurt. (Adult learner)

Tutors also told us that it was rare for whānau to disapprove or discourage other whānau members from undertaking an adult literacy course:

> We don't see a lot of it—the 'tall-poppy' thing where whānau react with 'You think you're better than us'. When people do come, it's because they're being encouraged by someone else—their partner, parent, child, friend. This is a lot more common. (Tutor)

Juggling the responsibilities of childcare, whānau commitments, and paid work were noted by many of the adult learners as a key difficulty in being able to maintain their learning. Some of the adult learners and tutors also made particular mention of financial barriers to learning:

> But I've still got a whānau to support, so I'll have to go back to labouring for a while. (Adult learner)
>
> Poverty has a big impact on some of the parents' ability to attend, participate, and learn. (Tutor)

DISCUSSION

The factors for successful participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes identified by the adult learners were being able to learn in supportive culturally-safe or whānau environments, where they were taught in small classes by tutors who cared about their learning success, and where whānau support was recognised as important. Also identified as necessary for success by the adult learners and tutors was that programmes were tailored to meet the individual learning goals and needs of learners, programmes were taught via a strengths-based approach, and that the curriculum was relevant to learners' lives and that learning was assessed against learner goals.

The features of the adult literacy and numeracy programmes described here are consistent with the critical success factors for Māori adult learners identified in the literature[32]. As a consequence, adult learners were successfully meeting their learning goals and tutors were successfully supporting them to do so.

Almost all of the adult learners told us that they were motivated to participate in adult literacy and numeracy programmes because they wanted to be able to positively contribute to their whānau, and especially to better support the learning of their tamariki or mokopuna. This finding is consistent with other research literature in the field of Māori adult literacy.[33] Despite these motivations, some adult learners told us that they struggle to maintain their commitment to adult literacy and numeracy learning due to financial barriers[34], and research in Māori adult literacy has also highlighted this point.[35]

Successful participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes is also seen to occur when learners are able to determine their own goals. Other literature in the field of Māori adult literacy has shown that learner success is more likely when goals are learner and whānau (hapū, iwi) determined, and not imposed from the outside.[36] What was also important to many of the adult learners in this research was to have regular assessment of their learning and a clear understanding of their progress towards their personal and whānau-based goals. The Tertiary Education Commission's literacy and numeracy for adults assessment tool has been designed to provide information on the reading, writing and numeracy skills of adults. What has not been developed to date, however, is a kaupapa Māori assessment framework to assess Māori adult learners' progress against their personal and whānau goals, which could be used alongside the Tertiary Education Commission's assessment tool.

Future implications

Recommendations drawn from the findings in this chapter include:

- Expansion of the curriculum in adult literacy and numeracy programmes (including workplace programmes) to include components on supporting children's learning, given that Māori parent learners are largely motivated by helping their tamariki.

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32 Research in the field of Māori adult literacy has predominantly focussed on the experiences of Māori in adult literacy and numeracy and foundation education programmes, the goal of which has been to generate insights into effective teaching practices and successful programme provision for Māori adult learners. See, Kempton (2005), Marshall, Baldwin, and Peach (2008), May (2009), McMurchy-Pilkington (2009), Mlcek et al. (2008), Skill New Zealand (2001) and White, Oxenham, Tahana, Williams, and Matthews (2008).

33 McMurchy-Pilkington (2009), Mlcek et al. (2008) and White et al. (2008).

34 Financial barriers include, transport and childcare costs, and lower whānau incomes when parents are studying and not in paid work.

35 Kempton (2005), McMurchy-Pilkington (2009) and Rawiri (2006).

36 Māori Adult Literacy Working Party (2001) and Rawiri (2006).

- Development of a kaupapa Māori adult literacy assessment framework to assess Māori adult learners' progress against their personal and whānau goals, which could be used alongside the Tertiary Education Commission's assessment tool.

4. STORIES OF MULTIPLE INCLUSION: IMPACTS ON ADULT LEARNERS

This chapter outlines the personal gains that the adult learners experienced from improving their literacy and numeracy skills. The key personal gains that emerged from the interviews and reported here are: participation in whānau and community life; participation in the economy; sense of self and others; independence; an interest in life-long learning; and the development of future aspirations.

PARTICIPATION IN WHĀNAU AND COMMUNITY LIFE

All of the adult learners talked about how developing their literacy skills had enabled them to participate more in whānau and community life. For many of the adult learners the shift had been quite profound. They told us that they felt more included in things because they were more confident and able to speak up in front of others and participate in conversations. Many of the adult learners told us that this was because they were better able to understand what others were saying and were better able to be understood by others:

> Having confidence, self-esteem, being able to speak up or stand up and speak, or speak in a group. I couldn't do any of that before or at school. I can be an adult with other adults. (Adult learner)
>
> It's having that ability to join in. (Adult learner)
>
> I can now have decent conversations with people without getting irritated because I don't know the words. Now I can understand what people are saying more. (Adult learner)
>
> I can use the right words and grammar so that people can understand what I'm talking about. (Adult learner)
>
> People haven't felt comfortable to join in socially. They see others doing it and think that everyone else finds it easy. They're scared to participate in case the conversation gets too hard for them. Literacy learning makes them more confident and more able to participate. (Tutor)

As a result, many of the adult learners said they were no longer so shy or withdrawn. For some, this has meant greater confidence to try new things, and for others, to speak up and ask questions or ask for help:

> I'm speaking up more and asking questions instead of just thinking them ... I'm not the shy little Māori fella in the corner now, I've got more confidence—confidence to be understood, to participate, to articulate more, to explain, and not just tell half a story. (Adult learner)

> Doing the courses here has given me a lot of confidence to do a lot of stuff I've never done before. (Adult learner)

> The course has made me feel more confident ... I'm not so shy to ask for help. I speak my mind more, no matter where I am. (Adult learner)

Many adult learners said that learning how to read and write, or read and write better, had enabled them to participate in and understand more about the world around them. This included being able to read books and newspapers, being able to read bills and fill in forms, and read and write formal letters and personal emails to whānau and friends:

> I can fill out forms better because I'm reading things properly—not missing out words and not understanding. I've been able to fill out the rental agreement forms. (Adult learner)

> I wrote a letter about a parking ticket I got. I wrote it all by myself. I wouldn't have been confident enough before and I didn't have the words to write down ... I got let off the fine too! (Adult learner)

Consequently, many of the adult learners felt less isolated and more connected to and included in the worlds around them. Some talked about their delight in being able to have an informed personal opinion and share it with others, and some felt they were more aware of and interested in community life and political events:

> I bring home articles and news things which everybody is interested in. (Adult learner)

> She wasn't a news person before the course, but because the tutor asks what's happened in the news, she makes an effort to read and find out. (Whānau member)

> The whole critical thinking thing is important—we spend time on that, about how to access information and have an informed opinion, for example, at election time. (Tutor)

Many adult learners also felt more confident and able to access information and resources, including via the computer.

PARTICIPATION IN THE ECONOMY

Two of the adult learners we interviewed had undertaken a workplace literacy programme, and three others had done or were doing a literacy and numeracy course to assist them with a job-related qualification. Almost all of the adult learners we interviewed talked about their increased ability to participate in the labour market as a result of improving their literacy and numeracy. Many were working towards, or had completed, qualifications and felt they were better positioned to gain employment or change their current job now or in the future. For some, the goal was to improve their literacy to be able to undertake study at a tertiary education institution and widen their employment and career choices:

> I really want to be able to get some tickets so I can get into polytech ... and into the [chefing] industry. (Adult learner)

One adult learner who was currently job seeking felt better prepared to undertake the employment process, and told us:

> I've applied for a job ... Literacy helps with being able to answer questions properly when it comes to interviewing. (Adult learner)

Some of the adult learners told us that improving their literacy and numeracy had meant they were able to meet the new literacy demands of their workplaces, and maintain and expand their work roles as a result:

> My work environment wanted me to do in-house training. The papers were quite academic, they started at Level 4. While I could read a bit, I couldn't even understand the questions let alone trying to answer them. Seven years ago somebody told me about [the adult literacy provider] ... I was able to finish my qualification. (Adult learner)

Some adult learners talked about being more competent at work, and better able to engage and communicate with work colleagues:

> I'd just started a role as a retail manager—I needed ... to write reports and read them and understand... [Now] I can write reports up, communicate with head office and suppliers, and work out budgets. I can use the computer, spreadsheets, and emails. (Adult learner)

> It's helping me read all of the things at work. I put myself forward more at work. I can now understand more the boss's point of view, and I can put my views forward about things more. (Adult learner)

SENSE OF SELF AND OTHERS

Most of the adult learners made particular mention of an increased sense of self and an enhanced understanding of others that had resulted from literacy learning. Alongside being better able to communicate and interact with others, some said that they had developed greater self-discipline and respect for and tolerance of others. A few said that this had meant they no longer used physical violence to deal with challenging situations:

> I can communicate with people now. Before the course I couldn't stand or tolerate anyone to be honest. People would get under my skin. I have more patience with people ... and can interact now with people from different cultures. (Adult learner)

> I'm starting to learn self-control and how to listen ... I've learnt how to respect others ... I've learnt how to tolerate others, how to interact with others—and not retaliate physically. (Adult learner)

Tutors also commented on these types of changes and told us that as learners develop their literacy, they are able to respond differently in different situations because of having a greater ability to listen, express themselves and respect others.

Some adult learners talked about feeling stronger mentally and emotionally which meant they were better able to focus, deal with stress and frustration, and share more of themselves with others:

> I know when I go off track, and I can bring myself back and focus on the kaupapa at hand. (Adult learner)
>
> I used to be a real stress carrier, and having literacy has helped me to deal with things at the time and not let the stress build up and explode. (Adult learner)
>
> I share more of my feelings and emotions and don't keep things to myself so much ... I used to be like a stone. (Adult learner)

Some adult learners also spoke of the sense of joy that being (more) literate had brought to their lives:

> I've gone from being a depressed woman to a woman who wants to be alive, wants to share, who wants to enjoy life, and who wants to enjoy the simple thing of reading. (Adult learner)

While all of the adult learners demonstrated the ability to consciously reflect on their lives and integrate new ways of being, one adult learner talked specifically about this:

> In my early years I never really reflected. Reflection is something you can learn at a young age, but I never really had that ... The literacy learning helped me to learn to reflect. (Adult learner)

INDEPENDENCE

Almost all of the adult learners talked about the thrill of gaining increased independence in their lives from being able to read and write and work things out for themselves, and having the confidence to communicate in person or over the telephone with others:

> I can read my bills now—I know that CR means being in credit. I used to take them to work and get help with reading them. (Adult learner)
>
> With writing formal letters, I know I can actually do it now rather than trying to get someone else to do it. (Adult learner)
>
> Now I can open up the phone bill or the power bill and be able to understand all that gibberish myself. Before I used to leave all that up to my partner. I want that independence. (Adult learner)

For some, increased literacy had led to sitting and passing their driver's licence which had added considerably to their sense of independence:

> I've got my restricted driver's licence through this place. It was good to go somewhere [driver licensing testing] and see the benefit of your learning—where you can give them the answer they need; to get a result from learning. (Adult learner)

LIFE-LONG LEARNING AND FUTURE ASPIRATIONS

Nearly all of the adult learners we interviewed had caught the learning bug. Many had developed a new eagerness and hunger for learning and an appreciation of its value to their lives. For others, they were able to reconnect with an earlier desire to learn:

> I love learning now—I should have done this years and years ago. (Adult learner)

> It's pretty much the highlight of my week. (Adult learner)

Tutors told us that improved literacy opens learners' horizons to new things; that their often narrow views of what they can achieve expand as they learn new things and learn what is possible and available to them—such as applying for new jobs that fit with their new skills, enrolling in a course, or going for a promotion at work. Being involved in a positive and personally successful learning environment had radically improved adult learners' self-esteem and confidence in their ability to learn. As a consequence, nearly all of the adult learners wanted to keep progressing with their learning in new ways. Almost all were aware of new opportunities and possibilities that were opening up for them:

> I've got more confidence and I'm more aware of the resources that are out there to help you learn. (Adult learner)

Many had plans to gain employment, and some for the first time in their lives. Many also had plans to gain qualifications or additional qualifications to help support their aspirations for employment or a particular job or career path:

> I can see myself doing a catering course in a year or so. It's my goal. Another goal is to get my driver's licence. (Adult learner)

Some were planning to explore new employment options and others were now able to forge ahead with long held dreams and ambitions, or expand their horizons and lead a fuller life:

> I'm now looking for a new challenge from my career—I want to be able to progress and grow, and earn more. I'm starting to put more value on myself and I know that I can learn what I need to progress. (Adult learner)

> I always had a fascination with words. Like if somebody said something I'd like the way it was linked together. I'd think I could do that ... [and now I'm] ... writing children's poetry. (Adult learner)

> I want to be able to do more and be more. I want to be able to go more places and meet more people. (Adult learner)

DISCUSSION

The personal outcomes experienced by the adult learners as a result of literacy and numeracy learning were varied and considerable and, in some cases, quite profound. Some of the outcomes described here are consistent with the findings of a Tertiary Education Commission study[37] investigating Māori learner outcomes from participation in adult literacy learning. The research found that as a result of literacy and numeracy skill development and greater personal confidence, learners took up new activities and opportunities such as further education, their relationships with whānau improved, and they participated more in whānau and community life. Other research on the impacts of workplace literacy and numeracy programmes has reported that participation resulted in improved literacy and numeracy skills, better communication skills and greater personal confidence,[38] which, in turn, impacted positively on the personal lives of some in terms of improved relationships with others, greater participation in family and community life, and for a few learners, new aspirations and anger management.

Despite evidence of the positive impacts that adult literacy and numeracy learning can have, access to adult literacy and numeracy courses remains limited due to shortages of funding and resources. Some of the adult learners in this study who had completed their courses had taken the opportunity to participate in higher level tertiary education, suggesting that access to adult literacy and numeracy learning may help achieve the current government goal[39] of increased Māori tertiary education participation beyond Level 4. A case for greater investment in adult literacy and numeracy learning might be possible if more was known about the relationship between participation in adult literacy and numeracy courses and participation in higher education.

However, qualifications are just one part of the picture. As a result of the global economic recession, a contracted labour market has meant fewer job opportunities for Māori adult learners once they have successfully completed adult literacy and numeracy programmes. At the time of interviewing participants at an adult literacy and numeracy provider located in a rural town, one of the largest local employers had cut over 100 jobs the previous day. Indeed, Māori are significantly less likely to realise employment and income outcomes from participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes than Pākehā. Unemployment rates for Māori have been around three times those of Pākehā for at least the last 25 years, and Māori earn significantly less than Pākehā even when having the same qualifications and being employed in the same jobs.[40]

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37 Kempton (2005).
38 Department of Labour (2010).
39 Tertiary Education Commission (2010).
40 Statistics New Zealand, www.stats.govt.nz.

Research into the connections between adult literacy learning and social capital by Tett and Maclachlan (2007) provides the reminder that adult education and literacy development are not located in a politically neutral context. Instead, the social capital of adult literacy learners, and the potential transformation of their social capital through literacy learning, is shaped by the very same systems of power and privilege that produced their inequity and disadvantage. While literacy learning cannot on its own affect large-scale social transformation, however, Tett and Maclachlan (2007) conclude that it is a necessary and vital component of such change.

Future implications

A recommendation drawn from the findings in this chapter is:

- Longitudinal research on the outcomes and pathways for Māori from participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes, to better understand and assess the wider benefits of participation.

5. STORIES OF MULTIPLE INCLUSION: IMPACTS ON ADULT LEARNERS' TAMARIKI

This chapter outlines the impacts on the learning experiences of tamariki as a result of their parents'/caregivers' participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes. The key impacts on tamariki that emerged from the interviews and reported here are: increased support for learning; increased support for school learning; parents as role models; and enhanced parental aspirations.

INCREASED SUPPORT FOR LEARNING

The tutors we interviewed told us that by improving their own literacy and numeracy skills, parents were better able to help their children learn these skills because they now knew *how* to help them. Indeed, all of the adult learners with preschool and school-aged tamariki felt much more able and confident to help their children with their learning, and particularly with reading. Those with older children especially noticed the difference in how they were able to he lp with the learning of their younger tamariki when compared to what had been possible with their older children. Similarly, all of the grandparents we interviewed said they were more confident and able to support the learning and reading of their mokopuna, which was a marked difference to what they had been able to do with their own children.

As a result of their own successful learning, all of the parents and grandparents we interviewed now had a more positive view of learning and education in general and shared this with their tamariki and mokopuna. All felt they had more knowledge to share with their tamariki and mokopuna, and many were taking up or creating further opportunities to do so. The following is a dialogue from one of the whānau interviews:

> She can teach us more. If she knows stuff, she can teach us. She can do this more since doing the course. She helps me and my sister read now ... We've been doing crosswords too. (School-aged whānau member)
>
> Which are things I never used to do. I just started off with those in the [local newspaper]. We'd play a game where we'd all have to figure out the answers. I wouldn't have even touched

> the newspaper before. I was always sweet as with maths with the kids, but when it came to reading I was just 'Go over there.' (Adult learner)
>
> If she's learning something, then we are too. (School-aged whānau member)

Some of the parents said they now have books or more books in the home, and a few talked about (better) utilising their local libraries:

> There are more books at home now, and I take my kids to the library. I try to take them there more than the video shop—and I'd rather go there because it's free! They like it, all the books—books they can relate to, toys, and games. Before it was just games, but now it's books too. (Adult learner)

As a result of the te reo Māori and tikanga learnt in some of the literacy courses, a few of the parents also talked about being more conscious of teaching their children te reo Māori and other aspects of Māori literacy such as whakapapa, tikanga and karakia:

> I'm teaching my children respect and tikanga, like karakia. Now we always say karakia and so they're picking those things up too. (Adult learner)

These parents also talked about now having a greater interest in understanding more about marae kawa and tikanga, and sharing this with their tamariki. Two of the adult learners have tamariki in kōhanga reo and one has a tamariki in a Māori immersion class at school and each aspired for their tamariki to grow up literate in English and te reo Māori.

Tutors told us that parents "come alive" and "glow" when they learn how to help their children. What was apparent from each of the parents and grandparents with preschool or school-aged tamariki and mokopuna was the distinct sense of pleasure and pride they had in being able to help their children with their literacy learning. Many of them told us they were inspired by their children to keep progressing with their learning so that they could continue to help them as they got older:

> I've started reading to my son, and the books I read are at my level too. I want to develop more literacy skills so I can give them to him ... He's at that age when he's ready for learning, so I'm giving him all I can. (Adult learner)

These parents and grandparents also took a lot of pleasure from their children's enjoyment of reading and in their learning achievements. Many of them told us they thought their children were good learners, and were excited to see tangible evidence of their efforts to teach them:

> He's really clever ... He knows the abc's at two years old. I knew that at eight. (Adult learner)

I'm teaching them more, I buzz out with their learning. I do flip cards with the two- and four-year-olds and those sorts of things—and they're learning. They're so clever. (Adult learner)

INCREASED SUPPORT FOR SCHOOL LEARNING

All of the parent learners with school-aged tamariki, and many of the grandparents too, told us that they were now more able to support the school learning of their tamariki and mokopuna at home. All were now helping with homework:

It's good because I can help with the things they do at school. Before they'd say 'Can you help me with this?' and I'd say 'I can't help you with that, I don't even know what that is.' Now it's all changed. I've been able to ask at the course how I can help them. (Adult learner)

I've been able to help the girls with some of their maths homework too now. (Adult learner)

All of these parents, and many of the grandparents, also told us that they now took a greater interest in their children's schooling, and asked and talked (more) about how school was going for them. The following is a dialogue from one of the whānau interviews:

We talk more about school. (School-aged whānau member)

And what we did in our day. (School-aged whānau member)

I never used to ask them how their day was at school. One day I asked them, and I just saw the changes on their faces—just my asking them a simple question like that. It made their day, me asking. So now I ask them about their day, what subjects they had and how they went. (Adult learner)

Another change discussed by most of these parents, and many of the grandparents, was that they now felt more confident and able to talk with teachers and raise issues with them:

I'm confident to go and sit down with the teachers of my moko. With my son, his marks weren't good but I wasn't able to say to the teacher that I didn't know how to help him, I wasn't able to be transparent in that way. It's sort of quite blurry because it was too much and I didn't know. Nobody ever offered any alternative. So it's very different with this moko. (Adult learner)

Most of the parents, and many of the grandparents, were now also more confident and able to participate in and attend school activities, such as parent–teacher interviews and being a parent helper. One adult learner also told us she had been to the school to read her poems at school assembly.

Each of the tutors we interviewed also talked about the range of ways parents and grandparents were able to support the school learning of their tamariki and mokopuna. They told us that as adult learners' literacy improved, they felt more confident, motivated and able to support their children's learning at home by helping with homework, and at school by talking with teachers and participating in school activities. As reported on pages 22 and 23, adult learners were able to workshop and role play mock conversations as part of their courses so that they could learn and practise how to interact with teachers:

> What we've found is that [parents] don't know what to ask ... So parents are able to work through that barrier and participate in their kids' schooling, and show an interest, when they were too scared to before purely because they didn't know what to say or ask. (Tutor)

As a result of these changes, each of the tutors reported that adult learners often told them that their children had become more motivated and engaged with learning at school and aspired to learn more, that they had better relationships with their teachers and were more settled in class, and that their academic performance had increased. Those parents and grandparents with school-aged tamariki and mokopuna also described these changes to us:

> Every night I'm reading to this moko. I can really see and understand that you really do need those initial fundamental building blocks ... she is progressing and she is reading. (Adult learner)

> There was a letter every week from the school saying 'Your son's not doing this, your son's not doing that'... He's going great guns now. Just like that, through us [parent and grandparent] doing the course. He's picked up, you wouldn't believe it. He enjoys learning now. (Adult learner)

> The kids are better for it; they're more into doing their homework. They care more about themselves and have more respect for themselves ... and others. They know they can go further. They've got a higher goal. (Adult learner)

> The school noticed the improvement with their schoolwork. (Adult learner)

Many of the parents of older school-aged children, or with grown-up children, also talked about feeling more able to help and encourage them with schooling and learning. A number of them said that their children had struggled with schooling and although they weren't aware of or able to help them in the past, they were able to do this now:

> The things that I learnt here I took home to him because we all studied together at the table at home ... We had a lot of sharing time and he'd say things like 'Why didn't you pick this up years ago Mum?' (Adult learner)

One parent told us that her adult sons had also completed a literacy and numeracy course at the same provider she attended as a result of her encouragement. They had then progressed on to getting their driver's licences, studying at a polytechnic, and gaining employment:

> I was giving them encouragement at home about the good things, so they wanted to come and have a look and learn too. (Adult learner)

PARENTS AS ROLE MODELS

Many of the tutors talked about how parents want to become good role models for their children's learning; that they want to be like other "good, model" parents through being actively engaged in reading and learning themselves. These tutors told us that parents often said things like "My kids saw me reading" and that they derive a real boost to their self-esteem and confidence as parents from it. Many of the parents and grandparents we interviewed told us just that. Some also told us that they were particularly motivated to be role models for their children, not just by being able to read and write, but by being able to *show* them that learning leads to positive life outcomes:

> My sons see me reading. (Adult learner)
>
> Where is the learning leading me? To be able to be a good role model for my kids, to show them there are other things out there. Being able to show them, not just tell them. (Adult learner)

In one of the whānau interviews, the adult learner and his wife talked in detail about the absence of learning support and role models in their lives growing up and their conscious decision to be committed to their children's learning and school success. The learner's wife saw that the numeracy course her husband was on was not just of benefit to the future financial security of their whānau, but also saw real value in the opportunity for her husband to be a role model to their school-aged children:

> It's good for his self-esteem. It's good for the kids to see—how you can keep bettering yourself. He's studying, working and doing his rugby. I think he's a really good role model for the kids. (Whānau member)

PARENTAL ASPIRATIONS

Consistent with other research on Māori parents' views on education,[41] all of the parents and grandparents of preschool and school-aged children wanted their tamariki and mokopuna to do well at school. In particular, almost all of them said they wanted their children to have a better education and learn more and achieve more than they had. Many of them drew on their own experiences to make this point with them:

> I tell my younger son to get into his school work and reading, otherwise you'll be like me—you'll grow up and get frustrated and depressed that you can't read. (Adult learner)
>
> I've told them, if you've got no education you'll end up a statistic like me and your uncles ... So I try to tell them what went wrong with us so they can have a different life. (Adult learner)

As a result of their literacy and numeracy courses, parents and grandparents were not only more able to help their tamariki and mokopuna to be successful learners, but

41 See McKinley (2000).

many said they also talked more with them about their future and possible plans and opportunities. The main driver for these parents and grandparents was that they wanted their tamariki and mokopuna to have options and choices available to them, and sought to impress on them that an education was crucial to this:

> So I say to them to stay in school, to get their unit standards, their certificates—because the more qualifications you get, the better pay you can get and the more choices you have. (Adult learner)

> We always tell them we want them to go right through and be able to get any job they want to. (Adult learner)

> I want them to be able to have a go at things. There's nothing wrong with factory work—99 percent of my whānau are factory workers and I'm not bagging them—but I want my kids to have choices ... We have heaps of whānau kōrero about their plans and opportunities, what they're interested in, what that might lead to, and what they might want to do job wise. (Adult learner)

Many of the parents and grandparents now placed greater value on learning, schooling, and education, and had greater aspirations for their children. Most of the school-aged children we interviewed as part of whānau interviews also said that they valued schooling more, were more committed to completing school qualifications, and had increased educational aspirations for themselves. For some parents, while they were supportive of their tamariki and the learning and career goals they identified, they were reluctant to participate in shaping these goals:

> We don't push the tamariki in our whānau—or put expectations on them. There are boundaries and we steer them, but they have autonomy in their decision making. (Adult learner)

> I don't tell my kids what to do, but I always support them. (Adult learner)

Only a few of the adult learners talked specifically of wanting their children or grandchildren to go beyond high school or certificate courses and into higher level tertiary education. As previously reported on page 12, one of the participants in a whānau interview told us that while she had wanted her children to fulfil their potential, she did not know how to help them into the tertiary education environment because she had no knowledge or experience of it. The adult literacy and numeracy provider that her daughter-in-law attended was located on the campus of a polytechnic, and as a result, she told us:

> Because the tertiary environment is now part of her world, my grandchildren will be fine. She's got access to this kind of institution now, so the grandchildren will be encouraged because we know what goes beyond high school. (Whānau member)

This finding highlights the importance of adult literacy and numeracy programmes providing learners with a knowledge of education pathways, either indirectly, as in the example provided here (through the location of the course provider), or more directly through the setting of future goals.

DISCUSSION

The parents and grandparents we interviewed said they were now (more) able to help their children with learning, including school-based learning, and were creating opportunities at home to do so. They had more books at home and participated in more literacy activities like reading and going to the library. Parents and grandparents said they had come to perceive their tamariki and mokopuna as competent learners, they talked more about school and learning with their children, and they participated more in school activities and were more comfortable talking with teachers. They valued schooling and education more, and had greater aspirations for their tamariki and mokopuna. Parents and grandparents communicated these aspirations indirectly through role modelling, and directly through having different conversations about the future. Where courses taught Māori literacies, parents and grandparents told us these were also transferred to their children at home. Parents, whānau and tamariki told us that the impacts of parental literacy and numeracy participation on their children were more enjoyment of learning and schooling, better engagement at school, and better performance and achievement at school. These findings are consistent with the literature on the relationship between parental literacy and child learning development.[42]

The findings point to the importance of parental literacy and numeracy development to child literacy and numeracy development, and that policies to improve the achievement rates of Māori children would be well supported by better enabling parents with literacy difficulties to access adult literacy and numeracy programmes. For example, the "whānau–school partnerships" that are a part of the Ministry of Eduction's *Ka Hikitia* Māori education strategy and which aim to improve the engagement and achievement of Māori students as they transition from primary into secondary school, might be enhanced by including opportunities for parents to improve their literacy and numeracy skills so that they feel (more) confident and able to support the school-based learning of their tamariki.

Almost all of the adult learners also told us they wanted their children to do better than they themselves had done at school. However, while many of the adult learners

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42 Clark (2007), De Coulon et al. (2008), Eccles (2005), Magnuson (2007), Tett et al. (2006), Wylie et al. (2001), Wylie et al. (2004) and Wylie and Hipkins (2006).

now had increased aspirations for their children's learning and futures, very few had encouraged their children into futures that were too different or beyond the parameters of what was already known. This may limit the impact of their learning on their children.[43] Further, although some learners had children who had stayed in school longer, or had completed a higher qualification than they had, the greater market demand for higher level qualifications (education inflation), may mean that these young people will not be as well prepared for the future as they may need to be. They may need to aim for higher qualifications to have employment and income security.

Future implications

The findings discussed in this chapter suggest that we need:

- Policies to improve the achievement rates of Māori children that include strategies to better enable parents with literacy and numeracy difficulties to access adult literacy and numeracy programmes and assist with their children's learning.
- Greater investment in the implementation and development of specific whānau literacy programmes that prioritise helping whānau to help their tamariki and mokopuna.
- A research programme to support the implementation and development of programmes that incorporate adult literacy and numeracy learning into approaches to lift child literacy and numeracy achievement.
- Longitudinal research to generate evidence of the impact of Māori parents' participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes on the school achievement rates of their tamariki, and on the participation and completion rates of their tamariki in post-school education.

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43 Preliminary findings from a research project on Māori PhD graduates by Johnston (2010), have suggested that high parental expectations and aspirations have a positive impact on children's academic achievement.

6. STORIES OF MULTIPLE INCLUSION: IMPACTS ON ADULT LEARNERS' WHĀNAU

This chapter outlines the impacts on learners' whānau as a result of participation in an adult literacy and numeracy programme. The key impacts on whānau that emerged from the interviews and reported here are: intergenerational learning; whanaungatanga; and whānau self-determination.

INTERGENERATIONAL LEARNING

All of the adult learners saw the importance of education to the future wellbeing of their whānau. Indeed, all were not only sharing their learning with others in their whānau, they were also very motivated to encourage others to take up opportunities to improve their literacy or become engaged in further learning and education. Many felt that their learning journey was an inspiration to others in their whānau and were keen to be active role models for them. Many of the whānau members we talked to also told us they had been inspired by those participating in adult literacy learning:

> I want to be a role model for home [whānau, hapū] too. We've taken on a few kids and tried to put some values and opportunities in front of them, whether they're whānau or not. (Adult learner)
>
> With [participant] doing her course and her studies, and having a sense of direction and ambition ... it's given me a desire to want to study too. (Whānau member)

For some of the adult learners in Māori-run adult literacy and numeracy programmes, greater literacy had also meant taking a (more) active role in the transfer of Māori literacies and knowledge in their whānau. These learners told us they were now more interested in learning about whakapapa and tikanga, and were taking up or creating opportunities to do so and share this with their tamariki and mokopuna.

In addition to this, a few of the adult learners we interviewed had attended a literacy and numeracy course run at their marae. One of these learners said that the course was particularly useful in supporting marae wānanga, as it had enabled those with previously low literacy to participate in learning whānau, hapū and marae knowledge:

> I started using the literacy programme to put in place some of the learning for the wānanga—in terms of whakapapa and our history and those sorts of things—which allowed people with low literacy to write their stories. (Adult learner)

As a result of the marae-based course, these adult learners told us that more people were now more connected to and participated more in marae activities, which had meant a greater uptake and transfer of Māori literacies, including maara kai, in their community.

WHANAUNGATANGA

Whānau communication and relationships

Many of the adult learners told us that developing greater literacy skills, and particularly greater communication skills, had resulted in improved whānau relationships:

> Now my partner and I can have a decent conversation. I can sit there and actually comprehend what she's saying. It's better for our relationship. (Adult learner)

This was enhanced when a number of whānau members (grandparents and parents, or parents and their tamariki) had done the same course or had attended a course together:

> The course is a family thing too, an activity that we can all do together. It's building good healthy whānau relationships. (Adult learner)

Some of the adult learners also told us that developing their literacy skills had led to them making more time for whānau and being able to do more together as a whānau:

> The course has brought the family back together. Each of us was having troubles but we couldn't connect, and now it's good because we all sit together and do crosswords and Sudoku. We're all one big happy family. (Adult learner)

The following is a dialogue from one of the whānau interviews:

> It's brought us closer together as a family; we do more together. It's had a huge impact on our day-to-day lives. (Adult learner)

> They're not as stressed as much. They don't fight as much—it's all better. (School-aged whānau member)

Some told us that having a greater sense of self-confidence had meant that other whānau members respected them more, which had been instrumental in them being able to forge stronger whānau relationships.

Some of the tutors told us that greater literacy skills, and particularly greater speaking and listening skills, enable learners to become better able to deal with difficult family situations. Some of the adult learners talked specifically about this, and some also said that having greater literacy skills had meant they now felt more confident to address and resolve past abuse and restore whānau relationships:

> It will help me work things out with my own family—it's freaking them out actually. I can understand more and can be more straight-up because I don't think I'm an idiot any more. (Adult learner)

Some of the adult learners told us that their whānau relationships and communications with each other were already strong. For these adult learners, the benefits were that they were now more able to speak up in situations outside of their whānau and assist other whānau members to do so.

Parent–child communication and relationships

Many of the parents of preschool and school-aged tamariki also talked about improved relationships and communication between themselves and their children as a result of their improved literacy skills. This was particularly so for those adult learners involved in whānau literacy programmes where parents and children had either attended the programme together or literacy courses that had a particular emphasis on parenting. Previous research on family and whānau literacy programmes has also reported this finding.[44] Many felt that they were now able to be a better parent, and felt more in charge at home:

> I'm learning how to be a better parent—not letting my children run rings around me. There's better communication between us now. (Adult learner)

A key point made by these parents was that they now talked and interacted more with their children. The following is a dialogue from the one of the whānau interviews:

> We talk more now. (School-aged whānau member)
>
> I have more patience now. (Adult learner)
>
> We never really talked before—but after we came here we talked more about heaps of stuff. (School-aged whānau member)

Another point raised by some parents, and perhaps as a result of greater communication, was that they felt more connected with their tamariki:

> We're all going in the same direction. (Adult learner)

Participation in whānau life

Most of the adult learners told us that they now felt more confident and able to participate in and contribute to whānau activities, including literacy-based activities. The following is a dialogue from one of the whānau interviews:

44 Benseman (2004) and May et al. (2004).

> We do a lot of reading in this family and I wanted to be able to read too and be able to understand what it all means. (Adult learner)
>
> [She] was often quite marooned in a whānau setting ... It's not until she's been doing this course and is now doing all the things that I noticed she didn't use to do before that I realise how big it all is. (Whānau member)
>
> She participates more and has more confidence. (Whānau member)

WHĀNAU SELF-DETERMINATION

As a result of the literacy and numeracy courses, all of the adult learners talked about having a new awareness of the options and possibilities open to their whānau, and particularly through education. They aspired to greater wellbeing for their whānau. Many also felt better able to help steer their whānau in this direction, and had a greater sense of responsibility to make this happen:

> I've got a changed plan for the future with more education ... a direction my whānau can go ... I want that for them too. (Adult learner)
>
> Our children are the future generation and our generation needs to be able to show them a better life. I want more for my girls and my mokos. (Adult learner)

Many of the adult learners told us they were now better able to participate in whānau decision making, and/or that they talked and planned together for the future more as a whānau and were doing things to make this happen:

> I speak up more now in whānau matters. (Adult learner)
>
> We're doing gardens and horticulture again ... and looking towards the future. Things are getting harder so we're going to expand the garden and grow different food. (Adult learner)
>
> We're doing fundraising to help my Mum get her house renovated. (Adult learner)

Others told us that they now feel more confident and able to manage and administer their whānau affairs including accessing and sharing information and resources (including via the computer and email), dealing with government and community agencies including meeting with agencies face to face, and assisting in land issues. A number of adult learners said they were more able to manage their household finances which also assisted with being able to plan for the future.

Planning also extended to the ability to fulfil whānau roles and responsibilities, now and into the future. All of the learners said that they were more confident and better able to do this. Tutors, too, told us that adult learners come to see how they are able to help and contribute to their whānau and are empowered by that. A few of the adult learners also told us that they were more able to fulfil marae roles and responsibilities, such as being secretary and treasurer. As a result of the marae-based literacy and numeracy course, one learner noted that others were now learning these skills to be able to take up these roles in the future:

> The marae will never be without a treasurer now. Their Aunty said to them that we're getting old and someone needs to be able to take over the reins. (Adult learner)

DISCUSSION

The research has generated evidence of the wider transformative potential for whānau from participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes. The learners we interviewed said they were now (more) able to contribute to their whānau and assist their whānau to be self-determining, either directly through participating in literacy-based activities like meeting with agencies or indirectly through being a role model for learning and further education. Literacy and numeracy learning had strengthened the use and transfer of Māori literacies in whānau, particularly as a result of courses run by Māori adult literacy providers or run at marae. As a consequence, the adult learners said they were able to be more active participants in their whānau, and whānau were enabled to be more active participants in the worlds around them, including te ao Māori. Whānau relationships had strengthened as a result of the adult learners having greater communication skills. The adult learners said that this had led to greater whānau togetherness and cohesion, and being better able to plan together as a whānau and work through painful past issues.

The report of the Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives (2010) outlined six goals from the Whānau Ora initiative—that whānau ora is when whānau are: (1) self-managing; (2) living healthy lifestyles; (3) participating fully in society; (4) confidently participating in te ao Māori; (5) economically secure and successfully involved in wealth creation; and (6) cohesive, resilient and nurturing. The synergy between these goals and the research findings above clearly signals the relationship between literacy and whānau ora; that adult literacy and numeracy development contributes to rebuilding whānau ora.

More than this, however, the Whānau Ora initiative presupposes that whānau will have sufficient literacy skills in English to work with Whānau Ora brokers/co-ordinators to identify their goals and construct whānau development plans, deal with health and social service agencies, access and utilise resources and information, and support their children's learning and education. What is suggested by the findings is that inclusion of adult literacy and numeracy considerations in the initiative could assist with its successful implementation.

Some of the literacy tutors told us that there was a need for better integration of adult literacy and numeracy services into other services and programmes available through wider agency networks. They also told us that there was cross-agency confusion in the referral of learners and little continuity in the literacy tuition provided by different organisations. The Whānau Ora initiative has been formulated to address these very issues, with the goal of providing whānau with integrated services dedicated to collectively enhancing their wellbeing. One of the services to be added alongside health and social services might be access to adult literacy and numeracy programmes.

Future implications

The literacy and numeracy skills of whānau might be supported and developed as part of the Whānau Ora policy initiative to better ensure its success. The findings discussed in this chapter suggest this could be done by:

- Integrating adult literacy and numeracy providers and programmes into the Whānau Ora initiative to build whānau literacy capabilities and capacity.
- Providing literacy support for whānau in the development of whānau literacy plans.
- Provision of training for Whānau Ora brokers so that they are able to recognise and address whānau literacy and numeracy development needs and goals, and refer whānau appropriately.

7. POLICY AND RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Drawing from the research findings, a number of policy and research recommendations have been suggested throughout the report to increase the transformative, self-determining impacts for whānau from participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes, and for parents and whānau to be (better) able to support the literacy and numeracy learning of their tamariki and mokopuna. These recommendations are collated here under the following headings: adult literacy and numeracy providers; education policy; social development policy; whānau ora policy; and research. While the recommendations have been placed under these headings for ease of reading, all may have relevance for adult literacy and numeracy providers and government policy makers.

ADULT LITERACY AND NUMERACY PROVIDERS

- Expansion of the curriculum in adult literacy and numeracy programmes (including workplace programmes) to include components on supporting children's learning, given that Māori parent learners are largely motivated by helping their tamariki.

EDUCATION POLICY

- Inclusion of strategies to develop Māori parents' literacy and numeracy skills and access to adult literacy and numeracy programmes in policies to improve the engagement and achievement rates of Māori children.
- Greater investment in the implementation and development of specific whānau literacy programmes which prioritise helping whānau to help their tamariki and mokopuna.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

- Development of policy initiatives and mechanisms that provide greater assistance for parents to support the learning of their tamariki and mokopuna.

WHĀNAU ORA POLICY

- Integration of adult literacy and numeracy providers and programmes into the Whānau Ora initiative to build whānau literacy capabilities and capacity.

- Provision of literacy support for whānau in the development of whānau literacy plans.
- Provision of training for Whānau Ora brokers so that they are able to recognise and address whānau literacy and numeracy development needs and goals, and refer whānau appropriately.

RESEARCH

- Development of a kaupapa Māori adult literacy assessment framework to assess Māori adult learners progress against their personal and whānau goals, which could be used alongside the Tertiary Education Commission's assessment tool.
- Longitudinal research on the outcomes and pathways for Māori from participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes, to better understand and assess the wider benefits of participation.
- Development of a research programme to support the implementation and development of programmes (such as whānau literacy programmes) that incorporate adult literacy and numeracy learning into approaches to lift child literacy and numeracy achievement.
- Longitudinal research to generate evidence of the impact of Māori parents' participation in adult literacy and numeracy programmes on the school achievement rates of their tamariki, and on the participation and completion rates of their tamariki in post-school education.

The findings detailed in this report are not unique to the adult learners we interviewed. Indeed, other learners, other adult literacy and numeracy providers, and other tertiary education organisations may have experienced the same or similar impacts on learners' tamariki, mokopuna, and wider whānau. What is important is that these impacts are given consideration in the development of policies to improve the educational success of Māori children and in policies to promote whānau self-determination.

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