O le fa'asolo a Mānaia

The implementation of a junior Samoan language class in a New Zealand secondary school with a small and diverse Pasifika student community

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O le fa'asolo a Mānaia

At the top of the title page of this thesis is the phrase, *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia. O le fa'asolo a Mānaia* is a poetic phrase which conveys the meanings of a necklace for humble people or a garland of chiefs. It brings together the process, participants, and the cultural metaphor of this research and thesis. For *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*, how I was gifted this phrase and what it means, needs some more explanation.

I was offered this poetic phrase for the thesis by a special colleague who has dedicated most of her teaching life to the teaching and learning of Samoan. She was there at the beginning of my Pasifika journey. She has certainly been my chief. She took the time to consult with family, and then in dialogue, and engage with me to interpret and help my appreciation of the meanings. Our dialogue was face-to-face, Facebook messenger messages, and FaceTime and email. Her invitation was to keep our dialogue going until I began to understand. As a non-Samoan speaker, it is likely that I will never gain its full understanding. Hence my following interpretation is my beginnings of understanding which she has supported me with.

The Garland of Chiefs lays across the liquid Pacific continent representing the people of the Pacific. It represents all chiefs across the Pacific Islands. It is something to be worn, to be part of, and to be supported by and within. To wear a Garland of Chiefs is made possible not just through the efforts of the individual. The Garland of Chiefs represents a goal to work towards. It requires struggle, patience, dedication, tolerance, endurance, and self-discipline. In the Pasifika world, striving for *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia* is scary, viewed as sometimes unreachable. Hence, it evokes intense emotion. To reach *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia* the goal usually requires nurturing, support, and considerable love as large as the ocean itself, to support them reaching the line. *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia* can be created by the individual, becoming their own chief to decide their own goals. On the Garland, everyone takes a role and has a place. They each bring a component to create its coherence, strength, and beauty. The reality is that every person will not wear or achieve the Garland of the Chiefs, but they can represent themselves with pride and strive towards achieving their goals.

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List of Abbreviations

CEFR   Common European Framework

EAL   English as an Additional Language

ELL   English Language Learner(s)

ELLP   English Language Learning Progressions

ESOL   English for Speakers of Other Languages

HOD   Head of Department

INE   Intensive English as an Additional Language

MOE   Ministry of Education

NCEA   National Certificate of Education of Achievement

NZQA   New Zealand Qualifications Authority

NZC   New Zealand Curriculum

PAT   Progressive Achievement Tests

PEP   Pasifika Education Plan

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to all participants and supporters

of this project.

Abstract

O le fa'asolo a Mānaia

While there is a significant number of Pasifika secondary students in Auckland, there are also over 100 secondary schools across New Zealand which have Pasifika student populations of between 5-10% and / or between 30-70 Pasifika students. Equally, these populations can be diverse with a range of Pasifika ethnicities represented. Increasingly there are students carrying more than one Pacific ethnicity or other ethnicities. The Pasifika Education Plans since 2001 have highlighted the role of schools to support Pasifika students to maintain their languages and cultures. Nationally, supporting Pasifika languages in secondary schools has mostly focused on where there are larger Pasifika populations, rather than smaller groups of Pasifika students.

The thesis responds to the Pasifika Education Plan by implementing a junior Samoan language class in a secondary school with a small and diverse Pasifika population. It explores culturally responsive practice through reflective and reflexive practitioner research. Teu le va (to value and nurture) was used as a pedagogy and methodology. This was the approach used to support relationships and reciprocity with the research participants. The overall methodology used was action research with a focus on practitioner research. The findings are shared using the metaphor of *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia.* Each of the findings' chapters builds the metaphor and examines the supports, challenges, and effects of the implementation.

The project was three years from 2015 to 2018. There were three phases: the Initial Phase, Evolving Phase and New Model Phase. The main outcome was the junior Samoan language class evolved to create a new multilingual and multilevel Pasifika languages space (va). The findings do not categorise themselves precisely into supports, challenges and effects hence the findings are presented under the themes of the collaboration of schools; linguistic and cultural development; parents' support and engagement; effective bi-cultural teacher and student leadership collaboration and professional development; diversity; funding uncertainty, class size justifications and time constraints; a transformative paradigm; and the evolution into a new teaching and learning space.

All participants contributed to creating a new va where junior and senior students use, learn and exchange different Pasifika languages, cultures, and views. The research has implications for New Zealand's relationships with Ministries of Education of Pacific Island nations, New Zealand initial teacher education programmes, middle leadership professional development; and advocacy professional development for those educators who advocate and support culturally and linguistically diverse communities in schools. Furthermore, it challenges the quantitative and qualitative data gathered for transitions between primary and secondary schools; and calls for culturally inclusive assessment tools and monitoring the progress of Pasifika language skills in schools. Finally, it demonstrates the need for exploration and collaboration to create new teaching and learnings spaces to actively teach, facilitate, and grow Pasifika languages in small and diverse Pasifika populations in secondary school.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

O le fa'asolo a Mānaia

This thesis reports on the journey of implementing a junior (Year 9 and 10) Samoan language programme in a secondary school in New Zealand. This secondary school has a Pasifika population of between 5-7%. As a non-Pasifika practitioner and middle leader, I implemented the programme alongside the Samoan language teacher. I was the Head of Department (HOD) of English as an Additional Language (EAL) who responded to and was motivated by the New Zealand Ministry of Education (MOE) Pasifika Education Plans (PEP) for 2006-2010, 2009-2012 and 2013-2017 (MOE, 2006; 2009 & 2013), targeted professional development and my own beliefs within a transformative paradigm framework (Mertens, 2009). *'O le fa'asolo a Mānaia'* ties together the voices of the Samoan language teacher and me, Year 9 and 10 Pasifika students, a senior Samoan student leader and parents. The thesis explores the challenges of initiating deeper culturally responsive practice through reflective and reflexive practitioner research. The overall research question for this project was: What were the challenges and effects of implementing a junior (Year 9 and 10) Samoan language class in a New Zealand secondary school with a small and diverse Pasifika student population? While not the end of the journey, at the end of this project and research, all participants contributed to creating a new *va* (relational space). Junior and senior students use, learn and exchange different Pasifika languages, cultures, and views in the new *va*.

In this introduction, I present a rationale for this research project. Next, I detail my positionality as non-Pasifika researcher. Finally, I explain key terms and definitions, followed by an outline of the thesis chapters.

Rationale
Responsibility and accountability as a teacher and middle leader
Since the inception of the first Pasifika Education Plan (PEP) (2000-2005), there has been a consistent goal of developing teachers as effective teachers for Pasifika learners. This is shown in Table 1.1:

Table 1.1
Pasifika Education Plan and teacher development goals

2000-2005	'Increase the effectiveness of teaching and the effectiveness of schools to Pacific students'
2006-2010	'Increase the effectiveness of teaching for Pasifika students' 'Increase the number of registered teachers that are effective for Pasifika students'.
2009-2012	'Increase the quality of teaching and school leadership by increasing responsiveness to Pasifika learners and families'.
2013-2017	'Use Professional Learning and development to upskill educators in what works for Pasifika learners'.

Adapted from the New Zealand Ministry of Education Plans for 2000-2005, 2006-2010, 2009-2012 and 2013-2017

While each goal is worded slightly different, each plan emphasises the development of quality teaching and learning for Pasifika learners. This project and its research were my response to the PEP from the position of a practitioner and middle leader. I was also guided by the principles of the New Zealand Curriculum (NZC) (MOE, 2007), Our Code, Our Standards (2017), (previously Practising Teacher Criteria) (New Zealand Teachers' Council, 2010), Code of Ethics for registered teachers (New Zealand Teachers' Council, 2004; 2007) and EAL/ESOL pedagogy and principles (MOE, n.d.).

Exploring alternative bilingual/multilingual spaces and practices

Despite indicating, as early as the 2000-2005 PEP for Compulsory Schooling, that policies such as bilingual education needed to be developed (PEP, 2000-2005), no such policies have been developed nationally by either New Zealand Labour or National governments. Therefore, this has resulted in the support of Pasifika languages throughout New Zealand remaining sporadic, and it has been up to individuals or groups to take agency. Pasifika students often do not have the opportunity to continue their academic language and literacy development at secondary school in their Pasifika language or languages. Furthermore, it is often more difficult for schools with smaller Pasifika populations to support and develop each student's Pasifika languages skills because smaller Pasifika populations are sometimes more linguistically and culturally diverse. There are practicality, funding and quality teaching and resourcing barriers. This suggests that there needs to be exploration of alternative models which can develop each student's bilingualism. There is no research in secondary schools on the different kinds of alternatives which could be practical for funding and resourcing as well as providing support for Pasifika children's and adolescents' bilingual development. Therefore, this study specifically focuses on the secondary school context. Furthermore, the study focuses on a

secondary school context with a smaller Pasifika population, where a large bilingual immersion programme for one Pasifika language is not plausible, equitable or a practical option.

Exploring culturally responsive qualitative and quantitative Year 9 and 10 data

Transition processes for students between primary and secondary schools vary widely depending on school structures and on relationships between the secondary schools and their contributing schools. Each school's transition process can also depend on power dynamics within the school and the school's belief about who should be involved in the transition of students to secondary schools. As a result of who is involved and what is the transition process, there is a huge variation of what data are shared between primary and secondary schools about students transitioning from Year 8 to Year 9. Coxen et al. (2002) identified the need to research key principles for successful initiatives for transitions between primary and secondary education. Despite this, from 2002-2012, there was very little research that looked at the transition from primary to secondary school. McNaughton's research advised that the Years 9-10 are very important with regards to effects on NCEA achievement. He proposes the Te Kotahitanga Model (MOE, n.d.) for Māori (Indigenous people of New Zealand) as a possible design for intervention to support Pasifika students (McNaughton, 2011). Despite this available model and the PEP, there is an absence of data about Pasifika learners, especially about the Pasifika languages they are bringing into schools and what language resources lie behind them. The data of National Standards (MOE, 2010) is one-sided and stark with a focus only on English language and literacy; ignoring any of the cultural capital students and whanau bring into the education system. This thesis explores linguistic and cultural capital which students and families bring into secondary school contexts and what quantitative and qualitative Pasifika linguistic and cultural capital data can be collected and used in Year 10 as a window into Year 11.

Summary

All three justifications of this rationale present geographical, political, and educational challenges for practitioners, school leaders, Ministry of Education, and policy makers. Further explanation of the wider contexts of these challenges are given in Appendix A. As a practitioner, this required a grass-roots approach to this rationale within a conscious awareness of my positionality in a Pasifika context as both a practitioner and researcher.

My Positionality

In this section, I outline my positionality as a non-Pasifika practitioner researcher on the insider and outsider continuum within a transformative paradigm. I present this exploration as a white female who was born and raised in a middle-class family in New Zealand.

Exploring the insider and outsider researcher continuum

To begin this exploration, I acknowledge the privilege and power that I have as a white researcher. Martin-McDonald (2008) caution that this privilege and power can be invisible to a white researcher, but whiteness is visible to those who are not white. This immediately positions me as an outsider researcher based on my ethnicity and cultural upbringing in New Zealand. Hence from the beginning of this exploration, this questions my position in this Pasifika research space.

While Passells (2010) emphasises that when undertaking Pacific research, the research "seeks to know and serve things Pasifika" (p.35), Passells (2010) does debate the qualification of ethnicity to be an insider researcher stating that this is much more varied and complex than being born into an ethnicity, in this case being of a Pasifika ethnicity or ethnicities. Wolfgramm-Foliaki (2016) describes her lessons as a Tongan researcher returning to her home country as an academic. Despite ethnicity and language connections, Wolfgramm-Foliaki experienced examples of being an outsider which was caused by her academic status and length of time living in Auckland as opposed to living in Tonga. This created her own internal conflicts of not feeling comfortable wearing traditional dress and fearing that she would lapse into English while conversing in Tongan. Externally, she was presented to the cultural experts as having lower status because she had been away from Tonga for an extended period of time and was a researcher. She points out that while "language specific imperatives determine valid Pacific credibility", (p.36), there are those who argue that emotional ties are just as important factors which "complement" the status of insider. Passells, similar to Wolfgramm-Foliaki, notes that researchers, purely because of their researcher status, are accorded with an outsider status. Therefore, even this brief discussion on ethnicity places the insider researcher on a continuum which is dependent on the closeness of the researcher to who and what is being researched. There is sometimes the assumption that someone who is an insider is better placed for the research, although researchers in this case can be accused of being too biased (Wolfgramm-Foliaki, 2016). However, as Serrant-Green (2002) highlights that this bias is often attributed to those insiders working in their own ethnic communities rather than bias as

an issue for white researchers working within their own respective communities or ethnic communities.

With this ongoing debate, I move closer to an abandonment of the insider /outsider dichotomy which Chavez-Reyes (2008) claims is a false dichotomy. This abandonment comes in the form of acknowledging alternative concepts and more important qualities. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) discuss an alternative concept using their idea of membership. They point out that membership in a group does not literally mean complete sameness, and alternatively, not being a member of a group does not signify complete difference. Therefore, any endorsement of complete "binary alternatives narrow the range of understanding and experience" (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p.60). Adams, Bell, and Griffin (2007) use the concept of an "ally" which I think is worthy of a full description as articulated by Spencer:

> "... an individual from an agent group who rejects the dominant ideology and takes action out of a belief that eliminating oppression will benefit both agents and targets of oppression ...several different characteristics of an ally include taking responsibility for one's learning, and being willing to be confronted, and to consider change. Allies are also willing to take risks and try new behaviours, despite their fear. Furthermore, allies must be willing to make mistakes, learn and try again. Humility, as an ally, means never being truly culturally competent, but rather recognising that the pursuit of critical consciousness is a life-long process" (Adams, Bell & Griffin, 2007 as cited in Spencer, 2015, p.47).

Similarly, Dwyer and Buckle (2009) discount whether being an insider or outsider is important but rather focus on the important qualities a researcher needs to bring to the process. The qualities listed were openness, authenticity, honesty, and a commitment to provide an accurate representation of participants' experiences. Adams, Bell, and Griffin's concept of an "ally" can be placed alongside Dwyer and Buckle's important qualities. This can bring us to a point of cooperation whereby as Dew, McEntyre and Vaughan (2019) explain in their research, indigenous researchers work alongside their non-indigenous researchers (or "allies") by guiding non-indigenous researchers in culturally appropriate research methods.

Within this research context, I take on board Adams, Bell and Griffin's "ally" while still accepting an outsider status which shifts according to my relationships and familiarity to others

and organisations. I try to mirror Adams, Bell, and Griffin's "ally" qualities, especially those of humility and never claiming to be completely culturally competent.

Teachers in New Zealand, as practitioners and researchers in a school context, have a unique position to engage in a researcher capacity as "allies" to Pasifika students, teachers, parents, and the wider community. Part of becoming a registered teacher is to abide by The Code of Professional Responsibility, Our Values and Our Standards. These values align with the "ally" concept and in addition to those qualities shared by Dwyer and Buckle (2009). There is also a high expectation and professional development for teachers on cultural competency to support Māori and Pasifika learners. There are non-Pasifika teachers in secondary schools who become dedicated to promoting and supporting Pasifika languages, cultures, and identity, as Bell and Griffin point out, despite their "fear".

Berger (2015) reiterates that the following is relevant to the researcher's positioning: "gender, race, affiliation, age, sexual orientation, immigration status, personal experiences, linguistic tradition, beliefs, biases, preferences, theoretical, political and ideological stances and emotional responses to participants" (Berger, 2015, p.220). These characteristics go on to affect access to participants in the field, the shape, and the nature of the researcher – researched relationship, and affect the information participants are willing to share. It also affects how the researcher constructs the world, uses languages, poses questions, chooses the lens for filtering the information, and finally, how they shape the findings, conclusion, and discussion (Berger, 2015).

A transformative paradigm position

As a researcher, I position myself within a transformative paradigm. The modern origin of this paradigm lies with Freire (1970) who worked to raise the consciousness of the oppressed in Brazil through transformative educational processes that improved their literacy and prepared them to work against their oppressors. Gaventa and Cornwall (2006) believe that it is necessary to study and understand not only the 'pedagogy of the oppressed' (Freire, 1970), but also the 'pedagogy of the oppressor', and the relationship between the two. Habermas (1981) and Freire (1970; 1973) believe that transformation is possible when the oppressed become active participants rather than remaining a leader's object of action. This includes teachers through active teacher leadership with positive and negative outcomes and consequences. Through the

development of critical consciousness, the oppressed gain their own voices and collaborate in transforming their culture.

Summary

The "whiteness" which I bring as a practitioner and researcher cannot be ignored in this Pasifika research context. My gender, ethnicity and middle class up-bringing by my parents is unchangeable, but it does require my acute awareness of these characteristics and experiences. There are additional characteristics I have and experiences which I have had, so I have described and explained these in Appendix B. One of the most significant experiences has been the professional development as a teacher through Ministry of Education initiatives. This professional development has enabled a level of cultural competency to be an "ally" alongside Pasifika learners, parents, teachers, and community.

Key concepts and definitions

Writing, labelling, and talking with and about people in, from and having heritage of the Pacific Islands

There is a continuing theme in the literature which shares, explores, and challenges the naming of land, sea and people born in the Pacific Islands and people born in New Zealand with an ethnicity or ethnicities of one of the many Island nations in the Pacific. While individuals engage with their own ethnicity or ethnicities and culture or cultures of one of the many Pacific Islands, there has been a tendency for government agencies, media, and researchers to want to group under a label or labels. The terms Pacific Islander, PI, Pacific, Pasifica, Pasifika and Pan-Pacific have been used and are used. Twenty years ago, Anae et al. (2001) pointed out that "There is no generic 'Pacific community' but rather Pacific peoples who align themselves variously, and at different times, along ethnic, geographic, church, family, school, age/gender-based, youth/elders, island-born/ New Zealand-born, occupational lines, or a mix of these" (p.7) voicing the problematic blanketing when using these terms.

The term, 'Pasifika' has been used as Samu (2013) states as a label in education across sectors in New Zealand; particularly to look to achievement in National Standards in the primary school sector, numeracy, literacy, and the New Zealand Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA) in the secondary school sector. Other groups do not escape these labels, including New Zealand European and Asian. Burnett (2012) explains further, "Pacific signifies

research relating directly to the Pacific region, while 'Pasifika' refers to the educational experiences of Pacific peoples residing in New Zealand. 'Pasifika' is commonly used to describe the Pacific diaspora (Ministry of Education, 2009). However, as it is often used only to group and describe Polynesian peoples, it is a contested term (Anae et al., 2001). There are some outside of academia who see the labelling as giving a greater sense of belonging in New Zealand than to their respective Island nations and/or ethnicities. For example, New Zealand Herald columnist, Tapu Misa came from Samoa as an 8-year-old. She shares her view with respects to her growing up in New Zealand with a range of terms:

> Pasifika is pan-Pacific ... and the reason I say that is that the idea of being a Pacific Islander - rather than a Samoan - is one that's evolved here as well. Despite the ructions between different Pacific groups in the early days, most second or third generation PIs have more in common with each other than they do with their own ethnic group in the islands. What connects us as PIs are the common experiences of being PI in New Zealand (Perrott, 2007, para. 33)

Within this one statement, Misa uses a range of terms and highlights an emerging reality of diaspora. Researchers have begun to engage with the term Pan-Pacific as possibly a more inclusive term. Naepi (2019) explores Masi methodology in her work with Pacific women's voices as a Pan-Pacific methodology even though Masi is a Fijian decorated cloth made from tree bark. In her earlier work she shares:

> Pan-Pacific research methodologies were used in this research project as many different Pacific ethnicities participated in the research project and to privilege one nation's epistemologies over another would have been disrespectful and unethical (Naepi, 2015, p. 78).

Again, much wider, out of the realms of academic research, the term Pan-Pacific appears to be being used more widely in the community and government, including the Ministry of Education adopting its use. For example, in 2019, the Ministry of Education's Education Conversation undertook Pan-Pacific consultations in addition to consultation with specific Pacific communities such as Kiribati, Tuvalu and Fijian (Ministry of Education, 2021). In the Waikato, for example, there was the consultation for the new Pan-Pacific Community Hub (Tiffany, 2020).

As a practitioner, I was introduced early on to the label 'Pasifika' which was attached to the various Pasifika Education Plans. In my experience, this is a term which practitioners have come to know and use because of the Plans, including how school management systems group together students especially for the analysis of statistics and data. This label can be sometimes useful in gaining an overall picture of students who have an ethnicity connection to one or more of the Pacific Islands or nations, but it can also overshadow individuals as well as sometimes some Pasifika students who want to disassociate themselves completely from being 'Pasifika'. The term 'Pasifika' is used in this thesis to write about individuals and groups whose ethnicity completely or partially connects with one or more of the Pacific nations, whether they were born in a Pacific Island or another country, including New Zealand. However, while 'Pasifika' is used here, there is a focus on knowing, understanding, using, and sharing each participants' unique ethnicity, linguistic and cultural connections.

Community languages, mother tongue and heritage languages

This research project will use the term 'community language' and refer to Pasifika community languages. Fishman (2001) assists in selecting this term by analysing a number of terms associated with community languages, including their negative denotations and connotations. The term 'minority language' is not suitable because the language in a community may not be spoken by a minority. Furthermore, the term 'minority' gives the connotation of marginalisation. The term 'heritage language' is chosen in many countries, but it notably has connotations of something ancient and stagnant, rather than something evolving. This contrasts with living languages which are always being influenced and changing and must continue to for their survival. On the other hand, the term 'community language' has connotation of involving the child and adult in the family and in the neighbourhood and wider community. The term 'mother tongue' is used at a global level. UNESCO (1953) uses the term 'mother tongue', which is defined as the first language that a child acquires and used at home before they attend school. However, they caution that the mother tongue may not be the language which a child's parents' use. The Ministry of Education (2002) adds to the affirmation of 'community language' term and to describe the languages of New Zealand that are not English because 'community languages' not only describes what they are, but also what we want them to be (Ministry of Education, 2002, Languages in Other Contexts section). Even though the term 'community languages' is used as the most appropriate term, the other terms discussed here are used interchangeably in Chapter Two as used in the literature by authors and organisations.

Bilingualism, multilingualism, translanguaging and biliteracy

Ng (2015) simply explains that bilingualism is a term which is used mostly to describe those who can speak two languages and monolingualism as people who speak only one language. However, she quickly points out that is a complex concept, and it has been defined from linguistic, cognitive, and socio-cultural perspectives (Ng, 2015). Edwards (2013) prior indicates this complexity by questioning: at what point does a person become bilingual and with what degree of fluency? There are also clarifications needed between the use of the term bilingualism and multilingualism. MacSwan (2017) indicates that these two terms are interrelated with the term multilingualism being used for those people with knowledge of at least two languages with the term bilingualism referring to multilinguals who only know two languages. However, MacSwan (2017) further explains that there has been the questioning and concluding from translanguaging scholars that multilingualism does not exist as languages are not discrete. Garcia and Lin explain this:

> ...translanguaging has been increasingly used in the scholarly literature to refer to both the complex and fluid practices of bilinguals, as wells as the pedagogical approaches that leverage those practices ... (Garcia & Lin, 2017, p.117).

Therefore, both Garcia and Lin see that translanguaging theory has the potential to challenge bilingual education. They see this as a challenge to additive bilingual programmes (Cummins, 1994) which are usually for large majorities where the second language is added to the first but for people with minority languages, schools tend to create a subtractive bilingualism environment with these students losing their minority language at the expense of the second language. Garcia and Otheguy (2020) extend this further with the adoption of the term plurilingualism used by the Council of Europe. This term created political and economic cohesions of the European Union with a language education policy adopted by governments. In contrast, translanguaging was the result of Welsh people being a minoritised community in Europe, on the fringe of the United Kingdom as a powerful English-speaking country.

Further developments of translanguaging extend translanguaging as a supportive, transformative, and social justice space. Garcia, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer (2017) share that a translanguaging classroom enables students to be able to use their linguistic repertoire rather than an officially instructed language. Garcia and Wei (2014) recognise that a translanguaging space has a transformative power which evolves to combine and create new identities, values,

and practices, in addition to "opening up space for ... discussion of power relations among social groups at school and in society" (García, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017, p162).

The term biliteracy is also important to this thesis although a brief explanation is only possible here. Ng (2015) takes the position in her review that biliteracy is an advanced state of bilingualism in which a biliterate is not only able to speak two languages well but is also able to read and write well in them (Niyekawa, 1983). Consequently, a bilingual may be proficient at speaking two languages but proficient only at reading and writing one language, Ng refers to this person as a mono-literate bilingual. A bilingual proficient at speaking, listening, reading, and writing in two languages is referred to as a biliterate-bilingual. However, as Garcia and Kleifgen (2019; 2020) state translanguaging is beginning to change and challenge "the terms by which bilingualism and literacy are studied and taught" (Garcia & Klefgen, 2019 and 2020, p.555). Hence, this also must challenge schools to create new language learning spaces.

Chapter Overviews

Community language teaching context drawing on related literature

Chapter Two is the literature review which discusses international and national research on community languages. The review of international literature examines the contexts, successes, and challenges for community languages in formal education settings globally. Then, I share the position of community languages in New Zealand and recent developments in strategies and policies followed by key initiatives and projects in formal and community contexts for Pasifika languages.

Methodology

Chapter Three shares the methodology for this research. This chapter shares my philosophical assumptions within a transformative paradigm with the introduction of the research question. I introduce action research as the principal methodology with a specific focus on practitioner research and reflective practice. Both reflection and reflexivity are acknowledged as important in this research process. I also introduce the concept of *teu le va* to inform this methodology as a non-Pasifika researcher. Finally, I share the metaphor, *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia,* which guides the chapters which report the project and its outcomes.

O le fa'asolo a Mānaia

Chapter Four begins the weaving together of the *fau.* I share my practitioner narrative using critical incidents. Overall, my narrative gives the story of the project from its early beginnings to the creation of the new *va*. The critical incidents describe and analyse what supported, hindered, challenged, or enhanced the implementation of the junior Samoan language programme. Chapter Five is the Samoan language teacher's narrative. Tulāfale was the Samoan language teacher in the project. He did the teaching and learning for the junior Samoan language class and connecting with the Samoan community. Chapter Six is the senior student's narrative. Luma was the senior Samoan student in the project. He was a Learning Tutor and then a team-teacher for the junior Samoan language. Chapter Seven is the students' narrative. It is the *atosei* (basket of flowers) of *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*. The narrative is told using motifs to show how the students contributed and evolved the junior Samoan language class from the beginning of the implementation until the end of the research. Chapter Eight is the final reporting chapter which contains the themes from the parents. This is the *nonoa* (knot) of *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*.

Va

Chapter Nine is the discussion and conclusion chapter of the thesis. I begin with revisiting the cultural metaphor, *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*. Next, I draw together and discuss the key findings. Then, I discuss in depth key recommendations for the development of Pasifika languages in the New Zealand secondary system. I end the chapter and the thesis with a final comment about the thesis journey and *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXT OF COMMUNITY LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter explores the research literature about the teaching and learning in educational settings of community languages, including Pasifika languages, internationally and in New Zealand. I review international research about community language teaching in the Anglo contexts of The United States, Canada, Australia and United Kingdom, and Sweden, as an example of a country with a long history of language policies. Next, community language teaching and learning in New Zealand is explored. This exploration excludes Pasifika languages as these will be discussed further on in the chapter. Research in both wider contexts and formal education settings for community languages is discussed. The review then focuses on Pasifika education and Pasifika language teaching and learning in New Zealand. First, to provide a research context, I discuss key themes which have emerged in Pasifika education. Second, I introduce research about language shift and intergenerational transmission to lead into the final section. Finally, I discuss research about Pasifika language teaching and learning across early childhood, primary and secondary settings, and some supporting environments.

International research

This review of international literature discusses a range of policies, practices, strategies, barriers, and outcomes for community languages in the United States, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom and Sweden in primarily formal education settings.

The United States

In the United States, the strongest efforts for the teaching of community languages have occurred outside of mainstream schooling. Language education in the United States, other than English, was characterised almost exclusively as foreign language teaching (Valdés, 2001). More recently, there are some federal and state initiatives for supporting heritage language education, but few language programmes in K-12 (primary and secondary schools) are specifically designed for speakers of heritage languages.

Spanish has been the main heritage language programme in high schools; however, implementation and continuations of programs have been inconsistent. Coles-Ritchie and Lugo (2010) outlined their approach to implementing a Spanish for Heritage Speakers (SHS) in a high school for an action research project in the state of Utah in the United States. The key

finding showed that to create a successful heritage language course at secondary level, teachers, school and district administrators, teacher-educators, and families in the community all play significant supporting roles. Therefore, there is extensive co-ordinating and facilitation of these groups, which is needed from the outset and after the implementation. In 2014, classes were stopped due to budget cuts. Nevertheless, the need for the classes is increasing as the "minority enrolment continues to grow every year and regular Spanish classes are not the best place for them" (J. Lugo, personal communication, 26th November, 2014). Efforts continue to be made to support Spanish heritage language speakers by examining curriculum options and understanding teachers' challenges.

Kimble (2019) focused on creating tools for teachers to support curriculum development. The tools focused on their students' strengths and strengthened their reading and writing proficiency. The tools were needed because the challenge has been the increasing number of geographic locations, as there are small but significant Spanish heritage language learners in schools. Gómez Soler and Fuentes (2021) cite Tennessee as a non-traditional immigration destination, but highlight that teachers are working in a "policy vacuum" (Gómez Soler & Fuentes, 2021, p.92). Due to the lack of policies, teachers made their own policy decisions in their respective classrooms. Their decisions reflected their own priorities, their understanding of who was a heritage language learner and their own background and training. Overall, this produced an inconsistent approach to heritage language teaching of Spanish in Tennessee from teachers.

While some high schools focus on one community language, which is predominant to that community, at Granada Hills Charter High School (GHCHS), there is a comprehensive heritage language programme which caters for Korean, Spanish, Armenian and Mandarin. This high school is one of the largest charter schools in the United States with more than 4,700 students. They explain their philosophy:

> Language and communication are at the heart of human experience. The United States must educate students who are equipped linguistically and culturally to communicate successfully in a pluralistic American society and abroad. This imperative envisions a future in which all students develop and maintain proficiency in English and at least one other language, modern or classical. Additionally, children who come to school from non-English-speaking backgrounds should have opportunities to develop further

proficiencies in their heritage languages and cultures (Granada Hills Charter High School Petition Renewal Term, 2018, p.184).

This philosophy perhaps contributed to Granada Hills Charter High School winning its 8th Academic Decathlon championship in May 2021 (Feldman, 2021). Forty percent of the school are Hispanic or Latino, 17% are Asian, 9% are Filipino and 4% are Black or African American (Ed Data, 2021). The school actively supports their heritage languages by offering separate heritage language and foreign language programmes. Their greatest challenge is finding registered teachers in the less commonly taught languages. Without a state test that measures competency in the content area, many teachers are not able to instruct in positions that serve such community languages as Armenian, Portuguese, Hebrew, and Arabic (Centre for Applied Linguistics, 2016).

In Hawai'i, Samoan language has been an increasing heritage language. Samoans began coming to Hawai'i in the 1920s. In 2010, the Samoan population was 18,287 with those claiming only Samoan ethnicity, but 37,463 in total with Samoan alone or in combination with another ethnicity (Hawai'i State Data Center, February, 2012). Samoans make up one of the minority groups with less than 5% of the population. The GEAR UP project funding was in response to parental concerns from Samoan parents (Heritage Languages in America, 2016). The funding came from the University of Hawai'i. Simanu-Klutz (2017) states that the GEAR UP project made Samoan language classes possible in Farrington High School and Waipahu High School since the early 2000s. The programme started with Farrington High School. According to Heritage Languages in America (2016), most of the students recently immigrated to Hawai'i (70%). Twenty percent were second generation immigrants and 10% are children of interethnic marriages (10%). The students received 10 hours of instruction per week. The programme identified heritage students who came from homes where Samoan is the home language. Many students were passive or receptive bilinguals. The rest of the students stated Samoan as their identity, but they could not speak the Samoan language. Therefore, they enrolled in the class to learn the language, culture, and history. The programme also used background questionnaires and placement testing.

However, Simanu-Klutz (2017) shared that while the high schools absorbed the costs when the funds were no longer available, the focus of the programme has changed because of the lack of a "standard curriculum and sustained teacher in-service development ...programs are largely

geared toward cultural events, which often rob the students of real instruction in language skills and knowledge" (Simanu-Klutz, 2017 p.77). She further criticises that as an educator in offering Samoan language lessons for a fee, there was only one person who was willing to pay. She described most of the learning as crisis driven for such things as the memorisation of a speech or a piece of oratory written by someone else for a special event (Simanu-Klutz, 2017). Therefore, the teaching and learning of the Samoan language shifted to primarily institutions such as Le Fetuao Samoan Language Centre. In their funding application stating, "Samoan Language and Culture Preservation", it states clearly that there are no public schools in Hawai'i which offer Samoan language classes from preschool through middle school (Le Fetuao Samoan Language Centre, 22nd January, 2016).

Carreira (2018) indicates that the United States could be at a turning point for heritage languages and heritage language (HL) education. The recent publication of America's Languages: Investing in Language Education for the 21st Century, states:

1) The United States has a pressing need for multilingual individuals
2) HL learners can help fill that need by building on their home-based bilingualism and biculturalism through formal instruction and community-based initiatives
3) Educational settings should provide more language learning opportunities for HL learners (Carreira, 2018, p.5)

Carreira believes that it is the right time in the United States to work towards heritage languages becoming institutionalised. This will require widespread acceptance by heritage language communities, innovation across institutions and formal education, expectation of programmes continuing with funding as well as infrastructure so that programmes are not reliant on individual agency. However, Carriera notes that the United States is far from heritage languages being institutionalised as there are many critical issues to address; however, the *America's Languages* publication is a significant call to action (Carreira, 2018).

Canada

The language education policy for the Ontario Heritage Language Program in Canada took effect on the 15th of June, 1977. Bale and Kawaguchi (2017) caution those outside audiences who envy such a programme. It funds up to two and a half hours per week of heritage-language instruction in the province's publicly funded schools. By 1980-81, the programme had enrolled

over 78,000 students in 3,400 classes. Most of the heritage language students were in Toronto. However, as Bale and Kawaguchi articulate, the classes were scheduled "at the margins of school life" (Bale & Kawaguchi, 2017, p.7) because they could not be part of the normal school day or the curriculum; hence, they had to be scheduled after school, weekends or the school extended the school timetable. Other challenges were that teachers were mostly not certified and were marginalised further as they were not part of the staff nor teacher unions. There was also some confusion as to the goals of the programme. Bale and Kawaguchi argue that there need to be efforts to "deepen linguistically and culturally sustaining programmes in Ontario schools" (Bale & Kawaguchi, 2017, p.8).

In more recent times, the complex political environment to improve the Ontario Heritage Language Program has drawn criticism. Kim, Burton, Ahmed, and Bale (2020) suggest that this is a contentious policy which supports linguistic hierarchisation. In their analysis of various political and legal documents, they identify how attempts to move heritage language education in schools from the margins of schooling have been missed. They suggest, this analysis has given insight to how "we can better anticipate, rebut, and overcome resistance to future efforts to expand linguistically and culturally sustaining practices at school" (Kim et al., 2020. p.330).

Australia

According to Lo Bianco (2009), Australia has a strong history of developing policies and innovation in second-language education. However, Lo Bianco argues there is poor execution of consistency and effort. Australia's national languages policy was officially adopted on the 4th of June, 1987 as a bipartisan agreement. The aim was to create a co-ordinated approach for "educational and cultural enrichment, economic imperatives and equity" (Djité, 2011, p.7). This included the support for the continued learning of community languages by members of their respective ethnic communities. An important addition was the commitment to research. This was through the establishment of the Languages Institute of Australia and four research and development centres to pursue research and development projects in languages. Including the national languages policy, which was adopted in 1987, Bianco and Slaughter (2017) state that this has been one of five federal (national) adopted polices related for languages over the last 35 years in Australia, namely:

1. Report on Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (Galbally, 1978)
2. National Policy on Languages (NPL) (Lo Bianco, 1987)

3. Australian Language and Literacy Policy (Dawkins, 1992)

4. National Asian Languages Strategy (Council of Australian Governments, 1994)

5. Commonwealth Literacy Policy (embodied in various reports, media statements and funding programmes since 1997)

During this time since the National Policy on Languages (NPL), de Courcy (2005) notes that policy documents seem to have taken little into account of the needs of children from heritage language backgrounds and there has been a deterioration in the government's treatment of community languages. Despite the NPL's promising vision, the policy has since been subjected to political ideologies from both major political parties (Djité, 2011). It is an important time for review and change for community languages. As of November 2020, the Australian Federation of Modern Teachers Association was conducting research for the Australian Government to contribute to a National Languages Plan and Strategy for languages education in Australia (Community Languages Australia, 2021).

Community language schools, outside of formal education, currently are represented and supported by Community Languages Australia (Australian Federation of Ethnic Schools Association Incorporated). The Australian government provides funding for national co-ordination and quality assurance for afterhours community language schools. Their Strategic Positioning Paper for 2020-2023 gives their Five-Purpose Statements which incorporate advocacy, standardisation and synergy, high quality teaching, community building, support for emerging communities and ongoing research.

The usual relationship which community language schools have with formal education settings in Australia is a formal education setting hosting a community language school on their premises. Nordstrom and Jung (2021) highlight the practice in Australia of community language schools borrowing a space or spaces at a mainstream school. The New South Wales government, for example, has offered free rent at government schools. However, as Nordstrom and Jung point out, this has continued a marginalised position in wider educational contexts. In their study, they surveyed 176 community language schools' teachers about their onsite working conditions; specifically access to educational tools and resources. Overall, findings showed that teachers had limited access to whiteboards, smartboard, desks, and internet access, which were important to their teaching. Nordstrom and Jung (2021) note that this is on top of previous research which shows that community language teachers may lack qualifications, feel

invisible as part of the school (Baldauf, 2005), or not perceived as real teachers (Cruickshank et al., 2018).

Lobbying began for national funding in New South Wales (NSW), at the end of 2008 for the NSW Board of Studies to develop "heritage language courses" in Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Indonesian (De Kretser & Spence-Brown, 2010). These courses were introduced in 2011. The Higher School Certificate examinations for these heritage languages were implemented in 2012 for the first time. Willoughby (2014) describes an example of a secondary school in Victoria (NSW), Australia which committed to heritage language teaching in normal school hours from the 1980s and had a "suite of language-in-education policies" (Willoughby, 2014, p.266). Willoughby suggests that there is an array of possibilities which can emerge in supportive policy environments, but there needs to be an awareness of problems which might emerge. The secondary school actively promoted and made attractive, the learning of heritage language learning to all students for all different backgrounds; however, it was more attractive to some students than others. This study focused on a "nuanced view of the push and pull factors shaping students' engagement with heritage language programmes" (Willoughby, 2014, p.266). In the senior school, there was evidence that the decisions to whether students selected their heritage languages in the senior years was dependent on the course content (including structure and assessment) and scheduling / timetabling. The overall finding suggests that, regardless of how much the schools encourages the students to take the heritage language class, the major influence will be what is taught in the classroom. Finally, Willoughby encourages that based on the case study, schools may need to adapt programmes and partner with other organisations to ensure the continuation of community language programmes.

The United Kingdom

Weekly (2020) states that consecutive governments in the United Kingdom (UK) have not responded well to the changes of the sociolinguistic environment and issues with the provision for heritage languages in mainstream education. Therefore, because of this limited provision, this has resulted in an increase in complementary schools (community language schools). Further catalysts have been negative media reports such as schools using the exams in heritage languages to boost their ranking and tax-payers money being used for translators. This negativity has further affected the value given to heritage languages and hence there has been a decline in the General Certificate of Education (GCSEs) in these languages. In addition, the decline resulted in the Oxford Cambridge and RSA (OCR) examination board abolishing 25

minority language qualifications. Scotland and the Republic of Ireland, according to Carruthers and Nandi (2020) have "positive policies in place" (Carruthers & Nandi, 2020, p.269-270). However, their analysis of two primary schools shows that there are similar issues and challenges that are common across the UK, but there are also specific issues relating to Northern Ireland's context such as the divided nature of Northern Ireland society and socio-economic factors.

Despite this picture for community languages in mainstream education in the UK, there are continued efforts to raise the status and awareness of community languages. One project in North West England worked with both complementary and mainstream schools. The Community and Lesser Taught Languages (COLT) project was aimed at raising the profile of modern foreign languages, in addition to raising the status of community languages. The COLT project was a consortium of five UK universities which worked with a range of regional organisations to set up replicable projects and structures to promote languages. It received funding through the Route into Languages initiative.

For the community languages as part of COLT, the approach was to present them alongside modern foreign languages and run enrichment events where students experienced language taster sessions and learnt about a range of cultures associated with the community languages they were sharing about. There were two primary aims of the project. The first aim was to increase the students' awareness of a multilingual world and show that knowledge of other languages and cultures is both interesting and necessary for careers, intercultural understanding, and personal interest. The second aim was to provide a toolkit for providing basic teacher education for native speakers of community languages as well as introducing them to some essential skills to be able to teach that language. Furthermore, they wanted to provide information on training possibilities to further their teacher careers (Handley, 2011).

Handley (2011) reports that the COLT project did raise the profile of the languages in schools across North West England, and it brought together mainstream and complementary schools to share good practice for the benefit of their students. There was a strong step towards teacher education for community language teachers and trainers. The teacher education module was awarded a European Award for Languages in 2010 and was rolled out through the United Kingdom project, Links into Languages. Handley cautions that while the findings suggest that attitudes can be improved into a commitment to study a community language formally, a more

sustained effort is needed over a period of time to ascertain the long-term impacts of all activities. She also suggests that a "wider portfolio of languages should be offered in response to changing global and national trends" (Handley, 2011, p. 160).

Sweden

Cabau (2014) states that Sweden stands out among European countries as having a long tradition of responding to multilingualism in the school contexts because of considerable immigration to the country. As early as 1977, the Home Languages Reform policy was implemented. Lindberg (2011) explains that the aim of this policy was to support the personal, cognitive, and academic development of bilingual students. In 2010, 19.4% of the students in Swedish compulsory schools had an ethnic minority background. At local levels, in many multi-ethnic urban areas, the number of ethnic minority students with mother tongues other than Swedish reached 80-95% in schools. In 2008 and 2009, the top ten mother tongues (starting from number one) were: Arabic, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian/, Spanish, English, Finnish, Somali, Albanian, Farsi, Kurdish and Turkish.

The official language policy of Sweden manifests itself through the Language Act (SFS 2009:600) and Act on National Minorities and National Minority Languages (SFS 2009:724). This has been reinforced by the right to mother tongue tuition, and it is regulated in the Swedish Education Act (SFS 2010:800) which states 'a student with a guardian with another mother tongue other than Swedish, should be offered mother tongue tuition in this language if 1) the language is used daily at home, and 2) the student has basic knowledge in the language'. In primary and secondary schools, heritage language study is an elective school subject. This is possible when there is a minimum of five students from a home language group and the parents elect for their children to pursue heritage language studies. It is also available for preschools. More recently, according to Wedin et al. (2021), the overall objective in the Swedish national curriculum for compulsory schooling is supporting students in the development of their mother tongue. This is indicated in the updated legislation (SNAE, 2018: 86) reinforcing Sweden's ongoing commitment to mother tongue tuition.

Dávila (2017) provides an insight into students' perspective when a heritage language is taught within a school setting. Dávila focused on the identities and language attitudes of young learners in a Swedish elementary (primary) school. Ninety-eight percent of the school student population was newly arrived migrants and refugees and students with migrant heritage who

had lived in Sweden for generations and who had a heritage language other than Swedish. These students were from Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Somalia. The youth were primarily 12- and 13-year-old male and female students. The school had a range of heritage language programmes. The first major theme outcome was the students had become language experts for their family to navigate between their family members and the community. The heritage language class of Arabic was seen as an investment. The navigation gave them a feeling of responsibility, pride and sometimes access to knowledge and roles that some other family members did not have. The second theme was that the class provided a link to keeping cultural connections and developing new connections with such aspects as music; igniting deeper cultural conversations and learnings. Dávila explains that the most significant theme articulated by students was navigating and negotiating the different dialects spoken by classmates and teachers. For example, in the Arabic heritage language class, the students spoke their own dialect of Arabic with each other; however, the emphasis was on learning to read and write in standard Arabic. The different dialects in the Somali class had prompted some parents to pull the students out of the Somali class because they did not want their child to learn a dialect. Some students were also engaging in translanguaging practices, but this was usually discouraged by the heritage language teachers as it appeared to challenge the "correct" language. The examples provide evidence of diversity in social change within the classroom and the evolution of language spaces.

New Zealand

Hierarchy of languages

Skyrme and Ker (2020) in their recent review of research in applied linguistics from 2013 to 2017, state that when referring to community languages in New Zealand, "there has been little sense of government obligation to support them" (Skyrme & Ker, 2020, p.146). Although seven years earlier, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) in its review of New Zealand, shared that it "… is also concerned at reports of inadequate funding to support the preservation of community languages" (Mackay, 2015, p.4). The recommendations of the report stated: "The State party should take specific measures at preserving community languages by ensuring that adequate funding is allocated for specific programmes" (Mackay, 2015, p.4). This situation is also reflected in the quantity and range of research for community languages, especially in formal education settings. Overall research into community languages has not been a priority. As Alsahafi (2019) explains, despite New

Zealand having a range of classes outside of formal education settings, for many community languages, their contribution to the language maintenance aims has "received little scholarly attention" (Alsahafi, 2019, p.22).

De Bres (2015) researched the place of community languages in New Zealand. De Bres found that in the hierarchy of languages (te reo Māori, New Zealand Sign language and Pasifika languages), community languages are at the bottom of the hierarchy with lack of any supporting government policy and no special mention in the New Zealand Curriculum. As part of the research, she interviewed representatives from a range of government agencies with ministerial responsibilities; including the Office of Ethnic Affairs of whom the representative "rejected outright the notion of any government responsibility in relation to community language maintenance" (De Bres, 2015, p.688).

Community language schools

Most of the research has focused on different community languages in the wider community. It has primarily focused on language shift and intergenerational transmission. Recently for example, Gharibi and Seals (2020) investigated Iranian families' family language policies where they found discrepancies between their language maintenance beliefs and their family language practice. Although parents had intentions of heritage language maintenance, they did not make considerable efforts to help their children acquire the first/home language. Kim (2019) similarly investigated the intergenerational transmission of Korean as a community language which currently has high rates of intergenerational transmission. Family (micro), community (meso) and wider New Zealand society (macro) work together to create high rates of intergenerational transmission of Korean language.

Alsahafi (2019) offers a most comprehensive recent insight into the challenges facing community language schools in New Zealand through the research of an Arabic language weekend school. The study draws in three groups: parents (fathers), students and teachers. The fathers had a lot of gratitude for the Arabic teachers and their teachings. The fathers saw special value of the formal Arabic the school taught as opposed to the language maintenance in the home and the community, but they also stressed that families needed to support the weekend school. About half the fathers reported that their children enjoyed going to the school, but about half reported that their children would not attend if they were not forced to by their parents.

For the teachers in the Arabic weekend school, there were some key themes which highlight the inequity of government policy and place of community languages in New Zealand. Alsahafi (2019) states that most of the challenges were connected to a lack of resources and financial support for the school. All the teachers were volunteers. Furthermore, the teachers were unable to make the classroom their own because the space for the school was rented, which also meant that they sometimes changed their premises. There were also three significant concerns about the absence of an effective curriculum, shortage of qualified teachers and unavailability of teacher training. However, the Arabic teachers did see several positives and hopes for themselves and the school. Their main hopes came from the challenges they had articulated. All the teachers noted that their teaching was rewarding, and they were contributing to the community voluntarily. They also saw their teaching as a vehicle for maintaining their own language and cultural knowledge to support teaching their own children. Finally, it helped their self-esteem and confidence to know that they had been given this great responsibility. This research captures pertinent issues for the community languages organisations and the families in a New Zealand context, but it also reflects aspects of international research.

Community languages in formal schooling settings

Smythe (2020), in her investigation of language inclusiveness in education in New Zealand, found that plurilingual approaches to teaching and learning improve educational outcomes for migrant students. She strongly advocates for policy and practice to respond to schools' plurilingual contemporary realities. However, she explains that New Zealand's National Education Goals (NEGs), which were last reviewed in December 2018, do not specify educational objectives for migrant students and their languages. This educational objective absence for migrant students and their languages is notable in NEG 10:

> NEG 10 Respect for the diverse ethnic and cultural heritage of New Zealand people, with acknowledgment of the unique place of Māori, and New Zealand's role in the Pacific and as a member of the international community of nations. (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2018).

Smythe points out that heritage languages and the success of migrant students in an English language and literacy dominated education system is not articulated as a national education goal. The result of this omission in NEG 10 is shown by Cardno, Handjani and Howse (2018). They found that in two co-educational state decile one schools in South Auckland "diversity

management through interventions were often exclusive to Māori and Pacific students with other groups generally ignored" (p.101). To redress the limitations of the curriculum's language provision, Smythe believes there are two domains in which language inclusiveness within education can be developed and strengthened: (i) state schools and the degree to which immigrant languages are included as language options within school programmes (as second language or first language maintenance), and (ii) bilingual or immersion schooling (Smythe, 2020 p.236).

The implementing, teaching, learning, and facilitating of community languages in early childhood, primary and secondary schooling is dependent on school and teacher agency. Two studies in the early childhood settings illustrate this. Ball (2012) highlights that most of the research relating to early childhood and teaching linguistically diverse children in mainstream early childhood centres, has been conducted overseas. Her research, focused on children from migrant and refugee backgrounds in an early childhood setting who spoke community languages. Her focus was to discover if teachers were using strategies which supported their children's home languages and promote bilingualism and biliteracy. Ball concluded that teachers were using linguistically responsive pedagogy to grow bilingualism and biliteracy; however, the findings also showed that some parents and teachers were not certain that the use of home languages in the early childhood centre was positive for minority children who were beginning to learn English. Podmore et al. (2016) researched the experiences of an English medium kindergarten for teachers, parents, and children. The kindergarten identified that there were 26 languages spoken among the kindergarten community. One of the key outcomes of this research was that it became a chance to work in partnership with the families to support their community language maintenance at home. This extended to parents being able to voice the ways their languages and cultures could be included more in the kindergarten. A significant outcome for this Centre was to redraft their philosophy statement "to foreground languages rather than just cultures" (Podmore et al., 2016, p.124). The early childhood sector perhaps presents the most flexible environment to be able to reinforce, stimulate and validate community languages for linguistically and culturally diverse families.

For primary schools, research for evidence of supporting and developing community languages other than Pasifika languages, has been primarily collated through Education Review Office (ERO) reports. For example, ERO identified "responsive schools" and "less responsive schools". They statistically presented that 37% of early childhood centres and 58% of school

sectors were evaluated as being "responsive schools". Part of this responsivity was that the schools "intentionally promoted learning by using a home language or cultural lens" (ERO, 2018, p.22). This included the deliberate action by teachers to use home languages to promote engagement in learning and promote achievement and collaboration with parents and whanau. In some schools there were opportunities to learn home languages. There was also the encouragement to use digital technology and tools such as Google Translate to support transfer between home language and English. Leaders in the schools employed bilingual or multilingual teachers who spoke learners' home languages. These teachers were encouraged to use their home languages in the classroom and supported students to do the same. Both students and parents felt encouraged and supported to speak their home languages in the classroom and at home (ERO, 2018). There were also noted efforts by teachers who did not speak the community language, to learn vocabulary and phrases of the different languages they had in their classroom. Finally, the responsive schools, matched learners with other learners of the same language, had identified a Teaching English for Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) qualification as essential for all teachers and had access to bilingual resources such as dictionaries, readers, online subscriptions (for example, Language Perfect) and computer translation programmes to help learners unpack lesson expectations and / or new learnings.

Despite the Community Languages and ESOL (CLESOL) conference in New Zealand as the primary conference opportunity for sharing community language research and innovation, the implementation of community language initiatives in the school sector is uncommon. An example of the inclusion of an opportunity to maintain and develop a community language was shared by Talili (2018) As initially a bilingual learning assistant and later as a provisionally registered teacher, Talili implemented a Filipino literacy and culture class at a primary and secondary school with the support of the Head of Department of English as an Additional Language (HOD EAL). The project was in response to the increasing population of Filipino students which had increased to over 100 students in the secondary school, and to about 60 students in one of the main contributing primary schools. The project was externally funded by a church group and a youth trust. As consistent with previous literature, the class was after school in the secondary context; however, in the primary context, the classes were scheduled during the school day. In the primary context, 55 students participated and about 30 students at the secondary level. One of the benefits of the class was the opportunity for mainstream secondary and primary teachers to come and visit and observe the class to show interest, see the students engaged, participating, and enjoying the class in their own cultural context. While

the principal language of the class was Tagalog, students also brought with them other dialects from the Philippines such as Cebuano and Kapampangan (Talili, 2018).

Pasifika Education and Pasifika languages teaching and learning

Whilst the previous sections have specifically focused on international and New Zealand heritage and community language contexts and implementations, this section looks at the key themes which have dominated the literature for Pasifika learners in education. Three main themes are explored as a window into the final section which will look at the implementation and practice of Pasifika language education for early childhood, primary education, and secondary education.

Pasifika values and concepts

Understanding Pasifika values and concepts is particularly important for any institution (not just formal education) when engaging with Pacific people. Researchers have aimed to explore the concept of va (relational space) and value of fa'aaloalo (respect). Fa'aaloalo is central across Pacific cultures. Rimoni and Avrill (2019) state that for Pasifika students to maximise their well-being and learning, teachers need to build respectful relationships with them. Their study also shows that this fa'aaloalo needs to extend to family and the community. They also note that the value of fa'aaloalo is often part of many schools' values and this needs to be shared and understood reciprocally for the schools and Pasifika community.

Hunter et al. (2016) state that the value of fa'aaloalo is significant within reciprocal relationships for Pasifika cultures. It can manifest in different ways including understanding students' diverse cultural backgrounds. The culturally responsive practice of knowing each student's unique cultural heritage and home happenings was signifying fa'aaloalo. It was also shown by being able to spell, pronounce names correctly and valuing students' opinions and thoughts. Furthermore, fa'aaloalo and relationships can be built through constructing relevant tasks which use Pasifika cultural and social contexts (Hunter et al, 2016). Ultimately, as Reynolds (2019) explains, the va (relational space) between the teacher and student first needs to be acknowledged. This needs to be positively, carefully, and mutually formed. Teachers cannot expect that their Pasifika students will "flourish when the relational space between them and the teacher(s) is trampled" (Reynolds, 2019, p.36).

School leadership, professional development, and community engagement

The research about Pasifika values and concepts is integral in schools' cultural responsivity to students, families, and community. Pasifika values and concepts lay the foundation to building ongoing professional development as well as decolonising spaces and school systems. Hunter et al. (2016) encountered some teachers in their research who did not know of the cultural experiences which Pasifika families engaged in; stating that Pasifika families lacked opportunities and life experiences. However, these opinions were changed when they engaged in professional development which aimed to provide insight into the cultural lives of students.

As a secondary teacher, Flavell (2017) engaged in a master's thesis "to better understand the Pacific students and families in my college". This formal professional development she felt was necessary as she "had moved from England to teach a high decile college with 12% of the students identifying as Pacific, mainly Samoan but also ... Tongan, Tokelauan, Niuean, Cook Islander and Fijian" (Flavell, 2017, p.44). Her personal journey and findings together recognise that building a home-school partnership is essential to support achievement at the secondary level. Flavell highlights the Pasifika value of reciprocity as central to the home-school partnership.

Bonne and Spiller (2017) investigated how primary and intermediate schools support and work with Pasifika students, Pasifika cultural activities, and engage with Pasifika families. The survey particularly focused on principals' leadership. There were several significant statistics which emerged from the survey to show that a significant number of principals could work towards better supporting and engaging with their Pasifika communities. Only seven percent of principals worked closely with local Pasifika language nests to ensure a good transition for their children into the primary school. However, about a fifth of principals shared that they were unable to access the external expertise they needed to develop their implementation of reliable strategies to support Pasifika students.

One of the projects which responded to such statistics as shared in the NZCER report, was the 'Pasifika Success Talanoa project'. Taleni et al. (2018) worked with nine Pasifika community leaders to identify what understandings and characteristics are needed for a principal to support the achievement of Pasifika students in schools. The leaders advocated for seven supports: Advocating for the Pasifika education plan, setting high expectations for success and achievement, culturally responsive leadership qualities, strengthening community engagement

and partnership, provision of quality teaching and learning, deep knowledge of Pasifika cultural worldviews and having a Pasifika 'heart'. In his conclusion, Taleni states:

> A true leader is a determined courageous leader, who understand Pasifika students' worldviews, their aspirations and success, and their needs, weaknesses, and limitations. Such leaders tend to go the 'extra mile' to explore all the resources available, and lead the development, management and monitoring of educational programmes to ensure successful Pasifika learners' outcomes (Taleni et al., 2018, p.189).

The literature shows that professional development needs to occur at a teacher and school leadership level. For some non-Pasifika teachers, professional development in schools can have a significant effect and be the catalyst for searching for deeper understandings about Pasifika students, families, and communities through post-graduate studies. These deeper understandings can create a sense of edge-walking (Reynolds, 2017) or being part of a va'atele (double-hulled canoe) (Si'ilata, 2014), through providing "proven principles and practices to support learning in both school and home contexts, and derived from research" (Si'ilata, 2019, p.175).

Pasifika success and success as Pasifika

A significant emerging shift in the literature has been from a deficit approach of "fixing" Pasifika achievement across formal education settings, to understanding success as Pasifika and what does success mean for Pasifika in formal education spaces. Pasifika success is considered holistic, relative to the multiple worlds Pacific people are living in. When referring to academic success, this is about the success of individual, but also the reflection of the family and the community they are from (Si'ilata, 2018). Increasingly, this could be two or more Pacific communities. National education data often undermines success as Pasifika including the valuing of linguistic capital alongside other multi-literate and multi-lingual migrants and refugees.

Understanding being successful as Pasifika, has been explored especially in the school and tertiary sectors for both Māori and Pasifika students in these predominantly white space institutions. An example using Pacific methodologies and "wayfinding" was undertaken at the University of Auckland by Matapo and Baice (2020). They openly state that Pasifika students are compared with other student populations to show that "they" are the group which is often

at the bottom of the statistics alongside Māori. Matapo and Baice acknowledge that there are "tensions" for Pasifika success. They believe change needs to occur by:

> …decolonising education through honouring cultural onto-epistemology practices of knowing-in-being and relating to the world, thus challenging motivation for engagement with Pasifika learners as strength based rather than a deficit response (Matapo & Baice, 2020, p.26).

They explain a collective teaching and learning project at the University of Auckland, named He Vaka, with a decolonising agenda. The aim of their research was to respect and value ways of being (ontology) and knowing (epistemology) as Pacific and to work towards reconceptualisations of success as Pacific peoples. To build these reconceptualisations in the research process, Pasifika staff and students used a shell map. Together, in this process, they explored markers of success as Pasifika. Each marker referred to cultural, personal, and collective values; aspirations such as tautua (service), spirituality, aiga (family), collective responsibility, ancestors, Indigenous knowledge, resilience, and connections to ancestral lands. As a result of this research process, Matapo and Brice, challenge how education institutions continue to marginalise Pacific Indigenous onto-epistemology and the effect on Pacific people when negotiating education and education politics. Further research by Smith and Wolfgramm-Foliaki (2021) hints at one aspect hindering this change. Ironically, they found that while there are different hui (meeting in te reo Māori) and fono (meeting in Samoan language)) in the university, rarely do they centre a research-based focus on Māori and Pasifika student success. They viewed that there was a deliberate need to create time and space for Māori and Pasifika staff to meet regularly to maintain and develop "connections or nurturing the va and relationships (Smith & Wolfgramm-Foliaki, 2021, p. 41). However, participants in the research wanted to be inclusive of "allies" (Smith & Wolfgramm-Foliaki, 2021, p. 43) because it was not just the responsibility of Māori and Pasifika staff with one staff member saying that nothing had changed in 20 years with the importance the university placed on Māori and Pasifika student success (Smith & Wolfgramm-Foliaki, 2021).

Reynolds (2017) explored the success as Pasifika in the secondary context in the eyes of Year 9 and 10 Pasifika boys. His research with the boys showed that their ideas of Pasifika success both contrasted and complemented achievement success which he states can be seen through the Pacific origin concepts such as va (relationality), malaga (journey) and poto (wisdom).

These were ideas about a 'good education', acceptance, participation, comfort, resilience, and the contextual extension of competence.

Success as Pasifika is particularly highlighted through examining what it means to be gifted as Pasifika. Frengley-Vaipuna (2007) presented the first research for gifted and talented Tongan students in a secondary context with a wider view to cultural minorities being "better catered for" (Fengley-Vaipuna, 2007, iv). Using the Kakala framework (Thaman, 2002), she shares:

> It was found that the gifts and talents valued by Tongan communities may vary depending on where in the Diaspora the community is located. Due to environmental influences, talent may be exhibited in a variety of traditional and non-traditional ways. For instance, academic, musical, or artistic talent may be recognised in a western or traditional context and most sporting talent is now channelled into sports of western origins (Fengley-Vaipuna, 2007, p.99).

However, it was identified in the research that in all Tongan communities, a person who is acknowledged as having poto (wisdom) will have at least some understanding of to'onga faka-Tonga (The Tongan Way) and its core values. The Tongan church was shown in particular to provide opportunities for the development of talent in oratory, dance, music and leadership and an important vehicle for reinforcing Tongan values. Both of the two gifted and talented students in the study attended Christian schools with religious dimensions that reinforced Tongan values.

Faaea-Semeatu (2015) presents a comprehensive collection of identifiers for giftedness. They explore the concept of giftedness and talent for Pasifika where Western definitions of giftedness most often do not consider culture. In Pasifika communities, Faaea-Semeatu explains that Pasifika giftedness is recognised by Pasifika parents, families, and communities, but it is not openly visible in schools. She used ten cultural identifiers for Pasifika giftedness to form the basis of a culturally affirmative model. I have summarised these ten identifiers in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1

Ten cultural identifiers for Pasifika giftedness

Adaptability	Can move between worlds depending on what is needed from them.
Memory	Students can recite customs, protocols, family history, honorific addresses for village history and understand relationships with family members along with detailed genealogy
Church affiliation	Use the knowledge and experience individually to benefit others. These skills are transferred to the school context to use in public speaking, showing respect, questioning to gain a deeper understanding, and behaving within social norms.
Commitment to excellence	Seek opportunities for excellence and pursue excellence for family pride and personal achievement. This motivation comes from their parents and communities.
Relationships	Work together with other Pasifika students with talents to showcase these abilities with the support of the parents.
Resilience	See setbacks as opportunities to improve further their achievement and personal best.
Lineage/birth right	They model respect, obedience, and humility. Able to relate to family traditions which dictate social and cultural protocols.
Language fluency	Are able to speak, understand or write in their mother tongues (overwhelming criteria from parents). Expect the school to build on this regardless of where they are on the continuum.
Leadership	Seen as leaders once they have served faithfully in their church and family contexts. Once this is seen, leader obligations follow.
Representation	A successful career raises the status and prestige of their parents.

(Adapted from Faaea-Semeatu, 2015)

Faaea-Semeatu's (2015) findings showed that the nine top music students, as part of her research, were strong in their cultural identities and interconnected the musical talents, cultural ways of existing and academic skills uniquely and interestingly. In particular, she focused on language fluency as an identifier. She states, "all the talented musicians were gifted bilinguals or strived to be so" (Faaea-Semeatu, 2015, p.38). In the study, Rina was identified as interesting as she identified herself as a plastic Samoan because she was not as fluent; however, she had a strong desire to learn the language for future generations. Therefore, opportunities to learn the Pacific language of a student's ethnicity must be made available.

Pasifika language teaching and learning in early childhood, primary and secondary school settings

This section focuses primarily on understanding about the teaching and learning of Pacific languages in mostly formal New Zealand education settings. Prior to this, some research is

introduced to support the language shift within New Zealand Pacific communities to correlate with the recent and current place of Pasifika languages in formal education.

Understanding self-confidence and regret in Pacific communities about Pacific language skills and shift

Si'ilata (2018) emphasises that there needs to be continued development of Pasifika language and literacies in schools so that learners can be successful in their families, communities and to support the acquisition of English. Despite this need, the reality presents a challenging picture. In South Auckland, Starks (2005) ascertained the self-confidence of four groups in their bilingual abilities of their respective Pacific language: Samoan, Cook Islands, Tongan and Niuean. There were 30 participants in total across three groups: Old (64-85years), Middle and Young. The first finding showed that these communities had similar patterns of language shift. This was identified with a higher proportion of the older and middle-aged speakers than younger speakers reporting themselves as proficient in their Pacific language, and considerably fewer participants in their current homes than their childhood homes consistently speaking their Pacific language.

Table 2.2

Percentage of self-confidence in speaking ability by age group (as measured by ability to say everything in the Pacific language) and number of reportings of consistent childhood and current home language use in the four Pacific communities.

	Middle (40-51 years old)	Young (14-24 years old)	Childhood home	Current home
Niuean	70	30	15	5
Cook Islands Māori	90	40	19	8
Samoan	70	30	17	3
Tongan	90	60	24	10

Adapted from Starks (2005)

As Starks notes, the findings support what linguists, Pacific communities, and the public know. King and Cunningham (2017) reiterate this language shift challenge with Samoan and te reo Māori. They highlight that despite Māori and Samoan having the largest number of child speakers of all minority languages in New Zealand, Samoan have the sixth highest rate for intergenerational transmission (55%) for Samoan language with Māori at fifteenth (44%) for

te reo Māori. However, as they note, Māori is undergoing revitalisation while Samoan is one of the minority languages in the world where there are speakers in the homeland.

Over ten years after Stark's (2005) report, Samu, Barnes, Asiasiga and McCreanor (2019) interviewed New Zealand born Pasifika 18–25-year-olds using open-ended questions about the issues in their "cultural life worlds" (p.133). One of the main findings was that this Pasifika age group was very worried about the loss of Pasifika heritage languages. The participants were able to share insights into the steady attrition of New Zealand born Pasifika generations speaking their Pasifika languages. Despite research and findings such as these, the research across formal education settings, remains limited.

Early childhood sector

Even though there has been a growing number of Pasifika Early Childhood bilingual and immersion options, there appears to be insufficient research which investigates the longitudinal effects on educational achievement. In the Ministry of Education's review on Pasifika research by Chu et al. (2013), it was identified that there was the need for a well-executed longitudinal study to research the connections between Pasifika children's experiences in early childhood, including in bilingual early childhood centres (or those with a central focus on community languages) and the educational outcomes for these students in primary, secondary, and tertiary (Chu et al., 2013). They also highlight the fact that in this review, at this time, there only existed position papers and discussion pieces instead of research.

To meet some of this research gap, between 2013-2015, as a Teaching and Learning Research Initiative (TLRI), four Early Childhood Centres explored the diversity of the language experiences of children, and their families. This research was led by Podmore et al (2016). Their overall research asked about 'What languages do children from participating ECE centres use in their learning in the ECE and at home?" One of the centres was a Samoan immersion centre, two centres were English medium, but children and families spoke Pasifika languages as well as a range of Asian languages. The final centre was Māori medium. A central theme of the studies was that the diverse languages which the children and their families bring into early childhood centres, are able to be nurtured and validated through the implementation of intentional planning, innovative pedagogies, practices, and policies. In addition to encouraging teacher practice, the research elicited key practices which were occurring at home with parents.

For example, for the Samoan immersion centre, parents valued the Samoan language early childhood centre because, it was forcing some parents to improve their Samoan since a number of them had grown up with their own parents not allowing them to speak Samoan when they arrived in New Zealand as children. The study for this centre also reported that children in the centre had developed a metalinguistic awareness as they had become receptive to other languages. Parents described that their children had become aware of, recognised, and accepted diverse languages and identities (Podmore et al., 2016).

Seals and Olsen-Reeder (2020) examined the practice of translanguaging for te reo Māori and Samoan languages, as a vehicle for language revitalisation and maintenance. They offer the consideration that while immersion schooling may work for some students, it does not work for all students. Therefore, they make the case that translanguaging offers "an additional approach through which even more students can be supported" (Seals & Olsen-Reeder, 2020, p.11).

Primary schooling

Similarly, Chu et al. (2013) noted significant shortcomings with Pasifika research for primary schooling and was only satisfied with a small body of research to support bilingual or immersion primary education in New Zealand for Pasifika learners. They cited the research of Amituanai-Toloa and McNaughton (2008) which provided empirical evidence supporting bilingual educational approaches that enable students to learn across the curriculum using their first language alongside the development of mastery in English as a second language.

The Ministry of Education responded to the need for the improvement of teaching and learning in Samoan bilingual school settings. The Quality Teaching, Research and Development (QTR&D) Samoan Bilingual Hub focused on improving the teaching and learning in Samoan bilingual school settings. Earl, Timperley, and Stewart (2009) noted that there had been very little research within Samoan bilingual classrooms. Furthermore, Samoan bilingual classes were relatively new in New Zealand; consequently, there had been little professional development for teachers. The project worked with 12 teachers across five different schools and 65 students from Years 1 to 8. The teachers had realised that their previous professional development prior to entering the school, had not prepared them for bilingual teaching. The Teaching as Inquiry Model was used for each individual teacher to inquire into their teaching practice about improving literacy outcomes for their students. The QTR&D programme was a

first attempt for these teachers to engage in the Teaching as Inquiry Model. While this was only a first attempt, the teachers gained insights into their teaching and learning. For teachers, it showed how reciprocity may need to be examined to increase interactions between teacher and student as the Samoan value of the teacher as the elder/expert and the student as the younger/novice, may be a barrier. The project provided more knowledge about how much diagnostic and formative assessment in Samoan could help both teachers and students. Finally, there were questions around the balance of English and Samoan, students' language background and capabilities and the impact on achievement, what was the purpose of bilingual teaching in Samoan, and its relationship to Samoan students' overall achievement (Earl, Timperley & Stewart, 2009).

Two school-based projects are Finlayson Park School and Richmond Road School in Auckland. As highlighted by Earl, Timperley, and Stewart (2009), both schools have had over a ten-year history of trying to address some of these issues. McCaffery and Tuafuti (2005) share that both schools focus on an empowerment community approach for the establishment of bilingualism/immersion education. They share that there was a change in the confidence of the Samoan parents. Senior staff found that Samoan parents built confidence to approach the school and ask questions about their child's education. Attendance was better than any decile one school and transience decreased dramatically. There were also achievements outside the school with external competitions, including mathematical competitions. Finally, McCaffery and Tuafuti explained that there were informal indicators that the students' academic work across the curriculum significantly improved. However, they explicitly highlight that this needed to be researched in the next phase of the project. They report, a good indicator was that the literacy achievements in both languages were at or above their grade age norms. In the Finlayson Park School's 2015 Education Review Office (ERO) report, it showed that Year 7 and 8 students were at or above National Standards in reading, writing and mathematics and stressed "educational success for Māori as Māori, and Pasifika as Pasifika are school priorities (ERO, 2015, Curriculum section, para.1).

In the previously mentioned New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) (2016) survey, only five percent of principals said children from language nests could continue learning their language at school. While this indicates that the future for the increasing number of Pasifika learners in Pasifika immersion early childhood centres is perhaps one with no continued development of their Pasifika language, there is research to suggest that teacher

agency can facilitate continued bilingual development for Pasifika languages across the curriculum through supportive pedagogies such as translanguaging. Similar to the research for community languages in New Zealand, the support and use of Pasifika languages in classrooms outside of bilingual immersion contexts is also limited but provides other insights. Hunter et al. (2016) illustrated the importance of Pasifika learners in Year 7/8 to be able to use their respective Pasifika language. Each student's Pasifika language can be used by teachers to deepen learners' conceptual understandings, while adding to their self-esteem and mathematical disposition. Furthermore, students are able to take roles as language experts. A teacher in a study encouraged students with English as an Additional Language to use their home language to support their understanding. Hunter et al. conclude that those teachers who affirm the use of their students' home language as a valuable tool along with English, will enable equitable learning opportunities (Hunter et al., 2016).

Si'ilata (2018) worked with classroom teachers in an English medium school context and used a modified framework for effective classroom practice for Pasifika learners using digital technologies. The focus of the project was to support students and their families 'to story' in their respective languages, using digital and hard copy books to encourage 'translanguaging storying' and to create their own multimedia texts. The programme supported teachers to use "communicative translanguaging approaches to language and literacy learning, and to foster connections between children's Samoan and English language literacy resources" (Si'ilata, 2018, p. 221). Two case studies are highlighted in the research. One of the major outcomes was that it showed that teachers who were "effective" at supporting children to create bilingual digital products, were those teachers who had specific pedagogical content knowledge in bilingual/translanguaging pedagogies. The Pasifika learners used Pasifika literacy practices including oratory techniques such as memorisation, recitation, choral reading, music, and song. Furthermore, they also engaged in experimenting in the digital learning space, to incorporate translanguaging pedagogies with the students' use of digitals to enable the creation of bi/multilingual digital products. This type of professional development, as stated by Si'ilata is "urgently needed".

Finally, outside of school for primary school students, there are community opportunities to acquire Pasifika language and literacies. Dickie and McDonald (2011) investigated the reading and writing outside of schools. The Samoan church literacy practices began from when the children were about three years old in Sunday school. The catechist (teacher of Christian

principles) in the study explained that a Samoan alphabet chart was used with children as young as 1 to 4, but with the youngest, it was mostly talking and conversation. From about three years old, the children were taught the sounds of the Samoan alphabet. The catechist believed that this was the practice in most Sunday schools. Once the alphabet was mastered, the children were taught to write. The catechist added that this is the practice at home and at a'oga amata (Samoan bilingual early childhood centres). Another practice was the use of tauloto (memory verses); a traditional Samoan practice to memorise and recite Bible passages. For the older children, this involved taking home a verse and bringing it back to Sunday school to recite. Whilst there is some discussion about whether these church literacy practices align with those in schools, both churches and schools have the potential to partner, share and support literacies practices for Pasifika language learners.

Secondary schooling

The research for Pasifika languages in secondary settings is limited for immersion or alternative models. There has been the occasional example in publications such as the Education Gazette, which actively encourages reporting of perceived positive practices from early childhood to secondary school. For example, on the 28th of May, 2018, the Gazette published an article about a Wellington secondary school having Samoan language as a subject in their school. The school reported that students' parents started speaking more Samoan at home because previously they were speaking English. There had also been a strengthened connection with grandparents by students asking them for help with the language. They reported positive feedback from parents and non-Samoan students were electing the Samoan language option for the following year. The principal did emphasise the difficulty of finding a teacher.

The phrase "Colouring in the white spaces" was coined by Milne (2013) to actively support the teaching and learning Pasifika languages and literacies. Milne, in her naming of white spaces, identifies literacy and assessment as prominent examples of where white spaces occur. Literacy in the New Zealand secondary context is often spoken and written about with reference to literacy in English; ignoring learners' existing competencies in English or the need to further develop their bilingual or multi-literacies. Moreover, the importance of Milne, lies with a process of implementation for social justice. Milne (2013) offers research which, while not in a context with a small number of Pacific students, describes process and implementation from a senior leader secondary school perspective working with New Zealand Ministry of

Education guidelines to provide Māori and Pasifika language bilingual units. Camanigian and Cariaga (2021) note the significance of this journey:

> Milne's (2017) work as a principal and scholar in New Zealand is important because it examines Kia Aroha College as an exemplar of self-determination in the context of white stream schooling. Instead of being complicit in ahistoric and colonial miseducation, Kia Aroha College reclaimed educational sovereignty by providing indigenous Māori and Pasifika students a culturally located, bilingual learning model of education based on secure cultural identities, stable positive relationships, and aroha (authentic caring and love) (Camanigian & Cariaga, 2021, p.15).

A further significant contribution by Milne is the development of the self-lens assessment tool. The tool was developed by Milne and staff over five years of trialling. The tool identifies and describes what Māori, Samoan, Tongan and Cook Islands Māori education success looks like for their students, whānau and community. The self-lens "exists to enable ... to legitimate and validate Māori and Pasifika knowledges and values in their own right ... Māori and Pasifika knowledges and values should never be seen as peripheral, or less important learning" (Milne, 2013, p.149). The work and struggle which is shared through Milne's research is complemented with major effects of making new spaces in the secondary context happen. It enabled parent ownership, culturally responsive assessments and developed and continues to develop students who are critically aware of racism and marginalisation.

Finally, ERO (2019) is critical of Pacific bilingual practices in schools:

> ...Pacific bilingual education programmes were somewhat idiosyncratic. They tended to be developed locally, and were resourced out of schools' baseline funding. Schools expressed a general philosophy regarding the importance of Pacific languages, culture, and identity, but were less likely to have developed an approach focused on bilingualism and informed by research literature and best practice (ERO, 2019, p.4).

This statement only increases the urgency for research into the implementation, teaching and learning of Pasifika languages in schools in New Zealand.

Summary

This literature review presents an overview of international and New Zealand understandings about what challenges exist and have existed for the inclusion of community languages, including Pacific languages, in the community and formal education contexts. Internationally, what is clear is that, despite language policies with the best intentions, the execution has not been ideal with migrant groups still being marginalised in formal education settings. However, while this literature review highlights the challenges with language policies in their respective international contexts, each language policy does and continues to provide infrastructure and funding streams essential for ongoing support for community languages in their nations. For New Zealand, the situation for community languages is even more marginalised with no annual funding or language policy. Community languages are reliant on co-ordination by their respective ethnicity groups to provide community language learning opportunities for their community language or languages. In formal schooling, the instruction in a community language is very rare, apart from initiatives through the cooperation or the community language community and teacher agency. Within formal education settings in New Zealand, especially in the early childhood and primary sectors, there are indications of teachers and researchers beginning to explore strategies and techniques to support, maintain and develop community languages from within classroom contexts. For Pasifika languages, while they are hierarchically higher in governmental funding and policy, further research would provide a deeper knowledge and understanding of more effective ways to improve learning outcomes and well-being for Pasifika students. One emerging research focus is exploring other potential pedagogies and alternative models in addition to research into full bilingual immersion programmes. Research from Pacific and non-Pacific researchers indicate ways to better understand how teachers can develop classroom pedagogies, such as translanguaging, to grow the bilingual/multilingual linguistic repertoires of their learners. However, within the secondary sector such pedagogy for Pasifika languages has yet to be fully accomplished to support all Pasifika languages and learners. I think Camanigian and Cariaga (2021) describe what is the reality for some of the research direction needed in the New Zealand secondary sector for exploring strategies, pedagogies, and alternative models for enabling access for all and not just a few, to continue and/or grow the development of each Pasifika learner's Pasifika language. They used the transformation concept of "humanisation" to describe this change:

Moving forward, research must explore what humanization looks like in all its messy, contradictory, and dynamic processes at the levels of classroom pedagogy and student

learning, teacher training, community organisation, and social district policy (Camanigian & Cariaga, 2021, p.16-17)

As indicated throughout this literature review, in the secondary sector, for Pacific languages, this transformation towards humanisation is only beginning.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter outlines my methodology in this research. This project is a qualitative study in a secondary school in New Zealand. The school is referred to as the 'focus secondary school' in this thesis. I first present my conceptual framework as it provides insights into choices I made from the beginning. I then present the practice initiative and the focus research question. Next, I introduce action research as the key methodology, with underlying theoretical and pedagogical influences, including cultural responsivity to Pasifika learners and communities. Finally, I explain the research design.

A transformative paradigm

My research is located within a transformative paradigm. This paradigm addresses power and privilege in society, with the aim of social justice for culturally diverse communities (Mertens, 2009). In my role as a Head of Department of English as an Additional Language (HOD EAL) in a New Zealand secondary school, social justice is central to my teaching, learning and leadership. This is because there are daily and academic power inequities for linguistically and culturally diverse learners. I specifically adopt the view of Biddle and Schafft (2014), where axiology is at the very beginning of the research because it influences what is researched and what research questions are formed. My role as a practitioner and HOD EAL, my school-based and external professional development, my personal experiences and my family context, all influenced what research question I formed.

Essential to this research paradigm and design was the process of praxis. For Freire (1970), the way to challenge oppression was to engage in praxis. The two key components of praxis are action and reflection. According to Given (2008), praxis involves a commitment to challenge what has been accepted as the norm and supporting different communities to understand their marginalised position. The goal is to transform the situation alongside culturally diverse communities over a long process rather than to create theory. Consistent with this goal, the main aim for this research project was to begin to transform or "colour in the white spaces" (Milne, 2013) through action research and initiate beginnings of praxis in the focus secondary school.

The focus secondary school and the practice initiative

The school is one of many secondary schools in New Zealand with less than 10% Pasifika students. Currently, there are 89 secondary schools in New Zealand (excluding specialist schools, such as military or teen parent unit), which have between 5% and 10% Pasifika students. Of these secondary schools, 64 are in Te Ika-a-Māui (North Island) and 25 are in Te Waipounamu (South Island). In addition, there are a further 49 secondary schools with below 5% Pasifika students or above 10% with between 30 and 70 Pasifika students. Of these 49 additional secondary schools, 10 are in Te Waipounamu and 39 are in Te Ika-a-Maui (MOE, 2021). Over the last five years in the focus secondary school, Samoan students have been the largest Pasifika group, followed by Tongan and Fijian students. However, smaller numbers of other Island nations such as Kiribati, Cook Island Māori, Tokelauan, Tuvaluan, Rotuman, and Niuean have been represented in the school over this period. The practice initiative was to create a Year 9 and 10 class (junior students) for Samoan students in the focus secondary school. This class was taught by a New Zealand provisionally registered teacher. The aim was to teach Samoan language and literacy and cultural knowledge. Additional data about the focus secondary school's ethnicity population, NCEA achievement and Education Review Office reports are in Appendix C.

The research question

The overall research question for this project was:

> *What were the challenges and effects of implementing a junior (Year 9 and 10) Samoan language class in a New Zealand secondary school with a small and diverse Pasifika student population?*

This overall research question was supported by sub-questions that in turn frame each findings chapter:

> *What were the supports and challenges for me as a practitioner and middle leader researcher for implementing the project, and what were the effects?*

> *What were the supports and challenges for Tulāfale prior to entering the project and what were the supports, challenges, and effects for him during the implementation?*

> *What were the supports and challenges for Luma prior to becoming a bilingual Learning Tutor, and what supports, challenges, and effects emerged during his role?*

How did students support and challenge the project's implementation, and what were the effects?

What were the supports and challenges for the parent community, and how did these affect the implementation and how did the implementation affect parents?

Action Research as the key methodology

Key features and challenges of action research

I used action research as the key methodology. Action research is a flexible research methodology (Given, 2008). The early categorisation or forms of Action Research, Carr and Kemmis (1986) divide into three broad categories of technical, practical, and emancipatory. Technical action research improves practice and often is carried out by an external researcher. In contrast, practical action research is often associated with practitioners forming relationships with outside facilitators or researchers whereby dialogue can take place around practitioner concerns, implement change, and evaluate effectiveness. Carr and Kemmis advocate for emancipatory action research as a way of working towards increased social justice in the education system. One of the primary features of action research is that it occurs within natural settings such as schools. Sandretto (2007) sees action research as a mechanism for wider change which begins in the classroom. It can be used as a vehicle for improving practice at a local and individual level and then considered for how these practices have wider effects. In addition, Kemmis (2006) supports using action research as a means for revealing truths which can be unwelcome to government ministers and policy makers. While Manfra (2019) views action research as essential to reveal these truths, he asserts that the marginalisation of action research will continue if education research is believed to be only achievable through "academic researchers" (p.181) referring to those individuals in academia and conducting research in external institutions such as universities. Despite Manfra's support for action research, the use and connotation of who is to be considered an "academic researcher" is problematic. With this view, Manfra implies that teachers in their own practice and reflection are not "academic" and not "researchers". This view perhaps continues to fuel, as Aras (2021) points out, the reason why action research continues not to be used as common professional practice by teachers. However, despite Manfra and Aras's view of action research as a globally marginalised methodology, the embedding of the Teaching as Inquiry cycle in the New Zealand Curriculum (2007) has gone some way to normalising teachers' regularly reflecting on their

practice; hence, as a New Zealand practitioner and middle leader, the use of action research as a methodology for this research was a meaningful and appropriate.

Exploring participatory elements in this action research

Kemmis and McTaggart (2003) define Participatory Action Research (PAR) as consisting of a range of methodological approaches and techniques. The primary aim is to shift power from the researcher to research participants, who are often community members or community-based organisations. Participants in PAR have control over the research agenda, the process, and actions. Most importantly, people themselves are the ones who analyse and reflect on the information generated, in order to obtain the findings and conclusions of the research process. In this action research there were strong participatory elements as participants generated the action. However, I became the principal 'actioner' based on participants' voices. This aligns PAR because the research was driven by participants and action; however, the participants, other than me, were not the researchers. Another alignment with PAR is that all participants were marginalised groups whether by association with the marginalised group or part of a marginalised group. Teacher Participatory Action Research for example is a "new approach to participatory action research conducted with teachers...*,* which takes into account the marginalisation by association some teachers face in their positions" (Stapleton, 2018, p.1). I contend that English as an Additional Language (EAL) teachers are part of this group of teachers who are marginalised by association as they are often at the forefront of challenging inequities in schools for their culturally diverse learners, regardless of their own teacher, gender, or cultural identity. Similarly, Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) has been identified as a vehicle whereby marginalised student voices are empowered as producers of knowledge where the dominant culture primarily holds the power. Both YPAR and TPAR have alignments with this research.

Action Research as a grounded approach

A grounded approach provides a foundation for the action and participation in this research. It aligns with an emergence of ideas and themes to generate action. Thus, Grounded Theory is a theoretical influence in accordance with Corbin's (2017) five key elements of Grounded Theory. First, the concepts from which theory is constructed were not chosen prior to beginning this research. Second, this research did not begin with a theoretical framework behind the methodology. The ethics application and original research proposal were not based on a

theoretical framework. Thirdly, the analysis and data collection are closely connected. This links closely with the drive of action research which responds to data collection and analysis with further action and the development of theory. The fourth concept emphasises that the data are not just a collection of individual cases, but rather, all cases contribute to concepts and theory. Finally, Corbin (2017) identifies that the design of the research is evolving and is not set before the beginning of the research as this enables the researcher to respond to the findings. As a result, a grounded approach provided and allowed the emergence of action, research design, themes, and theory.

Practitioner Research

I was a classroom practitioner and middle leader in the focus secondary school. In this research, I worked collaboratively with the Samoan language teacher to implement a junior (Year 9 and 10) Samoan language programme.

Some authors such as Kemmis (2006; 2009) and Bartlett and Burton (2006) use the terms action research and practitioner research interchangeably. However, there are distinctions made between the two terms, with action research being a specific form of practitioner research. Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009) include under the practitioner research umbrella: teacher-research, practitioner inquiry, problem-based inquiry, action research and action learning. A definition of practitioner research highlights that the research is conducted by practitioners with a focus on working towards change or influencing policy in practice at grass roots level. It is research that is the result of observing an issue or problem in professional practice. An outcome of the research provides a framework for practice; with this knowledge to be disseminated to professionals (Jupp, 2006). As a practitioner in this research, my position was supporting and encouraging change in practice, not only in the focus secondary school, but also, actively disseminating the findings to the wider educational and research community. Therefore, this positions the research as practitioner research.

There have been numerous barriers identified for practitioner research. Ellis (2016) examined the two contexts of Singapore and New South Wales in Australia. The challenges which were commonly cited across the two contexts were, time, the pressure to teach the syllabus and inadequate training. Singapore practitioners identified documenting research, but practitioner researchers in New South Wales identified school leadership, continued commitment to the project and finding a supportive academic partner. This is to be expected because, as Mockler

(2014) states, "Teachers engaged in practitioner research operate, of course, not only as researchers but also, in the context of their 'day job', as teachers" (p.150). In some countries, these barriers have been recognised and specific initiatives, interventions or policies have created opportunities or space for this to occur. According to Sahlberg (2011) Finland is one such country which intentionally develops practitioners as researchers by specifically developing research skills throughout a teacher's training with in-built time for research and reflection in the teaching work contexts. However, McNamara (2009) argues that because practitioner research has become a mechanism of accountability in some countries, this has resulted in a focus on the instrumental or technical rather than emancipatory form of practitioner research. However, practitioner research remains a significant tool for change enabling teachers to evolve from instrumental or technical approaches to inquiry to more emancipatory forms as they gain more experience, understandings, and awareness of inequities within their own and wider educational contexts.

The role of reflection and reflexivity: The Practitioner and Action Researcher

The New Zealand Curriculum (NZC) (Ministry of Education, 2007) reminds teachers that how a strategy works for learners depends on each unique teaching and learning context and group of learners.   Therefore, it explicitly includes 'Teaching as Inquiry' (p. 35) as part of its document for teachers. 'Teaching as Inquiry' in the NZC encourages teachers to actively inquire into their practice as a cyclical process to actively improve the impact of the teaching for learners. This can occur from moment to moment while the teaching is occurring, or over a longer period, such as a day to day or term by term. As a teacher my primary focus has been my development as a practitioner using reflection. Reflection was also a central focus for this project about how the implementation of the junior Samoan language programme was working in the classroom, and what influences there were of wider school and community. Reflection, therefore, in this project required in-class, systemic and community analysis.

While reflection is an important part of this research, reflexivity is also central (Attia & Edge, 2017). Reflexivity is a means to acknowledge researcher values (Biddle & Schafft, 2014). Berger (2015) points out that reflexivity is interconnected with the epistemological, ontological, and axiological philosophical assumptions of the researcher. While practitioners are accustomed to regular reflection through appraisals and Teacher as Inquiry cycles in New Zealand schools, the philosophical assumptions of practitioners in primary and secondary school contexts goes largely unchallenged. In this research, reflexivity emerges through how I

conducted the research, how I conducted myself as a researcher, and how I presented the research. Feucht, Brownlee and Schraw (2017) suggest that "reflection becomes reflexivity when informed and intentional internal dialogue leads to changes in educational practices, expectations and beliefs" (p.234). Therefore, in this research, reflection is defined as how the participants; including myself as a practitioner, looked at and analysed what was happening in the project, what was working or not working, and how we interpreted and acted in the project as a result. Reflexivity in this thesis is defined as my inner thoughts, outward position, actions, and relationships as a researcher with participants and the environment's social, linguistic, and cultural contexts. Reflection and reflexivity are not separated in the chapters but rather work together to create deep professional learning and transformational and sustainable change

Exploring teu le va as a culturally responsive pedagogy and methodology

While the outlined methodologies aim to serve a range of marginalised communities, a specific focus and orientation to Pasifika languages, cultures and identity is essential. *Teu le va* was a priority for me as a fully registered New Zealand teacher. Hence, *teu le va* informed this research methodology as a non-Pasifika researcher. The essential components of *teu le va* as a pedagogy and methodology were the approaches used to support relationships and reciprocity in the research with participants. As indicated by the term *teu le va* meaning to value and to nurture, there were also times when, in the true meaning of *teu le va*, I had to "tidy up the *va*" (Anae, 2010). In this context, "tidying up the va" used apologies, difficult conversations, clearer communications and appropriate love and humour. This was needed because of a range of tensions as described and analysed in my practitioner narrative in Chapter Four.

In 2018, Tapasā (Ministry of Education, 2018) was released. This document was the first comprehensive framework released by the Ministry of Education which provides guidance for teachers and education leaders who are working with Pasifika learners. Therein, the concept of *teu le va* or *va* is an expectation for beginner teachers to understand. It states: '2.8 Understand the notion of *teu le va* or *va* where engagement is negotiated and agreed with Pacific learners and their parents, families, and communities' (MOE, 2018). This forms a guide for practitioners on culturally responsive pedagogy for Pasifika learners, parents, and communities. As a practitioner prior to this research, understanding key Pasifika values came through formal and informal professional development especially becoming connected and involved with numerous diverse Pasifika communities.

Prior to the publication of Tapasā, *teu le va* was already identified as "a tool primarily for educational researchers to help them plan and implement research that contributes to the development of effective policy and practice in respect of Pasifika students in our schools" (MOE, 2010). Ponton (2018) suggests that Pacific methodologies are appropriate to enhance research in general (Ponton, 2018). While I have been working alongside Pasifika communities for about 10 years, this doctorate has been guided by a non-Pasifika supervision team, and I am only beginning to understand Pasifika methodologies. However, as a non-Pasifika researcher, *teu le va* guided how I worked and interacted with participants and how I reported and presented findings. A growing understanding of and being informed by *teu le va*, was an important contribution to working within the transformative paradigm.

Research Design

A school-based project

This was a school-based research project. This presents numerous benefits, challenges, and cautions. Kershner (1999) noted that academic education theory was criticised because it was not providing an understanding of teaching and learning for teachers which was agreed to and clear. Twenty years later, Euston (2018) stressed that action research is increasingly located in schools. This would suggest, that over a twenty-year period, there has been a shift to more school-based research to address this gap in the theory. The decision for a school-based project, was important to provide an authentic and evolving context to ascertain how Pasifika language education could be implemented in this context. Epistemologically, this project aimed to challenge the dominant knowledge, knowledge systems, what is worth knowing, and what knowledge is valued and hence, academically rewarded in schools. The project began in mid-May 2015 and worked within a school year timeline until mid-June 2018. Table 3.1 presents this timeline. The Table also shows each Phase of the project throughout the timeline, the changing composition of students alongside those participants who had teaching and learning and implementation roles.

Table 3.1

The project's phases, students, and teaching, learning and implementation roles

Phase	Students	Teaching and learning roles	Implementation roles
Initial May to December 2015	Year 9 and 10 part or full Samoan ethnicity	>SLT	>PR and SLT
Evolving January 2016 to December 2017	Year 9 and 10 increasingly diverse Pasifika ethnicities	>SLT >SLT and LT >LT	>PR and SLT >PR and SLT >PR and LT
New model January to June 2018	Year 10, 11, 12 and 13 with part or full Samoan, Tongan, and Fijian ethnicities	>PR and BLA	>PR and BLA

KEY

SLT	-	Samoan Language Teacher
LT	-	Learning Tutor
PR	-	Practitioner – Researcher
BLA	-	Bilingual Language Assistants
>	-	Indicates the different teaching or implementation team chronologically in each phase

Participants

There were three principal groups of participants. The first group were the Year 9 and 10 secondary students. The second group were the caregivers of the participating secondary Year 9 and 10 students. The term caregiver is used to be more inclusive of family compositions. The third group consisted of three participants. They were Tulāfale (Samoan language teacher), Luma (senior Samoan student as a Learning Tutor), and me (practitioner – researcher). We were responsible for the teaching and learning of the project in different Phases.

Students

In the Initial Phase, secondary Year 9 and 10 Samoan student participants in the initiative were selected via the school online management system in May 2015. These students were full or part Samoan ethnicity. In the Evolving Phase, at the beginning of the next year, Tulāfale and I worked together with school systems and student knowledge to identify students for the initiative. Students also self-selected or were recruited by other student participants in the group. In the New Model Phase, I returned to the identification of students using the school management system because the new teaching and learning space was for Year 10, 11, 12 and 13 Pasifika students but not Year 9.

Caregivers

For the Initial and Evolving Phases, each caregiver's selection and involvement as a research participant was dependent on their availability. The main criteria for their participation in the research was their child's selection by me, or their child's self-selection for the project. Caregivers were not interviewed in the New Model Phase.

The Samoan language teacher, senior Samoan student leader and practitioner-researcher

The selection of Tulāfale was the result of a reciprocal relationship we developed prior to this research. He began in the project as a first year provisionally registered teacher. He was the teacher for the junior Samoan language class, and he became a Pasifika guide for the initiative and the research. I selected Luma as a senior student participant as his influence and participation emerged as a student leader and Learning Tutor for the junior Samoan language class.

The Principal and Board of Trustees

Both the Board of Trustees and Principal agreed for the focus secondary to be part of the research; hence, their roles were primarily supporting the project.

Data Collection Methods

A flexible and diverse range of data collection methods

Action Research methodology presents an availability of a range of flexible and diverse range of data collection methods. Struebert and Carpenter (1995) recommended that at least three methods are used to create a vehicle for problem solving. This flexibility was important so that I could respond to and adapt to the emerging design.

Questionnaires

I developed a questionnaire for each phase of the research for student participants only. At each phase I added, deleted, or modified questions in the questionnaire to respond better to answering the research question or to evaluate the changing teaching and learning space. Each questionnaire was written in English and responded to in English. For example, two questions which were the same in the Initial and Evolving Phases were, *'What were the reasons for not attending these classes?'* and *'What is difficult about Samoan reading and writing?'* A question and follow up question which was in the Initial Phase was *'What have you learnt in the culture*

classes? What else would you like to learn in the culture class?' This question was not in the Evolving Phase because there was no separate culture class. A question in the Evolving Phase was *'What would you like to happen with the junior Samoan class at [the focus secondary school]? What about other Pasifika languages?'* This was in response to the changing student composition of the class. Students answered individually and on paper. In the New Model Phase, junior and senior students were in the same teaching and learning space, and I was facilitating this new space. Two example questions were, *'What were the benefits of junior and senior students together in the class?'*, and *'Why did you join the Pasifika Studies course, and what expectations did you have?'* These questions were shared with students electronically.

Interviews

The interview questions were on a continuum between structured to semi structured. I recorded the interviews except two caregiver interviews where there were technical issues so comprehensive notes were taken. I transcribed the interviews myself. This helped with understanding and processing the data. If there was Samoan language used in the interview, this was translated and transcribed by an external translator. The external translator had worked for the New Zealand Ministry of Education to carry out bilingual assessments for schools; therefore, they were accustomed to confidentiality requirements when working within their own community.

I interviewed mostly mothers. I did interview one father by himself and a mother and father together. The mother and father together supported each other with English and Samoan. There was also a mother and daughter together because the daughter supported the mother with translation from English to Samoan and Samoan to English. There were reasons why some caregivers could not be interviewed. For example, I arranged two times for an interview for one potential participant, but neither of those times were successful. I did not pursue asking for another time because there was an unwell family member. The most common place for the interview was the caregiver's home because this is what they requested. There was one caregiver who came into the focus secondary school and one caregiver I interviewed in a café.

I interviewed caregivers by myself to maintain confidentiality and because *teu le va* was essential to ensure that I respected both the English skills and Samoan language skills. Questions were written in Samoan and English to support the interview progress. Two examples of questions were *'What are the challenges for you and your family to maintain*

Samoan language at home?' and *'How do you feel about your son/daughter's Samoan language being supported at school? What is good about this? What is not good?'.* The interview was not limited to the prepared questions. There was one caregiver who could not speak any English, so her daughter supported her in Samoan. Two other caregivers individually opted to include some Samoan language phrases. Each interview was about 30 minutes. This was a challenging process, but I had extensive personal and professional experiences in these situations.

In the Initial Phase, I interviewed students individually. I took notes rather than audio recording because I was exploring and understanding their family and Samoan language learning narratives. These initial interviews were in a schoolwork room and were between 5 and 10 minutes. In the Evolving Phase, I interviewed students individually for 15-20 minutes. In the New Model Phase, interviews were student directed. I was not present as they facilitated the interview questions themselves. They were completed in pairs as a follow up to the same questions they had answered individually in the questionnaire. This new interview format was in response to the new dynamics in the class such as learning across Pacific languages and cultures. For example, a Samoan student was paired with a Tongan student for their interview questions. Furthermore, it responded to the new languages in the class. For example, the two Fijian students were paired together. Each student in this phase of the research was only interviewed once. There was one student who was interviewed in the New Model Phase who had been also interviewed in the Evolving Phase. All interviews for all Phases for students were in English. I interviewed students one-on-one in a small classroom during in-class time or break times. One student was interviewed in the new school he had moved to.

There were three audio recorded interviews with Tulāfale in English. The first and third interviews were about Tulāfale's personal and professional experiences, relationships, students' progress, our working relationship, and the school contexts. These interviews were 45 minutes and one hour respectively. The second interview was about a test Tulāfale made, each student's results and overall progress of the students. This interview was about 20 minutes. All interviews took place at the focus secondary school. There were two interviews with Luma. The first interview was at the focus secondary school during the time when he was a Learning Tutor. The second interview took place at the end of the year, at his home. Both interviews were about 30 minutes and conducted in English.

My journal

Because I was a participant in the research, it was necessary to keep a journal. My journal supported both reflection and reflexivity. The journal was used to write about key happenings in the project and research and thoughts about what to do next. The journal included notes and reflections about group meetings I facilitated or co-facilitated with students and caregivers, planning meetings and communications with Tulāfale. The journal provided a tool for "learning and development" (Engin, 2011) as well as sometimes providing an emotional bridge between being a practitioner and a practitioner-researcher.

Classroom observations

There were six filmed classroom observations in the Evolving Phase. I was not in the room, but I set up the camera and collected it after the class. Each observation was used to reinforce the interviews with Tulāfale about his classroom practice and his relationships with the students. An audio transcript only was made of each observation. An external translator was used to translate and transcribe the classroom observation.

Student tests, assessments and in class exercise notebooks

In consultation with Tulāfale and other members of the Samoan language teaching community, it was found that there were no available proficiency tests for Samoan language available for Year 9 and 10 students. There were the Samoan language bilingual vocabulary levels tests (Nation, n.d.). One is for the first 1000 words (1000 words levels test) and the second is for the second 1000 words (2000 words level test). Tulāfale made and administered tests and assessment including formative spelling tests. Students kept a folder and later, an exercise book to write in notes and language exercises.

Written document sources

To gather contextual information, I collected and wrote a range of educational documents to document the implementation process. These documents were curricula related, letters and proposals, as well as additional documents which contributed to keeping a chronological history of the educational context and educational events at a school, local and national level.

Connecting Participants and Data Collected

Table 3.2 presents the students who participated in the research in the Initial Phase and what data was collected. The Initial Phase is the beginning of the project from May 2015 to

December 2015. There were two students who continued into the Evolving Phase and one student changed schools.

Table 3.2

Students and data collection in Initial Phase

Student	What data was collected?	When was the data collected?
Tava (Year 10)	Questionnaire End of year student test	September 2015 December 2015
Teine Leilua (Year 9&10) *	Short interview Questionnaire End of year student test Questionnaire End of year student test	May 2015 September 2015 December 2015 November 2016 Absent
Luisa (Year 10)	Short interview Questionnaire End of year student test	May 2015 September 2015 December 2015
Taula (Year 9) #	Short interview Questionnaire End of year student test	June 2015 September 2015 December 2015
Utufiu (Year 10)	Questionnaire End of year student test	September 2015 December 2015
Ao (Year 10)	Short interview Questionnaire End of year student test	June 2015 September 2015 December 2015
Fai (Year 9&10) *	Short interview Questionnaire End of year student test Questionnaire End of year student test	July 2015 September 2015 December 2015 November 2016 November 2016

* Continued into Evolving Phase from February 2016 to December 2017

 # Changed schools

Table 3.3 presents the students who participated in the research for the Evolving Phase of the project and what data was collected. This was from February 2016 to December 2017. Two students continued into the New Model Phase and one student changed schools.

Table 3.3

Students and data collection in Evolving Phase

Student	What data was collected?	When were the data collected?
Tama Leilua (Year 9&10)	Semi-structured Interview Questionnaire End of year student test	October 2017 November 2016 Absent
Tama Galue Malosi (Year 9) #	Semi-structured Interview Questionnaire End of year student test	February 2017 November 2016 November 2016
Te Hurianga (Year 9&10)	Semi-structured Interview Questionnaire End of year student test	February 2017 November 2016 November 2016
Fa'avae (Year 9&10)	Semi-structured Interview Questionnaire End of year student test	October 2017 Absent (2016) Absent (2016)
Tupu (Year 9&10)	Semi-structured Interview Questionnaire End of year student test	November 2016 November 2016 November 2016
Son (Year 9&10)	Semi-structured Interview Questionnaire End of year student test	September 2016 November 2016 November 2016
Paula (Year 10)	Semi-structured Interview	October 2017
Uso Matua (Year 9&10) *	Semi-structured Interview	October 2017
Teresa (Year 9&10) *	Semi-structured Interview	October 2017

* Continued into New Model Phase from February 2018 to June 2018

Changed schools

Table 3.4 presents the students who participated in the research for the New Model Phase of the project and what data was collected. This was from February 2018 to July 2018.

Table 3.4

Students and data collection in New Model Phase

Student	What data was collected?	When were the data collected?
Taoa (Year 10)	Semi-structured interview Questionnaire	June 2018 June 2018
Iva (Year 10)	Semi-structured interview Questionnaire	June 2018 June 2018
Finau (Year 10)	Semi-structured interview Questionnaire	June 2018 June 2018
Mereani (Year 10)	Semi-structured interview Questionnaire	June 2018 June 2018
Georgi (Year 10)	Semi-structured interview Questionnaire	June 2018 June 2018

Table 3.5 presents the caregivers who participated in the research for the Initial Phase and Evolving Phase and the data collected. This was from October 2015 to February 2017.

Table 3.5

List of parent participants

Parent	What data was collected?	When were the data collected?
T.tau	Semi-structured Interview	October 2016
Sei o le fafine	Semi-structured Interview	November 2015
Tautua	Semi-structured Interview	October 2016
Afi	Semi-structured Interview	November 2015
Rebecca	Semi-structured Interview	November 2015
Teuila and Matai	Semi-structured Interview	September 2016
Tina Leilua	Semi-structured Interview	October 2015
Mātārae	Semi-structured Interview	October 2016
Sei o le tamaitai	Semi-structured Interview	February 2017
Sarah	Semi-structured Interview	January 2016
Masina	Semi-structured Interview	October 2015

Finally, Table 3.6 presents the data collected from Tulāfale and Luma in the Initial Phase and Evolving Phase and the data I collected for the Initial, Evolving and New Model Phases.

Table 3.6

List of teachers/tutors

Teacher/Tutor	What data was collected?	When were the data collected?
Tulāfale	Semi-structured interview	October 2015
	Semi- structured interview (Tests)	December 2015
	Semi-structured interview	January 2017
	Meeting with students	February 2016
	Planning meeting with practitioner-researcher	March 2016
	Classroom observation	23rd May 2016
	Classroom observation	30th May 2016
	Classroom observation	6th June 2016
	Classroom observation	13th June 2016
	Classroom observation	28th June 2016
	Classroom observation	16th August, 2016
Luma	Semi-structured interview	June 2016
	Senior student-led meeting with junior Samoan language students	October 2016
	Semi-structured interview	December 2017
Practitioner-researcher	My journal	May 2015-June 2018
	Written document sources	May 2015-June 2018

Data interpretation and analysis

Data analysis occurred immediately from implementation and then simultaneously with the data collection. Critical Incident Technique, Motif and Thematic Analysis were used for data interpretation and analysis.

Critical Incident Technique

I used Critical Incident Technique (CIT) to analyse and interpret the data I collected about my journey of implementing the junior Samoan language class. Using the technique, I identified critical incidents. Tripp (1993) developed a useful definition. Tripp states:

> Critical incidents are not 'things' that exist independently of an observer and are waiting discovery like gold nuggets or desert islands, but like all data, critical incidents are created. Incidents happen, but critical incidents are produced by the way we look at situation (Tripp, 1993, p.8).

The definition of a critical incident has further been developed by other researchers working in this area. According to Butterfield, Maglio, Borgen and Amundson (2009) CIT enables an exploration of what is helping and not helping in an activity or experience. However, the criticality of an event needs to have significance in a broader context (Halquist & Musanti, 2010). While a general definition is required for an overall understanding of what is a critical incident, it is also necessary to refine a definition which is specific to the focus of the research. In this study, a critical incident was used as a mechanism to identify significant occurrences and insights which:

Supported the implementation of the junior Samoan language programme at any point; including prior to its implementation.

Jeopardised the implementation of the junior Samoan language programme at any point; including prior to its implementation.

Created ideas of new ways of thinking and doing the junior Samoan language programme.

Motif and Thematic Analysis

The terms 'motif' and 'theme' are related to each other, and both are considered to be common forms of narrative repetition (Morgan, 2015). Grigoreva (2019) explains that motifs uncover

how themes are manifested in a narrative. An overall distinction is that motifs are usually concrete and discrete while a theme is more abstract and generalised.

Motifs can be used for introducing new texts (Grigoreva, 2019). For example, Hamblin (2012) used three motifs to create a new text about the Fukushima nuclear disaster in 2011. Mogan (2015) identifies that there are three main functions of a motif. These are cognitive, emotive, and structural. For this analysis, motifs offered a structural function to tell and describe the action of the story to create a new text from transcribed interviews and questionnaires from students. For this analysis and interpretation, Ovchinnikov's (2018) approach was used with photographic evidence of the process. First of all, interviews and questionnaires were transcribed. The transcripts of the students were then written as a text in third person. These formed the foundation of the analysis. All of these were printed out and laid parallel to sheets of blank white paper in chronological order. The aim was to shift all pieces of text from one side of the table to the other according to Ovchinnikov's approach. I began to cluster pieces of text. The clustering was supported by the semi-structured questions from both the questionnaires and interviews. For example, there was an initial discussion with students about who speaks Samoan in their family and what percentage of Samoan do you hear at home. However, this focus on Samoan language was changed in the New Model Phase as the Pasifika student composition of the class began to change and this is reflected in the students' voices.

Figure 3.1

Process of constructing motifs and students' narrative
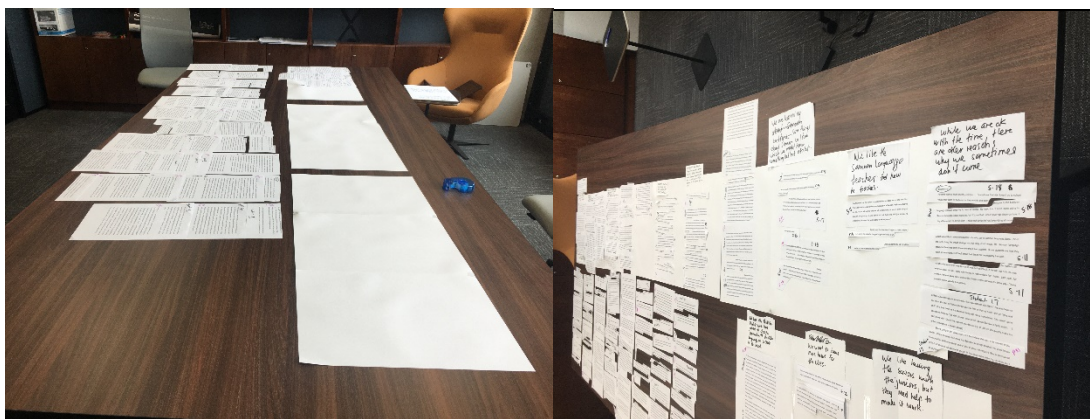
As I clustered, I originally also wrote a "We" statement for the collective. Because of the order I had placed the interviews and questionnaires in, it was already chronological; however, there were consistent aspects of the voices which had occurred over the different three phases.

Regardless of when they occurred over different phases, the evidence was placed with the other student voices wherever it occurred. For example, a re-occurring motif for most students was that they had received little or no support in Samoan language, or another Pasifika language, in primary school. Over the different phases, this was the case with nearly all students. Therefore, from the beginning to the end of the analysis and interpretation, as students who joined the class revealed similar or the same experiences, they formed and strengthened this motif. Also, consistent with Ovchinnikov (2018), I kept every single word verbatim. I had the texts printed and cut them with scissors and then moved the ideas around. Embedded in this analysing and interpreting of motifs, was clarifying, and checking participant information. For example, for one student, who has Chinese heritage, I reconnected with the student to clarify some heritage details to ensure the accuracy of the data.

As indicated, I originally wrote 'We' as a personal pronoun to write each motif of the students. These were full sentences. However, using 'We' presented a risk. While I had used verbatim transcribed and translated individual questionnaires and interviews, as an action researcher, I was making judgements about what were the motifs rather than the students actively participating in deciding and writing what these were as part of the process. Therefore, how the students were referred to in the motifs had to be re-considered. Due to participants not having active participation in the deciding and writing of the motifs, students are referred to as tamaiti a'oga which is the Samoan word for students. This was part of my cultural responsivity. The motif analysis and development of motifs formed the foundation for writing the students' narrative.

Thematic analysis was used to analyse and interpret the data collected from Tulāfale, Luma and caregivers. A deliberate decision was made to develop themes from caregivers' data independently from the students, Tulāfale, Luma and myself because caregivers did not build a story or journey, as individuals nor together. However, their thoughts and experiences provided key insights which needed separate analysis to encapsulate the full stories and learnings from this implementation. Because caregivers did not form a story or journey over time, their themes were not identified according to Phase, but rather, the themes emerged as individual standalone phrases. A further reason for finding themes from the data, was the ethical concern about easy identification of individuals. However, when an individual caregiver's voice is shared in the analysis, their chosen pseudonym is used. The analysing of this data required reading and re-reading of interview transcripts with the goal of gaining a new

insight with each reading. Key words, phrases, content from the data with reflective comments from the researcher were used to develop emerging themes. The analysis of the themes was guided by the interview questions such as, what were the Samoan language resources in the home, what they thought their child would find difficult about learning the Samoan language and how much Samoan was spoken at home.

Presenting and reporting findings

One of the most important decisions within the transformative paradigm, was how to present the findings to honour the participants' voices, their individuality, and their collectivism as Pasifika. To understand how to do this, I went through a process of consultation with five Pasifika guides to develop a metaphor to present the findings. One was from the Ministry of Education, one was based in a university and knowledgeable about Pasifika methodologies, two were Samoan language teachers and one was an ex-student of the focus secondary school. A metaphor speaks beyond an academic readership to potentially make findings meaningful to wider community or cultural audience in potential later publications. The development of the metaphor in this research was an epistemological and ontological decision for the presenting and reporting of findings.

The use of metaphors in research

Both Jenson (2006) and later Black (2013) explore the purpose of metaphors in research. Jenson (2006) believes a metaphor serves the purpose to represent a new understanding based on an attempt to develop a better understanding on an environment. The research works towards improving, changing, or knowing the environment better. Black (2013) reinforces this idea suggesting that metaphors provide a vehicle to connect knowledge in ways which are relevant and meaningful. However, Carpenter (2008) emphasises caution in selecting or creating metaphors, identifying five potential ways metaphors can be misused. Her first caution is that if an explicit metaphor is used, it must be consistently used through the analysis and interpretation. This means also that there must be careful choice of language. If this does not happen, the data can be misrepresented. The second caution concerns metaphors that do not fit the data. There must be sufficient data to support the metaphor to justify the choice of the metaphor and so metaphors should not be developed prematurely which may manifest the researchers' set of beliefs rather than emerging from the data. Thirdly, the metaphor can minimise a complex phenomenon and sometimes hide more accurate meaning or meanings. Fourthly, there is the danger that a metaphor can merely reinforce existing ideologies, values,

and socio-political views. Finally, Carpenter cautions against the use of cultural metaphors being used across cultures and stresses the need to understand the metaphor in cultural terms. These cautions are all valid for presenting this research. The metaphor I present is a beginning, and I understand that it will be critiqued and may be evolved in the future by myself and/or other researchers.

Developing the Pasifika cultural metaphor

The metaphor was developed in consultation with Pasifika guides. *Teu le va* was particularly important in these consultations as each guide shared and added to the metaphor. The metaphor was influenced by previous Pasifika researchers such as Thaman (1997) and the Kakala Framework, Sauni (2011) and the 'Ula Model and Clayton (2007) who used the 'ula lei to explore from an artist's perspective the fusion of European and Samoan materials. The final phase of the consultation was asking student participants (often with family guidance) how they wanted to be represented in the metaphor.

Understanding the metaphor: O le fa'asolo a Mānaia

The metaphor consists of four components: *fau*, *nonoa, atosei and va*. Each component is essential to *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia* holding together to represent beauty, diversity, and interdependence. It also represents difficulties and challenges with construction and sustainability. The "flowers" may die (metaphorically), the *fau* breaks or loses one of its strings and weakens, or the *nonoa* may become loose or can untie if relationships are not maintained or there is no commitment.

Fau

The *fau* is the string on to which the flowers, seeds, feathers, shells, whale's teeth, sweets, money, or other ornament are put. Traditionally, the *fau* tree (Hibiscus tiliaceus) is used for the woody fibre. The bark is stripped off and then the outer skin is removed. The process is then to take the inner bark and shred. This makes a stringy and fibrous mesh. It is also used in the 'Ava ceremony to strain the kava. For the 'ula, this string made from the *fau* tree forms the bases of the 'ula. The *fau* in this metaphor, represents Tulāfale, me and Luma later in the research. The *fau's* strength, fragility, breaks, and re-growth are shared through these three participants.

Atosei

The *atosei* or basket of flowers, represents the students. The students are placed on the *fau* to create the beauty and diversity of *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*. Each student chose what they wanted to be. This selection was either made by the student themselves or with the support of family. To guide the selection, I explained the metaphor was a way to present findings and student participants in the research. I asked, "How would you represent yourself on the *fau* of the 'ula, lei…?" The representations which students chose connected with family, religion, self-perceptions of personal characteristics, and symbols of cultural significance. The representations were of flora and fauna from the land and sea, traditional art forms, food, and religious symbols. Some examples were the red teuila (a flower), a turtle, the tabua (a tooth necklace), the can of Palm corned beef, and a Morman temple. Each representation and why the student chose it is shared in Appendix D.

Nonoa

The *nonoa* or knot represents caregivers. This is the element that prevents the students "falling off" the *fau* by tying and working together with the *fau* and holding together the *atosei*. The *nonoa's* strengths, fragility, challenges, and courage are shared through the caregiver themes.

Va

There is a space which exists within the circle of *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia,* and this creates the fourth element of *va* and *teu le va*. Anae (2019) explains that *va* is a central as a relational space, and it is where "Pacific values of love, service, spirituality, respect, reciprocity, collective responsibility, gerontocracy, and humility are felt and enacted" (Anae, p.7, 2019). The concept of *va* is distributed throughout the metaphor writing and how the metaphor is written about; however, *va* is explored in depth after, by first listening to and respecting the participant voices through the *fau, nonoa* and *atosei*. This provides the space for the interconnectedness of the relationships between all participants and forms the 'Discussion and Conclusion' of the thesis in Chapter Nine.

Narratives (Fau and Atosei)

I constructed narratives to tell the stories of Tulāfale, Luma, myself and the students. The process of writing the narratives is a part of my sense making of what the participants were talking about. The narratives provide the primary construct in this research to present and report the findings. Each teacher's narrative (including Luma's) was individual but

interweaving to form the *fau*. The teachers' narrative wove the *fau* and the students' narrative sewed together the *atosei* of *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*.

Teachers' narratives (Fau)

Individual teachers' narratives were used to represent and share the stories of Tulāfale, Luma and myself. My practitioner narrative was constructed using nine critical incidents I identified in chronological order. In order for the "critical incident" to be analysed and explained effectively, there was a framework used to form my narrative. Lister and Crisp (2007) developed a framework to provide a structured approach to the critical reflection. The framework consists of five broad headings of: Account of the incident, Initial responses to the incident, Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this incident, Learning and finally, Outcomes. Within this framework, Lister and Crisp give further guidance with between two to five questions to support analysing the critical incident. In this research, this framework was used but without these additional guiding questions. This was to allow for overall flexibility to eliminate irrelevant data, or to add additional information specific or unique to the school-based and/or cultural context. All journal (J) and written documents (WD) in this narrative are what I wrote during the implementation process about developments of the project or are public documents.

Both Luma's and Tulāfale's narratives used the themes which emerged from the thematic analysis. The themes were guided by the research question. For Tulāfale, each section and themes of his narrative are supported by data from three interviews (I), written documents (WD) and assessments/tests (AT). Similarly, for Luma, each section and themes of his narrative is supported by two interviews (I), written documents (WD) and assessments/tests (AT) data.

Students' Narrative (Atosei)

I used a narrative to tell the story of the students and build the *atosei.* Each student contributed, but I constructed the narrative. The construction of the students' narrative was created using the motifs. Each motif is explained and then supported by various examples. The examples are selected from data from questionnaires (Q), short interviews (SI), long interviews (LI) and a pair interview (PI) in the New Model Phase. The narrative was guided by a chronological time frame. Students are referred to in the narrative by their pseudonym or as a group as tamaiti a'oga', they, one, or some tamaiti a'oga.

Themes (Nonoa)

As mentioned, caregivers as a group did not create a story. Therefore, thematic analysis only was used for the interviews. The themes were guided by the semi-structured to structured interview questions and supported by example quotes from caregivers with the month and year of the interview. I am included sometimes in the quotes to be transparent with how I engaged as a researcher, teacher, or parent. I indicate myself in the interview data as 'AB'. There is more inclusion of a range of aiga members than in the previous findings' chapters to indicate multiple relationship connections and complexities. Each theme either strengthens or threatens the *nonoa* and its ability to hold onto the *atosei* and support the *fau*.

Samoan language

Table 3.7 presents the Samoan language used in the *fau*, *atosei, nonoa* and *va* chapters.

Table 3.7

Samoan language used in findings' chapters

Samoan language	English
faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa	Samoan language teacher
faiā'oga	teacher
tamaiti a'oga	student/students
matua	caregiver/parent
mātua	caregivers/parents
Gagana Sāmoa	Samoan language
fono	meeting
aiga	family

Ethics: Untangling, weaving, and sewing

Practitioner research and research involving participants from cultural communities presents ethical issues and responsibilities that need to be negotiated by the researcher in setting up the research and throughout the research process.

Acknowledging previous and existing connections and relationships

I had worked alongside and developed relationships with the focus secondary school's Pasifika community and wider Pasifika community since 2010. These existing relationships gave me a privileged researcher position and close connections to the Pasifika community. However, this meant that the ethics of the research needed to attend to relational issues and the emotional and cultural safety of all. However, I did not have control over nor understand completely the

relationships and connections between Tulāfale, students and caregivers outside of the focus secondary school setting in the wider Pasifika community.

University requirements

This research was approved by the University of Canterbury Educational Research Human Ethics Committee (ERHEC). This application included approval for all consent and participant information forms. Ethical consent forms and corresponding participant information forms were constructed for students, caregivers, the Samoan language teacher, mainstream teachers, Board of Trustees, and the principal. Prior to the ethics approval, a research proposal was submitted and accepted with the research question. The ethics approval letter is Appendix E.

Informed consent

Informed consent was first gained from the Acting Principal and new Principal, the Samoan language teacher, and Board of Trustees (BOT). I had indicated to the Acting Principal the intention of this project, and there had been school support to make this happen. This project and research were also supported by the exiting Principal. I met with the new Principal to inform him of the research and informed of the previous consent which was given by the Acting Principal. The Acting Principal took the BOT consent form and participant information sheet to the BOT scheduled meeting. It was signed by the chairperson. The consent form and participant information sheet were sent to the Samoan language teacher to read prior to meeting and signing the consent form. He came to my office at the focus secondary school to briefly discuss the research and sign the consent form. Consent forms for caregivers and students were shared and returned through caregivers' meetings, home visits or brought to school by students or caregivers. This was supported by the Samoan language teacher with translations when necessary. As new participants became part of the research, consent was gained.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Anonymity and confidentiality were themes at the forefront of this research. Mutch (2013) identifies a list of no less than ten disadvantages of carrying out research within your own workplace and gives the issues of confidentiality and anonymity as cautions especially as an insider-researcher. Within the breadth of action research, anonymity and confidentiality are complex and require careful navigation. For example, according to the University of Sheffield, referring specifically to Participatory Action Research "...guaranteeing anonymity and confidentiality is not always possible..." This was not PAR, but there were participatory

elements, and *va* and *teu le va* were culturally inherent in working with the Pasifika community. As Mutch (2013) notes, within action research such issues as the teacher dissemination of research findings at a conference, potentially raise difficulties around maintaining confidentiality of the workplace and potential difficulties of anonymity especially in smaller global cities, including those in New Zealand. I struggled with this element of the research and worked through maintaining *va* and *teu le va* in spite of university ethical constraints.

Anonymity

During the research process, there was no anonymity in the classroom contexts, group discussions and meetings. However, anonymity for individuals was maintained in their interviews and questionnaires. An option was to impose pseudonyms for participants; however, this was not a culturally responsive action. The imposition of pseudonyms becomes questionable when looking at the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child which states for Paragraph 1. Article 8:

> States Parties undertake to respect the right of the child to preserve his or her identity, including nationality, name and family relations as recognized by law without unlawful interference (United Nations, 1989, Paragraph 1. Article 8, p.4).

Hence, I asked all participants in this research to choose their pseudonyms. For one caregiver with Māori heritage, I consulted with a school mātua about the appropriate cultural process for giving names as the caregiver wanted the name chosen for her. Three possibilities were discussed with Tulāfale, the Samoan language teacher. The first was to have a direct translation of 'Samoan Language teacher' into Samoan language. The second option was for him to choose a name which he preferred, other than his own name. Finally, there was also the option of using his own name, but I did explain the possible implications of this. While the Samoan language teacher did not have any preference, his final choice was Tulāfale, which means 'orator'. The senior Samoan student took time to select his pseudonym and discussed with his family. The name they decided was Luma, which him and his family chose because it means to go forward and be in front.

Confidentiality

I indicated where confidentiality was not possible; however, specific decisions were made. For example, only I saw all questionnaire and interview data from all participants. Furthermore,

Tulāfale was never part of student or caregiver interviews. The Board of Trustees (BOT) and the principal of the focus secondary school did not know who the research participants were. The principal may have known who had attended the class over the three Phases, but he did not know who had become a research participant. I kept all interview, questionnaire data and consent forms in a secure environment.

Action, reporting and publication

An important part of this research is that the findings are used to contribute to Pasifika research. The primary focus of this project and research, has been action alongside reporting, rather than publication. For example, in 2019, this included the new Samoan language teacher, two bilingual Tongan languages assistants and me as a team presenting at a significant practitioners' conference in New Zealand because we received a project grant to take the project further. Reporting took and will take two major forms. Reporting was part of the project and research. The senior leadership team, especially the principal, were regularly spoken to about the project, through one-on-one and team meetings, updates through Teach New Zealand Study Grant applications and a proposal to the senior leadership team which included a meeting. Any actions which resulted as part of the research, I communicated as summary from emerging findings. For example, a formal report occurred after the Evolving Phase which was presented in the form of a proposal.

I intend to write a report to the focus secondary school's Board of Trustees to inform about key findings from the research. A Pasifika university guide recommended that I present to the Pasifika community. This presentation will take place with the guidance and support of my Pasifika guides and doctorate supervisors. Members of the Ministry of Education, Pasifika academic community and wider Pasifika Education community, have been aware of the project and research. Some of them attended presentations I gave at conferences; including FAGASA (National Samoan Language Teachers' Association), Community Languages and ESOL Conference (CLESOL), Post Primary Teachers' Association (PPTA) Pasifika FONO, Translanguaging Symposium and New Zealand Association for Research in Education (NZARE). I have not published any papers yet because I would like to respect the process of informing the focus secondary school and community of the findings before producing publications.

Summary

This is a practitioner initiative which emerged out of my middle leadership role and on-going professional development focusing on Pasifika learners and communities. This chapter has explained the key research methodology of action research within a transformative paradigm. The action research has participatory elements. While participants influenced the emerging design, they were not present in the initial research design nor active participants in constructing narratives and so a grounded approach is indicated rather than grounded theory. I have indicated how I have attended to ethics while at the same time aligning it with the transformative paradigm. I have also indicated that as a non-Pasifika researcher, I developed a cultural metaphor. This is part of my cultural responsivity to present and make sense of the findings, but I understand that this metaphor will be critiqued especially by Pasifika researchers. I look forward to this feedback in the future.

CHAPTER FOUR: FAU

Introduction

This chapter reports my practitioner narrative of working towards, during, and in the implementation of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class in the focus secondary school. It describes the early and messy beginnings before the official implementation of the project and its progress until it evolved to the end of the New Model Phase.

I was the only participant who remained in the project for the Initial, Evolving and New Model Phases. For the Initial and Evolving Phases of the project my role was negotiation, coordination, organisation, and communication with Tulāfale, Luma, tamaiti a'oga, mātua, the focus secondary school support staff, teachers, senior leadership team and sometimes other schools and external agencies such as the Ministry of Education. However, in the New Model Phase of the project, my role changed to teaching and learning a new junior and senior Pasifika languages and cultures space in addition to the roles in the Initial and Evolving Phases.

Because I was responsible for the implementation of the project, my practitioner narrative ties the story of the implementation together. Therefore, I tell the narrative mostly in first person. The beginning of the narrative is an account of setting up the project. This shares my initial efforts of creating the junior Gagana Sāmoa group before the research. Most of my practitioner narrative is structured around critical incidents in Initial, Evolving and New Model Phases. This narrative contains exact dates. Sometimes there are exact date crossovers between critical incidents because sometimes more than one incident was occurring at the same time or occurred at the beginning or the end of another incident. Finally, this is a followed by discussion of the sub-research question: *What were the supports and challenges for me as a practitioner middle leader researcher for implementing the project, and what were the effects?*

Reaching for and setting up the project: Early and messy beginnings

One early outcome of my professional development about Pasifika learners was that I began to support Samoan students with Samoan language as a subject for the National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA). I did this with some support from outside of the focus secondary school between 2010 and 2012. I gained some realistic insights into the challenges of supporting Samoan tamaiti a'oga with Gagana Sāmoa for NCEA. I began to understand

especially their very varied Gagana Sāmoa skills. My initial efforts to support Gagana Sāmoa were ad hoc with limited resources and regular negotiations with senior leadership. While I had no substantial evidence, I knew that a junior Gagana Sāmoa group was needed. In NCEA no-one was getting Excellence grades despite these Achievement Standards being designed for additional language learners of Gagana Sāmoa. The Samoan tamaiti a'oga, I perceived, had Gagana Sāmoa as a community/heritage language. I heard them express struggle and regret about their Gagana Sāmoa skills.

In 2012, in response to my observations and voices from senior Samoan students, I raised with the principal the idea of a junior Samoan group. I did some initial exploring of who were our junior Gagana Sāmoa students. One initial challenge was the incorrect data in the school management system. For example, one student, who I knew very well, had her ethnicity entered as Filipino. I did a double check, and she confirmed that she was full Samoan of two Samoan mātua. Advocating to the principal for a junior Gagana Sāmoa group began in March 2013. I had a sense of urgency. I kept pushing for this group with another meeting with the principal in May. In June, alongside Tulāfale, I organised a fono with some Samoan mātua. One of the outcomes of the fono was that mātua wanted a junior Gagana Sāmoa group to continue some Gagana Sāmoa support a few tamaiti a'oga had received in some contributing schools and to support Samoan tamaiti a'oga who had directly come from Samoa. I forwarded the outcome of the fono to key staff members, including the principal.

By September 2013, Tulāfale was employed for four hours. He was teaching Level 1 NCEA (Year 11 students) and Year 10s for one hour, Level 2 (Year 12) and 3 (Year 13) NCEA for two hours and Year 9s for one hour. The class for the Year 9s was at lunchtime. I was present for these classes. This first attempt to support Year 9 and 10 Gagana Sāmoa tamaiti a'oga was for the remainder of 2013. On the 2nd of February 2014, I organised a meeting with the principal and prepared a detailed agenda for discussing the junior Gagana Sāmoa group starting again in 2014. I was given the go-ahead on the 19th of March 2014, with two hours for senior tamaiti a'oga and one hour for juniors. While this go-ahead was early in the year, the actual date of commencement proved a little more problematic because of complex and unanticipated issues around Tulāfale's provisional registration. With all resolved, the junior Gagana Sāmoa group began in mid-May on Thursdays at lunchtime. A useful event in 2014 was the Education Review Office (ERO) visit to the focus secondary school. ERO is the government agency

which evaluates and reports on the quality of education and care in all New Zealand schools and early childhood centres (ERO, 2021). As part of their review, I had the opportunity to speak with them about the junior Gagana Sāmoa group as one of their foci was Pasifika learners. This initiative was acknowledged in ERO's final report to the school. I used and referred to this acknowledgement over the following 12 months to maintain the momentum of the project and reassure the focus secondary school of the value of the initiative.

Towards the end of 2014 and beginnings of 2015, it was a transition period for the school with the arrival of a new principal and an acting principal in the interim. Over this period, I worked with the outgoing principal and acting principal to ensure the project was on target for 2015, and then later with the new principal. The focus secondary school was also part of a cluster. This was a group of secondary and primary schools within geographical proximity. The schools were brought together and worked together for common educational goals.

Critical Incident One: Embracing the cluster enabler and the evolving unknown

This incident highlights the significance of the cluster as a mechanism to employ a fulltime faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa to teach across a group of primary and secondary schools.

Account of incident

In conjunction with the Pasifika Education Plan, the Ministry of Education released the Pasifika Success Talanoa Project (PSTP) initiative. This was implemented from 2012 until 2015 and was led by Tufulasifa'atafatafa Ova Taleni. The project offered professional development for school leaders and staff in culturally responsive practices. It was offered for individuals, whole school, clusters of schools and Kāhui Ako (Community of Learnings). Kāhui Ako were the next model for collaborative learning for all schools and early childhood centres which focused on students' educational pathway and maximising student potential (Ministry of Education 2021). The PSTP had a strong Teaching as Inquiry focus, which was an integral part of the appraisal process (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2021) at the focus secondary school. I was one of two teacher Pasifika leads with two members of the senior leadership team for the PSTP. PSTP particularly offered support and guidance about governing and managing your school through a Pasifika lens, increasing your knowledge of students' identities, language, and cultures, providing a link to more successful achievement outcomes, building culturally

responsive strategies, and exploring successful learning models to increase Pasifika students' levels of motivation and engagement (Otago University, 2021).

Cluster models were formed across New Zealand with varying objectives. Alexander (2013) interviewed principals, head teachers, ministry staff, county council staff and cluster superintendents from international and New Zealand schools. She noted that there were two main reasons for the formation of the clusters. These were for a network of support, information, sharing and collegiality for the principals, and they were a means for schools to improve student outcomes through improved teaching. Her report made recommendations for the focus city's clusters because of its unique restructuring circumstances. By 2014, 39 Learning Community Clusters (LCCs) were set up in New Zealand, with 23 leaders already appointed (Ministry of Education, 2014). Some clusters were geographical and included early childhood to secondary.

The cluster that the focus secondary school was part of became one of several clusters of schools engaged in the PSTP. One initiative created for the cluster was to support Gagana Sāmoa teaching and learning in the primary and secondary schools. This was partly in response to and support of my efforts for Gagana Sāmoa in the previous few years, providing awareness, teaching, and learning and entering and preparing Gagana Sāmoa heritage/community language speakers for Gagana Sāmoa NCEA external examination assessments. It was also the result of my involvement in the previous Ministry of Education's Home School Partnership (HSP) initiative.

Alongside the LCCs and the PSTP, a Pasifika Advisory Board (PAB) was set up in 2012. It brought together representatives from Pasifika Education and community organisations who understood the needs of Pasifika learners and a range of communities in the focus city. The role of the "Pasifika Advisory Board (PAB) is to assist the Ministry of Education in future development, implementation, promotion, and monitoring of the process of education renewal. ...A vital part of this will be considering progress in implementing the Pasifika Education Plan" (Ministry of Education n.d.). The major focus which emerged from the PAB in 2014 was to develop a strategy for Pasifika languages in education. This seemed to align with the Ministry's Pasifika Education Plan 2013 – 2017. The aligning of LCC, PTSP, PAB, Pasifika Education Plan and Pasifika Languages Strategy brought together a unique situation to be able to fund a

full-time faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa for the cluster. Tulāfale was employed across the cluster to provide teaching and learning of Gagana Sāmoa in the primary and secondary schools.

Initial responses to the incident

Tulāfale and I connected two years prior to May 2015, and we worked towards creating a viable solution for Gagana Sāmoa across schools. The initial task was to set up the timetable for him. This was done by the cluster base school which also oversaw a Provisional Registered Teacher programme for the first year of Tulāfale's provisional registration. His contract had to be confirmed. Originally, the focus secondary school was going to pay for him to teach the junior Gagana Sāmoa class, but it meant now that he would be employed and paid by the cluster. Tulāfale and I were consulted on when the junior Gagana Sāmoa class would sit in the timetable. There was minimal provision for supporting junior Gagana Sāmoa in the focus city. This was an exciting opportunity, but there were numerous possibilities and considerations which needed negotiation and testing. One consideration was how many teaching periods and when and where this class would fit in the timetable. This needed negotiating because of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class projects' start in May when school timetables had been established for nearly four months. There was the suggestion that other secondary schools' students in the cluster could be part of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. This had to sit with the senior leadership team as they contended with multiple considerations to ensure successful initial implementation.

The initial suggestion from the senior leadership team, was to offer this as a lunchtime opportunity on Monday after period four. Because it would be placed outside the regular school timetable it marginalised the junior Gagana Sāmoa class opportunity from the beginning. There was a series of difficult negotiations, exploring options to fit it into the regular timetable. I challenged the school to consider how much the institution valued the Samoan students' language and culture within the Pākehā timetable structure. The class was finally fitted into a slot where there was a rotating timetable so that tamaiti a'oga would miss each subject class once every five weeks. Tulāfale requested another hour. However, this had to be after school from 3-4pm.

Next, I began coordinating tamaiti a'oga through the school administration and visiting them personally among my regular school responsibilities. A reminder message was sent each week

with the class period, location, and a specific message. Some messages were reminders about bringing the Gagana Sāmoa/English dictionary I gave them, the roll being taken, a letter being sent home to mātua, the school award system and the food supplied for the class. I sometimes messaged mainstream teachers via email, either collectively or targeting a specific group to pass on reminders or messages to tamaiti a'oga. This also served the purpose of making mainstream teachers aware that this new project had started and to evoke curiosity about what was happening. The junior Gagana Sāmoa class each week was in the Whare. In many schools, the name Whare is often given to the building which has been designated as the central place for the teaching and learning of te reo Māori (the Māori language) and tikanga Māori (Māori customary practices or behaviours). The location of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class in the Whare was significant as it acknowledged the link between Māori and Pasifika.

Other tasks included further and regular communication which needed to be sent in Gagana Sāmoa and English to mātua which again required working with school administration. For example, on the 20th of May, 2015, I asked for a letter in Gagana Sāmoa and English to be sent to students' homes (WD, 20th May, 2015). This created awareness of the project and signalled to school administration that more communications would be biliterate in Gagana Sāmoa and English.

Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this incident

It was unknown how this project would evolve; including how to support the Tulāfale, managing his time, the cooperation of senior leadership, the uptake from tamaiti a'oga of the class, how Tulāfale positioned himself across schools and community and catering for the needs of each school in the cluster. There were problems about how to create Tulāfale's timetable so that the needs of each schools' learners were being served. While I was one of the Pasifika leads for the focus secondary school in the cluster, the decisions were often made at a principal level even though it was my responsibility on the ground to implement this project. I relied on clear and timely communications from and between principals and the Ministry of Education (MOE).

Learning

I had been driving the need for Gagana Sāmoa in the focus secondary school for a few years. When we learned that a cluster model was possible for the teaching and learning of Gagana Sāmoa, there was the realisation that Gagana Sāmoa support for primary and secondary

schools, by one faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa, could be achieved by a cluster of schools. If this was possible, then it should be possible for other clusters across New Zealand and for other Pasifika languages wanted by the community. At cluster meetings there were opportunities to share how this was working. On the 5th of November, 2015, Pasifika leads, and their senior leadership team support members were expected to share their initial learnings using the Teaching as Inquiry model. The overall overarching question was "Does recognising a student's identity, language and culture, result in raising achievement"? This was the final talanoa for the year. A talanoa is a Pasifika term used to describe inclusive dialogue. The overarching question Taleni posed was ambitious and ambiguous, but the question was needed. It was too early for me to present about the junior Gagana Sāmoa class as it had only been implemented for six months. I pondered more about what it meant to 'recognise' and 'raise achievement'. What were we raising achievement of?

Outcomes

The cluster provided for the first time in the focus secondary school's history a coordinated and consistent programme to support and teach Gagana Sāmoa for Year 9 and 10 tamaiti a'oga. Bokser (2015), a principal, whose cluster chose and implemented the PSTP since 2012, noted that this allowed "management level discussion, decision making and implementation of policy, planning, professional development and whole school inquiry". Their cluster goals for 2015-2016 were the following: To support leadership development, to build relationships, to know the learners and to raise achievement. Bokser concluded that the hope for the future was summarised in the PSTP Goal:

> The measure of success will be evidence of Pasifika students who are strong in their identity, language, and culture and who are achieving their full potential (Bokser, 2015 p.8).

This was the hope of what had been created for this cluster, but I thought again about what 'achievement' was. Achievement of what and according to who? I did not think Pasifika language skills were being considered as part of the achievement equation, especially at the junior level.

Finally, it was clear that Tulāfale and I needed time to plan and discuss tamaiti a'oga if we were going to work towards the junior Gagana Sāmoa class being successful; whatever this

would look like. This was in conjunction with another senior class we were working on and Tulāfale's other teaching and learning of Gagana Sāmoa across the cluster.

Critical Incident Two: The first mātua fono

This incident concerns how the first mātua fono did not bring most mātua together, and how Tulāfale and I tried to understand why this occurred.

Account of the incident

Tulāfale and I organised a fono for mātua to find out about the junior Gagana Sāmoa class on 25th of May, 2015. I prepared a short PowerPoint and food. The PowerPoint included the following: Introductions of mātua, cultural diversity at the focus secondary school, Tulāfale and the cluster, location and time of the class, language resources for mātua and tamaiti a'oga, the benefits of bilingualism and supporting research. It also informed mātua about the research. A letter was sent to all families in English and Gagana Sāmoa on the 18th of May, 2015, explaining the programme for the fono and indicated a connection to a New Zealand university and the Ministry of Education. Tulāfale also phoned mātua. Unfortunately, only two mātua attended the fono. Both mātua who attended knew each other and were of the same religious affiliation.

Initial responses to the incident

Naturally, I was disappointed by the number of mātua who attended the fono. I wrote, "Not a good start. Two parents showed up ... It was a good chat. [Tulāfale] phoned all families on Sunday evening, and they said that they were coming "(J, 25th May 2015). I felt that Tulāfale had a feeling of responsibility. He approached three mātua about missing the fono, and they apologised for not turning up. He said that most of them were late afternoon cleaners. He was upset that mātua remembered a Talanoa evening which was scheduled for the cluster, but they could not get to our fono. We did find there were some specific cases. For example, one tamaiti a'oga said that they talked to their mātua about it, but their dad had church obligations and their mum was sick. Another tamaiti a'oga said their grandmother was very sick (J, May 26th, 2015).

In early June, we took a day to plan and make another time for mātua to come in. The fono on the 25th of May was in the evening, so we wanted to provide an opportunity during the day. We met in early June to attempt to meet with mātua again at the focus secondary school. We

had similar results. One family was taking their son to the doctor. In one case, Tulāfale travelled to two addresses to locate mātua of a tamaiti a'oga because there were two addresses listed in the school management system. Another matua was on call for their profession. Tulāfale was unable to contact several mātua despite available contact details.

Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this incident

Tamaiti a'oga were already attending the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. It was unclear how much information they had shared with their mātua about the class and whether the letters sent home had been seen. The question was whether to pursue bringing mātua in as a group to be involved in the process or look at other alternatives. There was pressure being put on Tulāfale to contact mātua and ask them to come into school. He was using his own phone, which he was not being reimbursed for. I knew he was under pressure with his own aiga and the beginning of a new full-time job. For example, one aiga member was sick, and she could not get food for her children's lunches, so he had to take care of her children and do the shopping. I was concerned at his own health. Some realities of the project and research were beginning to manifest themselves. Finally, Tulāfale was a good friend and colleague. Some of his and my aiga members began to connect with each other.

Learning

The main reasons for mātua not attending the initial fono appeared to be sickness of an aiga member, a few were cleaners in the afternoon or evenings, and some had church obligations. The two mātua who did attend were friends and worked during the day as well as attending the same church. It showed that a focus group might not be possible because of the low attendance at the meeting. If there were only two or three mātua it would not be inclusive of mātua in the project. When I started to interview mātua, there was a wide range of Gagana Sāmoa and English language skills, church affiliations and personalities. This diversity further challenged the concept of inclusive voices in the focus group with the risk of some mātua being more dominant and others being more reluctant to speak because of language skills or community status. Another learning was that communication between home and school was jeopardised by incorrect home addresses and phone numbers in the school data management system or the phone number was disconnected.

Outcome

Both Tulāfale and I believed that communicating with aiga needed a face-to-face approach; however, because the initial fono did not include the majority of the mātua, Tulāfale suggested that we visit them at home.

Critical Incident Three: Realising complexity – coordination, communication, and acknowledgements:

This incident identifies the increasing complexity of the implementation and how crucial successful management of this complexity was to the continuation of the project.

Account of the incident

This critical incident was my acknowledgement of the complexities arising at this stage of the implementation. There was a collection and combination of sub-critical incidents which were too numerous to analyse individually; however, the identification of this as a significant critical incident signals a conflict of being a practitioner and researcher, obligation to Tulāfale and a commitment from both Tulāfale and I to work through the challenges in front of us. How successfully I managed the complexities would determine the continuation of the project. One of the complexities was Tulāfale being based in another school and working across a group of primary and secondary schools. This was compounded by us both with full-time roles and no specific time allocation for regular meeting times. We relied heavily on email communication, after school meetings, early morning phone calls and sometimes we met at each other's respective homes. We were committed.

Initial Response to the incidents

Because of the complexities, I needed a range of responses. One response was to specifically ask the cluster for time to work together. I began with a request for a planning day with Tulāfale on the 10th of June. The day was approved with my relief costs paid by the focus secondary school. Part of this planning day was used to connect with some mātua. For example, we visited Luisa's home and Fai's home. We spoke with mātua of Fai. Tulāfale and I explained about the junior Gagana Sāmoa class and the permission forms about the research project. We went to Luisa's home. I wrote, "We arrived and talked Luisa's mother. [Tulāfale] did a lot of translating, but [Luisa's] brother was also there - and he said he would explain" (J, June 10th, 2015).

The home visits to both Luisa's and Fai's aiga were very effective. While institutional forms of communication such as letters, phone calls and emails could still be used, there were indications that visiting homes was necessary to build relationships with mātua and understand who was at home. However, I needed Tulāfale to support so that there was clear communication using both Gagana Sāmoa and English. Both aiga had not attend the initial mātua meeting held in May. The problems which existed with communication could not be immediately fixed, so we had to change. The project required us to work together closely to understand who our tamaiti a'oga and mātua were; especially what was going on in each aiga. In August, one journal entry highlighted what happened to Tulāfale and tamaiti a'oga in one day.

> Samoan language class should be on. [Tulāfale] is at a funeral. I phoned him at about 12.30pm and he was still at the graveyard. A missed communication between him and I about prelim exams. [Fai] and [Teine Leilua] came to look for me as [Tulāfale] Samoa wasn't there. [name's] brother is in hospital – he came home last night shaking. ... The parent came into school and asked her to come home straight away, so she is not going to training. [Name] has a test. [Name] is home sick. [Name] is runner today. I will find out why [name] and [name] did not go. I need to go and see [name] and see what is happening. His brother has been in some trouble [name] I am not sure. I am building up some courage to call her mum. [Teine Leilua], [Fai] and [Luisa] didn't want to go back to class so I said that they could stay and work and eat what I had bought (J, 12th August, 2015).

In this journal reflection I was trying to process and make sense of what was happening. I had in the back of my mind my accountability to senior leadership if they asked what was happening; especially if I had to tell them that we had to cancel class.

Tulāfale and I discussed what the Gagana Sāmoa class was about. For our planning day, I wrote, "...building lesson plans for both language and culture classes – what do we want the students to be able to do at the end of the year? What are we working towards? Presentation to parents and family at the end of the year?" (J, 10th June, 2015). Other considerations were around when communication should be sent. For example, on the 22nd of July, 2015, I gave a specific instruction about sending out the message at a particular time because of a school assembly time and tamaiti a'oga not getting the message before the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. There was some success happening with the limited time Tulāfale and I had to co-ordinate:

> How wonderful – [Fai] is not moving to [city]. [Fai], [Lagi] and [Teine Leilua] who were away last week all turned up to Samoan language nest at the original time today – brilliant. We told them the change of time going into lunch (J, 16th June, 2015).

There was a death in Fai's aiga. I heard that there was a possibility she had to move to the city where her aiga member passed away. Fai was a key member and supporter of the class, so it would have had an impact if she had left. There was also an indication that tamaiti a'oga did want to attend the class. I sometimes assumed the worst when they did not turn up, such as them not wanting to attend any more. It was a numbers game. I was conscious that senior leadership would be asking how the class was going, and I did not want Tulāfale to feel that he was preparing materials for nothing. Therefore, I noted the number of tamaiti a'oga each week. For example, in my journal on the 10th of August I wrote enthusiastically, "There were 7 in the class this week" (J, 10th August, 2015).

Planning time was a reoccurring challenge. "I have asked [Tulāfale] to write up his lesson plans and a reflection. It is difficult to catch up with him for Pasifika Studies also. There almost needs to be a built-in planning time with him" (J, 10th August, 2015). Pasifika Studies was a senior Pasifika languages and culture course which I started in the same year. There was the danger here of the project failing before it had a sufficient period to become established. An essential part of the process was documenting what and how we were working together. There was considerable planning to do as we were also accountable to the cluster. I continued to send out regular communication. For example, on the 12th of August, the weekly reminder message to tamaiti a'oga again stated the class location, availability of lunch and a reminder about the awards for attendance and participation. During this time, there was a change of hour from lunchtime time to an after-school time. I wrote:

> [Tulāfale] will be waiting. Please be considerate of the time and effort [Tulāfale] makes to teach at this time. This was also the time you selected instead of the Wednesday lunchtime slot. The homework club is available after the class. Tofa soifua. Ia manuia le aso *(Goodbye and have a nice day)* (WD, 19th November, 2015).

Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this incident

I felt a strong sense of obligation to support Tulāfale and ensure the best outcome. For example, on the 26th of August, I brought in three senior tamaiti a'oga to support the lunchtime junior Gagana Sāmoa class. I asked the junior Gagana Sāmoa tamaiti a'oga to remain in the class and not go to the canteen because the senior tamaiti a'oga were coming. Sometimes there was nothing we could do with regards to tamaiti a'oga absences despite trying our best to coordinate

and communicate. My following message to Tulāfale indicated various levels of coordination and communication that was occurring:

> There was kapa haka today, so there were a couple away. I would like to try another meeting with parents for the junior group in a couple of weeks. Are you able to call [name] father again? I am going to talk to the students in groups in the next couple of weeks. Are you able to send me some lesson planning in the next couple of days? See you tomorrow (WD, 26th August, 2015).

When I looked at the email communication again, it was a lot to for Tulāfale to digest, but it was an indication of the challenge of the implementation especially with him based in another school. The main task was working to maintain the momentum and engagement with mātua and tamaiti a'oga while ensuring he was maintaining some documentation and informing him of expected absences. It was one of those times when I felt that some tidying up of the *va* was needed. My email was somewhat pushy and impolite.

Learning

The Initial Phase of the implementation was messy, chaotic, and challenging. There was intense learning about what were some of the challenges and effects which were emerging about the day to day working in the school, how Tulāfale and I were making it work despite regular work demands, and a realisation that this space was not static and was beginning to open different vehicles of engagement and reward. Furthermore, I could see that a better form of communication and coordination was required. Neither Tulāfale nor I had time to work together on the project, but I could see that we were both learning about tamaiti a'oga, mātua and ourselves.

Outcome

I thought about coordination and communication for the following year. This involved my inclusion in the Year 8 to Year 9 transition process from contributing schools to the focus secondary school. Therefore, I started to explore this with one of our contributing schools and the senior leadership team. I communicated about the Gagana Sāmoa class and the potential for Year 8s to select the junior Gagana Sāmoa class prior to school starting in Term 1 2016:

> As part of further implementing this to be an established and continued language development for students' Pasifika languages, I have asked our (senior leadership team) for this to be included on the data collection form which goes out to contributing schools. I was wondering if you could think about any students who would/could be part of either

> a Tongan or Samoan language development group – with the aim of developing the bilingual abilities of these students. This year we started the Samoan language nest in Term 2, but it is hoped that the Samoan language nest will begin in Term 1 in 2016 (WD, 15th July, 2015).

The main reason for the communication was to begin the awareness at the contributing school about the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. I had built good relationships with several staff members in some of the contributing schools. Another outcome was the attention it was bringing to staff members, especially senior staff members. This attention included extending what were the possibilities of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. It was clear that tamaiti a'oga were still trying to understand, as I was, how it should evolve. In a message to tamaiti a'oga, I wrote:

> Your attendance and participation in Samoan language class will now be in your reports for this term and at the end of the year. This is because of the high value of this class especially for mana, leadership and knowledge which will be used to gain positions of responsibility in the school, entry into course for future jobs and study. In Term 4, we will also be inviting parents to hear you give a short speech in Samoan (1-2 minutes) (WD, 9th September, 2015).

I wanted to raise the mana, prestige, of the class and some expectation for tamaiti a'oga. An awareness by senior staff members was essential. There was acknowledgement that this class had potential to create opportunity for tamaiti a'oga in addition to bilingual and biliteracy development.

At the end of the Initial Phase, I ascertained students' views of their experiences of the project using a questionnaire. This provided another opportunity to raise awareness with mainstream teachers of this programme. I asked teachers to please send their respective tamaiti a'oga in their class to come and fill out the questionnaire. In addition, there was the acknowledgement of tamaiti a'oga participation and achievement. This was prompted by a communication to a senior staff member about two junior language initiatives, including the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. On the 19th of November, my questions and requested feedback was about how tamaiti a'oga could be acknowledged, which and how many tamaiti a'oga should be acknowledged from the junior Gagana Sāmoa class.

Critical Incident Four: Facilitating tamaiti a'oga voices and direction

The incident concerns how a timetabling miscommunication resulted in a positive process and led Tulāfale and tamaiti a'oga to find a solution with the support of the focus secondary school senior leadership team.

Account of the incident

While I was busy and sometimes stressed in the previous year, both the cluster and the implementation provided an important opportunity. The timetabled class in 2015 was not scheduled by tamaiti a'oga, mātua or Tulāfale, but rather this task was usually the responsibility of a designated secondary school timetabler. The focus secondary school believed that the same number of hours, day, and time for the junior Gagana Sāmoa class would transfer to 2016. I made this assumption too. The guidelines for timetable construction processes were not part of any Ministry of Education guidelines for clusters; hence, there was some untapped territory. My journal on the 6th of February, 2016 shares a sense of panic:

> The school that has taken responsibility for the Samoan language teacher has not consulted me with regards to the timetable for this year for [Tulāfale]. A meeting was not held at the end of the year nor the beginning of the year with all parties concerned to establish a new timetable for [Tulāfale]. [Tulāfale] was sent over to me to organise the timetable. He is now in a position where he is having to go to each school to organise his timetable. There has been no consultation with [name] I spoke with [teacher] at the beginning of the year who seemed to think that the hours which we had last year would just carry over. There is meant to be a timetabling project but [school] has double periods. [School] went ahead and filled up [Tulāfale's] timetable. When [Tulāfale] came to see me, I saw that they had just filled it up. I went immediately to the principal and showed what had happened. He said that he would sort it and spoke with [school] [Tulāfale] and I went back to try and sort it out (J, 6th February, 2016).

Initial response to the incident

I had to alert the senior leadership team about what had occurred. They needed to know as it was going to have implications. I had to also raise awareness about processes which could be improved for the future. I was stressed, but careful negotiation and calmness was required. The untapped territory provided an opportunity to encourage tamaiti a'oga to share their voices. Tulāfale requested that there was a fono with them to share the available times and to look at other options.

Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this incident

I found myself in a difficult position. I was dependent on all senior leadership team members in the cluster to work together to make decisions. While, as Pasifika leads and senior leadership teams, we met at least once a term, I felt sometimes powerless and believed that some aspects of communication needed improving. In this instance, the communication between schools about the creation of Tulāfale's timetable was an example of how programmes and projects could be compromised if there were not regular communications, especially for new projects. I suggested that the construction of Tulāfale's timetable in the following year could be completed collaboratively with Tulāfale present. The task needed individuals and schools to collect information about what each school needed and then allocate time for working together to create his timetable with him. I was told that it was not about individual schools and their needs. However, there was some recognition that communication could be improved. With the recommendation of the Ministry of Education (after speaking with an Advisor), I wrote to a significant member of the cluster to request a meeting to discuss this further, but there was no further communication about this.

Learning

The new territory of the cluster meant that possible miscommunications or misunderstandings were going to occur especially when there was the sharing of a faiā'oga across a cluster. This meant that I needed to be more active and forthcoming with what was important for the success of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. I needed to communicate regularly and systematically to minimise miscommunications. The other learning was that tamaiti a'oga voices had to be communicated back to the senior leadership team. Hence, Tulāfale and I brought together Year 9 and 10 tamaiti a'oga to discuss the options and possibilities for 2016.

Outcome

A lunchtime fono was called on 16th February, 2016. As with the beginning of the project, tamaiti a'oga were identified through the school management system; therefore, I was careful at identifying tamaiti a'oga of both Māori and Samoan ethnicities because Māori overrides a Pasifika ethnicity in the system. For example, if a student is Tongan and Māori, and you search for Pasifika students in the school management system, tamaiti a'oga will not show in the Pasifika student list, but they will only show if you search in the Māori student list as the Māori ethnicity takes priority. It was an anomaly in the system, which was not always known by staff.

I invited a Year 12 female Samoan tamaiti a'oga and Luma. Both were emerging leaders and had been part of the early beginnings of Gagana Sāmoa in this school two years earlier. The Year 12 female Samoan tamaiti a'oga came to the fono but Luma forgot. At the fono, there was Tulāfale, the Year 12 female Samoan student, Fai, Teine Leilua, Tama Galue Malosi, Son, Fa'avae, Tama Leilua and Sei o le tama. I also remembered that I had left Tupu off the list. Lagi and Taula did not come. A Year 9 Samoan / New Zealand European Pākehā tamaiti a'oga also came and Fai and Teine Leilua said that they had identified another tamaiti a'oga who was Māori, Samoan / New Zealand European Pākehā. Food was provided at the fono.

Fai and Teine Leilua took the lead. They began to share their ideas and thoughts. They said that it was in the class periods when everyone came. Tulāfale agreed with them and said that they had tried lunchtimes and after school, and it did not work. They agreed that before school was not a good idea either. Fai and Teine Leilua asserted that the class had to be in the timetable. Therefore, tamaiti a'oga agreed to give up one period of their subjects for class. There was the suggestion that it could be period 2 on Tuesday, which meant the Year 10s had to give up one period of Health. This period was agreed to by all tamaiti a'oga and Tulāfale. I requested a brief meeting with senior leadership to report from the fono. The class was successfully scheduled. Shortly afterwards, I had to communicate about an additional tamaiti a'oga to a member of the senior leadership team, which was an indication of what was about to come. I communicated:

> There is one more name. He is part Niuean and knows a little of the language. He is keen to learn Samoan. I think there could be a number of layers as to why he wants to learn, but I think it is interesting. It raises other possibilities of this class. I hope that it is ok for him to join the group. [Tulāfale] was there and was ok with this (WD, 22nd February, 2016).

My original focus for the project was on tamaiti a'oga who had Samoan heritage with the aim of understanding tamaiti a'oga Gagana Sāmoa skills and supporting their skills before NCEA Level 1. I was surprised but interested at what the inclusion of the Niuean tamaiti a'oga might mean for the purpose of the class. However, my communication to approve this with Tulāfale was needed as this would change the dynamics of the class and require additional considerations when planning lessons. Tulāfale's accepted this tamaiti a'oga. A new Phase of the project had begun.

Critical Incident Five: Navigating politics, professionalism, and social justice: Is Mr Tulāfale coming today?

This incident involves my response as a middle leader to suddenly losing Tulāfale as the faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa in the middle of the school year.

Account of the incident

Suddenly, on the 26th of July 2016, Tulāfale did not turn up for class, so I contacted him. Senior Samoan tamaiti a'oga especially were wanting guidance for their work in Pasifika Studies. At the end of July, Tulāfale informed me that he was now doing full-time teaching at the cluster base school for the cluster, which had begun from the previous week. The cluster base school had taken the move to employ Tulāfale, full-time, so that he would not lose his job or half of his teaching hours. There was some confusion around communication with schools about what and when it had been communicated that he was not going to be working across the cluster from this time.

Initial responses to the incident

In July 2016, senior tamaiti a'oga were working with their Gagana Sāmoa writing assessment, the junior Gagana Sāmoa class had developed a good routine and tamaiti a'oga were developing a close relationship with Tulāfale. The junior Gagana Sāmoa class, with a developing diverse range of participants, continued to grow their knowledge of Gagana Sāmoa. My reactions to losing our faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa in the middle of the school year were directed at our principal. Then, I communicated with cluster leads, the Ministry of Education, and my principal again to ask someone to come and explain to tamaiti a'oga why Tulāfale was not there. My communication below from the 26th of July to the 1st of August document a journal of progress and my conflicting efforts to keep calm and professional:

> I would like someone to front up to my class and tell me why [Tulāfale] isn't here. I have students waiting for his help (WD, 26th July, 2016).
>
> The worst outcome being that [Tulāfale] cannot teach at (list of schools including the focus secondary school) (WD, 28th July, 2016).
>
> Fa'afetai tele lava for some action on this unfortunate situation. I appreciate your affirmative action for our students' academic achievement (WD, 29th July 2016)
>
> Thank you for meeting with [name] and taking the time to listen. (WD, 1st August, 2016).

While there was a process occurring to secure the necessary funding for Tulāfale to continue teaching across the cluster, I fronted to tamaiti a'oga. Tulāfale was meant to have returned, but

there was still some confusion. At a fono with tamaiti a'oga on the 9th of August, in the allocated time slot for the class, I listened to their suggestions and comments. One suggestion from them was to fundraise to keep Tulāfale. They started to voice their unhappiness with the school's uniform. The boys wanted 'ie lavalava and the girls wanted kilts. The final comments made by one tamaiti a'oga was directed at a teacher in the focus secondary school who they believed was racist because they always picked on him. This critical incident of losing Tulāfale for some time seemed to have provided and sparked an opportunity for them to share other underlying issues that tamaiti a'oga were thinking about.

Issues and Dilemmas highlighted by this incident

I was then in a tricky position. I was on the ground fielding questions from tamaiti a'oga about why Tulāfale was not there. Tulāfale had become a colleague and a friend, and he was in the middle of an unfortunate and stressful situation. I felt that tamaiti a'oga were feeling a sense of powerlessness and I was the same. However, I did not want to create further stress for them, Tulāfale and myself. The overall improvement for consideration was communication between the cluster and the Ministry of Education and reapplying for funding. On the 9th of August 2016, Tulāfale was very confused about what was the situation and so was I. I had tamaiti a'oga needing and waiting for him to return in Pasifika Studies and the junior Gagana Sāmoa class.

Learning

This was a difficult experience with some challenging learnings. Because I was questioning and challenging cluster processes and funding application procedures, it was affecting some of my relationships. However, what do you do when there is no faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa in front of the tamaiti a'oga, and they are wondering what is going wrong or even wondering what they did? For the project to continue, the MOE required data feedback from the different schools. Because of the tight turn around to re-apply for the funding, there was a need to get data back to the cluster co-ordinator as soon as possible. Even though it was a privilege to be a Pasifika lead teacher in the cluster, there was no weekly time allowance allocated within our timetable for the work that we were doing. I was not able to send what was required for the funding application despite having a four hour a week Study Grant from Teach NZ. While it was not the purpose of the Study Grant, it was enabling me to continue the day to day running of the EAL Department. I also felt that the project was not viewed as important, or the focus on language, culture and identity was a nice initiative to have, but there were other priorities. I was more concerned about what message this was sending to our tamaiti a'oga. I learnt that I

needed to continue to ask questions, but I had also lost some trust in the system, and this jeopardised my position. Overall, I learnt that in this secondary school space of social justice for Pasifika languages, these kinds of happenings were to be expected. If I was going to continue in this space, I needed coping mechanisms, increased networks, and I needed to continue to develop my negotiation skills. These experiences were also answering some of the questions of why Gagana Sāmoa and other Pasifika languages were not prominent in secondary sectors in New Zealand, especially for smaller Pasifika populations.

Outcomes

The outcome was that Tulāfale returned to work across the cluster. We were informed early to mid-August that the Ministry of Education (MOE) had renewed Tulāfale's hours for a month until early September. The cluster leader informed the principals that he would be back in class immediately. This was a temporary funding solution. I informed, "[Tulāfale] is back! He is looking forward to seeing you all. Please come immediately after your period 1 class. Fa'afetai lava, Tofa Soifua" (WD, 16th August, 2016). The Pasifika Languages Development Project Proposal for the cluster was completed in early September and sent through to the MOE. There was a very short timeframe given, but the cluster was able to compile this report quickly. It was confirmed that the .5 to support Pasifika languages for the cluster was approved again on the 6th of September. It was advised that this would continue until August 2017. It had required a thorough review report and another funding application. Another clear outcome was that this funding was not going to last forever; therefore, it had forced all schools in the cluster to ascertain how they would sustain the teaching and learning of Gagana Sāmoa for the future.

Critical Incident Six: Co-ordinating positive beginnings and preparing to respond to the end of the Cluster

This incident concerns my responses to a further funding challenge and the intense and confronting emotions that arose.

Account of incident

In 2017, the year began well with Tulāfale and I working together to start the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. I communicated with enthusiasm:

> I hope that you are ok. I was wondering if we can start the Junior Samoan language group next week. This is the week which begins the 20th of February so the first class would be the 21st February. Do you think we could have a meeting for the parents on Thursday 23rd at 6.00pm? I think I have the letter from last year, so I might send it to you to change the dates. Ia manuia le po. Tofa soifua (WD, 13th February, 2017).

The first notification to tamaiti a'oga was sent out on Monday, 20th February, 2017:

> Tālofa lava everyone,
> This is a reminder that the Junior Samoan language group starts tomorrow 21st February, (Tuesday). This is period 2. After your period 1 class, please go directly to the Whare. [Tulāfale] will be there waiting for you. (WD, 20th February, 2017).

This had been juxtaposed by an invitation to mātua to meet on the 23rd of February. A letter was sent out in both Gagana Sāmoa and English stating the aim "to create a whanau of parents and students, meet [Tulāfale] and Ms Bland, understand the purpose of the class and the importance of bilingualism and maintaining Samoan at home" (WD, 23rd February, 2017).

There was good momentum for the beginning of the year. This was propelled by some success that we had the previous year despite the challenges. There was change coming, so we had to make the most of the positivity generated from the previous year. Because of the change to the Kāhui Ako model, the cluster had to end. There were implications for teachers and tamaiti a'oga. On the 6th of December, 2016, 180 Community of Learnings (renamed Kāhui Ako) in New Zealand had been formed (New Zealand Government. 2016). By mid-winter, 2016, three schools in the cluster were already engaged in finalising their achievement plan for the next two years. In August 2016, it was indicated that there was funding for the cluster until the 18th of August, 2017; however, on the 25th of July, 2017, it was communicated that this funding ceased on the 30th of June, 2017. On the 31st of July, 2017, Tulāfale informed me that he was now again doing full-time work at the cluster base school as of the previous week. The cluster base school had taken the move to employ him full-time once more so he would not lose his job. Other schools in the cluster were affected with all their projects with Tulāfale ending mid-year. It was a sad and difficult time for all as relationships with Tulāfale were severed suddenly without any official goodbyes from tamaiti a'oga or staff.

Initial responses to the incident

This project and the other schools were going to lose Tulāfale. Again, funding was stopped midway through the school year. My reaction again went into rescue mode. There were many tamaiti a'oga affected from Years 9 to 13. However, channelling my emotions, I took my time to pen my reflections to the principal, to articulate various solutions and options after talking with Tulāfale. The main solutions required finding another faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa or Tulāfale supporting the junior and senior tamaiti a'oga after school as a part-time job, which he had suggested.

Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this incident

The main issue was that the cluster had been cut short, so there was no time to prepare a transition, farewell to Tulāfale or find another faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa. The cluster base school was moving into a Kāhui Ako which was different from the focus secondary school's Kāhui Ako. This meant that Tulāfale would be fully employed at the home base school. My issues were that again tamaiti a'oga were left without a faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa in the middle of the school year and I was at ground zero trying to look for a solution. It would need considerable negotiations and a meeting with the principal to put forward solutions. One avenue was to work with the home base school to explore the possibility for the focus secondary school to employ Tulāfale in addition to the teaching duties he would have with his home base school. The principal had to do the negotiating with Tulāfale's home base school. When it was made obvious that this was not going to happen, I had to find a faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa. I was frustrated, but I had to rely on communication between the two principals. The situation was challenging and politically delicate.

Learning

My faith in the system and hierarchy, from senior leadership to Ministry of Education, was challenged again. I had learnt that the Pasifika Education Plan around language, identity and culture was only as good as those who were committed to implementing it; especially when it came to the teaching and learning of Pasifika languages.

Outcomes

The first outcome was that the other schools in the cluster discontinued their relationship with Tulāfale as a faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa. I wanted to complete one more interview with Tulāfale at the end of 2017 or beginning of 2018, but the last few months had been difficult. We were stuck in the middle wanting to do the best for our tamaiti a'oga. All my energy went into salvaging and supporting tamaiti a'oga and continuing to be a Head of Department of English as an Additional Language. As an HOD EAL, I also experienced serious events, increased number of EAL tamaiti a'oga numbers with increasing diversity and staffing challenges. There was one outcome that was needed, ethically, morally, and academically: to get a faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa for the juniors and senior classes for the remainder of the year. Another outcome of the project and research was that my network of Pasifika faiā'oga (teacher) and community had expanded considerably which would be significant for the future. For 2018, I had already begun creating a potentially sustainable model.

Critical Incident Seven: Supporting Luma and his peers to team-teach

This incident is a positive response to the previous critical incident. The result was Luma taking responsibility for the teaching and learning of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class.

Account of incident

The loss of Tulāfale left other cluster schools without a faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa in July, which was the middle of the school year. While a difficult and confusing time, it provided an interesting space for reflecting and moving forward. Luma was a Learning Tutor with Tulāfale in 2016 and 2017 and a previous student in the earlier version of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. From August 2017 to October 2017, I was negotiating with the principal and using my networks to find another faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa. I also began meetings with senior Samoan students. On the 7th of September, I set up a fono with a group of senior Samoan students and tamaiti a'oga in the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. We met together in the FONO (a room name in the focus secondary school) and discussed the situation. In the FONO, Luma and two other senior students agreed to step up and tutor the class. While I said that I would be in the class when they were teaching tamaiti a'oga, I decided that this would hinder the dynamics in the new classroom environment. I sent a composite document to the principal on the 10th of September and informed him about the fono and the collective decision by senior and junior tamaiti a'oga. I had a brief follow up meeting with the principal to confirm that the senior

students would teach Gagana Sāmoa to the junior tamaiti a'oga. The first Gagana Sāmoa class with Luma leading began on the 12th of September.

Luma and two other senior tamaiti a'oga were able to teach the class for about six weeks until I found a new faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa. Finding one was a difficult task. One retired faiā'oga was available to support the senior Pasifika students in the Pasifika Studies course for the remainder of their assessments. However, a trained and registered secondary school faiā'oga was not available. Other potential available faiā'oga had other teaching obligations or their teacher registration had expired. The faiā'oga available was an experienced primary trained faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa. I informed tamaiti a'oga on the 23rd of October.

Initial responses to the incident

I was very proud of the three senior tamaiti a'oga who had stepped up. I had known them since Year 9, and they had all become leaders in their own way. I felt a considerable responsibility to support them. I could see that they knew this class needed to continue. My role was to support them as best as possible and in multiple forms. They needed to know that they were not doing this on their own. Also, in my communication on the 23rd of October, I wanted to reassure them that we were supporting, and I was working on a solution. I communicated:

> We definitely have a teacher for next week (starting the 30th of October). I will come in and tell the students about the new teacher starting in week 3. All I ask is that you organise between you what you are doing and know what you are doing. No phones unless for teaching use. [Tulāfale] didn't allow phones. I am going to ask [the principal) to come and see you with the class. What you are doing for these students is very important and I am proud of you for carrying this on. I will bring in some new exercise books for them to use. Ia manuia le aso (WD, 23rd October, 2017).

I needed to give reassurance, high expectations, classroom management guidance, and acknowledgement of the significance of what they were doing. How Tulāfale and I had worked together was very different with how I had to work with senior tamaiti a'oga. They became untrained interim relief teachers. I had given them considerable responsibility, and they needed to know this.

Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this incident

There were a few issues and dilemmas that were exposed in this situation. My thoughts were about what implied message was being sent to both the junior and senior tamaiti a'oga about why there was no faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa to teach them. There was a question about how much could I share with tamaiti a'oga about how the multiple layers above them have an impact on whether they have a faia 'oga Gagana Sāmoa in front of them or why they were being taught by senior tamaiti a'oga. What were the messages they were receiving about how teachers, senior leadership, the school, or the Ministry of Education valued their language, identity, and culture? The other dilemma related to how much pressure was put on these senior tamaiti a'oga and what impact it was going to have on their own academic achievement. It was obvious to the principal and the cluster that I was disappointed with how Tulāfale had ended his teaching across the cluster, and I think that I showed this to the tamaiti a'oga instead of responding with a neutral tone.

Learning

I learned that there were other possibilities emerging through challenges which were put in front of us. What could be the role for senior tamaiti a'oga in a multi-levelled junior and senior Pasifika class? I had already begun to explore this and so this was an opportunity to see how juniors (Year 9 and 10) would respond to being supported in a tuakana-teina Pasifika language learning environment. Tuakana-teina is a Māori teaching and learning concept of usually older teaching younger, but it also had other manifestations such as the more skilled teaching the less skilled regardless of age (MOE, n.d.) No one else was going to create a solution at a senior leadership or Ministry level, so tamaiti a'oga and I were solution focused to ensure the continuation of the class.

Outcomes

On the 12th of September of Term Three and until the senior tamaiti a'oga left for examinations, the class was taught and facilitated by Luma and the other senior tamaiti a'oga. Sometimes I would come in and support, but it depended on my school commitments. During the time that Luma was team teaching, I continued to use my networks for finding someone who could come in and teach the class. As noted, I found a primary trained faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa who started at the end of October to teach until the end of the year. Again, it showed the limited number of people who were able to fill this role.

Luma and his team grew in their skills and capabilities. I wondered how they were feeling really as they were not only affected in their own studies by Tulāfale's absence, but they were the ones to step up and support the juniors. I observed that their response was to work together and teach tamaiti a'oga. The decision for them to teach the juniors was a collective decision; therefore, the juniors' responses to this arrangement was reflective of how this solution was arrived at. Luma's education journey and contribution to the teaching and learning of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class is told in Chapter Six.

Critical Incident Eight: Exploring the tuakana-teina model: A presentation to senior leadership and other steps towards a Pasifika Village

This incident involves a major effect of the previous challenges and effects of critical incidents. This was a significant solution and proposal which was driven through to start in 2018.

Account of incident

The process of change and implementation in a secondary school is complex. It involves numerous steps, political juggling and reminding. I began to develop the concept of a Pasifika Village early in 2017 during the Evolving Phase of the project. The first step was to create a proposal with a rationale, a model and timetabling implications, and possibilities. The rationale explained how I had arrived at this point. The model showed a unique opportunity whereby both junior and senior tamaiti a'oga, from both Year 9 and 10, would become part of the Pasifika Studies course. The overall vision was the concept of a Pasifika Village; however, I realised the vision would take a few years. This would include developing pedagogies as it would be a multilingual and multi-year level Pasifika languages space. Despite the challenge, the plan was put forward. I knew the concept would not be in its full form in the following year because of staffing and timetabling, and it needed two or three years of implementation with the further input of tamaiti a'oga, teachers and community. The proposal was sent through to the senior leadership team and my head of faculty, in May 2017. I spoke to the principal briefly about the amalgamation of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class and Pasifika Studies a few weeks before, which meant he was able to have an idea of what I would be sending him. This proposal was followed up with a meeting with senior leadership to discuss the possibilities of implementation in the following year.

Initial responses to the incident

In August, I was asked by the senior leadership team to submit a formalised course proposal as per the school's requirements. The submission enabled an invitation to speak to the school's Teaching and Learning Committee meeting, which was part of the process. The Committee noted in its minutes:

> This course is an opportunity to explore ideas of collaboration across year levels (teina/tuakana), languages, cultures. It involves community and whanau input. Logistical questions include – junior/senior timetable exclusivities, where do the juniors come from? The programme is heavily Social Studies based, so maybe from there? (WD, 21st August, 2017).

The concerns raised were mostly around staffing as the proposal indicated several different teachers in the same course. Overall, there was support for the concept and for the course to go ahead, but with only Year 10s to join with the senior class even though I had presented a range of timetabling options to include Year 9s.

In November 2017, there were close discussions with the Year 10 Dean who was particularly receptive to the concept. There was encouragement from the senior leadership team to bring tamaiti a'oga together to get an initial indication of their interest. For the fono, I called in twelve tamaiti a'oga. Ten tamaiti a'oga showed up and two were absent. I talked about the project with them. Nine of the tamaiti a'oga indicated initially to be part of this new teaching and learning space. There was some discussion that tamaiti a'oga could come out of Social Sciences, but tamaiti a'oga did raise other possibilities. For example, a tamaiti a'oga raised the idea of the course in the Languages option timetable line. However, some of them were also committed to te reo Māori and did not want to lose their te reo Māori class. I was surprised and heartened by their responses. I said that they needed to go away and think about it, but they wanted to give me their paper with an answer straight away. On the 6th of December, a letter was given to tamaiti a'oga to confirm their interest in joining the course. On the 12th of December, a letter was sent home to mātua to thank them for returning the permission slip and confirmation of the course in 2018:

> For the Year 10 students in Pasifika Studies, we can confirm that this course now will be an option subject, therefore, the students will NOT be taken out of any of the core subjects of Social Studies, Maths, English and Science. If you have any further questions in the meantime, please feel free to contact myself (WD, 12th December, 2017).

Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this incident

The two main issues were timetabling and staffing. There was discussion about how the new space would fit. Many school timetables are created in lines. There was an assumption that this would be part of the Languages Line whereby it would sit alongside the other taught languages in the school. However, because of the cross curricula nature of Pasifika Studies with Social Sciences, Performing Arts and Languages, this meant that it was more suited initially as a replacement for Social Studies. This would have meant that tamaiti a'oga would come out of their respective Social Science course instead and take Pasifika Studies.

Learning

Again, one of the learnings around this, as a middle leader, was the need to maintain the proposal at the forefront of senior leadership's agenda. In the complexity of a secondary school with senior leadership teams managing and leading a whole school, ideas and initiatives can be buried in the day-to-day running of an institution. Hence, previous learnings prompted me to send a reminder message later in the year:

> I am conscious of the fact that we are soon working towards juniors and seniors and subject selection for 2018. I was wondering if as a team or within other teams you have discussed the Pasifika Village proposal and its logistics for next year. This will have to be included in various documents in the next couple of weeks (WD, 18th October, 2017).

There was a willingness to look at the options to make the initiative start. For those staff members involved in timetabling in traditional secondary settings this means creative solutions and time to solve these puzzles. There was also a clear message from the tamaiti a'oga here that they wanted "something" which was connected to them. There seemed to be an attraction to being with the seniors also.

Outcomes

The decision for the Year 10 Pasifika Studies course to be an option subject needed consultation with tamaiti a'oga and mātua. The original proposal and vision were for both Year 9 and 10, but for 2018, it was the Year 10 model with senior tamaiti a'oga, which worked at this stage. Because it was not a pure language option, the Year 10 Pasifika Studies students would be part of the beginnings of a Pasifika Village as an option subject for half of the year, similarly to many Year 10 option subjects. From 2018, there was the beginning of the Pasifika Village with Year 10 – Year 13 students with Fijian, Samoan and Tongan community languages and cultures

coming together to create a new teaching and learning space. The full vision for the Pasifika Village would take two or three years with an improvement to be made each year.

Critical Incident Nine: Beginning of the tuakana-teina model and a Pasifika Village

This critical incident involves the positive beginnings and indications of a new teaching and learning space for Pasifika languages.

Account of incident

The beginning of the Pasifika Village signals the beginning of another part of the journey in a different space. It had been a tumultuous year in 2017, but somehow at the beginning of 2018, there were Year 10, 11, 12 and 13 Pasifika students in one class. For the Year 10 tamaiti a'oga, there were four Samoan, four Fijian tamaiti a'oga and one New Zealand European Pākehā/Tongan tamaiti a'oga. There were three Pasifika languages represented in the class: Fijian, Samoan and Tongan. Table 4.1 gives more details about the tamaiti a'oga. In the table, AOA in New Zealand is Age of Arrival, POB is Place of Birth and DOA is Date of Arrival at the focus secondary school.

Table 4.1

Pasifika Studies Year 10 students in 2018

Ethnicity	Other Ethnicity	Gender	POB	AOA	DOA At focus school
Tongan	Pākehā	F	NZ	-	01/17
Samoan		M	Samoa	1	05/17
Samoan		M	NZ		06/17
Fijian		M	Fiji	15	04/18
Fijian		M	Fiji	14	05/18
Samoan		F	Samoa	11	01/17
Samoan		F	Samoa	11	01/17
Fijian		F	NZ	-	01/17
Fijian		F	Fiji	11	01/17

Since I was the facilitator for the senior Pasifika Studies class, I became the facilitator of this new space with bilingual Pasifika language learning assistants. This required writing a new job description for a Gagana Sāmoa learning assistant and seeking out a bilingual Fijian language learning assistant. We already had, since Pasifika Studies' inception, an established Tongan language learning assistant.

Initial responses to the incident

It was encouraging to see several Fijian tamaiti a'oga in the class. There was a Year 12, a Year 13 with four Year 10 Fijian tamaiti a'oga. As Fijian language is not a NCEA subject nor represented in junior languages programmes across the country, this was a unique opportunity in a secondary school context in New Zealand. Due to school arrangements beyond my control, I lost the classroom previously used for Pasifika Studies. However, two adjacent classrooms were put aside for a trial for a 'modern learning environment' (MLE). An MLE has been defined as "a classroom that is different to traditional style of rows of desks facing the teacher" (Alansari, 2018), so I decided to take the opportunity to use this new physical environment for the new tuakana-teina multilingual space.

Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this incident

One of the issues would be that the Year 10 tamaiti a'oga would only be there until the middle of the year. Therefore, the yearlong programme used for the seniors needed to be modified for the juniors. I needed considered thought around tasks for the new programme. This was a significant change for the project and the research process. Previously, I was not involved in the teaching of tamaiti a'oga of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. My role had been to facilitate its implementation and continuation of the project. Now, I was facilitating as a practitioner and reflecting on my own practice in the classroom. The new space was supported by four bilingual language assistants for Fijian, Tongan and Samoan language. Three were paid and one was a church volunteer. An additional national issue was the discrepancy between pay rates of the bilingual learning assistants.

Learning

As a requirement of the school system, I needed to report on tamaiti a'oga progress. The primary focus for the course in Term 1 was 'Speaking'; however, speaking was also a vehicle for developing writing. In Term 2, the focus was on Culture, with an emphasis on research and tamaiti a'oga working collaboratively in pairs or a group. All tamaiti a'oga, as part of the course, needed to participate in the annual Pasifika Speech Celebration at the school. This provided a means of community engagement. There was considerable coordination with the Pasifika language teaching and learning assistants who provided deep insights into the language skills of tamaiti a'oga and connections with aiga. It was essential to have the Pasifika language learning assistants. I was a facilitator, with the primary role to create opportunities

for language development and cultural engagement. I carefully watched the dynamics of the juniors and seniors working together. Some of the tuakana-teina relationships were the tuakana being a junior tamaiti a'oga with greater linguistic skills in the target Pasifika language. Communication was made with aiga and community to inform of an opportunity for aiga to support their young people:

> As part of the junior and senior course for Pasifika Studies, students are required to present a speech. For most of the students, this is in the Pasifika language they identify with. For the celebration, students are required to present the speech in front of the support of family, friends, and teacher audience. For senior students (Years 11 – 13), this is an assessment for NCEA. This is also a very important part for the bilingual and biliteracy development of junior and senior students. Usually there are [focus secondary school] staff members, including the senior leadership team, who come and support (WD, 10th May, 2018).

For the speeches there were eight Year 10 tamaiti a'oga who participated. I coordinated the evening alongside our bilingual Pasifika language learning assistants.

As was indicated in the junior Gagana Sāmoa class implementation, tamaiti a'oga were not only wanting to learn and develop further understanding of their own language, identity, and culture, but they wanted to learn other languages and cultures within the Pasifika realm. One example was the three female Year 10 tamaiti a'oga: Tongan/Palagi, Fijian, and Samoan. For their group presentation, they compared and contrasted Tongan, Fijian, and Samoan dance, weddings, and funerals. This was also presented using elements of the three languages. Another example was a Fijian female and a Samoan female who compared a Fijian lovo (a traditional underground oven in the earth to cook food) and a Samoan umu (a traditional above ground oven using hot, usually volcanic stones, to cook food). Two of the Samoan males presented on examining the process of becoming a matai (a Samoan chief). These comparisons of language and culture became reflected in their interest in learning across languages.

Outcomes

Overall, there were positive indications that this model could work. The first year had success; especially with tamaiti a'oga in the annual Pasifika Speech Celebration and the local Pasifika Speech competition. One presentation represented the exchanging and learning across islands. Another presentation showed how tuakana-teina could work with a senior and junior tamaiti a'oga working together. Tuakana-teina had worked in multiple ways in the classroom. The two classroom spaces, so called MLE, had added to the new dimension. It allowed different

opportunities for break out groups in different languages with senior and junior tamaiti a'oga together. However, the new space needed teachers and tamaiti a'oga to work together for its continued existence. I was concerned as the Year 9 Pasifika tamaiti a'oga were unable to access their Pasifika language, but there were new spaces to explore and grow and the Year 9s were part of the Pasifika Village vision albeit not necessarily in the same teaching and learning space yet.

What were the supports and challenges for me as a practitioner researcher for implementing the project, and what were the effects?

The main supports to implement the project as a practitioner researcher were prior professional development focused on Pasifika learners, the cluster model, relationships, understanding detailed systems and procedures in the focus secondary school, and having a flexible mind-set. The professional development I began in 2010 during the period of the 2009 – 2012 Pasifika Education Plan was responsible for beginning to establish networks in the Pasifika community. It gave me confidence, passion, and purpose. My learnings continued with the cluster model with the first Home School Partnership. The relationship I formed and experienced with two contributing schools became especially pertinent for transitioning Year 8 Pasifika learners. The later cluster model with an additional two secondary schools provided a financial, logistical, and viable means for me to use to implement the project, but it needed constant pushing and visible contact with the outgoing, acting, and incoming principals. An underestimated support which is not discussed in the literature is the importance of understanding the machinery of a secondary school. There are similarities across schools; however, each secondary school has their own dates for applications, committees, school management systems, means of communications and additional funding pools. A middle leader needs to understand all so that change can occur. I needed a flexible mind-set to enable the continuation of the project and evolution of the space. I began with some naivety around what a junior Gagana Sāmoa class would look like, and I had to alter my original expectations so that "natural" evolving social construction to occur.

The challenges in this context were emotionality, no time allocation, a middle leadership and 'in the middle' positions and changing policy, professional development, and funding models. An initial support for the project was my passion and the beginnings of transformation. Both contributed to my emotionality throughout the project. There were several occasions where I

could have used the term 'fight mode' to describe raised stress levels to solve ongoing problems. There were euphoric moments of success alongside dark spaces of self-doubt and guilt about what I should or should not be expecting Tulāfale to do. Lack of time allocation intensified the emotionality of the implementation. The project was nationally new for a small population of Pasifika learners and the focus on Year 9 and 10 students. Neither senior leadership members of the cluster or I, anticipated the time required to really commit to the junior Gagana Sāmoa language's class implementation. There was no time allowance as a part of the existing funding cluster model for such initiatives. The project had exposed what knowledge, skills, networks, and beliefs I had, but also, what skills; especially I needed to continue to develop as a middle leader.

As a result of these challenges and supports, this developed leadership skills, increased my Pasifika networks, and I gained experience and skills to support other teachers who would like to explore how they can support Pasifika languages in similar contexts and develop a similar multilingual model. Throughout this process, relationships were sometimes strained alongside stressful circumstances. The leadership skills a middle leader needs to make change are varied. I would further argue that the leadership skills to make change as an EAL middle leader requires an extra layer of resilience, networks, and fearlessness. The research process and the continued development of the practitioner initiative extended my Pasifika networks. I interviewed a range of mātua over a period of two years and developed an extended knowledge of the community. Critical incidents played an important role in extending these networks as I was forced to link with existing networks to find additional connections. The implementation was started as an unofficial class which was not part of the timetable because the Gagana Sāmoa class either replaced one hour of another class which a tamaiti a'oga was already timetabled into, and it was scheduled at lunchtime. This unofficial status allowed a flexibility of time and space which enabled me as a practitioner researcher to see and supports its evolution. This was an important effect as it indicated that this approach may respond to the diversity of the school rather than the imposition of the final model which emerged at the end of the project. This approach is unusual in a secondary context.

My practitioner narrative provides the complete timeline of the project, and recounts and analyses significant critical incidences which contributed to its evolution. My narrative also introduces key individuals or groups of participants with whom I worked alongside in each Phase of the project. I had worked with Tulāfale for most of the project up until when he was

no longer available as a faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa. As I indicated in the narrative, Tulāfale and I had worked together closely, so his narrative is essential to this thesis. We had been both two strands of the *fau*. Chapter Five is Tulāfale's narrative for during his time in the project for the Initial and Evolving Phases.

CHAPTER FIVE: FAU

Introduction

This chapter reports Tulāfale's story. Tulāfale was the faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa in the project. He adds a teaching and learning perspective of the implementation as well as a community and cultural lens for the Initial and Evolving Phases. The chapter reports the supports and challenges he had with the implementation of the project, and its effects on himself, tamaiti a'oga, mātua, school and community.

We first connected with each other through a teaching colleague at another secondary school because I was looking at different ways of supporting Gagana Sāmoa. He began his association with the focus secondary school by supporting some senior tamaiti a'oga with NCEA Level One, Two and Three Gagana Sāmoa Achievement Standards. This was followed by working with some junior Samoan tamaiti a'oga at lunchtime. Tulāfale was employed to work across the cluster, but he had a cluster base school which was primarily responsible for him, especially his work towards full New Zealand teacher registration. He was responsible for the teaching and learning of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class, and we worked together to implement the project. He was the faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa for the project until he was employed full-time at the cluster base school. The test results Tulāfale reported and discussed for students are recorded in Appendix F.

This account is organised into three sections. The first section explains Tulāfale's journey and first major challenge, from Samoa to New Zealand, to becoming a provisionally New Zealand registered teacher. The second section discusses his professional and personal challenges during the implementation of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. The third section focuses on his reflections about his learnings and range of developments through the implementation of the class. Finally, this is followed by discussion of the sub-research question: *What were the supports and challenges for Tulāfale prior to entering the project and what were the supports, challenges, and effects for him during the implementation?*

Gaining a New Zealand registered Gagana Sāmoa teacher for the project

From Samoa to the New Zealand workforce in the 1980s and 1990s

Tulāfale was born in a village in Samoa on the island of Savai'i. He enthusiastically recalled learning about Gagana Sāmoa and culture in school:

> I remember when I was a student back home in Samoa. This was the only subject that I loved when I was at school, Samoan language, and the culture. I always loved to learn different words (I, October, 2015).

The first time I met him, I could see and feel his passion for Gagana Sāmoa and Samoan culture. His reflection seemed to be consistent with Gagana Sāmoa as the subject in which Samoan students in Samoa achieved best (Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture, Government of Samoa, 2019).

Tulāfale was good with numbers. He attended teacher training in Apia, Samoa and completed the Primary and Intermediate Teacher Training College Certificate. In the early 1980s, he gained the Samoan Registered Teacher Certificate. When he entered the workforce, his first job was a public service clerk at the Samoan Government Public Service Office in Apia. In the mid-80s, he began his teaching career at a primary school in Upolu. From Apia, Upolu, he moved back to Savai'i to become a Head Teacher. Later, he taught Gagana Sāmoa and culture and Mathematics at secondary level. He became a lay preacher and a matai (a chiefly title bestowed upon someone in Samoa). His move to New Zealand was encouraged by his mother:

> I came here for a holiday and have a look if I could stay here to do some further studies. My mum told me after we said farewell to each other, son, don't come back, go look for your future (I, October, 2015).

Tulāfale's goal of coming to study at the time was unusual. Most Pacific Islanders at the time were seeking work in New Zealand rather than study opportunities. His mum's sentiments were indicative of the time. However, he was a teacher in Samoa and had ambitions of using and developing these skills in New Zealand. Tulāfale arrived in New Zealand in the late 1980s. This was a time of turbulent immigration policies. At the end of the 1980s, he gained his New Zealand residency. This time in New Zealand was particularly difficult for Pacific Peoples. Bedford and Lanmer (1992) report "the employment situation for Pacific Island Polynesians in New Zealand has worsened considerably. Unemployment levels have continued to rise, the 'rationalisation' of business enterprises proceeds apace, and the search for 'over stayers' and 'illegal workers' has intensified markedly" (p.79). Despite his goal to study, Tulāfale needed to work. He moved between jobs, mostly working in factories to support aiga, but also, occasionally obtained jobs which continued to use his love of Gagana Sāmoa, culture and teaching skills.

A transition from student to teacher

From 2005 to 2010, Tulāfale studied towards and achieved a BA in Education followed by an honours degree in Pacific Studies. He was accepted into a teacher training college. For his teacher training placement, he was able to work in a secondary school to teach Gagana Sāmoa including NCEA. Through a mutual teacher colleague at his placement, we connected with each other. I began to learn about his love of teaching and learning of his language and culture:

> I think I am very passionate with my mother tongue. I like my children to know their identity. Knowing the language means knowing the culture as well. The way I did help with my children, I also want to help out the Samoan children or learners mainly those who are non-Samoan who like to learn the language. Teaching their native language that will be helpful to hold firmly their language and culture (I, October, 2015).

This comment links back to Tulāfale's success with Gagana Sāmoa when he was in school in Samoa. He stressed the connection between language and culture; perhaps suggesting that without Gagana Sāmoa you cannot understand Samoan culture. I began to understand his strong sense of obligation not only to his own children, but also to the community to ensure language, culture and identity is maintained. However, he suggested that while he was dedicated to the Samoan community, he knew the importance of non-Samoan students learning Gagana Sāmoa. Tulāfale had learnt te reo Māori as part of his undergraduate degree. Therefore, he had recent experience of learning an additional language himself.

While there were some barriers to obtaining his New Zealand Teacher Registration, he was granted his provisional registration. The journey to becoming a registered teacher in New Zealand from the time he arrived in New Zealand spanned twenty years. In 2015, he became part of the only 1.2% (871) of secondary teachers who were Pasifika and the 0.5% (372) who were Pasifika and male (Education Counts, 2021).

Professional and personal challenges for teaching, learning, and implementing the junior Gagana Sāmoa class

Range of tamaiti a'oga Gagana Sāmoa skills

For the first and second year of the project, Tulāfale had tamaiti a'oga with a range of Gagana Sāmoa skills. In the first year he created two differentiated groups in the class, and in the second year, this increased to four differentiated groups because non-Samoan Pasifika tamaiti a'oga

joined the class. In the first year, for example, there were two New Zealand born Samoan / Pākehā tamaiti a'oga for whom he created a beginners' lesson. He recounted:

> I have to use the sounding of the word. I don't really care about the spelling and other stuff, as long as they can open their mouths and speak. Teaching them the sounding of the vowels like a e i o u. They are the leading letters which can bring out the Samoan words. Once they get that, it will be much easier for them to read the words. We used the simple basic book to read. Reading out the very simple word. That's how we start with the beginners' one (I, October, 2015).

Tulāfale saw that the success of tamaiti a'oga was not only reliant on his teaching but influenced by their hearing and speaking the language at home.

He explained about teaching prepositions:

> I just put on the board the different statements. Put the lists of words or prepositions on the top. They select which one they prefer is the right one to fill in the gap. Make sure that they can read it. Check it up that it make sense before we mark it (I, October, 2015).

I questioned about whether learning Gagana Sāmoa prepositions was difficult. He answered, "Not really. If they speak the language often at home, there will be no problem (I, October, 2015). This expectation seemed problematic given that already he had two tamaiti a'oga who were learning Gagana Sāmoa as an additional language rather than only supporting tamaiti a'oga with a range of existing Gagana Sāmoa skills. There were some indications from his statement that there would be other tamaiti a'oga who would also be challenged because of this kind of task because of their degree of exposure to Gagana Sāmoa at home. In some cases, this could be zero exposure in one aiga and perhaps 50% Gagana Sāmoa in another. I wondered how he might have to further differentiate to support tamaiti a'oga in the future and develop his second language teaching methodology to teach grammar and vocabulary.

Tulāfale divided the class into four groupings in the second year as he began to develop a good understanding of tamaiti a'oga language learning needs. While he encouraged tamaiti a'oga to help tamaiti a'oga, the four levels required dedicated planning time and attention. He explained:

> It is different compared to the year before. It's not easy, it's really hard. I plan everything by myself. I just look at the curriculum of New Zealand and the Samoan one. In the class, you can find what is best for your own students (I, January, 2017).

At the beginning of 2016, Tulāfale was halfway through his first provisionally registered year. The class became increasingly diverse linguistically. It appeared that he needed more guidance with teaching techniques and materials. There were indications of a lack of resources to work with such differentiated groups. Tulāfale seemed to be challenged by the amount of planning time required to enable successful differentiation. I wondered if more cooperative planning opportunities were needed to share resources and ideas, and if he knew how and where to access these. This was perhaps an indication of some of the pressure he was feeling within a new initiative. Wehipeihana, Paipa and Smith (2019) in their report about the retention of beginning teachers of te reo Māori in Māori medium schools, found that one of the pressures was "the wide range of te reo Māori proficiency of learners challenging the ability to provide an appropriate curriculum" (p. 16). There were similar challenges for Tulāfale with his learners. One aspect of the programme that he had incorporated was orthography. Each lesson, he began with spelling and vocabulary as he saw this as necessary for all tamaiti a'oga. He explained:

> We always start with 10 words. We start with the quick spelling test. When we finish marking the work, I let them stand up and read or pronounce each word to make sure. After that, we read and talk about the meaning of the word and we use them in a simple sentence in Samoan (I, January, 2017).

He further shared about how he helped them remember the meaning and spelling of words:

> I try to make something humorous, do the action … apply the word in the statement. Another month we try to look at using the word like the past tense, present tense, future tense. Keep on working on the same word just to extend their understanding. After that, jumble the word. They write down the right spelling. Put in a sentence and define the meaning. Not only synonym, but also antonym. Then, we start learning about writing the statement to make sure that they know the tense either the future, present, past (I, January, 2017).

Another focus was reading:

> I know the reading is the most important part. Not only to make sure they manage to pronounce the word properly, but also they need to know why we use the verb, noun, adjective, adverb. And short story, also comprehension, to make sure they understand (I, January, 2017).

Gagana Sāmoa, like te reo Māori has 15 letters in its alphabet. It has the same five vowels and ten consonants (f, g, l, m, n, p, s, t, and v). Krägeloh and Neha (2010) suggest that because te reo Māori has regular spelling, it will have beneficial effects on the speed of reading acquisition

and development of phonological awareness and possible benefits for the transferring to reading in English. Cross-cultural literature suggests that failing to learn to read has been linked to a lack of phonological awareness. Therefore, Tulāfale's approach had some research backing, but also, Krägeloh and Neha suggest with reference to Te Reo, attention to spelling promotes pride in a language. Tulāfale was certainly proud of Gagana Sāmoa and was instilling this in tamaiti a'oga.

Tulāfale was developing a routine and structure for the class to support the different language competencies. He focused on reinforcement and spelling activities to assist retention and tamaiti a'oga success. While reading would have been a challenge for beginners, he utilised some tuakana (older or more able)-teina (younger or less able) or reciprocal teaching to support an increasing range of learners. This all became part of his careful planning.

Tamaiti a'oga behaviours and motivation

In 2015 and 2016, Tulāfale focused on tamaiti a'oga behaviour in the classroom and their motivation to try and understand what was happening. He explained, "I can tell that [the non-Samoan tamaiti a'oga] cope more and have more interest to learn." He tried to understand what might be happening with two Samoan / Pākehā tamaiti a'oga, "They can do it, they got the knowledge, but their heart is not in the subject. That's why it is very hard to try and bring them inside the class" (I, January, 2017). He shared one possibility of why the non-Samoan tamaiti a'oga might have had greater motivation, "Because of the peer group from his friends or classmates (I, January, 2017). With the non-Samoan and two Samoan /Pākehā tamaiti a'oga, Tulāfale could see the potential of all three of them to learn, but he was making sense of their differences in motivation.

He identified one of his roles as developing and supporting the behaviour and attitude of tamaiti a'oga. He talked honestly about their behaviour, "If they feel like it, they will be happy to do it and they go straight and do the work. Sometimes, if they don't like it, they don't focus. They don't really concentrate to do the work" (I, January, 2017). He identified several ways of working with their behaviour and motivation in the classroom. He incorporated culture and open discussion. Tulāfale explained:

> We always start with a song or get someone to say a prayer. After, we have a talk. If I had a class last time, and I know they have a wee bit of a behaviour problem, so I brought

it up and have a talk with them. We always put the word, 'respect' on the board 'fa'aaloalo'. That the main key of our class. Make sure they focusing, interested, listen and obey' (I, January, 2017).

He used religious and cultural connections of tamaiti a'oga as one of the strategies, especially fa'aaloalo which enabled an immediate familiarity, sense of belonging and structure in the classroom. He welcomed their voices, "But if they are bored with it, they put up their hand and let me know straight away, so we need to have an open conversation. Just tell me exactly, what is going on, what is happening" (I, January, 2017). The invitation of their regular feedback seemed to act as a form of talanoa (a cultural practice of open dialogue). He explained how this worked with setting high expectations but supporting at the same time:

> Sometimes I ask the question "Are you okay with that?" "Are you bored?" "No, we alright". Sometimes, mainly [Tama Galue Malosi], always say, "It is too easy for me". Then I will try to check. I love to hear those students. They have an honest heart and open up. Sometimes if they say too hard, I don't change it. I turn around and say "It's a good challenge for you". You need to climb up. If you can't tackle that, you can't go further. Plus, with my help. Not just letting them deal with the problem (I, January, 2017).

Because of the range of Gagana Sāmoa skills, this talanoa approach was important in addition to its value for developing teaching materials. He needed to "have the fresh activities and the raw materials" and to "continue connecting with the last lesson before" (I, January, 2017). It appeared he used talanoa as a classroom management approach. He seemed more reluctant to engage with the school's reward system. He said, "I used it twice. That was about six of them got that for their attendance and the high standard of their learning" (I, October, 2015). However, with the referral system, "I always bring it up, but honestly, this class here, I don't need to" (I, October, 2015). While these strategies continued to be valuable for Tulāfale's teaching, learning, and classroom management, he identified the value of continuity for tamaiti a'oga and himself:

> I think because I knew them from the [school]. When we met here, they were so proud to see me working together with them. The longer you stay in the family, or you stay in the classroom, the more confident for you and giving you more options. How to deal with the attitude, their behaviour (TI, January, 2017).

This was an important observation especially for transitions of tamaiti a'oga from primary to secondary school. They gained security because there was some familiarity for them in the focus secondary school. This transition and continuity were associated with developing a better

understanding of tamaiti a'oga; hence, giving Tulāfale his confidence to improve the teaching and learning in the classroom.

He had some tamaiti a'oga who were in the class once or only a few times. One was a Year 10 boy, Falaniko, who was Māori and Samoan. Falaniko, was "maybe there for only one class". He did not get to know him at all because he left the school suddenly. There was a Māori, Samoan and New Zealand European girl who he had "Might be only there for three classes". He had a positive start with her in the class:

> She told me that because sometimes I used the Māori word, she goes, "that the same one". I said, "most word in our Samoan language and Te Reo are similar so that why I am happy to see you coming in the class" She said "yes, I love learning the language" but, I think that was the last time I seen her (I, January, 2017).

He speculated why she did not continue, "She was really interested. I can tell she was really smart picking up the language. But I don't know why she left, might be between the girls, [student] or other girls" (I, January, 2017). While Tulāfale speculated that it could have been a peer group issue, he used his knowledge of te reo Māori to try and connect with her. There were two more female tamaiti a'oga who did not want to continue after an initial meeting or one class. One was Māori, Samoan and New Zealand European and the other was Samoan and New Zealand European. They were possibly hesitant to continue because the right environment was not created. This could have been what was happening within the immediate classroom environment, the wider school, or a combination of both. This was not clear at the time.

Tamaiti a'oga attendance and participation

Tulāfale was affected by tamaiti a'oga who did not turn up as often as he wanted them to, or they should have. However, when they were there he found that they were enthusiastic:

> I think the high one we had with the junior group was some of them were interested to learn the language and also participate, practise, and learn the culture. The low one, just a few of them, their time management. They couldn't participate and most of them might be one class per month. That's the only problem here, so it is really hard to work along those students (I, January, 2017).

He was aware of difficult attendance challenges:

> Most of them never turn up to school. Only people who turn up to school managed to do it. Some of them they can't make it because they have other options, other classes they want to participate instead of the Samoan language (I, October, 2015).

He was trying to understand why tamaiti a'oga were attending or not, based on what he was observing or hearing in the class or wider community. Another observation he made was more success with tamaiti a'oga who he believed did not have Gagana Sāmoa as a community language, "But I am very interested because most of the students who always turn up, they don't have Samoan language at home like Son, Te Hurianga, but they always attend" (I, January, 2017). Tulāfale showed he was proud teaching the language and proud of the success he was having especially with the non-community language speakers of Gagana Sāmoa. There was a sense that he was troubled by a few tamaiti a'oga who he thought were not achieving as well as they could because of their overall attendance. His troubled feelings were not unexpected given his pride in Gagana Sāmoa, the efforts he made with his planning to help each of them learn, and the commitment he made to himself and his aiga. Tulāfale was aware of the impact he needed to have in the classroom for tamaiti a'oga. He indicated that he was trying to motivate and maintain their attendance through what he could do in the classroom. He described this as being "fair", "For the organisation in the classroom, I always look around to make sure that we have fair activity and fair resources for each one in the class (I, January, 2017). This continued to be an ongoing challenge for him to maximise participation and successful Gagana Sāmoa learning at all linguistic competencies.

Working and engaging with mātua

Tulāfale regularly was affected by the difficulties of engaging with mātua as he particularly saw this as affecting tamaiti a'oga. For example, when referring to a tamaiti a'oga attendance, "It is not them, it is the family" (I, January, 2017). He saw mātua engagement as a significant issue.

The engagement required intense and ongoing work. He regularly said "I really want to have a meeting for the parents" so that, "We can bring or make a copy of what each student did in class and give it to the parents. It's good when we work together with the parents. We need to show them where their student are" (I, January, 2017). An important reason Tulāfale identified was showing them the Gagana Sāmoa skills of their young person, using the work each tamaiti

a'oga was producing in class. Tulāfale saw this as a way of involving and engaging mātua in their child's learning and overall better engagement with the school.

He reflected on the first attempt to do so, "Most of parents, no-one home when I ring them. Some of them, they are working in the night-time in the twilight shift" (I, October, 2015). Our first mātua meeting was not very successful because many had evening work commitments. Using his knowledge of the community, he explained the situation of some aiga. He began, "I think only one student's family because they are grandparents. They are not working". He knew of at least three other mātua who were working at that time. He noted "Some of them, they only go to work when their children come home after school" (I, October, 2015). Tulāfale had experienced working evening hours and early mornings himself when he arrived in New Zealand and was supporting his aiga, so he was empathetic and realistic about what were some situations. Therefore, he suggested, "Have a family visit. Maybe we can do that every two months or every three months. Instead of them coming because most of the time, only a few parents turn up" (I, October, 2015). He was sure that the fono did not work because of their work commitments not aligning with fono times. The most effective method of working with mātua was regular visiting of homes together. The timing of these visits was difficult as the visits would be in the afternoon and the evening because Tulāfale and I were working during the day. The communication had to involve phone calls, home visits and continued work towards getting them to a fono. There was some success after intense effort to bring them together. He shared, "Really appreciate to see. I think it worked to have the parents together" (I, January, 2017).

He was very aware that mātua engagement was labour intensive. He suggested to call them first before we visited. Tulāfale reminded me of the reality again, "But yeah, if we have time". He had aiga responsibilities, full-time work, and community commitments, but he was totally committed to engaging mātua to support tamaiti a'oga. This was his passion, his job and source of income; therefore, these were strong motivations for the project's success.

Timetabling and understanding how to work across the cluster

Because the junior Gagana Sāmoa class was a new initiative for the focus secondary school within the wider context of a cluster, the timetable was always a consideration for the schools. Sometimes modifications needed to be made, but they were sometimes unsuccessful. Tulāfale explained the difficult lunchtime class:

When we first started the class, they all come and look forward to attending. They all focus, but since we started doing through lunchtime for the class, they hardly turn up. After that period before lunch, I couldn't get their minds and brains to focus in the class. They all want to go out there. "Can we go to the canteen?" "Can we go out?" (I, December, 2015).

Tulāfale's lesson and lesson preparation was being impacted by one lesson's positioning in the lunchtime break despite his efforts. He confirmed that period four was working. He re-iterated that even though I was buying food for tamaiti a'oga, the lunchtime period was counterproductive. "Don't worry about buying food because most of time about a few of them stay there and eat the food. Sometimes different students come inside the class, and they eat food" (I, October, 2015). Tulāfale was trying to teach in a difficult hour of the day which was unfair and disrespectful to him and tamaiti a'oga.

In 2016, he believed that there was a challenge with making the timetable work for him across the cluster. Sometimes, there was a clash of timetable with the cluster base school and his timetable in the focus secondary school. He believed 2015 was not very busy, but in 2016 he had to spend more time in the cluster base school teaching different subjects instead of Gagana Sāmoa. Sometimes, the timetable did not provide sufficient time to move between each school, and it was stressful to balance the cluster base school with the other schools. For example, he had to go from one primary school at 10.30am to arrive at the cluster base school by 10.40am to teach another class. However, he was always positive. He thought about how we could work together as a cluster for Gagana Sāmoa and culture, but there were indications that he was not sure of processes or timeframes to influence the direction for the year. He asked that, "At the end of the year, I don't know, it might be too late cause you already set up your yearly plan, but I am looking forward to if we can do something for the whole cluster (I, January, 2017). He suggested a Samoan Day or something similar to celebrate the end of this year. While the focus secondary school was going to have an umu, Tulāfale wanted the cluster together for an umu celebration. He suggested that a primary school could perform what he taught them. Within the cluster, he had a unique perspective. He could see tamaiti a'oga and aiga as whole units, rather than separate entities across different schools. There was a sense of conflict as a provisionally registered teacher. He was negotiating his role and how to influence schools' future plans for not just Samoan but all Pasifika tamaiti a'oga. It required talking with principals, internal school negotiations, understanding processes and overall extensive

organisation. He conveyed this conflict around his feelings of obligation and passion for teaching Gagana Sāmoa only:

> I like to teach other subjects, but I like to give all my time to make sure that I focus on one. Better do one instead of having many but not properly. Working here to bring out all my Samoan background; Samoan knowledge for the NCEA level for Year 9 and 10 here and the primary school (I, January, 2017).

Tulāfale appeared to struggle with having to teach other subjects and not being able to focus on teaching Gagana Sāmoa. He had extensive knowledge gained in Samoa and further skills gained in a New Zealand university, so he was completely justified to aim for the total utilisation of all his knowledge and skills. Therefore, he was strategic as he saw the need to develop a junior Gagana Sāmoa class at the cluster base school also, "Because only at the [focus secondary school], I am teaching the junior Samoan class. I would really to see that same level happen over there. It's like a business. If you have more business, you can, compete with the other one" (I, January, 2017). Tulāfale was realistic about keeping his job and especially about the competition which exists between subjects in secondary schools. He saw the cluster as a key mechanism for building Gagana Sāmoa student numbers. While this comment was primarily aimed at schools competing against each other and schools as business, this had an impact on subjects competing between each other for students. Tulāfale realised that Gagana Sāmoa was hierarchically challenged, and he was among many other teachers implicitly and explicitly marketing their own subjects. The cluster was one advantage.

Managing personal, aiga and community commitments

Tulāfale had an extensive aiga. He was a respected and involved member of the community. His qualifications were unique because of the focus on Pacific Studies, but there had been financial sacrifice to gain these which had resulted in student debt. In addition, he was appointed in an equally unique role. He spoke about non-professional teaching and learning challenges for himself with the lens of a commitment to a full-time teaching position and managing personal, family and community commitments:

> I think the main issue I am having when I started working here is my family. Trying to sort out my transport because only one transport. Dropping off the wife in the morning, dropping off my children because we all have different locations. I try my best to make sure that I am on time. Those are hard issues while I am trying my best to make sure to be involved with my own work and that I am doing my job (I, October, 2015).

He was conscious of expectations around punctuality and what it meant to do his job. However, he needed to continue his key responsibilities so his aiga were maintaining their punctuality, responsibilities, cultural obligations, and connections. There were indications that arriving on time to school was not always going to happen or being able to do all that what was going to be required for a beginning first year teacher in a secondary school, was not going to happen always either. There was a sense of worry and conflict about how this might be interpreted or received by his new work environment. There were sometimes extended aiga and community responsibilities which required more intense time commitment. For example, an aiga member arrived and stayed with him in his home to assist her to get a job. These were important roles he had which added to the respect and mana he had within the wider community. He believed:

> We have our own culture, like when we have a funeral, wedding, special occasion. But also, the big hassle is our religion. If you belong to a religion, you have commitment to work in the church (I, October, 2015).

Tulāfale identified these challenges, but I felt these were significant cultural obligations which were essential to what he brought to the role. He was critical of his own culture, but I wondered if he felt he had to be because I was the senior non-Pasifika teacher, and he knew that at times, he had to take time away from the class because he was away attending cultural occasions. He knew though that these seemed to be impacting on "doing his job". He was fitting his personal and cultural existence into a Pākehā teaching institution, workforce, and another suite of Pākehā cultural expectations. Whilst Tulāfale identified aiga and cultural obligations as impacting on his attendance sometimes at school, and he was sometimes time-poor for classroom lesson planning, he continued to bring value to his role. In addition, there were his multiple financial commitments:

> We don't really only spend our money for my family. Some people might be 50 / 50 to send the money out to Samoa to help the family; mainly when we have a funeral. I was really struggling when my brother passed away. The problem being at the university about seven years. This first time I got a full-time job this year. (I, October, 2015).

This was a further consideration when I was working alongside Tulāfale which had potential to cause him stress while implementing the project. He identified this as a challenge from the beginning, but I believed that these perspectives with deep learning experiences, were invaluable to the implementation of the project. He knew what other Samoan aiga were likely to be experiencing as part of their normal cultural obligations. He understood the financial

realities of tertiary study for aiga, but also, he understood the monetary expectations on them to support other members of aiga when they obtained a full-time position after completing their tertiary study. He was signalling his financial pressure, and it needed critical awareness across the schools to ensure his success in especially the first year as a full-time provisionally registered teacher.

Learnings and developments from teaching, learning, and implementing the junior Gagana Sāmoa class

Developing and evaluating testing items to understand, acknowledge and improve tamaiti a'oga Gagana Sāmoa skills

Tulāfale gained an increasingly linguistically diverse tamaiti a'oga in the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. The class provided a bilingual and biliteracy teaching and learning space to begin to understand each tamaiti a'oga Gagana Sāmoa knowledge and skills. One way he did this was by producing his own tests to accommodate for the range of skills. It appeared that the tests were a diagnostic tool to establish what each tamaiti a'oga had learnt from his teaching as well as to establish what other skills they had. He shared what the first part of the test was:

> It's a comprehension. It is like a conversation between two people. I need to find out and pick up if all the students of this level really understood all the topic we've been covering from the beginning of our Samoan junior classes. The other reason I selected this one here; it is based on their conversation in the class. Using the simple language in the class. Like the practising we do every day (I, December, 2015).

This suggested that Tulāfale aimed to create an achievement test (tests what has been taught). He also incorporated proficiency test (establishes a student's language level), test items. This was through incorporating an NCEA Level 1 type writing question for tamaiti a'oga to show their Gagana Sāmoa skills. The Gagana Sāmoa skills needed for the comprehension story and the NCEA writing question showed the range of linguistic skills in the class were at a beginner's level at Level 1 of the Gagana Sāmoa curriculum document while the NCEA level question was set at between Level 5 and 6. It suggested that Tulāfale's philosophy was all tamaiti a'oga experiencing some success while at the same time the test needed to provide everyone with a challenge. In addition, he used it to inform further lesson planning because, " I need to find out how far away, or if they still struggle with the basic language or they could go further from what they used to have before" (I, December, 2015).

Tulāfale developed an understanding of the different Gagana Sāmoa skills in the class. He had shown some beliefs and skills about test construction to ensure accessibility to the test. This was through the different testing items and their scaffolding from receptive to productive skills. He adapted existing materials to suit and sometimes, motivate tamaiti a'oga. For example, he explained, "The first part of the test, I prepared the multiple choice. Make sure that they feel comfortable and bring their attention. Like the warmup part of the test until they get down to the writing" (I, December, 2015). He worked with their receptive skills first so that there was no pressure on them, especially the beginners, to produce the language. The multiple-choice questions were non-threatening as no written language production was required and the answer was already available. The receptive to productive strategy was complemented with trying to make the test interesting and humorous by adapting material used from the Gagana Sāmoa: A Samoan Language Course Book (Hunkin, 2009). Rather than having people in the conversation, he used animals, "One is like the rabbit and the other one is the seabird" (I, December, 2015).

He indicated that the testing had to be purposeful to provide further information about the tamaiti a'oga Gagana Sāmoa level. He showed that he knew his learners through enabling all of them to access the test through different strategies. With different purposes and strategies for tamaiti a'oga accessibility to the test, he was able to establish their different skills. For example, he used the conversation text to ascertain their range of reading skills. For the task, they needed to extract specific information, gain the main idea, and infer. The first question was about the overall text type and the second required them to infer:

> The first one is asking. *What writing is this?* A story. A song. A conversation, a poem. They have to select. The second one here. *What time of the day they did this?* Cause I mixed up the time of the day. I need to find out if they deeply understand here (I, December, 2015).

The next question required extracting of specific information. He used the concept of 'fa'aaloalo', to support the task, "Just write one word from the conversation to let us know that rabbit is very polite or got a respectful attitude or good manner, towards his friend. *What are manners or what are the attitudes of the rabbit you find out of the conversation?* (I, December, 2015). The next part moved from a vocabulary testing level to writing a whole text, indicating the graduation from word level to producing a whole text. He explained:

> This one here is like a vocab. What is the meaning of this word?   Good / Bad / fall / fill up. This is the translation of the word from the conversation. Because already done with this book. We did the oral and practical answering questions. Another one here. Translate the statement or the whole sentence of Samoan in English. This one here, you have to write a letter to the mayor. Start from the multiple choice, then word, then statement or sentence. Then, last one … more like a paragraph (I, December, 2015).

Tulāfale indicated that he presented Gagana Sāmoa orally and in written form with some written and spoken production by tamaiti a'oga. The test seemed to have demonstrated his understanding of his learners, a collection of purposes for testing them and some understanding of principles of test making. I was unsure whether he had previous experience with test making or whether he developed these skills through a course. As a first year faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa in New Zealand, the junior Gagana Sāmoa class provided him with the opportunity to develop these test writing skills and reflect on his language teaching skills to support achievement.

His test revealed the range of language skills and knowledge tamaiti a'oga already had or had learnt during the junior Gagana Sāmoa class in that year. We discussed the results and his other beliefs and knowledge which he had about tamaiti a'oga. The test and the discussion dismissed two major assumptions that can be made. The first was an assumption that tamaiti a'oga who had been born in Samoa and had come to New Zealand in their early primary school years, had better Gagana Sāmoa skills than those who were New Zealand born Samoans. The test produced some evidence that this was not necessarily the case. The second assumption was that tamaiti a'oga who had two Samoan mātua (with Gagana Sāmoa as their community language) would achieve better than tamaiti a'oga who had one Samoan matua (with Gagana Sāmoa as their community language) and one matua who was not Samoan. Similarly, there was evidence that this did not have to be the case.

Eight tamaiti a'oga did the test. One tamaiti a'oga was absent for health reasons and another had attended the class once. For the first assumption, there were two tamaiti a'oga who were particularly identified by Tulāfale either through the test results or through our discussion. They were, Fai, and Ao. He explained:

> [Fai] is the top student in the Samoan class. I know she has a very good background of Samoan language. Speaking and writing. She is very fluent with Samoan even though she is New Zealand born. The mother and father spend all the time speaking Samoan at home. I'm so amazed to see. (I, December, 2015).

Tulāfale was convinced that her home environment was a key contributing factor for her Gagana Sāmoa skills, but there was still surprise at what level she achieved at as a New Zealand born Samoan. However, he believed that Ao, another New Zealand born student, was better than Fai overall based on his observations over the year:

> I think he missed out a lot. Overall, he is the best compared to Fai. He has got very good knowledge. When I have him in the class, he is focused. If he attends every class, he would be the best. He didn't know that we had an exam. He came late that day. He just done it and left. He either lazy … got his mind on something else (I, December, 2015).

Ao's test mark was a middle score. Tulāfale identified multiple barriers for Ao, but he acknowledged Ao's potential to be the "best". It indicated more happening with Ao and his untapped linguistic potential. Tulāfale labelled Tava as "lazy" but "Tava is very clever. He got the idea. He's got the brain. He can do it straight away" (I, December, 2015). Both Tava and Ao were male students who had two Samoan mātua at home. While Tulāfale labelled them both "lazy", there were more complicated happenings in their heads and lives. Tava and Luisa both scored 22/30. These were the second highest scores. Tava and Ao seemed to be reluctant to show their Gagana Sāmoa skills, but I could not answer why. Louisa was keen. Tulāfale commented, "She spent more time sitting there and did her exam". He evaluated Ao with "He's got the brain". This evaluation he used for Utufiu who was born in New Zealand and had a New Zealand European matua and a Samoan matua. He shared with pride:

> I think he did more than other people. He can't speak. He knows this one exactly because it's easy for him. Not really attending because he's always away for sport. He's got the brain (I, December, 2015).

Utufiu particularly achieved the highest score for the vocabulary section. They had to translate from English to Gagana Sāmoa by writing the correct Gagana Sāmoa word. The test showed that he learnt what he was taught. Tulāfale acknowledged his receptive skills for reading. Utufiu could not construct sentences in Gagana Sāmoa, but he understood all the instructions to create the letter writing task, which he wrote in English. Tulāfale rewarded his test score for this.

There were other tamaiti a'oga for whom Tulāfale was "surprised at"; mostly because of their full Samoan ethnicity and coming to New Zealand when they were four or five years old. Both Afu and Teine Leilua scored 18/30. Afu had incorrect four out of five of the reading

comprehension questions and only achieved half of the vocabulary questions. I wondered if he ignored these or did minimally as he achieved five out of five for the last writing task which was an NCEA Level 1 task question. Similarly, Teine Leilua only achieved half of the vocabulary, but she achieved five out of five for the first writing task. There were perhaps indications that they were not motivated by these short answer questions and moved towards the perceived challenging task. This questioned the weighting of the writing task towards the overall total because of its difficulty level. Taula achieved the lowest score. He was New Zealand European and Samoan. Tulāfale hypothesised that Taula did not care or was not interested in the Gagana Sāmoa class, but he was a polite and quiet tamaiti a'oga when he attended. It was a difficult judgement from Tulāfale, but it was further feedback on the diversity, range of motivation, existing Gagana Sāmoa skills and the impact of attendance.

In November 2016, Tulāfale constructed and administered a different test than the previous year. Tiene Leilua, Tama Leilua and Fa'avae were absent on that day. Te Hurianga, Fai, Tupu, Tama Galue Malosi and Son took the test. It consisted of dictation, grammar, jumbled words and reading comprehension. It did not have a writing task, but it gave Tulāfale some feedback for his teaching and learning. Fai achieved the top mark again with 100%. Tama Galue Malosi and Sei o le Tama achieved 28/30. Both had Samoan mātua and had come over to New Zealand at a primary school age. Son and Te Hurianga who were learning Gagana Sāmoa as a second language, scored 21/30 and 20/30 respectively. This showed that the boys learnt in the class as had Utufiu. Finally, Tupu achieved 10/30. This was important feedback for Tulāfale. There was possibly something else occurring with Tupu which needed bringing to the attention of staff and his mātua. Other data in the school needed to be correlated with Tupu's Gagana Sāmoa mark. Tupu's mātua were both Samoan, but he was born in New Zealand. There was important data here for Tulāfale to share and staff members to celebrate, acknowledge and understand its implications for teaching and learning.

Sharing, teaching, and extending of cultural knowledge

The junior Gagana Sāmoa class became a vehicle for the transmission of cultural knowledge. One way that Tulāfale did this was using Samoan proverbs as stimuli for discussion. The proverbs were carefully selected for tamaiti a'oga alongside discussing and exploring myths and legends:

We have lots of different Samoan proverbs, but I use the very simple one because it has language we commonly use for our conversation. There are myths and legends so that is a different kind of culture. Where they come from? They are very interested. "Oh, we've heard about that, oh now we know where that comes from. So, are those stories, are they real?" I told them about the myth and the legend, the difference of those two (I, October, 2015).

Tulāfale was conscious that tamaiti a'oga would have had some exposure to the proverbs, myths, and legends through aiga and community links, and he was aware that they were important vehicles for deeper understanding of Gagana Sāmoa and culture for extending their existing cultural links and knowledge. He developed the use of Samoan proverbs and used myths and legends in his following year by talking about where the Samoan proverb started from and telling the whole myth or legend. An important point that he made to them was that in Gagana Sāmoa, if they do not understand the proverb, they should not use it. He thought that they were lucky in the second year because he explored other cultural activities such as the kava ceremony. He shared what and how he taught:

Show them who supposed to start to speak. Divide the house, not only drawing on the board, but we sit like you the matai. You're the one who speaks first. You're the one who sits here. You're the one who serves the kava. You're the girl who will mix the kava. Tell them why they start and why you second and why you stand up and why you go like this and why you go this way or this way (I, January, 2017).

There was a strong sense of passion which came from him when sharing his teaching about kava. He shared enthusiastically his extensive cultural knowledge which would not necessarily be shared in other spaces in a school. Kava and kava ceremonies are significant for traditional, ceremonial purposes and a cash crop in many Pacific Island nations. Aporosa and Forde (2019) link kava to mana (spiritual power) with the sharing and drinking of kava as integral in host/guest formalities to facilitate reciprocity and togetherness. Tulāfale understood how critical this was for tamaiti a'oga to understand for their identity, pride, inclusion in aiga traditions, and how it uniquely unifies the Pacific Islands.

A significant reflection was Tulāfale's belief of tamaiti a'oga luck in 2016 because of him evolving the course through his reflection of 2015. He signalled that the course content was an evolving entity; hence, the continuation of it was essential to explore and discover possibilities to teach and share.

Developing and understanding deeper knowledge about aiga, relationships, and tamaiti a'oga learning needs

From the beginning of the project, Tulāfale had extensive community relationships, including with mātua of tamaiti a'oga. This enabled me as a non-Pasifika teacher to gain invaluable insights to support tamaiti a'oga and aiga better. He described some of these relationships and how these were useful when working with tamaiti a'oga:

> About 98% of the students, I know the parents. I am very sure, if I know the parents, that might be why the students here. Sometimes not to threaten but "ok, if I see mum and dad, I will have a talk about you". "Oh, no, please Mr" "Ok, you better behave yourself". Compared to, like I said that [student], I never seen the father and the parents, but there's the proof of what you ask. It might be the best if you know the parents, so the children will do well and behave themselves (I, October, 2015).

He saw the relationship with mātua as one way to maintain tamaiti a'oga attendance and behaviour in the classroom as well as a strategy to understand their strengths and challenges with Gagana Sāmoa, aiga community commitments and any obstacles in front of their learning. He described what understandings he had of them and the kind of relationships he had with some of their mātua. For example, he shared his observations of Ao and his connections with his aiga:

> Very smart wise boy. He is doing very well. Not only speaking, but also his writing. Very professional. He can finish straight way, focus, concentrate. I know the parents. The father is one of my friends. The father never speaks English. He is just a Samoan speaker. I think the mother is a New Zealand born Samoan. I know the grandparents. They are always helping (I, October, 2015).

Similarly, he knew Teine Leilua's mātua and aiga. He explained, "We used to go to the same church. Mainly the mother and the father, and all the brothers and sisters as well. We run our service using Samoan language" (I, October, 2015). With those mātua, he did not have a connection or relationship with, he saw the importance of this occurring. This was the case with Louisa's mātua who were Sei o le tama's grandparents. Tulāfale explained about whether he knew much about Sei o le tama's aiga:

> Not really. Since we met with [Louisa's] parents, that is how I started to know him them. I know that both parents fully support [Sei o le tama]. That's the good thing in this class. They have parents on the back. Once they have parents on the back, that will be helpful (I, January, 2017).

These kinds of connections with mātua were essential for engagement. It did create some vulnerability to Tulāfale. However, he believed that these connections were essential for tamaiti a'oga success. There was a parallel to what I had seen as a practitioner with te reo Māori teachers in mainstream schools with multiple roles for the Māori school population and responsibilities for and with the Māori mātua and wider community. In 2016, the Post-Primary Teachers Association (PPTA) reported that Pasifika teachers not only feel "a strong sense of responsibility to go above and beyond for Pasifika students, families, and communities", but also, "Pasifika communities will also expect teachers of their ethnicity to be available to them for various purposes" (PPTA, 2016, p.54). In the following year, the deliberate action of meeting mātua continued. I asked Tulāfale about whether he had already an existing relationship with Tupu's aiga:

> Not really. Only the night when we met here. That the first time to meet ever [Tupu's] parents. They were keen to have their children to learn Samoan. I have another one in [cluster base school] doing the NCEA level (I, January, 2017).

This showed how the cluster enabled Tulāfale to gain sometimes a better understanding than the individual schools of each aiga by knowing the children across the cluster. This enabled a unique and valuable position to support community engagement in the school. However, he made the comment which suggested that knowing mātua was not necessarily the only reason why tamaiti a'oga in the focus secondary school were respectful. He commented, "But, it's different, what I found going out to different school. It's very hard. Most other schools I know some parents, but the students they are not really very respectful students" (I, January, 2017). This comment needed further exploring as it suggested that there were other important connections being made with tamaiti a'oga in the focus secondary school, which were not necessarily occurring elsewhere.

Tulāfale's relationship with mātua and tamaiti a'oga as well as his understanding of the realities of aiga life, enabled insights beyond the classroom which were inaccessible and sometimes invisible to the school. His understanding gave a positive perspective on the linguistic and cultural capital each environment brought and how sometimes that linguistic and cultural capital was threatened or diminshed. Tulāfale shared about Tiene Leilua and Tama Leilua:

They have a very good background of Samoan language at home. Both parents are full Samoan and are Samoan born. The parents always speak Samoan, but I got a shock when I met them [Tiene Leilua and Tama Leilua] at primary (I, January, 2017).

He clarified what he meant by "got a shock":

… because they hardly spoke Samoan. They don't speak Samoan between themselves. But before when I met them, they used to use the Samoan language, but over here, I hardly hear them speak Samoan. They were good at speaking the language, but once they finished the primary and come to high school. I think because the student always spend more time with the friend peer group or teachers or classroom in the second language compared to the first language (I, January, 2017).

Tulāfale identified that a secondary school environment could stop tamaiti a'oga using their Gagana Sāmoa and hinder their continued development in the language. This questioned the schools' roles in encouraging bilingual/multilingual skills and highlighted that the implementation of school language policies needed consideration. He explained the realities of what was happening between many mātua and their children at home which was hindering the development of language:

Sometimes when they finish school and at home. Mum and Dad are still at work and come in late. Sometimes, one of the parents leave early, so "here's your breakfast, do good at school, I see you" Sometimes when they finish work, come home, the kids are already in bed, so not enough time to communicate in the mother tongue (I, January, 2017).

This was a critical observation that showed the quality of time talking between mātua and their children was being threatened by everyday aiga survival. The community language input at home was being diminished by difficult work schedules. Tulāfale continued with his understanding of Teine Leilua and Tama Leilua showing his knowledge about the aiga and tamaiti a'oga strengths and needs:

I can tell, they hardly speak now with the language, but they do really understand Samoan. I know when they write their work, they can get the right answer. Mainly when they do our reading and the comprehension. They always get the correct answer. Every day when we start our class, we have a quick test for spelling and reading, so that how we find out that they are still managing to carry on maintaining to learning their Samoan (I, January, 2017).

For both tamaiti a'oga, he had a range of knowledge and understanding:

> I think you maybe seen the result because their attendance. It's very hard. Mostly never turn up. Mainly the last term or two terms of this year. The mother left home and went to Samoa from the middle of the year to the end of this year. Maybe only the father and themselves were at home, so it's very hard for one parent to look after them. Sometimes, might be father left early and gone to work. "Go to school". Doesn't know what is going on. Might sleep in. But I hardly seen [Teine Leilua] and [Tama Leilua] in our class. That's why their results, but their background of their Samoan is very good (I, January, 2017).

Tulāfale understood what reality aiga could have been facing and the impact this was having despite both mātua being Gagana Sāmoa speakers. Another important insight was the understanding he had of the reciprocal relationships occuring between the tamaiti a'oga. This was particularly reflected in the relationship between Son and Sei o le tama which helped to encourage and nurture Son's Gagana Sāmoa:

> [Sei o le tama], that the number one helper for [Son]. If you haven't got enough time when you have many students in your class, it is hard for one teacher, but you got to have someone else in the class who is able to help. Like the peer. It might be they love to listen to the other friend or other classmate instead of us. [Sei o le tama] is the number one teacher for [Son]. Always sits next to him and helps him. [Son] always ask him, but I already warned him, you can help, but you don't need to do or get the answer for him. (I, January, 2017).

He facilitated in the class a reciprocal relationship and built Sei o le tama's confidence by providing him with a supporting role. This could have been the only role such as this, he was doing in the school using his skills to teach Gagana Sāmoa. Tulāfale was passing on his skills of providing support, motivation, and encouragement rather than total dependency on his peers and faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa.

Indications of tamaiti a'oga learning challenges needing further investigation, were shown through Tulāfale's interactions with them. This can be illustrated through him building an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of Tupu and Fa'avae:

> When you hear him talking, it sounds like [Tupu] got the full knowledge of the language, but when we do the testing, he just sits there. He loves speaking, but with the writing, not a weakness, but might be a wee bit lazy. I think that the only time [Tupu] did his preparation or study, just when we have our Samoan class. Compared to others in the class, they can work here, and they can do it at home, but [Tupu]...no (I, January, 2017).

Tulāfale observed differences between Tupu's oral and written skills. It suggested possible deeper learning needs which went beyond language learning. It provided some discussion and investigation. His suggestion was first a conversation with mātua around the completion of homework. However, Tupu's behaviour around spelling and writing could suggest other considerations despite Tulāfale's initial judgement of laziness. He suggested, "If he is willing not only to do more in the classroom but at home and talk to the parents with his language". However, he insisted, "He is very good with character and attitude" (I, January, 2017).

He noticed learning challenges with Fa'avae, but he was continuing to encourage his Gagana Sāmoa development, "Too shy to speak. But I always try and encourage him to speak up. Very quiet. He can do better compared to the other boys with the language. Got a wee bit of a problem with the listening, reading and also the writing. He has improved now" (I, January, 2017). I was curious to understand what Tulāfale meant by "a problem" especially if he meant this was an overall learning "problem" or just him developing his knowledge of Gagana Sāmoa. However, he stated that, "No, to me, he can do it" (I, January, 2017). Tulāfale did not seem to be aware of what some of these challenges could suggest for Fa'avae and Tupu. For both boys, it could have indicated a specific learning disability of some kind. However, the identification of learning needs beyond the challenges of learning another language's literacies (oral and written) often requires additional professional development for any teacher, and careful navigation when working with the identified student and their aiga.

Tulāfale described tamaiti a'oga using the positive attributes they brought to their learning and their contributions to the classroom which sometimes were not visible to other staff members in the wider school. For example, Tulāfale shared his appreciation of the positive attributes Te Hurianga and Tama Galue Malosi brought into the class. He shared about Te Hurianga:

> Is he half Samoan and half Māori? [Te Hurianga] always tries his best. At the end of this year, [Te Hurianga] did well. Always tries hard to speak. Always asks me questions. That's the good thing with [Te Hurianga]. Always put up the hand. "Mr [Tulāfale], "can I - " "What is this?" I love to work with students like that. Letting us know their interest or they love to learn (I, January, 2017).

Similarly, Tulāfale, explained Tama Galue Malosi's character, skills, and potential:

> He's the very best one. Always brave and the first one to answer the question. He got respect. [Tama Galue Malosi] is always there on time, always there in the class. He can

speak the language, write the language. Listening and reading is very good. He is a good leader as well. I think [Tama Galue Malosi] can go further to be another good leader. He's got the heart (I, January, 2017).

Tulāfale gained additional understandings of Te Hurianga and Tama Galue Malosi through what they both brought to the classroom and their interactions with him. This was an explicitly focused Pasifika context, which enabled tamaiti a'oga to show their skills, talents, and connectedness as Pasifika. Te Hurianga showed his multiple Pasifika connections through his interactions with the class. He was known in the school as Māori, but through this class, Tulāfale understood his Samoan heritage and his motivation to connect with Gagana Sāmoa. He understood the high level of linguistic oral and written skills for Tama Galue Malosi which were rarely championed or used in other contexts of the school. This enabled Tulāfale to develop Tama Galue Malosi's leadership skills.

A key contribution was Tulāfale continuing to build and grow the relationships he started with tamaiti a'oga in primary school. He relied on his community connections through church, aiga and friends, but in 2016, he used the links he established with tamaiti a'oga and aiga from the previous year. He correlated some of the fa'aa'oalo and positive behaviour they had for him with the relationships he built:

> I knew them from the primary school. Very friendly. It is like a family. Like my own children. The reason why I say that they are very respectful. When we start our class, any time I say 'Tālofa tamamāteine'. They all stand up. All wait and until I finish speaking. They sit down. If you know them, and if you do your part and have your respect for them, they will know you and they will respect you as well. Not only to respect, but also, they will listen and learn something from you. My relationship with these students in the Samoan class. Very good. I like them (I, January, 2017).

Particularly, he described the boys who came from a contributing school. This included Son:

> He wasn't in my special Samoan class for only Samoan. Because [school] have two classes, Samoan class group and also Year 7, Year 8, 5 and 6. They all come to the group just learning the songs, poems, and rhymes. That's how [Son] attracted to the Samoan language class. He love faka paki siva action (I, January, 2017).

He continued with how proud he was of Son, "Too shy to speak. But now already out of his shell. When you encourage a student, you need to know how to exactly bring their confidence to do something in the classroom" (I, January, 2017). He built a close and special relationship with Son in the primary and focus secondary school to support Son's confidence in the

classroom. He had a unique understanding of Son's desire to connect with something Pasifika as a non-Samoan. Tulāfale opened a new understanding of these tamaiti a'oga that no-one else in the school had accessed or had had knowledge of before. It was knowledge that required community connection and cultural and linguistic understanding. Most of this knowledge was not available nor had any place on a school management system.

Professional development: Developing confidence and reflection

This opportunity gave him chances to engage at different levels of professional development. After his first six months, he enthusiastically shared:

> It was a great opportunity for me to go out, not only to visit new staff, students, and children. While it looks like I am going back to start at the lower level at the primary level and the secondary level, what I found is like a challenge for me. Not only focusing on the NCEA level, but also, start from the bottom. Learn from the young ones, their attitude, behaviour, and the different level of subject and the standards to teach and to help them (I, October, 2015).

His unique position enabled him to see a range of learners, teachers, mātua, and leadership teams unlike a setting a provisionally registered teacher would normally see and learn in. He identified this as a challenge, which was justifiable given what he had to work within his first-year teaching in a New Zealand secondary school. He remained positive and grateful:

> The best things to meet with different staff and different atmosphere of background from different students. From primary school, from Year 9, Year 10, and for the NCEA. It's good for my knowledge and my learning how to deal with the student who learns Samoan language (I, October, 2015).

There was a realisation that he had to teach Gagana Sāmoa rather than only facilitating those who had near native speaker competency or were strong community language speakers. There were implications here for focused and detailed lesson planning because of the diversity of needs of learners. He presented at the National FAGASA (Fa'alapotopotoga mo le a'oa'oina o le Gagana Sāmoa i Aotearoa/Organisation for the teaching and learning of Samoan language in New Zealand) conference about his experiences about working and teaching Gagana Sāmoa in the cluster. He identified a significant connection about how his teaching was helping him support and care for his own children:

When you have a big number of children, also busy. Make sure that each and every student, my own children at home, do their best. Because I can tackle some other problems from my background of teaching, I can use for my own children to make sure that they are doing well and do their best at their study (I, January, 2017).

There were different aspects to this comment which needed exploration in the future. I wondered what exactly Tulāfale was using or transferring from his teaching to support his own children and how these learnings might be shared within mātua in a safe and sensitive way. He believed that with more time, the relationships with different aiga and his confidence would grow. He gave an example of one aiga:

I always have time to talk with the parents or sometimes on the phone like the case of [Tama Leilua] and [Tiene Leilua]. I couldn't find them, so called in at home. I couldn't see anyone, so I used my phone and had a talk with the parents (I, January, 2017).

In addition to building of relationships, his overall confidence and competence working across different levels improved:

I think the longer you stay there, the more you feel confident to be with the students in different schools. It is a challenge for me. I can see the same background, or I can see different background from different student in different school. I can tell what is the best resources, or best activity, or method to apply or relate for the young one compared to the Year 9, compared to the Year 11 to the NCEA level (I, January, 2017).

His statement highlights an obvious but relevant reality. When working across a range of learners and range of aiga, the quality of the relationships and teaching; including the confidence of the teacher, requires a committed extended period for sustainable achievement. He particularly saw and began to understand this for the NCEA level:

I am trying to encourage [school]. I am having a problem with the NCEA student. I need to deal with them while they are young to spend more time to make sure that I know them and they know me, helping them with their attitude and their learning (I, January, 2017).

Tulāfale explained further:

Because I never met them before. I only had them at the NCEA level. It's very hard cause trying to help them to make sure that they do their homework. Some of them, say EEEEEEEE, I can't do it. Never turn up. Sometimes I call the parents, and I let them know. Even then try help them. It's maybe easier to go home and do their recording of the conversation with the parents, but it's very hard. I just found out that two of them didn't turn up for their NCEA levels. They blame the parents. "Oh, the parents, keep us

to be a babysitter, looking after their siblings instead of NCEA homework" (I, January, 2017).

There was frustration from Tulāfale as he shared the complexity of what was occurring. He explained that student success and attendance in the NCEA Gagana Sāmoa examinations would improve through his relationships with them and their mātua at the junior level, rather than only teaching them at the NCEA level. Tulāfale indicated that tamaiti a'oga were not managing with NCEA Gagana Sāmoa material because they did not have the Gagana Sāmoa skills. Because of his work across different schools, he understood some of the challenges which were occurring. However, he realised that there were further negotiations and implementations needed for improving success for Gagana Sāmoa at NCEA level.

What were the supports and challenges for Tulāfale prior to entering the project and what were the supports, challenges, and effects for him during the implementation?

The main supports for Tulāfale before the implementation was his strong love and foundation in Gagana Sāmoa as a student and teacher, a mutual connection to an experienced faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa through a teaching placement, and the establishment of the cluster model for full-time employment. In the focus city, the geographical cluster provided the solution for one teacher to work across the schools in the cluster to provide teaching and learning for small numbers of Samoan students with Samoan as their community language. The cluster provided Tulāfale with a full-time job as a first-year teacher to focus on his love of teaching Gagana Sāmoa. Without this solution he would have likely not been able to gain full time employment in his first year of teaching and could have remained only working part-time in schools and supplementing his income with alternative employment.

Prior to employment with the cluster, the main challenge was Tulāfale finding an academic and financial pathway to become a secondary teacher in the New Zealand education system. There was no pathway for migrants from Samoa who were trained in the Islands as teachers. This resulted in him surviving in New Zealand during a difficult economic and immigration period. He was used by the New Zealand government as cheap labour rather than a teaching resource to be nurtured into a fully registered New Zealand teacher.

During the implementation, Tulāfale had the support of a required provisional registration programme in the cluster base school. This was entitled support which provided a professional

development base. Externally, he had the support of mātua and the community. He often expressed his connections and how these were essential for tamaiti a'oga attending the class. His initial and built community connections were critical for supporting the beginning and continuation of the project. The cluster was his support as it was his mechanism to increase the numbers of tamaiti a'oga and especially have a unique view across the schools of family units. The unique environment of the cluster provided an intense support for continued professional development. Hence, he expressed the importance of the gift of time as key to his growth in the project. Tulāfale identified this as a key factor in success when there is the opportunity to develop and build on the previous year or years. A culmination of time and having a view across the cluster of schools, manifested particularly through his building of relationships with tamaiti a'oga from the contributing school as a key factor which enhanced relationships with them including improved behaviour and attendance. Finally, I believe, the project would not have continued without our commitment to each other. Our personal and professional relationship was established about two years before the implementation. As a team, we experienced some difficult times, but we were both committed to the project for personal and professional reasons. I believe the interviews provided a reflective space between us. Our involvement in the project enabled targeted conversation about what he had been thinking about especially.

The main challenges for Tulāfale during the implementation was tamaiti a'oga and mātua diversity and engagement, his teacher agency, conflict and financial and aiga commitments. It was a new initiative to have a Pasifika language taught across a mix of primary and secondary schools as a cluster. Tulāfale was also new to this way of working. He was essentially learning the internal systems and processes of several schools. This meant that his agency to change what was happening or suggest a new way of doing something was sometimes limited by his knowledge of how to do this through a process or system. The process, for example, for subject selection in a secondary school is often competitive. To ensure that your subject continues in the following year, requires some implicit and explicit, marketing, understanding key dates and sometimes working with parents to show the value of your subject. This was difficult as he was at the centre of the initiative, and he was dependent on others for student numbers for classes. Because of his passion and skills, he was also conflicted; especially in the second year that he had to teach other subjects so that he could have a full-time timetable.

The effects of the implementation were establishing a unique diverse linguistic, cultural, and aiga view across the cluster. At the beginning of the implementation, Tulāfale had some good community connections; however, through his work across the primary and secondary schools, he grew a more comprehensive view of aiga as units. This was only beginning to happen as he grew familiarity with aiga names and sometimes the understanding of two or three of the children in one aiga across two or three schools in the primary and secondary schools. This knowledge was starting to build. In some cases, while he knew many of mātua already, he met all their children before he met mātua. There was an extensive range of knowledge that he was building about aiga and their children – historical narratives and linguistic narratives. He was able to give insights into tamaiti a'oga which were not visible or accessible by non-Samoan or non-Pasifika teachers. Tulāfale experienced conflict working between himself as a member of the Samoan community and a member of the teaching profession in schools. He was conscious of what were the realities of aiga but was critical of them at the same time. He was beginning to develop assessments and pedagogy in the classroom to support this students' linguistic diversity. It was time consuming to create differentiated lessons and tests which would enable success for all the learners in the class. Tulāfale had the beginnings of a growing awareness and an understanding of the need for Gagana Sāmoa language and literacy development for Samoan language students at Year 9 and 10 because of the struggles he saw with senior students' achievement or non-achievement in NCEA Gagana Sāmoa at Level 1, 2 and 3.

Tulāfale's narrative provides critical insights about his development as a faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa, his relationships with tamaiti a'oga and mātua, and his unique role working across the cluster. We worked together closely for both the Initial Phase and most of the Evolving Phase of the project. His relationship with Luma began in Year 9. Because of this relationship, Luma became the third strand of the *fau* when he was in Year 12 and 13. Chapter Six recounts Luma's story from his precarious point of enrolment to becoming a Year 13 prefect and accepting his tutoring and then faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa responsibilities.

CHAPTER SIX: FAU

Introduction

This chapter reports Luma's story. Luma was the senior Samoan student who worked alongside Tulāfale in the second year and Evolving Phase of the project. He was essential to the continuation and development of the project after Tulāfale was no longer available. The chapter reports new challenges and effects of the implementation: prior, during and ongoing, and gives another perspective to already emerging themes.

Luma's story began in Year 9 when he arrived at the focus secondary school. In this year, he was introduced to Tulāfale in the beginnings of supporting Gagana Sāmoa. When the timetabled junior Gagana Sāmoa class began in 2015, Luma was Year 11. He continued his relationship with Tulāfale in Pasifika Studies (a course developed to support a range of Pasifika languages and cultures at the senior level). In Year 12, Luma continued in Pasifika Studies, and he joined the Learning Tutor Programme whereby senior students worked to support junior students and their teachers, in junior classes. Luma became a Learning Tutor for the junior Gagana Sāmoa class to support Year 9 and 10 tamaiti a'oga and Tulāfale. In Year 13, when Tulāfale could no longer continue teaching the junior Gagana Sāmoa class, Luma, supported by two other senior Samoan tamaiti a'oga, continued to teach the class.

This account is organised into four sections. The first section focuses on Luma in primary school and then Years 9, 10 and 11. This reports Luma's difficult pathway and some supports to becoming a bilingual and biliterate Learning Tutor in Gagana Sāmoa and English, and what effects emerged. The second section explains how and when he became a Learning Tutor. This section signals a major effect of the implementation and the positive effect of his struggle to become bilingual and biliterate. The third section begins to describe the subsequent effects of Luma becoming a Learning Tutor. This includes a range of challenges and their occurring effects. The final section engages in a closer view at the other challenges during this time which hindered or marginalised his overall achievement and his essential role in the project. This is followed by discussion of the sub-research question*: What were the supports and challenges for Luma to becoming a bilingual Learning Tutor, and what supports, challenges, and effects emerged during his role?*

The difficult pathway to becoming a bilingual and bi-literal Learning Tutor in Gagana Sāmoa and English

Transience and varying support for Gagana Sāmoa in primary schools

Luma was born in Samoa. He came to New Zealand when he was seven years old. His primary school years in New Zealand were characterised by moving around New Zealand and inconsistent support with Gagana Sāmoa:

> The first school I went to was [school 1], and I spent a year there. There was no support helping students improve their Samoan. I left to [school 2]. There was no support, but I didn't think we needed support because majority of the school were Samoan. I was only a year into when I first came to New Zealand and English was hard for me. If I needed something I didn't understand, I would ask my friends to translate because there were quite a few Polynesians kids in [primary school 2]. I came to [school 3]. I spent two years there. There was no support towards increasing my Samoan. For a few months, I went to [school 4] in South Auckland. There was help there not just by the teacher or the parents. Basically, up in Auckland, it feels like Samoa. It was a big boost for me to increase my Samoan (I, December, 2017).

However, he was not taught reading and writing. He left Auckland and moved again:

> I went to [primary school 5], where the same thing happened. There was no help. They were just basically helping me towards getting better English. This is in Year 7. It was mostly in a group. There was quite few Samoans there. But for me it's better to have that one-on-one cause some of us are not comfortable. We feel shy showing others that we don't understand. Nothing, [school 5] didn't really help. I came to [the focus secondary school] where there was help (I, December, 2017).

Luma provided an insight into what was occurring for some migrant Samoan children at this time. Primary schools were more likely to provide Gagana Sāmoa language development. However, Luma appeared to receive his support through integration into a significant Samoan population. His transient schooling possibly challenged his English language and literacy development, suggested by his preference for one-on-one tuition for English rather than being in a group. Luma arrived at the focus secondary school in Year 9 with no data from any school for either Gagana Sāmoa or English.

A late enrolment and no Samoan language and English language data

Luma was a late enrolment at the beginning of the school year. He had missed the enrolment timeframe and procedure in the previous year. In addition, when he did arrive at school, his

aiga did not get an appointment for an interview with the principal, which was part of the procedure for all new enrolments during the year. He missed both procedures which were designed to gather some information and data about new students. This resulted in a rush by the school to get him into a class. He was polite and seemed verbally capable in English, so he was brought quickly to the Year 9 Dean's office and placed in a class without any English Language assessment. Luma recalled:

> I didn't enrol. We moved house which is pretty common for us. We moved near the [focus secondary school], and it came past the time that we had to enrol for Year 9. You normally come a few months before you start Year 9, and you get tested and then they see which class you are gonna be in. But I didn't do the test. I came straight in on the day (I, December, 2017).

Luma indicated that something happened which caused his aiga not to come in and enrol at the focus secondary school. I tried to raise awareness in the school about the importance of enrolment procedures and understanding who an English Language Learner is, so that students could be placed in the best possible class or classes for them from the beginning of their enrolment. However, for Luma's aiga, it looked like there had been a barrier in the process.

The emerging outcome of Luma's late enrolment and non-assessed class placement, was that he was beginning to be noticed by his English teacher because she could see gaps in his spoken and written English. Luma described what was happening to him at the time:

> They put me in a pretty average class. I struggled a lot in there. The teacher saw that there's something that needs to be done because they saw it in my spelling reading, writing. They asked me if I did do the test, and I said "no". They contacted the ESOL Department. I went there for a day. I did a few tests (I, December, 2017).

Luma appeared to be relieved that he was identified and grateful that the English teacher saw his struggle. He seemed to be accepting of doing some testing after the likelihood of having missed different testing and assessments when he moved different schools. He was very aware of his struggles with his English language, but he stated that his Gagana Sāmoa had deteriorated:

> At the same time, to be honest, I needed help with my Samoan too. If both my English and Samoan are good, if I didn't know something in English, I can always translate it. I can always use Samoan and sometimes they come together. Then they add up and you get the answer (I, December, 2017).

Luma not only identified that his Gagana Sāmoa had deteriorated, but he appeared to understand that there was a relationship between the two languages which needed to be maintained to be used as linguistic tools. However, I wondered if he knew or felt he could voice this need to improve his Gagana Sāmoa to the school. For both languages, Luma provided an account of what had occurred from his arrival in New Zealand until his arrival at the focus secondary school. He had been to several schools, had varying support for Gagana Sāmoa and English as well as a system failure because his aiga had missed the enrolment processes. It was essential to begin to gather baseline data to closely monitor Luma's language and literacy progress. The school would initially ignore Luma's level of Gagana Sāmoa skills and focus on his English language and literacy skills.

Building Luma's Gagana Sāmoa and English language and literacy skills
Year 9 and 10

After negotiations, Luma came to the EAL Department to have his English language and literacy assessed. A variety of English language testing tools were used to gain baseline data for grammar, vocabulary, reading and writing. The results from this assessment showed that for reading and writing Luma was at about Stage 1 of the English Language Learning Progressions (ELLP) (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008). This was a basic / elementary level or A2 on the Common European Framework (Council of Europe, 2021). The testing identified that Luma needed to be in the Intensive EAL (INE) class (12-hour EAL cross-curricula programme from Foundation to Stage 2 ELLP). The EAL testing gave sufficient baseline data to begin to monitor his English language and literacy progress. I became Luma's INE teacher.

I was employed a few years before to create the INE course and teach it. I taught all the 12-hour course. It provided more opportunities to understand each student's backgrounds, learning and language needs. Two periods of the class started at 8.30am. I was often in the classroom to prepare because it was a unique time to talk with students who came early. Luma was often early, so we engaged in conversation and sometimes talked about the teaching and learning of Gagana Sāmoa in the school. Luma recalled the repeated advice I was giving him, "Always speak Samoan at home cause when you come to school, you are going to speak English" (I, December, 2017). These weekly conversations provided a reflective space for both of us;

especially around Luma's Gagana Sāmoa and English language knowledge. Luma recalled an outcome of our discussions:

> We decided to bring all the Samoan students into a class because some of them were plastic. For me I needed to learn more English, and for them, they needed to learn more Samoan (I, December, 2017).

The term "plastic" is used sometimes to describe a person who is fake or artificial; however, in this sense, it was used to describe those who only had some or none of the language and/or culture of their ethnicity. It was a word that I as a New Zealand European Pākehā, could not use to describe such students. I was not Samoan, a migrant nor a teenager, so I did not have the community membership. Luma could and made this judgment, and he shared his inside perceptions of his peer group. This further created a picture of possible journeys of language, culture, and identity that other Samoan migrant or New Zealand born students had in their primary school years. Luma began in the first attempt of a junior Gagana Sāmoa group (not class) when it started as a lunch-time opportunity:

> I tried to come late cause I didn't know how to pray that time. If I come first, he might pick me cause he hasn't picked me in two or three weeks. I was scared to do a prayer. I tried to come late, but no matter if I come late, then I'm doing the one that finished after the period. I got used to saying the prayer. Every time I did it, sometimes I started to think I didn't have to come late. I can just come cause it is not always going to be me that's doing the prayer. (I, June, 2016).

Luma's thought process about the prayer indicated that he not only had to overcome a fear but lacked the extra element of commitment expected of the group to say a prayer at the beginning and end of the lesson. It could have been that the expectation of doing a prayer by one of the students in the group was enough to prevent him from attending or other students attending. However, there seemed to be a combination of who was teaching, what was being taught and a personality characteristic trait or some traits which Luma had to continue to motivate him to attend. Luma indicated how and what he was learning:

> I learned a lot of new things. Sometimes I speak the word in Samoan, but I don't know what it means. I only say it cause everyone says the word. We learned the way of Samoan life; the chiefs, how Samoans come to where we are now (I, June, 2016).

This suggested that he had not had explicit teaching and learning in Gagana Sāmoa of vocabulary, but rather had relied on what he managed to acquire through community language

acquisition processes and home and community contexts. It suggested that within these contexts, the opportunity or confidence to ask about vocabulary was not there. It further indicated that there were some cultural understandings he did not have despite his full Samoan background. Luma reflected later about Tulāfale building tamaiti a'oga spelling skills:

> The spelling was every single time. [Tulāfale] gave us a task to go home and do. We'll come back, and the first thing [Tulāfale] would say is "the spelling is wrong. That's probably the biggest thing is the spelling. I'm really bad at spelling (I, December, 2017).

Despite Tulāfale regularly giving homework and then always identifying the incorrect spelling, Luma seemed to accept this was a weakness and that he needed to keep improving. This was a possible reflection that Luma had had little formal instruction in Gagana Sāmoa for writing and reading. While Tulāfale was gaining an understanding of Luma's Gagana Sāmoa, my role as his INE teacher and Head of Department, was to monitor his English language and literacy development.

Mid-year in 2014, when Luma was in Year 9, school wide non-EAL testing was completed. Data were gathered from the Progressive Achievement Tests (PAT) (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2019) and e-asTTle (Ministry of Education, 2021). Both are assessments designed for native English speakers. Scores from each test showed that Luma was well below average for reading and listening in English. However, it is recommended that English Language Learners (ELLs) need a minimum of two years English medium instruction before they can do these native speaker English tests independently (Luxton, 2014). Even though Luma had been in New Zealand since he was seven years old, the challenges he faced before the arrival at the focus secondary school may have hindered his English language and literacy progress.

Luma graduated INE at the end of Year 9, and he went to Year 10 English as an Additional Language (EAL) class, which was four hours a week. Luma's spelling was tested in Year 10 using the Schonell Spelling test (MOE, 2021). Scores again for PAT tests and e-asTTle were well below and below average respectively at Year 10. Luma tested lower for e-asTTle reading than in the previous year but had increased by two Stanine rankings for PAT testing. It suggested that Luma was better at reading vocabulary (PAT) rather than reading comprehension; however, this was the reverse in the previous year, perhaps confirming the testing seemed inappropriate for a bilingual learner, with no measuring scale to account for all

Luma's bilingual and biliterate linguistic repertoire. His ELLP scores remained consistent at Stage 2 with both ELLP Reading and Writing improving within this Stage. The ELLP data for reading and writing as well as such oral language feedback was more reflective of Luma's English language and literacy skills. Luma's English Language progress for Year 9 and 10 is detailed in Appendix G, Table 1.

Fortunately, Tulāfale was beginning to understand Luma's Gagana Sāmoa skills. Only one or two teachers were beginning to understand Luma's Gagana Sāmoa strengths and the challenges he was having amongst the mono-cultural focus and bombardment of English language and literacy tests and assessments.

Year 11

Luma started in Pasifika Studies in 2015. It provided the first measurable indication of Luma's Gagana Sāmoa skills through Gagana Sāmoa NCEA Achievement Standards and Pacific Unit Standards. Both sets of standards provide a vehicle to develop Gagana Sāmoa and English skills. While Gagana Sāmoa is a university entrance subject supported by Gagana Sāmoa Achievement Standards, the Pacific Unit Standards are graded Unit Standards with Achieved, Merit or Excellence; therefore, they do not contribute to university entrance because they are not Achievement Standards (NZQA 2021). However, the Pacific Unit Standards allow flexible research opportunities, bilingual and multilingual presentations in oral and / or written form potentially creating rich learning and developing bilingual and multi-lingual language and literacy skills. Luma was Samoan and therefore 'lucky' that Gagana Sāmoa contributed towards university entrance, but there were indications he might be challenged to meet the standard at Level Three Gagana Sāmoa NCEA. In Year 11, for NCEA Level 1, intensive work began especially with Luma's Gagana Sāmoa writing skills.

I was the facilitator of Pasifika Studies and Tulāfale taught and supported Samoan tamaiti a'oga and those wanting to learn Gagana Sāmoa. Luma had developed a relationship with him. There was regular communication between Tulāfale and senior tamaiti a'oga for advice and feedback for formative and summative Gagana Sāmoa and Pacific Unit Standard assessments. An example of this is when Luma sent him a piece of writing. The writing was connected to a reading called The Migration of Samoans to New Zealand. Luma's comment about his trouble with spelling and punctuation as a junior tamaiti a'oga was especially highlighted by this piece. The overall task was to give a summary of the text and extract the key ideas. Luma wrote:

Figure 6.1

Example of Luma's NCEA Level 1 Gagana Sāmoa Writing

(AT, October, 2016).

Tulāfale gave some feedback about the piece of writing:

> It was not bad. I didn't see the grammar and the proper translation, but I looked at the objective and the main idea. Luma picked up a few points of the main ideas. Main issue is spelling and capital letters. Grammar is ok and structure is good. He needs tuition on capital letters and punctuation – commas and full stops. Needs to make the sentences short – sometimes missing subjects (AT, October, 2016).

There was positive feedback of Luma's language strengths as well as some expected comments about spelling and punctuation. Significantly, it showed Luma's existing literacy capability to read and write in Gagana Sāmoa and English. It confirmed that Luma could achieve Level 1 NCEA Gagana Sāmoa. It suggested that at some point during his education in formal or community settings, he had gained some literacy skills in Gagana Sāmoa.

Luma was aware of his Gagana Sāmoa challenges, while at the same time continuing to develop his academic English at NCEA level. He took opportunities to develop both Gagana Sāmoa

and English. The Pacific Unit Standards provided a unique translanguaging space for him as an opportunity for him to present in both Gagana Sāmoa and English and use his full language repertoire. Translanguaging is a pedagogy which is used for instruction and assessment to utilise students' bilingual and multilingual repertoire. Students also utilise these skills in the classroom environment (Garcia, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017). Luma presented his research in Pasifika Studies on *"What are and were the causes for Samoans to migrate to New Zealand?"* The Power Point (Microsoft, 1987) was written in English while he presented in Gagana Sāmoa for about six minutes with prepared cue cards. For the requirement of the Level 1 Pacific Standard, Luma evaluated his presentation.

> The positive about my presentation was keeping the audience alive. The structure was good. I started with an open question to hook the audience in. The negatives were eye contact, pronunciation and being confident. These points were very poor according to the audience. Most of the time my eyes were on the paper because I didn't know it off by heart. I managed to pronounce the words, but it wasn't 10/10 clear. To parents and those who speak Samoan fluent, it wasn't clear enough. I need to work on eye contact with the audience and making sure I don't look like I'm going to panic. (AT, October, 2016).

Luma seemed to be worried in this statement about the judgement which could have been placed on him because of his pronunciation of Gagana Sāmoa and an expectation that he should have known it by heart. I had observed that it was expected of Samoan students to learn an oratory piece 'by heart'. Luma achieved something exciting and unique. He presented and processed this presentation bilingually and biliterally in front of an audience of different bilingual/biliterate languages (mostly Pasifika languages) and a range of monolingual English speakers. He struggled, but there was determination to work in both languages.

His Gagana Sāmoa Achievement Standard results for 2015 revealed some challenges Luma was having with his skills, but it revealed what could be achieved with intensive work. For the Gagana Sāmoa reading standard examination, he was in the 10.9% national statistics who received a Not Achieved grade, while 38.7% nationally gained an Achieved. For the listening standard examination, statistics revealed that Luma was one of the 43.3% of students who gained an Achieved grade with an additional 11.2% of students nationally receiving a Not Achieved. Luma's strengths, determination and understanding of his weaknesses were reflected in the writing and conversation/interactions assessments. While Luma was facing challenges with his Gagana Sāmoa at school, English was increasing at home.

Luma worked on his writing in Gagana Sāmoa with Tulāfale's support. His listening and reading grades revealed that, despite being surrounded at home and church with Gagana Sāmoa, both receptive skills were grades a second language learner of Samoan would be more likely to gain rather than a native speaker. Alongside Gagana Sāmoa and English language support Luma was receiving at school, he had a diverse and changing bilingual environment at home. He believed that if you went into his home, you would hear about 50 % Gagana Sāmoa and 50% English spoken. He explained what this sounded like and why:

> I speak to my little brother and my sister with English. There's times when with the boys, my mum, I prefer Samoan than English cause I feel I it is easier for me. It's more common for me to make mistakes when I speak English than Samoan. It's because my sister and my brother understand more English. He speaks more English than Samoan and understands more English than Samoan cause he was born here. My sister's more like, 70/30, 70% Samoan cause she came when she was 13. She is 20 something (I, December, 2017).

Home/aiga language policies were determined by who he was speaking to, and he was aware of this. Luma confirmed that he would mostly speak Gagana Sāmoa to his mum, but he confessed that it was "sometimes English" to his mum. He indicated the difficulty he had with reading especially:

> I find it quite hard. I don't know if I achieved my exam for Samoan cause I can speak Samoan real fluent, but if I read the text and then try to figure out what it actually means, then look at the question. I find that really hard (I, December, 2017).

Luma developed an acute awareness of the challenges he faced with his Gagana Sāmoa and with English. However, he worked to improve these skills especially spelling and punctuation. His Year 11 Gagana Sāmoa, Pacific Studies and English Language NCEA results are detailed in Appendix G, Table 2. In a sense, his awareness, persistence, and humility created a powerful combination to nurture junior tamaiti a'oga understanding and achievement in Gagana Sāmoa.

A Gagana Sāmoa Learning Tutor opportunity

Before arriving at the focus secondary school and from Year 9 to Year 11, Luma's development of his Gagana Sāmoa skills was characterised by luck in schools with decreasing use and exposure at home. However, he showed an understanding of his strengths and weaknesses in Gagana Sāmoa and took steps to improve it. In Year 12, he took a significant step to become a

Learning Tutor for the junior Gagana Sāmoa class through the Learning Tutor programme which was offered as an elective to all Year 12 students. An elective is a non-NCEA credit course which each Year 12 student was required to choose. Luma assisted Tulāfale by supporting tamaiti a'oga in the class. This was a major effect of the implementation as it was an opportunity for Luma to succeed as Pasifika using his Gagana Sāmoa language and literacy skills, relational space, community knowledge and cultural values. Luma explained, "I go to Learning Tutor once a week. They are lucky now because, two years ago we started the Samoan class except we had to go after school every Thursday. They are lucky to have a period during school" (I, June, 2016). Luma used the word 'lucky' to indicate that tamaiti a'oga in the junior Gagana Sāmoa language class had this class in the school timetable rather than outside of timetabled school hours. I was not sure of whether he was aware of the marginalisation which occurred, but there was a sense of some realisation of what it meant to be inside the timetable rather than outside. His use of the word 'luck' bothered me as I believed it should not be 'luck' to continue to learn and develop your Pasifika language in a secondary school. Because Luma showed this awareness, I wondered how he would use this to influence the junior tamaiti a'oga and develop any further opinions and reflections.

Outcomes and Learnings from becoming a Learning Tutor and faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa

Learning from a role model and being a role model: A sense of pride
Tamaiti a'oga in the junior Gagana Sāmoa class were presented with two role models: Tulāfale and Luma. Tulāfale was a role model for Luma. Luma was learning from Tulāfale, and he was a visible senior tamaiti a'oga and respected by the school and junior tamaiti a'oga. While he knew tamaiti a'oga in the class, being a Learning Tutor developed stronger connections with them. Luma shared his reasons behind becoming a Learning Tutor:

> I really like helping people and since I am one of the "big boys around here" the Year 9 boys and the Year 10 boys look up to us. Some of the boys feel really confident talking to us more than the teacher cause we understand better (I, June, 2016).

He made specific reference to boys rather than the girls in the class. He possibly saw at this stage where he needed to focus his efforts and where he could make a difference as a role model. Luma developed a stronger connection and understanding with Tulāfale. He had a more explicit understanding and was observing Tulāfale's teaching and role modelling in the class. He described what it meant to learn Gagana Sāmoa in the class:

> What we learn in the Samoan class is not just about knowing how to speak the language, how to write; how to read. It's understanding the text more. Like understanding the meaning of the word cause sometimes in our language, we don't have that many words compared to English, but one word can mean five different meanings. It depends on how they pronounce a word; how they put it in a sentence (LI, June, 2016).

I was impressed with Luma's linguistic awareness of vocabulary. His bilingual development enabled him to analyse key differences between Gagana Sāmoa and English which would be of value when supporting the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. He talked about how Tulāfale approached the class from his viewpoint as a Learning Tutor:

> [Tulāfale] writes 10 words up every single week to try and get them to know, hear the word and spell it. They have been doing that for the last couple of weeks. They have been improving. It's just the apostrophe and the commas they are still stuck on (I, June, 2016).

Luma seemed to identify with the similar challenges he had with Gagana Sāmoa. Both of them provided a positive team working together for tamaiti a'oga. In Luma's view:

> That's why I am here to help them. I am not there to take over the whole time. I am only there if they need me. If they need a hand or something. [Tulāfale] only uses me if he sees someone's stuck (I, June, 2016).

However, Luma understood his role in supporting Tulāfale and understood that tamaiti a'oga were confident to ask him for help if they needed, perhaps more than they were in other subjects with only mainstream teachers in the room. Luma's observations of teaching and learning by Tulāfale gave him a unique perspective which no other person in the school had. He could see what kind of teaching tamaiti a'oga were responding to, and he had a connection to them that teachers in the focus secondary school did not normally have, even Tulāfale.

Luma observed several lessons with Tulāfale. He explained the structure of the lesson. He stated that Tulāfale got all tamaiti a'oga to sit down and he said "good morning" to them and then they stood up. Luma noted that this "good morning" to the teacher was in a positive way. This was done by using these "other words" before they said his name. The word "susuga" was used, which Luma could not really translate into English, but it is a better and more polite way to say, "Good morning teacher". Luma further explained that tamaiti a'oga then got their books out and found the words that they were practising from last week. Then, Tulāfale called the words out for them to spell. Next, they had to swap with another tamaiti a'oga. If their score

was low, they tried to improve. Luma observed that tamaiti a'oga were getting most of the spelling correct, but they were making "small mistakes like apostrophes and stuff. They are improving like from every single week". Luma saw the handing out and in of books as part of the classroom routine and responsibility given to tamaiti a'oga (I, June, 2016). He appeared to have closely observed the structure of the lessons and seen similar patterns of learning to his previous experiences.

Of particular significance to Luma's personal experiences when he started in Year 9 with Tulāfale was the class routine of saying a prayer at the beginning and end of the class. Luma empathised with tamaiti a'oga being chosen to say the prayer, as he recalled his own anxiousness. This was an example of how Luma role modelled to support them:

> [Sei o le Tama] didn't know how to do a prayer, so I just jumped in and did it so they can hear what I am saying so that they know what to say next time. If you get chosen to say a prayer, you can't say no. It's like rejecting God. You can just do the best you can. It is not about the longest or the best (I, June, 2016).

There was considerable significance to saying a prayer in class. This did not occur in other classes in the school; hence, this was a space where tamaiti a'oga religious affiliations were briefly acknowledged. Luma seemed to understand this. Despite tamaiti a'oga connection to religion in their respective churches and communities, their hesitation at the prayer task suggested that this was something that they were not getting the experience to do, especially in public.

The presence of Tulāfale directly affected Luma with a sense of pride. He was able to have a role model at the school from Year 9. He explained Tulāfale's importance:

> It is a good because as a small country and coming from a small culture with a big heart, we want to thrive and continue teaching the young ones. Nowadays the New Zealand born, they don't know a lot about the culture even though they are Samoan. I liked to see, [Tulāfale]. It felt proud that my language and my culture was being brought into another country and building it bigger to teach the young ones. One of the most important things is teaching the young ones over time if we want to keep the culture. I think it was a good idea. (I, December, 2017).

Luma indicated his pride for Samoa and the inclusion in the school of the language and culture with the support of Tulāfale. However, he seemed to know what was needed for the younger

generation to "thrive" in the school environment. There were indications that the inclusion of language, culture and identity in the school and the relationship with Tulāfale had a significant impact on his continuation at school. However, it was unclear whether he was explicitly aware of this connection. This was because Luma's arrival in Year 13 as a Prefect, he believed, was not expected. He shared:

> In Year 13, I was chosen to be a [committee] Prefect, and I was very excited for that because as a student that came in with a lot of challenges and pressure, I never knew that I was gonna to make it that far. That was one thing I did for my family and myself. I was nervous as well cause I knew that there were going to be many challenges coming my way. That was the exciting bit of it; like facing those challenges (I, December, 2017).

There were indications that Luma's expectations of his length of time or "success" at school, was not anticipated to extend until Year 13. There is a sense that he wanted to make his aiga proud and be a role model for his other siblings and cousins. I felt a range of emotions at Luma's previous expectation of not staying at school long, but I had heard this before from some Samoan students. There were possibly complex internal school and wider systemic issues responsible for Luma's expectation. This could have interacted with cultural and socio-economic factors. Whatever the cause or causes were, it was gut wrenching to hear, frustrating and needed time and talanoa to begin to understand why.

He became a role model for the tamaiti a'oga in the Gagana Sāmoa class and for all the Pasifika students in the school. However, the junior Gagana Sāmoa class provided a unique opportunity to have a role model, be a role model and use this to enjoy success as Samoan and as Pasifika.

Taking responsibility, gaining acceptance, and using nurtured knowledge and style to teach Gagana Sāmoa

During 2017, Tulāfale was no longer available to teach tamaiti a'oga at the focus secondary school. Luma and a few other senior Samoan tamaiti a'oga took responsibility for the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. Luma described his ideas and thoughts at the time:

> You were looking for a teacher and thought of the idea of having me as a teacher, which I wasn't really trained to do. Even though I was a Prefect, it was going still be a challenge for me to teach these students, but I knew that if I didn't do it, no-one else could do it. If I see those students, I see myself. I put myself in their footsteps. I remember back in the years, where there was no help through moves through schools. If there was no help, right now I would be pretty plastic. I would say it's amazing to have two languages and be

able to speak it fluently. So that's when I did agree to teaching them. I did a few weeks, until I left school for exams (I, December, 2017).

This was a very significant transition for Luma from Learning Tutor to faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa. His thought processes around his own experiences in his junior years seemed to have been key in his decision to make the transition, but it also took courage. He referred again to the term 'plastic' indicating his belief that, without being able to speak Gagana Sāmoa, there is an artificialness as a Samoan. Luma started to understand some of the issues which existed within a school. He crossed a line from being a tamaiti a'oga to gain insight into what schools experienced with stretched finances and teacher availability in some subjects.

As part of this challenge Luma enlisted the support and practical help of other senior Samoan tamaiti a'oga for the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. He laughed as he said, his reason for enlisting some help was "because, you know, the Samoan students, they really don't listen that much". He reflected on the transition from tutor to being a faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa:

> The first time I was there, they didn't really treat me as a teacher cause they like "oh, it's just another student like us". From there, I knew that they were not really going to pay attention unless I used my voice in a suitable way. I used that and then they focused. I told them if they did not listen, so what a teacher would normally do, hand their phone in or read out by themself, so that they would listen (I, December, 2017).

Luma had to make the transition in the eyes of tamaiti a'oga, from being part of the Samoan and Pasifika tamaiti a'oga membership to being seen as part of the teacher membership. The continued existence of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class until seniors left for exams, was now reliant on Luma and his support team taking responsibility. He relied on his developed Gagana Sāmoa and literacy skills and the teaching role modelled by Tulāfale:

> We went through the same way as I went through. So, prayer. They didn't like it, but I was running the class. I wanted them to learn the prayer as well because the prayer might seem easy, but it's not easy when you're doing it. So, I started with a prayer, and then I got them to do it. The first thing I'll write down is what they were going to be learning, and what they were going to be taking home and learning. I remembered that [Tulāfale] would write 10 words down and we would go home and learn them. Next week, when we next have the Samoan class, we'll have pretty much a spelling test. (I, December, 2017).

The adoption of Tulāfale's spelling programme had come full circle. His own challenges with Gagana Sāmoa spelling were being brought back to him in his teaching. He knew the value of

reading and games. Luma described what the remainder of the lesson consisted of while again reflecting on his previous experiences with his own learning:

> After that, we'd do some reading cause I found that pretty hard back then when I was in the junior years. It was good cause I was building their confidence. After that, we did a prayer, and I did some games, not just any games. It's a game that could help them with their Samoan. We did a Samoan game, which I probably made it up back then. I did something that could really grab their attention as well as learning. Nowadays a lot of students, it's hard to get their attention into learning Samoan. It's just them. That was one way that I grabbed their attention as I put in something they want as a game and as they were enjoying it, they're learning it from it (I, December, 2017).

Luma's reference to his difficulties in reading seemed to be an honest reflection of his own NCEA reading skills level. This was a strong motivation for him focusing on reading skills. He had reflected on his observations when he was a Learning Tutor to inform how he needed to approach the class, especially to maintain tamaiti a'oga attention. I wondered what exactly he meant by "It's just them". What did this mean for mainstream teachers in classes other than the junior Gagana Sāmoa class?

Diverse needs and motivations: Awareness and Analysis

As a Learning Tutor, Luma was beginning to process what was going on in the classroom. The experience gave him an insight into the different language needs and experiences of tamaiti a'oga. He described and analysed this through what a Niuean student (Son) and Māori/Samoan tamaiti a'oga were experiencing:

> We got Niuean, half Samoan. They're trying. I can tell that they want to know the language, but it is hard for them. They want to speak. They look at the boys laughing, but they don't understand what the boys are laughing about. They want to understand what they are saying. The jokes in our language; it sounds way better if you say it in Samoan than in English. [Son] sometimes writes more stuff than the boys cause [Son] is always focusing (I, June, 2016).

Luma was developing an empathy and respect for tamaiti a'oga in the class who were learning Gagana Sāmoa as an additional language. He wanted them to enjoy being part of the membership of "Samoan language users and learners" through understanding the jokes which the boys, who had some fluency in Gagana Sāmoa, were sharing. He observed how the girls and boys were working differently in the class:

> Sometimes we separate them cause they talk too much. The girls are doing much better than the boys. [Fai] is doing way better than the boys and same as [Teine Leilua]. They are using what [Tulāfale] is saying, but they are keeping it in their head and remembering next week and the week after. The boys are just getting it in their ear, and it goes through the week after. They ask again and again and again. The girls know better. They know what to do; use their time wisely instead of mucking around (I, June, 2016).

Luma presented a critical reflection on learning. He saw a clear contrast between how the boys and girls were responding. He seemed to have no problem with praising the skills of the girls over the boys despite criticising his own gender and Samoan ethnicity. There was no criticism of Tulāfale and his teaching. Luma's membership as a male Samoan tamaiti a'oga and tuakana status perhaps gave him permission to criticise the younger male Samoans while maintaining the *va* (relational space) between him, Tulāfale and the Year 9 and 10 Samoan male tamaiti a'oga.

In the following year, he continued to admire tamaiti a'oga who were newly learning Gagana Sāmoa, but he became more critical of the motivation of Samoan tamaiti a'oga with existing linguistic competencies, and their beliefs about what it means to know the language.

> I remember this one student. He was Tongan. His name was [Paula]. He looked more alive than the Samoan students themselves because he is keener to learn the language rather than the others. I think that in the mind-set of a Samoan student, as soon as they know how to speak it, they think that they fully understand it, and they know how to write it (I, December, 2017).

Luma made a comparison: "It's just the same in English. As soon as you think know how to speak it, you think that you have enough knowledge how to write, read, but you need to focus in class, and learn how to read, write, and all of that can help you increase your language" (I, December, 2017). He identified a difference between tamaiti a'oga learning Gagana Sāmoa as an additional language and those Samoan tamaiti a'oga who had linguistic competence in Gagana Sāmoa as community language speakers. This observation seemed to have become clearer because he had taken responsibility for the teaching and learning of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class as a faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa.

Inequity, social justice, and building success: Reflections for going forward with Gagana Sāmoa, and other Pasifika languages in school

Luma was the only senior Pasifika tamaiti a'oga in the school who was supporting the junior Gagana Sāmoa class as a Learning Tutor alongside Tulāfale. This opportunity was juxtaposed with being in the new Pasifika Studies course which started in the previous year and continued in 2016. Furthermore, the research process gave Luma an opportunity to reflect which hinted at underlying beginnings of understandings of inequity and social justice. He formed some ideas of how to transform this space. Luma could see some inequity through his comparison with how Māori students' efforts and achievements were acknowledged compared with Pasifika. He explained:

> Do you know how there is stuff that we commit to? Do you know how there is, kapahaka, then they have a hui and stuff to do with the Māori nearly every week. We should have for the Samoan we should have a badge for Pasifika, and we need to work up. If we do well in our Samoan, we can get that badge, like a Pasifika badge, for outstanding leadership (I, June, 2016).

This statement showed his negotiation of complex levels of membership. Luma was part of kapa haka, so he had membership in this group. However, his reference to Māori as 'they' indicated his non-membership for events and gatherings tagged for students of Māori ethnicity. He then used initially 'Samoan' but seemed to realise that he excluded other members of the 'Pasifika' aiga. From this statement we see how he valued the regular bringing together of groups as do many Pasifika groups through churches and community involvement. It showed his understanding of the significance of not only individual recognition and reward for language competency, but this would reflect on the individual's aiga and community as part of holistic views of Pasifika success and success as Pasifika.

He saw the inequity of only Samoan being available for junior tamaiti a'oga, and not other Pasifika languages. Luma mentioned a couple of weeks previously that he believed the school should have a junior Pasifika Studies course, so I asked about what he was thinking. He clarified using I-Kirtbati and Tongan languages and tamaiti a'oga:

> I have got so many things on my mind. It's not fair that there is just a Samoan class. I reckon there should be a Kiribati class, a Tongan class, cause they might like it as well. If there is a Kiribati class, it would be good for them, so they can improve. They can

build up together the whole class, like the teacher as well. Maybe once a week (I, June, 2016).

Luma's first words confirmed the reflection and conflict which was occurring with him. He had not only seen an injustice, but he had begun to evolve potential solutions to addressing the inequities he was observing within a school with a diverse Pasifika population. There was an empathy and understanding which had grown for other Pasifika groups which he may not have developed in a school or class with only Samoan tamaiti a'oga.

He thought about his own journey to learn Gagana Sāmoa and reflected on what he saw with regards to tamaiti a'oga in the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. He had struggled with his Gagana Sāmoa and literacy, not just at junior level, but he had had his first experience of an external examination for listening and reading. He had seen other Samoan tamaiti a'oga struggle and had developed empathy for junior tamaiti a'oga through his own academic achievement for Gagana Sāmoa. I could feel that he wanted to see solutions for future tamaiti a'oga, so they did not have to struggle like he did. He saw two plausible solutions for this. The first was around the preparation of Year 9 and 10 students for Gagana Sāmoa NCEA:

> If we start, like an exam or some pre-test, for the low level, like Year 9, Year 10. We start them real young. Once they reach up to the NCEA levels they might find it, not as hard as now. It will give them something work on. What they need to succeed. How they can get better at doing (I, June, 2016).

Luma saw that part of the success in Gagana Sāmoa was through a Year 9 and 10 programme, but he seemed to be suggesting that tamaiti a'oga needed to be exposed to the experience of a kind of test, so they could become accustomed to these kinds of test conditions and ensure their success. His ideas continued to evolve with how supporting the juniors better could work:

> There is another idea I had. We could have like all the juniors and seniors combined when we do something. After that, we could break up, like the juniors go to their side. *You know how we break up after we do (signals with his hand gesture writing on the board). We could do it all together because the words on the board are not that hard,* and then after we can break up. The juniors could go with [Tulāfale] the seniors, we have another teacher, or we can be responsible for our own selves (I, June, 2016).

This suggestion was significant linguistically and for the *va* or relational spaces it would create. Luma saw the potential of juniors and seniors in the same teaching and learning space. He made a reference to the Do Now task (in italics), which was always at the beginning of the

class. This was a translation task from English into the student's target Pasifika language which he seemed to see as linguistically accessible to junior and senior students for Gagana Sāmoa students at least. This indicated that he had a community language awareness of Gagana Sāmoa linguistic skills of the focus secondary school, Samoan tamaiti a'oga community, and perhaps the wider school community. He was starting to explore how the teaching and learning could occur between senior tamaiti a'oga themselves, between Tulāfale and tamaiti a'oga and senior tamaiti a'oga teaching junior tamaiti a'oga.

He indicated that he saw the senior and junior tamaiti a'oga relationship in the new teaching and learning space not just for teaching and learning of linguistic and cultural knowledge, but as potential space to motivate discipline and the education of rules and expectations:

> Then, the Year 9s would know what to do in Pasifika Studies in Year 10, Year 11, Year 12, 13. Plus, they know what to do in the exams when they are looking at the older kids. During the time seniors have studies, they can just work on what they need to work on for their age. You know, you gotta take it serious. You can actually fail just talking or on your phone. I experienced that in Year 10 when we had an exam. I didn't realise. I had my phone out, but I was lucky, they gave me a chance (I, June, 2016).

He still saw it important for senior tamaiti a'oga to have their own time to work together in the class, but he had a strong sense of obligation to use his experiences to help the junior tamaiti a'oga understand the importance of using the Pasifika language learning opportunities as well as scaffolding different understandings for academic success. The word 'lucky' surfaced again. He seemed to have been blessed with a lot of luck.

Bilingual and biliteracy language and learning challenges throughout growth, reflection, and success as a Learning Tutor, and as a Year 12 and 13 student

Throughout his journeys as a Learning Tutor, Prefect and "faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa", there were two major interrelated physical and academic challenges which Luma navigated. He was diagnosed with keratoconus while at the same time working at building his academic language and literacy in Gagana Sāmoa and English. The diagnosis of keratoconus was significant as it affected him for the remainder of his schooling including his continued acquisition of the language and literacy in both languages.

The deterioration of eyesight and system failure

According to Keratoconus New Zealand (2021), keratoconus is a genetic eye condition which affects the cornea of the eye; therefore, it is not uncommon for more than one family member to develop the condition. It creates an irregular cornea and causes blurry vision. While it is usually painless, it can be associated with allergies such as asthma and hay fever. The condition mostly develops in the teenage years, and it is not uncommon for the condition to be misdiagnosed.

Gokul, Ziaei, Mathan, Han, Misra, Patel and McGhee (2021) report that keratoconus is reasonably common in New Zealand with 1869 patients managed by optometrists over the last two years. Gokul et al., in the study from their findings conclude "Māori and Pasifika Peoples seem to have greater disease severity. An ethnic predilection is apparent with Māori and Pacific Peoples over-represented relative to their population proportions, reinforcing a long-held clinical suspicion" (Gokul et al., p.1 2021).

Luma became a statistic for keratoconus. In 2016, he represented the focus secondary school at a local Pasifika speech event. Prior to this, he presented at the focus secondary school's Pasifika Speech Celebration. He could not see what was on the cue cards, so he relied mostly on his memorisation, which was expected in these competitions, but he was under pressure to reach the level of memorisation required. His sight had become worse. A short time after this, I wrote to a member of the pastoral team to convey my concerns and observations:

> I have been really worried about [Luma] in class. He has come right up to the board to see and sits right up the front. Today, I phoned [optometrists], and I made a tentative appointment for him. It is affecting his schoolwork, and he is becoming more embarrassed about having to come close to things to see anything (WD, June, 2016).

Luma went to the appointment accompanied by a member of the pastoral team and was diagnosed with keratoconus. He was referred to the District Health Board for further treatment which was financially covered through the public health system. He needed to get contact lenses which his aiga had to pay for, and the focus secondary school covered the cost of the visit to the optometrists. The optometrist conveyed to the member of the pastoral team that it was "lucky" Luma had the condition diagnosed and treated because it progresses quickly.

Again, the word 'lucky' had surfaced. There was a team effort by the pastoral team and senior leadership to get Luma to the appointment and pay for it. I wondered how long he had had the condition and why no one else in the school had concerns with him in their respective classrooms. Papali'i-Curtin, Ma, Woods, L., Covello and Hall (2019) suggest, as a result of their research in Wellington secondary schools, that a nationwide screening programmes could be implemented to "reduce the burden of disease associated with keratoconus" (Papali'I et al.,p.1387) While the screening programme would certainly be of benefit; this condition emerges in the teenage years and most free vision eye tests occur only up until the age of 12 and do not screen for everything (Ministry of Heath, 2016); hence, acute awareness of keratoconus by school and whanau communities is essential. Both the pastoral team member and me, were unaware of such as condition emerging in the teenage years.

I had the privilege of supporting and guiding Luma in Pasifika Studies and English for Academic Purposes' course. In the English for Academic Purposes course, I had the responsibility of supporting him and developing his English academic literacy skills to gain the university entrance literacy requirement while Pasifika Studies developed both his Gagana Sāmoa language and literacy and English language and literacy.

Gagana Sāmoa Achievement Standards

At Level Two, Luma's Gagana Sāmoa NCEA results continued to reveal his strengths and challenges. Luma was consistent with national statistics in 2016 with students being the most successful with the conversation/interactions and speech internal assessments, with over 60% of students gaining an Excellence or Merit grade. Luma gained an Excellence grade for conversation/interactions and a Merit for his speech. He improved his listening external grade from the previous year with a Merit grade, but he once again struggled with the reading standard examination and did not achieve it. His writing showed he had perhaps not put in the necessary time and effort for this standard or the standard was considerably more demanding than the previous year. He gained an Achieved grade. He showed his strengths in speaking and listening in Gagana Sāmoa, but how he needed more support with his reading and writing. The results may have also reflected his eyesight medical condition which had been recently diagnosed.

In the Pasifika Studies course in 2017, he continued with Gagana Sāmoa at NCEA Level Three. Within this year, there was the school cultural trip to Samoa and Tonga. In Samoa, Luma and

two other Year 13 students did their Level Three Gagana Sāmoa NCEA assessment for the conversation/interaction standard. Luma maintained his strengths in the speech, and conversation/interaction standard. Also, he responded to his previous year's writing result with a much-improved grade. However, this was not the perfect end to the story. He did not attend his end of year Level Three Gagana Sāmoa examination for the listening and reading standards. Both Tulāfale and I were disappointed, but Luma's historical Not Achieved grades for the reading standard for Level One and Level Two had most likely deterred him from attending, and potentially failing the reading standard again. The other possible explanation for him not attending was that Luma had already gained the 14 credits requirement for a university approved subject. I was not sure of Luma's intentions for tertiary study, if any, in the following year, but the conversation, speech and writing internal assessments gave a university approved subject for university entrance.

Nationally in 2017, for Level Three Samoan, Luma was in the group of one third of students (between 30 to 35%) who achieved an Excellence grade for the three internal assessments (conversation, speech and writing standards). He was one of 71 students who did not attend the listening examination, and one of 84 students who did not attend the reading examination. For this cohort, for both the reading and listening examinations, over half of the students gained an Achieved grade with over 60% of students (177 students for listening and 180 students for reading) with an Achieved or Not Achieved grade. Therefore, Luma was part of a much larger national challenge of non-attendance for Gagana Sāmoa examinations and a concerning high percentage of students not achieving or reaching only the minimum requirement to achieve the standards for both listening and reading.

English language unit standards and English for Academic Purpose Standards

Luma continued to work bilingually and biliterally in Gagana Sāmoa and English at school. In Year 12, he was in a Year 12/13 EAL class which had students from Stage 2-3 of the ELLP. In this class, he was able to continue to develop his English language and literacy skills and achieve a range of English Language (EL) Unit Standards for NCEA in reading, writing, presenting and formal speaking interactions. The EL standards were essential in building Luma's English language and literacy. Intensive work was needed in the EAL class to enable Luma to gain these assessments. For Luma and other English Language Learners (ELLs), the EL standards highlight further marginalisation which continued for Luma despite these EL grades and his linguistic competency (language and literacy) in two languages.

In 2017, in Year 13, he entered the English for Academic Purposes (EAP) course which focused on academic literacy for further tertiary study and literacy across students' Level Three subjects. In March, all students in the focus secondary school were tested using the English Vocabulary Levels Test (Schmitt, Schmitt & Chapman, 2001). This showed that Luma had built his vocabulary to an academic level since Year 9 particularly signified by his 25/30 score which includes testing the academic vocabulary contained in academic texts across curriculum using The Academic Word List (Coxhead, 2000). In the focus secondary school's EAP course, they utilised subject and subject specific literacy to create research questions for an academic presentation, reading and essay. Students are between Stage Three and Four of the ELLP to work towards achieving these standards. The EAP standards were not university entrance approved subjects. Luma used the same research question he developed as an academic purpose to write his academic essay and develop into an academic oral presentation. This gave Luma the university entrance writing literacy requirement. He did not attempt the EAP Reading standard required for university literacy. He was successful with his academic oral presentation, but he was further marginalised as it did not give him an Achievement Standard for a university approved subject. However, many monolingual native English speakers were and are able to use English Achievement Standards as a university approved subject.

Pacific Unit Standards

Luma presented his presentation bilingually and biliterally in Year 11. Despite the Ministry of Education's Pasifika Education Plan (PEP) 2013-2017 stating that the purpose of the plan is to "ensure the Ministry of Education and Partner Agencies are responding to the identities, languages and cultures of each Pasifika group" (PEP, p.3), the marginalisation of Pasifika students and their Pacific skills, world views and knowledges explicitly continues at Level Two and Three NCEA with the Pacific Unit Standards. The Pacific Unit Standards at Level Two and Three offer the opportunity and potential to research and develop critical thinking skills on themes, knowledges and histories connected to the Pacific. I was embarrassed and ashamed to show exemplars because of the low expectations and level for each grade. The exemplars sent a message of low expectation and devaluation of the students' Pasifika cultures and identities in contrast to what the PEP stated. There seems to be institutional discouragement by the low standards set by the standards and their non-approved university entrance status discounting and denying success as Pasifika.

Luma's Level Two Pasifika Studies' presentation was: *What were the causes of Samoa's Independence?* This was for the Level Two Pacific Unit Standard. Again, he made the choice of having the Power-Point in English, but he presented and spoke in Gagana Sāmoa. Luma used this again as a translanguaging space. In 2017, his presentation was: *What are the learning challenges for Samoan students in Samoa and New Zealand?* Luma evaluated his presentation for the Pacific Unit Standard. It shows some acknowledgement, reality, honesty, and progression. He began with analysing his strengths:

> A strength that really helped me was the knowledge that I had in myself. Using my own experience as well as the experience that my parents had been through when they were in school. This allowed me to expand on my ideas and main points not only using data from the internet but also sharing some of my own experience on how and what I went through at this time. Another strength I found was using data from websites, books and articles that related to what my topic was about. For example, the [library], made a huge impact on my topic by supplying me with useful articles and websites that was relevant information. The books and websites were helpful but without the librarians I wouldn't have been able to collect or access any databases that would be relevant to my topic (AT, October, 2017).

Luma had identified four pillars which enabled him to present: his own knowledge and experiences, parental knowledge and experiences, digital and non-digital resources (self-sourced) and librarians. He appeared to be indicating that these four pillars were responsible for the quality of his content. The presentation provided an opportunity for his mātua to engage with his learning by valuing their own knowledge and inclusion in Luma's education. His reflection about his presentation weaknesses focused particularly on his delivery, preparation, and English language skills. He shared:

> One of the weaknesses was having lack of confidence in speaking English and pronouncing words. Since it was my first time doing a presentation in English, it got me nervous, and I started to panic during my presentation. Another weakness was the lack of eye contact with the audience. This is caused by not being prepared and the lacking of time you spend on practising it. Body language is another weakness. Having to stand straight holding the paper with no arm movement shows that not only you haven't spent your time wisely practising it, and you're not really sure what you're talking about (AT, October, 2017).

He was particularly critical of himself, mostly attributing this to the time commitment he needed. It appeared that he struggled with the academic language and literacy. Even though this final presentation was a struggle, the learning process was significant. I was proud that he was leaving school bilingual and biliterate in Gagana Sāmoa and English. Luma's Gagana

Sāmoa, Pacific Studies and English Language results for Year 12 and 13 are detailed in Appendix G, Table 3, 4 and 5.

In 2017, 65.3% of Pasifika students had gained NCEA Level Three with 32.3% gaining university entrance. Despite the Pasifika Education Plan from 2013 - 2017, the percentage of Pasifika students gaining university entrance remained around thirty percent. As of December 2017, Luma gained Level Three NCEA but not university entrance, mirroring what had happened nationally in New Zealand.

What were the supports and challenges for Luma prior to becoming a bilingual Learning Tutor, and what supports, challenges and effects emerged during his role?

The main supports for Luma becoming a Learning Tutor were acknowledging, supporting, and monitoring his bilingual and biliteracy development in Gagana Sāmoa and English, his relationship with Tulāfale and myself and the provision of an explicit opportunity for him to use these bilingual and biliterate skills. The initial data from Luma started with the English language and literacy test when he was identified in the mainstream English class. His misplacement highlighted the school-wide understanding of the transition process when students do not arrive within the dedicated time frames. The English Language Learning Progression data which I conveyed to the Dean indicated clearly where he needed to be placed. There were no tools available at that time to establish the skills he had for Gagana Sāmoa in Year 9 and 10. I was able to unofficially establish that he had some skills through his enthusiasm for the early beginnings of the Gagana Sāmoa group. More understanding was gained when he began at NCEA Level 1, in the senior school where it showed specifically his challenges with reading and writing. While Luma built on his writing skills, his reading was a continual struggle. It appeared that Luma had had very little reading support in Gagana Sāmoa either at home or at school. However, it was not clear whether this was the result of his eye condition or continued struggles to read. Throughout this time, his growth of English language and literacy was carefully monitored up until his last year. His success with the English for Academic Purposes writing assessment at the end of the year almost paralleled with the similar struggles he had had with Gagana Sāmoa as he did not attempt the EAP reading standard needed for university entrance literacy.

Luma was able to connect with people. I began to build a relationship with him from the day he came to be tested. The Intensive EAL class was an essential space where I could build a relationship with him, especially in our early morning conversations. The beginning of the junior Gagana Sāmoa group was the result of our conversations. For Tulāfale and me, this was a team approach to not only unofficially monitor Luma's Gagana Sāmoa development, but also provide bilingual and bicultural support. In addition to this development, Luma established a purpose for continuing to work on his Gagana Sāmoa through the Learning Tutor programme. In addition, this programme served another purpose by showing the Year 9 and 10 students how Luma was valued in the school as a linguistic and cultural expert, and a leader. This was further reinforced by him becoming a leader in a recognised school leadership role.

The main challenges for Luma prior to becoming a Gagana Sāmoa Learning Tutor was an inconsistent national approach to monitoring and supporting Pasifika languages and English language in primary schools. Luma and his family were transient during Luma's primary school years. However, the amount of time which he did spend in schools was sufficient time to establish data in both languages. The lack of data delayed him being placed in the correct class for English language and the building and supporting of his existing Gagana Sāmoa skills. There were a considerable number of "what ifs?" Luck had been on his side, and I wondered about how many Samoan, Pasifika, and migrant students who did not have this "luck" with such important processes, relationships and bilingual/multi-lingual support and development. A significant challenge Luma had to begin to incorporate into his schooling life, was his keratoconus diagnosis.

During Luma's time as a Learning Tutor, the supports for him were multi-layered. There were two main strengths of support related to Luma. The first strength was how Luma was supported and the second was how Luma supported the project. Luma became an increasingly important support as the project progressed. Some of this support was because of the human characteristics he had within himself such as humility, resilience, self-awareness, kind-heartedness, a sense of responsibility and receptiveness to feedback, but also, the capability to lead when needed. Support for Luma came from his Dean, Tulāfale and some key teachers; including myself who were focused on his journey. As this journey progressed and was nurtured, he also increased his support for the growing diversity of Pasifika students, not only in the junior Gagana Sāmoa class, but also all Pasifika students and the wider focus secondary school population. Finally, his commitment to teaching tamaiti a'oga had been supported by

his experience of Gagana Sāmoa being taught when he was in the junior school, outside of the timetable and his experiences of his unsupported Gagana Sāmoa throughout his primary schools.

Luma experienced a range of challenges which had historical contexts, needed critical awareness and were the results of his human characteristics, cultural and community membership. Luma had to make a transition from a tamaiti a'oga membership to a faiā'oga membership within the school's context. What was directly responsible for Luma's challenge with his reading skills in both English and Gagana Sāmoa is inconclusive because it appears to have been affected by several combined possibilities. It was uncertain how long Luma had had keratoconus, but I had watched him for at least a year struggle with his reading in both languages. Luma experienced conflict within himself about what he saw with his younger peers, especially his observations about the differences between how the boys were learning in comparison to the girls.

Luma's inclusion in the project was a major effect of the implementation. The main effects for Luma were him leaving secondary school with bilingualism and biliteracy in Gagana Sāmoa and English, developing leadership and tutoring/teaching skills, and a conscious awareness of the inequities for Pasifika students with a view to making change. As well as Tulāfale being placed in a unique position, Luma, as a Learning Tutor, gained a unique position to view his younger peers, work alongside Tulāfale and examine his own growth. He contributed to the beginnings, maintaining, and transforming of the space. His unique Year 9 and 10 perspectives enabled him to compare degrees of marginalisation from outside to inside the timetable. He began to see how a focus on Gagana Sāmoa and Samoan students was inequitable given the diversity of the Pasifika population at the focus secondary school, and he began to articulate possible solutions and new spaces.

Luma is the last individual narrative after my practitioner narrative and Tulāfale's narrative. Tulāfale and I had both developed connections with Luma and proudly supported his development from Year 9 to 13. However, Luma's story provides an account which was sometimes characterised by elements of luck, so his story could have diverted to not so favourable outcomes. As a Year 9 and 10 tamaiti a'oga, Luma's Gagana Sāmoa skills were unknown to the wider school. In the project, Tulāfale, through his teaching and learning of the

Year 9 and 10 tamaiti a'oga in the junior Gagana Sāmoa class, he had begun to understand their linguistic Gagana Sāmoa skills, and he recognised the changing composition of tamaiti a'oga in the class. He had this knowledge and had seen and listened through his faia'oga perspective. Chapter Seven is the story of tamaiti a'oga in the project as the *atosei* in *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia.*

CHAPTER SEVEN: ATOSEI

Introduction

This chapter tells the story of tamaiti a'oga, the students, in the project. They were part of the project over three years in the Initial, Evolving, and New Model Phases and the focus of the teaching and learning of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. Their voices provided feedback to Tulāfale as the faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa, and me as the practitioner-researcher about the teaching and learning in the class, its structural organisation in the school, and its fluid diverse and changing Pasifika tamaiti a'oga and aiga membership.

The story is about how tamaiti a'oga responded to the implementation of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class and what challenges manifested because of the implementation. As the researcher, I tell the narrative in third person. Sixteen motifs are presented in chronological order. Relevant literature is not included within the narrative to avoid interrupting tamaiti a'oga spirit, freshness, and control of their narrative; however, some literature is referred to in the sub-question discussion. I discuss the motifs using the sub-research question: *How did students support and challenge the project's implementation, and what were the effects?*

Tamaiti a'oga families' lives and histories are diverse and complex.

Tamaiti a'oga all have Pasifika heritage. Some of them have Samoan, New Zealand European, Chinese, and German heritage, with some of this heritage not identified on the school management system. Fai and Ao were born in New Zealand, and their mātua are Samoan. For a number of tamaiti a'oga, both of their mātua are Samoan, but there are a few tamaiti a'oga who have a New Zealand European matua and a Samoan matua. One tamaiti a'oga has lived with their New Zealand European matua for most of their life, but they have also built relationships with their Samoan extended aiga members. Ao is identified on the school management system with Chinese and Samoan ethnicities. Luisa is not identified as Samoan and Chinese in the school management system; however, she later shared her Chinese heritage through a planned cultural presentation. Lagi has German heritage which is connected with the German protectorate of Samoa between 1900 and 1914. Even though Germany annexed Samoa in 1900, Germans were in Samoa since the 1860s. All tamaiti a'oga with a New Zealand European and Samoan mātua were born in New Zealand. Teine Leilua and Lagi came to New Zealand when they were five years old, Luisa was four, Tava was seven and Afu was eight.

There are large differences in the number of people they live with and their relationships with them. In Fai's home, there are nine people. In Teine Leilua's home, she is number four of five brothers and one sister. Ao is the oldest with two younger siblings. One tamaiti a'oga does not live with their biological matua. They have been with their grandparents for most of their life. Luisa does live with her mātua, and she lives with siblings, aunties, and cousins, but this is sometimes changing depending on the needs of aiga.

Tamaiti a'oga have had little or no support for Gagana Sāmoa in one or numerous primary schools.

Tamaiti a'oga Gagana Sāmoa learning journey to the focus secondary school was characterised by primary schools mostly focusing on cultural groups or performances. Most of them had no specific language instruction in Gagana Sāmoa or any other Pasifika language, including te reo Māori. Many of them went to a lot of primary schools and sometimes could not remember the names of those schools. Uso Matua went to three primary schools; including one in the North Island and Fai went to four. Neither of them had a Gagana Sāmoa class or support. If some of them had Gagana Sāmoa support, it was for a short period of time. For example, one tamaiti a'oga remembered two parents who were supporting them with their Gagana Sāmoa in school, but then they left suddenly. Similarly, Fa'avae had two years of support at a contributing school from a child's parent in the school, but the parent stopped coming after Year 7. If they attended one of the major contributing primary schools, they had some Gagana Sāmoa instruction from Tulāfale when they were in Year 7 and 8. There were two teachers who included Pasifika languages and culture into the classroom. One teacher had different posters around the rooms, and they used some Gagana Sāmoa in class. A New Zealand European teacher, who was learning Gagana Sāmoa, taught the class and included Gagana Sāmoa. For Tupu, there was indirect teaching, "Cause after prayers we would talk Samoan to each other. The pastor would talk to us after church and ask how we were" (LI, November, 2016).

Tamaiti a'oga liked Tulāfale, how he taught, and they already had a relationship with him.
Tamaiti a'oga were already linked in different ways to Tulāfale before he came to the focus secondary school. He is part of the Samoan community, so he connected with some of their mātua over the years. Ao explained he is "Not that close, but my dad knows him because they go to the same church" (Q, September, 2015). Another tamaiti a'oga attended the same fitness activity once a week. Some of them already knew Tulāfale from their previous primary school. Tupu "expected" to have Gagana Sāmoa at the focus secondary school as he learnt Gagana

Sāmoa with him at his primary school. Tama Leilua believed that it was important when he came to the focus secondary school that he already knew Tulāfale because it made it easier to start a new school. The other relationship was because he was a family figure. Fai believed he was "A great teacher. He's like my dad away from home" (Q, September, 2015). Tama Galue Malosi thought that he related to them, "Because he is Samoan, he knows what we are like. He will say that when we do homework, I know that you guys are going go to your parents and ask them. He'll tell us. He understands" (LI, February, 2017).

Tamaiti a'oga were learning some things about Samoan culture which they might have known something about but not always.

They enjoyed learning about aspects of Samoan culture that they did not know, and sometimes reinforcing some of the culture they had learnt from their mātua. Utufiu stated "In the culture classes, I pretty much reheard a lot of the stuff Dad has been telling me about religion, patterns, songs and dance" (Q, September, 2015). They learnt a lot about matai and the chief system. Teresa shared what she was enjoying learning, "Learning new things that I didn't know in Samoa. It's called faleo'o. It's a house that the chief and stuff. I can't explain it. All the taupo and the chief and stuff inside the faleo'o" (LI, October, 2017). Uso Matua enjoyed how Tulāfale taught them about the faleo'o. She explained, "I liked how he taught us the positions and where people sit and how high people and are how low people are" (LI, October, 2017). They were learning about this in different ways. Teresa explained their groupwork, "We are acting stuff that we learn inside the faleo'o. I was taupo. The girl that always dances" (LI, October, 2017). Tama Leilua shared his learnings, "We've been learning how you treat your guest when they come in and do the kava" (LI, February, 2017). Other cultural aspects were prayers, songs, legends, and history in Samoa. Fa'avae said he "has learnt prayers and songs which I didn't know before" (LI, October, 2017). Paula shared as a Tongan learning about Samoa, "I enjoy the knowledge. How they explain the kinds of legends. How they talk about the history of Samoa" (LI, October, 2017).

Tamaiti a'oga did not like class running into their lunchtime or missing other classes, but they were attending.

The timing of the class had some problems for tamaiti a'oga. The first problem was that while it was on the Wednesday and their classes rotated on a Wednesday, it was complicated by The school's assembly. For Utufiu:

> It got annoying because one Wednesday I would miss out a subject because of assembly, and then the subjects would rotate so next week I would miss out on the same subject again for Samoan class (Q, September, 2015).

A few of them attended most of the classes and any absences were due to forgetting. There was a group of tamaiti a'oga who did not come when they wanted to attend the scheduled class in their timetable because they did not want to miss important subjects such as Science or Maths. A couple of them were told by their mātua that if they had an important subject, they needed to attend this subject instead of Gagana Sāmoa class especially if they had any tests. Lagi said, "I was told to miss Samoan class if I had an important subject at the time" (Q, September, 2015). Tamaiti a'oga really did not like the class at lunchtime, but some of them liked the food provided. Tava firmly stated he did not like, "That it goes till lunch time" (Q, September, 2015). One of them suggested that this time was changed to Thursday and Tiene Leilua believed, "It's done on the wrong day" (Q, September, 2015).

Mātua have tried to support tamaiti a'oga with their Gagana Sāmoa, but it was difficult to read and write Gagana Sāmoa especially, so this was what they were mostly learning in their Gagana Sāmoa class.

There were a few tamaiti a'oga who were doing well with their reading and writing in Gagana Sāmoa, but for the most of them, reading and writing were difficult. Those who were good at reading and writing had learnt somehow from their mātua or church. Fai pondered, "I learnt from dad writing in Samoan and looking at the letters. I don't know how I learnt to read and write" (SI, July, 2015). Tama Galue Malosi's father took a role in trying to extend Tama Galue Malosi's Gagana Sāmoa knowledge after church or after lunch on a Sunday. He explained, "Sometimes when we go to church and our parents tell us to write what we learnt from church in our books. We kind of learnt from there" (LI, February, 2017). He continued with how his dad was prompting him, "So we go to church. There is a public talk. Once that talk's given, our dad tells us to write some stuff during the talk" (LI, February, 2017). The main orthographic feature, which is difficult about the writing, is the spelling, especially the long words and the

punctuation. Uso Matua observed that, "There is stuff on top of the 'a's. It's really hard for me to learn where to put those when I am writing" (LI, October, 2017). For Tama Leilua as well, he shared, "The commas and lines and stuff" (LI, October, 2017). There are long words which are difficult to spell, so Tulāfale did spelling with tamaiti a'oga every lesson. An example of a spelling test is that given on the 25th of May, 2016:

1. fa'atoesega   (apology)
2. fa'amaisega   (condolences)
3. fa'anoanoaga   (grief)
4. fa'amasinoga   (judgement)
5. fa'alototelega (generalisation or encouragement)
6. fa'aaloaloga   (courtesy)
7. fa'aleleiga   (reconciliation)
8. fa'amanulaga   (preparation)
9. fa'afeiloa'iga (welcome)
10. fa'amanatuga   (remembrance or communion service)

Some of them really struggled with the spelling tests, but they did learn how to pronounce the words. Tamaiti a'oga did this with a spelling game. In addition, to spelling and punctuation, several of them noted an overall improvement in their writing. Lagi made the observation that, "I have improved writing in my own language a lot better than I used to" (Q, September, 2015). Most of them did not have access to Gagana Sāmoa reading materials at home and some of them struggled with reading. Fa'avae was aware of his reading and writing differences, "Reading is not my best thing in Samoan, but writing makes sense to me" (LI October, 2017). Tamaiti a'oga were aware of their challenges with reading. Fa'avae added that he thought that it was because, "I don't do that much reading in Samoan at home" (LI, October, 2017). Fa'avae noted that the Bible was the only reading text which was at home. This was the most common text for most tamaiti a'oga. However, the process of reading was also challenging for a number of them. Tama Leilua described what was occurring in his head, "Because every time I read my head just freezes and try to figure out what the word is and then continue on" (LI, October, 2017). There was progress with reading in the class for tamaiti a'oga at all different levels. Utufiu shared that he, "can now pick out words he understands from a basic text. I like it when I learn a new word, and I can recognise and understand what it means without having to ask the Samoan language teacher" (Q, September, 2015). Paula, because he is Tongan, had not done any reading in Gagana Sāmoa before he came to class. He did not enjoy the reading because some of the words were difficult for him to say, and it took a long time to say them. However, there was a feeling from tamaiti a'oga that they were getting better at their reading.

Lagi said that he learnt, "Properly reading a lot more in my culture" (Q, September, 2015). He found it difficult, "Sometimes having to read in front of the class, and also spelling right" (Q, September, 2015). Some of them were beginners to learning a Pasifika language. One of them stated:

> I can't even speak in Samoan for 30 seconds. I need to learn how to put sentences together, and how to talk about myself more. At this point, I can only say a few things about myself and some greetings (Q, September, 2015).

Another tamaiti a'oga said that "I don't get taught well or properly because I am the only one who has not grown up speaking the language, so the class moves too quickly for me" (Q, September, 2015). However, the same tamaiti a'oga shared there was progress with their Gagana Sāmoa as they observed, "the same words don't follow on from each other like they do in English" (Q, September, 2015). Son acknowledged how Tulāfale was trying to work at his level. Son was utilising his knowledge of Niuean and Tongan. When learning, Son explained, "[Tulāfale] gives me this textbook, and I do different stuff than the other boys and girls. I learn to say the Samoan words properly" (LI, September, 2016). Son observed the similarities between Niuean, Samoan and Tongan. With Niuean, Son knew that compared to Samoan, "Some of the words are the same" (LI, September, 2016), and "They sound the same but different spelling" (LI, September, 2016). However, he found that Niuean, "Is more similar to Tongan cause my grandpa can speak Tongan, and they are kind of the same" (LI, September, 2016).

Most tamaiti a'oga were speaking Gagana Sāmoa to their mātua, but they were mostly speaking with their siblings or sometimes to their cousins in English.

They were all living in different Gagana Sāmoa learning environments at home although they were speaking mostly to their mātua in Gagana Sāmoa if they are Samoan. Tamaiti a'oga were aware that they were losing their Gagana Sāmoa as they knew of how much was spoken at home and to whom. In certain situations, and contexts, they were using their Gagana Sāmoa. For example, Tama Leilua explained that when he talked in Gagana Sāmoa with his mum, he only talked about chores, and she talked about work. There were mostly everyday conversations with mātua who spoke Gagana Sāmoa. Tupu made the following observation:

My cousins came from Samoa. They got put into a school. There was no Samoan language in their school. They were little cousins. They were better talking Samoan than I am. After a year, they couldn't speak any Samoan (LI, November, 2016).

Uso Matua, said that "I speak Samoan to my parents, and they speak back, but my brothers, since they have been going to primary school, they haven't been really speaking Samoan a lot" (LI, October, 2017). There were other influences around them which were compounding tamaiti a'oga losing their spoken Gagana Sāmoa. In Tama Galue Malosi's aiga environment:

My little brother can understand some Samoan words and some English words. He watches videos on You-tube. These are baby clips which we sometimes see him singing when he is watching the TV. Mum will ask him, like "what is that? He will answer. Most of his English is coming from the TV (LI, February, 2017).

There was one tamaiti a'oga, since attending the Gagana Sāmoa class, who shared what was happening with his dad. He stated, "I don't discuss much with him, but Dad is trying to use more Samoan when talking to me at home" (Q, September, 2015). Tupu expressed, "I feel scared that I might lose my Samoan language". (LI, November, 2016). It helped their Gagana Sāmoa when there was someone who could not speak English, did not want to speak English or when tamaiti a'oga felt obligated to a younger sibling to teach and use Gagana Sāmoa before they started primary school. Fai spoke only Gagana Sāmoa to her dad because "he can understand English, but he can't speak it" (SI, July, 2015). For Fa'avae, "with my sisters, I talk Samoan to one of them and English to the other sister" (LI, October, 2017). Teine Leilua spoke mostly "to my older brother in Samoan because he doesn't like English. He was born in Samoa and arrived in New Zealand when he was 11 years old" (SI, May, 2015). The main people they spoke Gagana Sāmoa to, were their mātua. For Tupu, "I speak Samoan to all of the family but mostly to my parents" (LI, November, 2016). Tamaiti a'oga spoke Gagana Sāmoa when their mātua were around. Teine Leilua, spoke sometimes in Gagana Sāmoa to her siblings, but mostly when she was in front of her. Te Hurianga, because of his aiga, and how it had come together over the years, could not really understand Gagana Sāmoa. He described his reality of, "If my biological father was talking to me, I would not understand him". His sister can speak Gagana Sāmoa; she can speak and understand but not fully (LI, February, 2017). Another tamaiti a'oga, who lived with her New Zealand European mum, knew a few words in Gagana Sāmoa. She mostly had everyday conversations in Gagana Sāmoa with her dad and her two half-brothers (SI, July, 2015).

Tamaiti a'oga were sometimes mixing languages when they were speaking, especially if they were learning or were not as good as they used to be with their Gagana Sāmoa. Lagi explained in, "The last two years, has learnt how to pronounce Samoan. I mix it up with English (SI, September, 2015). Paula also had challenges with speaking Tongan. He felt that his Tongan language skills were "average", and "Some words I have to pronounce in Tongan in the fresh way cause I can't say it properly and some words I only know in English. (LI, October, 2017). In his house, he heard about 60% Tongan which was similar to what was occurring with Gagana Sāmoa in the homes of other tamaiti a'oga.

Mātua were supporting tamaiti a'oga.

There were different ways that their mātua were supporting them. For most tamaiti a'oga, their mātua knew that they were taking the class, but they did not talk to their mātua much about it. However, there were some conversations with their mātua even by Paula. He communicated with his aiga about being in Gagana Sāmoa class. He told them after the first class he attended. His aiga supported him and said, "It's up to you if you want" (LI, October, 2017). His aiga were supportive of the class and Paula wanted to continue his language development. For other mātua some of them made comments. Tama Leilua talked about being in the Gagana Sāmoa class to his mother, and she said, "as long as I am learning the culture" (LI, October, 2017). This strong view was also expressed by another matua. His mother encouraged him to keep going with his Gagana Sāmoa. Fa'avae shared that his mother said, "She would rather have me knowing Samoan than English" (LI, October, 2017). Another tamaiti a'oga, did not discuss the Gagana Sāmoa class, but their mātua asked them what they were doing in the class and whether there was going to be a school trip to Samoa as he missed out on going on a trip to the Islands this year. Luisa had another level of engagement which involved discussing with her mātua what she already knew, and then afterwards they went over things that she did not understand from the class. This was also the case for Tama Galue Malosi. His mātua sometimes asked what they were learning in Gagana Sāmoa class, but sometimes he would tell them "Out of the blue" (LI, February, 2017). He would say what they learnt or what was coming up.

This was where tamaiti a'oga could be themselves and be like aiga, be with their friends and learn from each other, but they sometimes needed to be more respectful.

Tamaiti a'oga sometimes felt disconnected to the rest of the school when they were out there, but the class brought connection. Fa'avae shared that in other classes, "Cause don't have any other Samoans in the other classes" (LI, October, 2017). So, it was the only time, "I get to talk

to Samoan. We sometimes talk at interval" (LI, October, 2017). For tamaiti a'oga, it provided a place where they, as Tama Leilua said:

> ... can learn from each other and get along cause some of us are different. We go to church at different times and days, and we want to know about their different religions and stuff. We get to know about their families cause it feels we are a family (LI, February, 2017).

The environment was a place where they did not feel inhibited to answer questions. Fa'avae said, "In other classes you'd be shy to answer questions, but in Samoan class they don't care if you get it wrong. You don't have to be shy to open up (LI, October, 2017). This overall sentiment was felt by Tama Galue Malosi when he said that it was, "the people I work with" (LI, February, 2017). Some of them believed it was where the boys could help each other but perhaps needed some guidance. Paula explained, "The boys help each other in the Samoan class. We had a spelling test this morning. There was this one word, and I asked [Tupu] how you spell it, and he just gave it to me (LI, October, 2017). However, they also recognised that there needed to be more respect. Tama Leilua gave his opinion, "What I didn't enjoy is that some of us doesn't actually listen and just muck around" (LI, October, 2017). This opinion was shared by Fai who stated, "I don't like how disrespectful [student] is to Tulāfale and how much people turn up" (Q, September, 2015). However, whilst some of them believed there was an aiga feel, Uso Matua believed:

> There is a very awkward vibe in the class. In every other class, I am able to speak to others. I go over, sit down, and speak, and then I normally get on. But it's very awkward in there most of the time. You sit down at a table and there's people over there, and over there and then there's yourself over here. I am kind of thinking that when he tries to put the girls with the boys, it makes it more awkward. I think some people are more comfortable in their peers or with their friends (LI, October, 2017).

Other Pasifika tamaiti a'oga joined the class to connect with each other, their or another Pasifika language and culture in the school.

There were some tamaiti a'oga who joined the class who were not Samoan or who did not have obvious Samoan heritage, but they joined to build and gain Pasifika connections. They were willing to learn other Pasifika languages, including Te Reo. Three of them have diverse Pasifika connections: One of them was Son, who is Niuean. He explained why he joined the class, "I wanted to do something which involved a Pasifika language, and I wanted to find out more about Niue" (LI, September, 2016). Son lost most of his Niuean language connection when he was young. He explained, "I used to talk it heaps when I used to live with my grandpa

but now I don't. I lived there from when I was a baby until 8 or 9" (LI, September, 2016). Son's grandfather has heritage connections to Tonga, and he believed that "one of his family members are Tongan too" (LI, September, 2016). Son sought connections to Gagana Sāmoa and culture when he was at his primary school when Tulāfale began to teach there. Paula stated, "I just wanted to learn more about different countries and cultures. I enjoy the knowledge" (LI, October, 2017). At home, Paula lives with his grandfather, but he was adopted to his dad's younger sister: "He is 81 years young" (LI, October, 2017). He also has a diverse Samoan heritage, Paula shared, "My grandmother's, father was Samoan, and her mother was Fijian" (LI, October, 2017). Paula had specific knowledge of aiga ethnicities which showed his hidden wider Pasifika connections.

The most southern Pasifika culture and language joined the class. Te Hurianga lives with his sister and speaks mostly English at home. His heritage is diverse with Māori, Samoan and New Zealand European. He shared some of his diverse and large aiga, "The ones I am staying with in my family, I think there are two brothers and four sisters. I think I have more than that, but I just don't know" (LI, October, 2017). With regards to the number of uncles he has, and the role of his sister, "Heaps. I don't even know. She *(his sister)* is doing most of the stuff that a parent would do" (LI, October, 2017). He is on a journey of learning te reo Māori and Gagana Sāmoa. He explained his language learning realities. His te reo Māori journey in class at the focus secondary school is difficult, "I can't really understand" (LI, February, 2017). For reading and writing he knows, "Only stuff that I have learned from Matua (te reo Māori teacher) and my school and primary school" (LI, February, 2017). He cannot really understand Gagana Sāmoa. At the moment, he was just listening in the class to Tulāfale. He shared what was difficult, "Everything, cause I don't know what he is saying" (LI, February, 2017). However, Tama Galue Malosi checked that Te Hurianga was part Samoan. Te Hurianga explained, "Cause some of the stuff that he would say I would understand. Then, he would teach me stuff" (LI, February, 2017). Te Hurianga appeared to have some receptive knowledge of Gagana Sāmoa, but he was still realising how much receptive knowledge he had. In the class, tamaiti a'oga had another member who was Māori and Samoan, Falaniko. He stayed for a short time in the class before he had to leave the school. For Uso Matua, "I really like taking two languages cause it really challenges me cause I take Māori as well" (LI, October, 2017). Fa'avae especially felt that there were more similarities than differences between the Pasifika students. When he talked about the Gagana Sāmoa class he believed, "It's cool because we are all from

the same culture. They act like Samoans. The way we speak, the way we act" (LI, October, 2017).

Tamaiti a'oga are okay with the time and day, but there were other reasons why they still did not come.

There were several reasons, sometimes complex, why tamaiti a'oga did not attend the class; some of the reasons were connected to school and some of them were connected to home and community. For Teresa, the reasons were complex. In Samoa, she did not really learn to read and write in Gagana Sāmoa. She explained, "Sometimes I did go to school and sometimes I didn't. Cause sometimes my mum and dad always said to me to stay; do their jobs and stuff" (LI, October, 2017). She went sometimes to Gagana Sāmoa class. She felt, "It's kind of hard cause when I speak it feels weird; it sounds weird. I don't know why" (LI, October, 2017). She believed she only went to class sometimes because "my Samoan is not good cause sometimes some people make fun of me. When I learn my own language, I forgot" (LI, October, 2017). It took a while for Teresa to begin attending. She started going to class, but she revealed, "I was a bit scared of the teacher (LI, October, 2017). This was because she knew Tulāfale. He did the same fitness activity with her and her aiga members. She feared him because he sometimes shouted in the class even when tamaiti a'oga did not do anything. Some were not there because they were sick. Tama Leilua, described what was happening, "Sometimes I don't come to school, or I have an appointment" (Q, November, 2016). "Basically, it's just my mum and the kids cause sometimes the kids doesn't go to school cause they can't be bothered, or they are sick and stuff" (LI, October, 2017). This was the same for Tama Galue Malosi. There was also church. He noted, "Not being at school. Sick. Probably going away for conventions for church and stuff" (LI, February, 2017). He clarified how many times a year and for how long, "Probably twice cause they have three days. They have one day, but we don't really go to the one day. It's in [city]" (LI, February, 2017). There were other reasons which determined whether tamaiti a'oga were coming to the class or not. While Fa'avae attended most of the classes, he did not attend when he had a Drama assessment. Paula also attended most of the classes, but he did not attend when there was no teacher that week and for some classes there was just free time, so he went to his timetabled class. Similarly, Uso Matua went to most of the classes, except when a reminder message slip was not sent out to indicate there was not a class for that day.

A number of tamaiti a'oga wanted to have more hours and other students.

Some tamaiti a'oga thought that the number of hours were not enough, and there needed to be more tamaiti a'oga and not just Samoan tamaiti a'oga in the class. Teine Leilua thought that "Having those who want to learn Samoan can join the class!" (Q, November, 2016). This was reiterated by Fa'avae and Te Hurianga. Te Hurianga wanted to, "Make it a language choice in the school year but instead of just Samoans, other cultures that want to learn Samoan" (Q, November, 2016). Te Hurianga later reiterated these thoughts where he shared that the junior Gagana Sāmoa class should be "how you can choose if you want Māori, Japanese or French" (LI, February, 2017). Fa'avae made suggestions which supported Te Hurianga:

> One bad thing. It is only once a week. We should have more. Probably about three. More students coming in. Anyone who wants to learn. You should make it a language. You know how people go to Japanese (LI, October, 2017).

Tama Galue Malosi shared a similar opinion. He said that they needed to "influence more people to come and learn Samoan language", and make "more periods" (Q, November, 2017). Son gathered some thoughts about the position of the class in the timetable when he was asked what he would like to see with periods: "Maybe more. Maybe on another day. Maybe just not just on 5th period" (Q, November, 2017).

Some tamaiti a'oga were using their skills to encourage junior Pasifika students to join the junior Gagana Sāmoa class.

Tama Galue Malosi especially was bringing other Pasifika tamaiti a'oga into the class. There were others who joined in the year. He was responsible for some of them joining. He described what was happening and why, using Te Hurianga as an example:

> I just asked them stuff like, Are you Samoan? They'll say that they hardly talk Samoan at home, but his uncle, this is Te Hurianga. His uncle is Samoan. But he would hardly ask his uncle for the Samoan words. I just told him to come along with us and then he'll learn Samoan, so that he could talk to his uncle, fluently (LI, February, 2017).

Te Hurianga agreed to come, but he had not previously known that the class existed. Tama Galue Malosi shared why he was doing this, "It's just cause it's their culture and mine, so I was just thinking to bring them along. I don't wanna let their language go away or let them forget about it (LI, February, 2017). He was active in using Gagana Sāmoa at school to help find people who understood the language. He shared his experiences with how he was checking

their understanding, "If I talk Samoan to my friends, I'll hear them understand. He will say, that means that and that's how I know that he understands" (LI, February, 2017). Tama Galue Malosi did not speak Gagana Sāmoa in his other classes at school because there were no Samoans in his class who were fluent, but he tried to. Sometimes he talked to Te Hurianga, who was in one class, and he tried teaching him, but he thought his teachings did not really help because he still spoke English. Tama Galue Malosi got Son to come along. He knew that Son was a Pacific Islander and was like Te Hurianga because he could hear him. He knew Son could say some basic words in Samoan, so he told Sei o le Tama to bring him, so they could help. Tama Galue Malosi said, "It all paid off I reckon. Hopefully it did" (LI, February, 2017). Tama Galue Malosi was responsible for encouraging Te Hurianga to be part of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class as he said that it would be fun. He knew Te Hurianga was part Samoan because some of the things that Tama Galue Malosi would say Te Hurianga would understand in class. Te Hurianga went to every one of the junior Gagana Sāmoa classes. Paula was brought into the class by Fa'avae. Another Samoan tamaiti a'oga brought Fa'avae to the first meeting of the year with Tulāfale. Paula said, "Fa'avae came outside and said, do you want to do Samoan class?" and he said "yes" (LI, October, 2017). Tama Galue Malosi worked at making sure that Son and Te Hurianga felt okay in the class. He said, "I just told them that I'm not professional and everyone in the class is not fluent. I am still learning and everyone in this class is not good at learning Samoan". He reassures them, "So I told them that if you guys can't get the right answer, don't be ashamed. I reckon that me and [Sei o le Tama] couldn't answer them as well" (LI, February, 2017). Tama Galue Malosi acknowledged that Son did very well and believed that they could help people who are not fluent in Gagana Sāmoa to be part of the class by reinforcing that there are different levels, everyone is learning and there is no shame in this (LI, February, 2017). The other tamaiti a'oga listened to him, but he was not sure why they did. He thought that maybe he talked too much, and he had too much influence over them.

Tamaiti a'oga liked having the seniors helping the juniors, but seniors needed help to make it work; especially also when Tulāfale was no longer there.

Tamaiti a'oga appreciated that the seniors helped Tulāfale. Tama Galue Malosi shared, "... and sometimes the seniors would come. I kinda like that as well" (LI, February, 2017). He commented on Luma becoming a prefect this year, "I heard. I was proud of him and shocked as well. All paid off" (LI, February, 2017). They saw how Tulāfale and Luma could work together to help them. For example, Paula said, they worked together to do spelling:

Sometimes we will be split into groups and then I will go with [senior student]. The girls will go with [Tulāfale] and then us boys will go with [Luma]. They'll give us a big sheet with Samoan alphabet and numbers and then we'll have to say it and try and memorise it (LI, October, 2017).

Paula went on to say about the senior tutors that, "They have helped a lot. If we are struggling, we just call them over. They just help us out with spelling and other stuff" (LI, October, 2017). Fa'avae thought that having the seniors coming in was working. He commented, "That's been cool. They come and help us with the Samoan parts that we are struggling with. They are really good at their Samoan" (LI, October, 2017). Then, they had the senior tamaiti a'oga taking the class because Tulāfale was not there anymore. There were three senior tamaiti a'oga working together. They were happy that they were there for them, but they needed some help and support. For Teresa and Tama Leilua, they saw that Luma and the other one or two learning tutors needed some guidance. Tama Leilua gave his opinion about the Learning Tutors, "It's kind of good, but they always argue. Cause [senior student) talks about games and fun and Luma talks about reading and learning the culture" (LI, October, 2017). However, he did believe it was a good thing to have them in there because, "they have more experience in Samoan culture" (LI, October, 2017). Teresa observed some other occurrences happening in with the senior tamaiti a'oga taking the class. She recounted, "Last week I didn't go there. They told me today that we are doing a spelling test. They were like helping us" (LI, October, 2017). Teresa indicated that the senior tamaiti a'oga were making some mistakes. She said that after the spelling test, "When we finished, they give us wrong books. They were giving us the Tongan books. That's [Luma's] fault" (LI, October, 2017). Unfortunately, the class did not go that well that time and, "We just put it back and we actually didn't do anything. We just gave up and we were playing games. That's all" (LI, October, 2017). However, there were some indications that the senior tamaiti a'oga were developing some classroom management skills. For example, Luma did tell Tupu off. Paula commented, "He (referring to Tupu) told me the answer and [Luma] told him off because it was a test" (LI, October, 2017). At the end of Term Three, Paula shared another example, "Everyone else said to go and play outside and they just said "no" (LI, October, 2017).

In the new Pasifika language learning and cultural space, senior tamaiti a'oga were valued for their skills and knowledge by Year 10 tamaiti a'oga, but how they interacted with them sometimes was not always helpful, so Year 10 tamaiti a'oga still, valued, needed, and wanted their Pasifika language teachers.

Tamaiti a'oga were a group of eight Year 10s in the new tuakana-teina model with senior tamaiti a'oga. This was the first time that they were learning alongside senior tamaiti a'oga about their Pasifika languages and cultures. They and their aiga were Samoan, Tongan, and Fijian. Their names were Finau, Uso Matua, Iva, Taoa, Mereani, Georgi and Teresa. They were in the new Pasifika Studies course for Term 1 and 2 which was previously for Years 11-13, but it now had Year 10 Pasifika tamaiti a'oga. They liked being with the senior tamaiti a'oga, but they all had different reasons for this. Iva shared that, "We both have different skill levels, so it was easy to get help from each other" (PI, with Mereani, June, 2018). Finau added that, "Plus I think it is a good bonding experience like, between the Pasifika students" (PI, with Uso Matua, June, 2018). Uso Matua gave another reality that they were experiencing, "the seniors bully us sometimes" (PI, with Finau, June, 2018). They thought that the juniors should continue to be with seniors in the class, but there were a few improvements which needed to be made. Georgi gave his opinion, "I would like more teachers. Tongan teachers, Samoan teachers, Kiribati teachers, Fijian, to help out more students at once" (PI with Taoa, June, 2018). Mereani supported this with her observation that, "I think we could have had tutors from the start. Cause I think we had a shortage of tutors in some languages" (PI with Iva, June, 2018).

All tamaiti a'oga had not only improved their language skills and cultural knowledge of each of their respective Pasifika nations, but they also improved their language skills and knowledge of other Pasifika nations.

Their learnings about Pasifika languages and cultures were different too. They did this through the daily translation tasks, writing tasks, speeches, and a group presentation either with someone of the same Pasifika language and culture or different. Georgi commented regarding the DO NOW translation task at the beginning of the class, "Because once we walk in, it's like a straight working out the translation" (PI, with Taoa, June, 2018). Taoa supported Georgi's analysis with the translation task as "a booster for the day" (PI, with Georgi, June, 2018). For the Fijian tamaiti a'oga in the class, this was the first time Fijian was supported in a school classroom. Iva shared her initial reasons for joining the class, "I joined because I wanted to try something new, and so I could evolve my Fijian" (Q, June, 2018). She continued with reference to the translation task at the beginning of lesson each day and getting better at her Fijian: She stated:

> It was hard at first and I was a bit scared to read aloud but after a few lessons I got used to it and my Fijian got a lot better. I improved my pronunciation and spelling, and I also

feel confident speaking Fijian. I would like to improve spelling and my knowledge of Fiji. (Q, June, 2018).

Finally, another outcome of the class was that "Now I speak more Fijian at home. (PI, with Mereani, June, 2018). Mereani shared her learning:

> It taught about my vowels in the Fijian cause some of the vowels don't even exist in the English language. I think I improved with speaking cause spelling was ok with me but speaking I was not as confident (PI, with Iva, June, 2018).

Uso Matua was in the junior Gagana Sāmoa class previously. She said, "I wanted to focus on the more formal way of speaking in Samoan instead of speaking informally to someone" (PI, with Finau, June, 2018). There was a significant development for Finau who saw the vehicle of speech making as an important factor for her. She said:

> When it comes to writing speeches, I definitely improved from last year cause last year, I didn't know what I was talking about, but this year I wrote in English and helped translate it in Tongan (PI, with Uso Matua, June, 2018).

Tamaiti a'oga wrote and learned about each other through biography writing in their respective Pasifika languages. This connection linguistically was complemented culturally. There was an awareness that they were learning across Pacific Islands. Finau explained:

> I joined to learn about my Tongan culture and learn about other cultures around me like Samoan, Fijian. I joined cause I am half Tongan. You can always pick up the language, but I don't know much about the history (PI, with Uso Matua, June, 2018).

All tamaiti a'oga in this new Pasifika space preferred group collaboration for carrying out the research task. Finau, Uso Matua and Mereani, for example, took advantage of the research opportunity to look across the traditions for Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga. Uso Matua and Finau shared the dynamics of what occurred in the group:

> *Finau:* I think it worked this year with groups because with the one that we did with [Mereani] that we could like compare. .
> *Uso Matua:* Yeah, cause you were Tongan...
> *Finau:* We could learn about each other's cultures more
> *Uso Matua:* It was all the three cultures in that one class. There was Fijian, Tongan, and Samoan and we had all in our group (PI, June, 2018).

How did tamaiti a'oga support and challenge the project's implementation, and what were the supports, challenges, and effects during the project's implementation?

Tamaiti a'oga both supported and challenged the implementation with their diversity, attendance, voices, and decisions about who the space was for. Because the class from the beginning was not an official class, they had the power to attend or not attend. Some were encouraged by their mātua to attend, but this did not necessarily result in them attending. Therefore, it was important to establish their reasons for attendance and non-attendance as it indicated the viability of the class to continue especially because the numbers of students in a class often determines whether a class continues in the following year in a secondary school. How tamaiti a'oga attended or did non-attend the Gagana Sāmoa class provided valuable feedback to Tulāfale and I. Their feedback indicated suitable or non-suitable times and days for the class in the school timetable and showed who felt comfortable and who did not feel comfortable in the class. Furthermore, it helped bring understanding about what was happening with students outside of school especially if they were absent for the day. It also enabled us to understand and what were the opinions of mātua about the Gagana Sāmoa learning opportunity in the focus secondary school. As indicated, tamaiti a'oga used the opportunities to share their voices through the research mechanisms especially through the questionnaires and interviews. An important change was the moving out of a lunchtime and afterschool time slots which indicated some realisation from them that these were marginalising times where no other classes in the school were scheduled. While initial class compositions were selected using available data from the school management system and they had the power to attend or not attend, they also had the power to bring into the class who they wanted. Furthermore, those who were being asked to join the class had to make the decision of whether they wanted to be there or could be there. The class was diverse at the beginning of the project even with only the selection of tamaiti a'oga with Samoan ethnicity. Their diversity was manifested not just through their Samoan ethnicity. Within the class, Tulāfale had to understand their Samoan linguistic and cultural understandings, their aiga and exposure to Gagana Sāmoa at home so that he could plan the class to meet tamaiti a'oga learning needs. Diversity continued to challenge Tulāfale, requiring further differentiation but tamaiti a'oga further challenging the purpose of the space.

One of the benefits of not having a regular timetabled class, was that it did not require the usual processes associated with tamaiti a'oga changing out of a form class, core subject class or

option class. It provided flexibility, and it relied on the skills of tamaiti a'oga and Tulāfale to be able to recruit and retain them. While in the Initial Phase, they were identified using the school management system, in the Evolving Phase, there was identification through the school management, but also, they began recruiting each other. One of the effects of this implementation, was that it began to give opportunity and leadership. Tama Galue Malosi especially showed his skills of leading. He was skilful in how he went about establishing whether tamaiti a'oga knew any Gagana Sāmoa or other Pasifika languages. He did not see the divisions of the Islands, but rather the space being for Pacific Islanders. He was able to encourage tamaiti a'oga in the class to bring others along. He was very aware of his influence he had over them; however, this did show how this influence could be used positively. I would suggest that he showed several of the ten cultural identifiers for Pasifika giftedness as described by Faaea-Semeatu (2015) such as commitment to excellence, church affiliation, leadership, language fluency and resilience.

Tamaiti a'oga experienced the transition of Luma as a support to Tulāfale, to Luma becoming the main facilitator and lesson provider of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. They saw and experienced Luma's transition from supporting Tulāfale as a Learning Tutor, to him becoming solely in charge of the class. Luma provided the juniors with helpful support in the class. They could see and appreciated that Luma's Gagana Sāmoa skills were at a level which was able to support them learning the language and praised him for these skills. However, tamaiti a'oga were more critical of Luma when he became in sole charge of the class. They experienced two new spaces where they had to navigate how to behave and respond. How they viewed Luma had to change; therefore, this created some tensions and confusion. Paula's comments revealed an increasing respect for how the senior tamaiti a'oga, Luma particularly, were beginning to classroom manage, while Teresa appeared to feel more insecure with what was occurring. Overall, there was a general respect for the seniors in their skills to be able to support junior tamaiti a'oga, but there were serious considerations of sustainability, support, and respect.

The focus secondary school was challenged in understanding ethnicities of tamaiti a'oga. This diversity presented two main challenges to the implementation of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class. First, was that the continued Gagana Sāmoa development of tamaiti a'oga was reliant on mātua agency and or other contexts other than primary schools; especially any reading or writing. Tamaiti a'oga did not have any or consistent Gagana Sāmoa support. Their experiences show the unplanned and uncoordinated approach to the teaching and learning of Gagana Sāmoa

throughout their primary schooling. Whether they had any Gagana Sāmoa instruction or support or not, was dependent on individual teacher or school agency or the availability or chance of having a Gagana Sāmoa speaking person in the school. This finding supports Si'ilata's (2018) observation and call for urgency for primary school teachers to be educated and incorporate translanguaging pedagogies into their classrooms. Second, was that, because of this reliance on mātua to grow all Gagana Sāmoa in the home, there was the likelihood that each tamaiti a'oga would be a unique case of Gagana Sāmoa acquisition.

Tamaiti a'oga were aware and able to identify what were the challenges of writing. Some testing showed the extremes in their spelling skills in Gagana Sāmoa with nearly 60% of them not being able to spell half of the words in the example spelling test. It showed that explicit instruction in spelling Gagana Sāmoa words was necessary and a significant struggle for them. This was especially for the macron and apostrophes which are not made obvious in the spoken word. The explicit instruction was effective for most of them. The learning of reading in Gagana Sāmoa presented challenges and opportunities for learners; not just Samoan tamaiti a'oga. Even for the beginner learners of Samoan, it presented opportunities of observation, analysis and understanding, but there was also apprehension. Son particularly developed analysis and understanding of the similarities across the languages; a Pan-Pacific view that while he was centred and identifying as Niuean also centred himself in the wider realm of the Pacific. For a couple of them, there was satisfaction in beginning to identify key words in sentences or improving their reading skills. The overwhelming challenge of the tamaiti a'oga revealed the struggles that most of them face with reading in Gagana Sāmoa However, the effects of the class enabled them to recognise these challenges and recognise the small but significant steps they made in the language. Difficulty with opportunities and development for reading and writing in the community language has been highlighted in international literature. Kimble (2019) responded to this with Spanish heritage speakers in the United States by developing tools for mainstream teachers to use to develop the varied strengths of students' reading and writing skills. However, Spanish is an international language unlike all Pasifika languages; hence, targeted reading materials are not available or are not utilised in the mainstream classroom. The reading in Gagana Sāmoa at home was limited to the Bible, which was a high-level reading text. The availability of other Samoan reading materials at appropriate levels and topics in homes, appeared to be very limited; hence, supporting tamaiti a'oga reading development through other Gagana Sāmoa reading materials had not been possible.

There were major challenges with Gagana Sāmoa support in the home context for tamaiti a'oga. The development of oral Gagana Sāmoa for them appeared to be primarily dependent on the availability of mātua or grandparents in the home. Each aiga environment for Gagana Sāmoa or other Pasifika language in the Initial and Evolving Phases presented a unique situation dependent on a range of individual agents or language opportunities. Within aiga, the continued development of Gagana Sāmoa or the Pasifika language, was dependent on a particular agent to engage with the tamaiti a'oga. If the agents or agent have not been there, have disappeared or are intermittent, this seems to have resulted in minimal acquisition orally or as Paula said 'fresh' pronunciation of the language, mixing two languages or having receptive knowledge (listening and reading) and not productive knowledge (speaking and writing).

The reasons for not attending after the Initial Phase, revealed impacts from previous experiences in Samoa, family sickness and obligations as well as in school factors such as bullying from other Pasifika students because of language skills, assessments and finally, the absence of Tulāfale. There were indications here that this was more difficult when there was only one matua to manage the children. The sometimes-failed co-ordination of the class perpetuated the marginalisation of the class and tamaiti a'oga. However, their absence was primarily the result of them not being at school on the day. This presented a major challenge to the project, especially for the continuation of the class in the eyes of senior management. There were a multitude of reasons for tamaiti a'oga not attending. Part of the attendance problem stemmed from the placement of the Gagana Sāmoa class as a replacement for one hour of a timetabled subject class; therefore, it created conflict between themselves, teachers and Tulāfale. As a result, while there was flexibility allowed by the class officially not being a class, it created a greater chance of absences.

The main effects of the implementation for tamaiti a'oga were that they extended their cultural knowledge, developed their Pasifika language linguistic skills, and contributed to evolving the Samoan language learning space to a Pasifika language learning space through their own agency to make change. The teaching and learning of significant cultural, historical, and additional associated religious elements by Tulāfale had an effect on tamaiti a'oga. The learning seemed to be providing positive feelings, including curiosity, motivation, belonging and overall enjoyment. Paula showed that he was curious about understanding how Samoan culture is related to Tongan culture; perhaps seeking something in the focus secondary school context which had some relevance to who he is. I expect that there was also a challenge for

tamaiti a'oga to learn this knowledge as it is usually the case learning cultural aspects outside of the country's cultural context.

From the beginning of the project until its evolution into a tuakana teina multilingual space, tamaiti a'oga expressed and showed a range of emotions and behaviours as they worked to understand how this space was going to work in a mostly Pākehā context. The opportunity to come together in this class provided additional ways, instead of only break times, for them to get together. Some of them were unsure of the rules of engagement in the new context. There appeared to be hesitation in other mainstream classes about participating for fear of being wrong. There was the challenge of understanding of what it meant to be wrong in other classes and being wrong in the Gagana Sāmoa class. However, there was an awareness and acknowledgement by them that there were ongoing challenges with adjusting to, respecting, or understanding the space which was created. For example, while Tulāfale differentiated the class to support different language levels, it appeared that it was sometimes an issue for a few tamaiti a'oga because of the interruption of not being able to sit with peers which was sometimes perceived to create an awkward atmosphere. This kind of adjustment was acknowledged by Fa'avae who indicated that with the opening up 'to be yourselves', tamaiti a'oga were working in a space which was in between. Even though they were in a Pasifika context, they were still within a New Zealand school outside of their mātua or Pasifika community context. The space in between required tamaiti a'oga to navigate the two worlds in a new space that they previously had not had access to within a Pasifika context – either in primary or secondary. For the boys especially, the connection provided an important space once a week to be Pasifika, act Pasifika and learn and engage formally in Pasifika teachings and learnings.

One of the effects of the research questionnaire at the end of 2015, was that it showed that tamaiti a'oga were comfortable with sharing their opinions about what they did not like. They had all completed the questionnaire individually and without any other tamaiti a'oga in the same room, so this may have supported their openness further. The position of Gagana Sāmoa in the focus secondary school's context raised questions of value for mātua and tamaiti a'oga as well as marginalisation within the focus secondary school context. This challenged the positioning of junior Gagana Sāmoa class in the school. Tamaiti a'oga shared resentment of their lunchtime being utilised for one period of the class. This was a strong perspective which was shared even though this was just once a week. Hence, the attendance for the lunchtime

session became a challenge. This suggested that they were aware that non-Pasifika peers may have seen this occurring. The understanding of what was an important subject suggested that the valuing of Gagana Sāmoa and culture came second to other subjects in the New Zealand curriculum, especially core curriculum subjects. This opinion was even though Gagana Sāmoa was only taking one period a week from the 25 hours of regular timetabled subjects in the Initial Phase and Evolving Phase. However, with the class not a regular timetabled subject yet, the messages that tamaiti a'oga shared about missing "important" subjects indicated a reflection of the valuing of Gagana Sāmoa within the school. The development of their consciousness evolved as tamaiti a'oga were aware of the place the class had in the timetable or did not have within the timetable. They made comparisons with other languages which were being taught in the school. All Samoan heritage tamaiti a'oga made suggestions that it should be a subject. It showed some awareness of marginalisation, and they realised this needed a class where they were taught and not just supported as a language in which they did or did not have linguistic competency. Son's final comment suggested that he knew Gagana Sāmoa required more teaching, and it should be respected and placed where it will not impact or inconvenience other subjects. In addition, tamaiti a'oga were enthusiastic about wanting other students to learn Gagana Sāmoa; perhaps suggesting a sense of pride to share their Pasifika culture to non-Pasifika and non-Samoan students. This was a positive effect of the implementation as tamaiti a'oga realised that the teaching and learning of Gagana Sāmoa needed more than one hour a week and could be extended to non-Samoans. This would help to not marginalise the teaching and learning of Gagana Sāmoa in the school. This was put into my hands because it would require action to implement Gagana Sāmoa or a Pasifika language learning space through the official process to create a new subject choice in the focus secondary school.

In addition, the effect of implementing a programme such as this enabled more understanding of tamaiti a'oga personal narratives, to enhance or amend data on the school management system. They are not a homogeneous group. The beginning of the project enabled the process to begin to accurately identify the ethnicity and hidden Samoan ethnicities in the junior school population. This personal narrative included tamaiti a'oga being able to express their experiences and concerns about language loss as well as understanding the opportunities for Gagana Sāmoa development in their aiga environments.

Son, Te Hurianga and Paula revealed the multiple Pasifika identities they carried. The deeper heritage links across the Pacific of all three students came to be nowhere captured on the school

management system. The connection with Samoa was not obvious, but there was one. There was the acknowledgement that there were similarities between the Pacific Islands by Fa'avae through his comment of being 'the same culture'. What this 'same culture' looks like, he further clarified with speaking and acting. He identified that there were elements across the Islands which brings them together. The layers of diversity are further layered with each of their current and previous aiga living contexts. How and where they have lived has changed from when they were a child. An important connection both Paula and Son shared was to their grandfathers as a link to language, culture, and paternal guidance. The interview process opened new narratives and understandings which went beyond first and second generations. The addition of multiple Pasifika ethnicities indicated an effect of the space and tamaiti a'oga changing the space and who it was for. This was a significant effect as tamaiti a'oga were using the power they were given to change the purpose of the space. They were also challenging the school to support them in the new space that they were making. This was highlighted by two tamaiti a'oga, Georgi (Samoan tamaiti a'oga) and Merani (Fijian tamaiti a'oga) putting the challenge to agencies, institutions, and government for a range of different Pasifika teachers with competency in their Pacific languages.

An additional effect on tamaiti a'oga was Tulāfale enhanced the connection between their aiga and school or he became a new connection with his aiga and school. For example, for Tupu and Son, the knowledge that Tulāfale was at the focus secondary school gave expectation and indications of security because they already knew someone who knew something about them, and they had already shared their language, culture, and identity with him. Fai went as far to say that she saw him as a paternal figure with Tama Galue Malosi realising that Tulāfale was well aware of the realities of what was happening at home. However, sometimes these connections came with apprehension because of Tulāfale possibly holding too much knowledge about tamaiti a'oga in the community, and this created avoidance of the class rather than attendance and engagement. However, the challenge was how these community relationships and connections were positively influencing tamaiti a'oga and how to work with tamaiti a'oga who did feel that their aiga or community connection with Tulāfale was just too close. An interesting effect of the junior Gagana Sāmoa group, was for one student, this seemed to encourage their mātua to speak more Gagana Sāmoa at home.

In the New Model Phase of the project, this was a new space for tamaiti a'oga and faiā'oga. It was the first time that seniors and juniors in the focus secondary school had been brought

together in a multilingual learning environment where the aim was the acquisition of a Pasifika language or languages. They appeared to support the class and were aware of the new dynamics and possibilities. They were able to share how they wanted to improve the class's organisation focus and tamaiti a'oga composition through the research process. It produced a range of responses from them in this tuakana-teina multi-lingual Pasifika space. There was an acknowledgement of the benefits of bringing different skill levels together. As Mereani suggested, this tuakana-teina relationship was not just manifesting itself through a junior and senior dynamic, but also, through the language skills each tamaiti a'oga brought into the classroom. Therefore, a junior tamaiti a'oga, who had recently arrived as an emergent bilingual could utilise their knowledge of their Pasifika language and support a senior tamaiti a'oga who had developed academic English. However, this could also be reversed with a Year 10 tamaiti a'oga, who was born in New Zealand, learning linguistic and cultural knowledge from a Year 11 or 12 tamaiti a'oga who had recently arrived from, Tonga, for example. The tuakana-teina relationship could manifest itself in cross linguistic and cultural exchanges with, for example, a junior Fijian tamaiti a'oga teaching a senior Samoan tamaiti a'oga Fijian language. However, these reciprocal spaces with age differences, length of time in New Zealand and different Pacific Islands, need careful navigation because bullying can occur. Tamaiti a'oga had also recognised their continued need for tutors in their Pasifika languages but also seemed to understand that there was a shortage of Pasifika language teachers. The new tuakana-teina space had shown that tamaiti a'oga had a desire to learn their respective Pasifika language and culture, but they needed a range of support to make this happen. This supports Seals and Olsen-Reeder's (2020) suggestion that non-immersion models that utilise translanguaging are yet another approach whereby students with a range of skills and experiences can be supported positively. However, as noted by tamaiti a'oga this does take more commitment to obtain a variety of Pasifika language teachers with a range of Pasifika languages as wells as resources for a wider range of Pasifika languages.

Encouraging was that tamaiti a'oga reported that for this half year course from February to July, their linguistic skills and cultural knowledge had developed. For Fijian and Tongan tamaiti a'oga, they shared similar language learning challenges, noted improvements and goals for learning across Pasifika languages and cultures which participants earlier in the project had shared. Tamaiti a'oga took advantage of the opportunity to develop better understandings of their own Pasifika languages. As indicated, for Fijian tamaiti a'oga, this was a unique option to develop their linguistic understanding of the Fijian language especially as the Fijian language

is one of the Pasifika languages not supported specifically in primary and especially in secondary through NCEA. Fijian tamaiti a'oga had been a significant part of the course and had challenged the space previously with a majority of Samoan and Tongan students. The improvements also connected with home; perhaps providing links to mātua. What was clear, was that tamaiti a'oga were reaching out for Pacific knowledge, but not only of their own, but also, the whole Pasifika context in New Zealand and knowledge about Pacific Islands.

The voices of tamaiti a'oga in this chapter have been shared as a collective but also shared as individual voices. Without their participation in the project, there would not have been a project. They provide the final layer of understanding about the teaching and learning, and relevant biographical data after my practitioner narrative, Tulāfale's narrative, and Luma's narrative in the previous three chapters. Tamaiti a'oga give what they brought to the teaching and learning space, and how the teaching and learning of Gagana Sāmoa in the class was for them. The final component of *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia* is Chapter Eight, the *nonoa.* Chapter Eight differs from the previous chapters because it is not a narrative. It is constructed using significant themes which emerged from mātua as the *nonoa* (knot) for the project. In this chapter, mātua give their perspectives about the Gagana Sāmoa class and insight is gained about Gagana Sāmoa within their own aiga.

CHAPTER EIGHT: NONOA

Introduction

This chapter reports mātua (caregivers/parents) perspectives about the project and an insight into the place of Gagana Sāmoa in their aiga. It explores the further supports, challenges, and effects before and during the implementation.

This chapter is organised into seven themes which emerged from the interviews with mātua who had children in the project in Phases One and Two. First, I explore each theme with selected data items and some reference to literature. Then, I discuss the themes using the sub-research question: *What were the supports and challenges for the mātua community, how did these affect the implementation and how did the implementation affect mātua?*

Multi-layered mātua demographic diversity

Tulāfale and I learnt more about the mātua community of tamaiti a'oga. The first major effect of the implementation challenged mātua engagement in the project. This prompted a further effect of a more individual approach when working with mātua.

Ethnicities and surrounding cultural influences

There were nine mātua who have only Samoan ethnicity and two mātua who additionally have Chinese heritage. The Chinese heritage of one of them is acknowledged in the focus secondary school's school management system, but the Chinese ancestry was not acknowledged in the system for the other mātua even though her father's mother was of both Chinese and Samoan ethnicities. It could have been difficult to share these connections because of historical narratives about the Chinese in Samoa or they did not think it was important. This raised questions about what occurred in the enrolment process. There were several possibilities around understanding of the enrolment form and what was the school's role in not obtaining this additional ethnicity information. Tautua, Sarah, Mātārae and T.tau are New Zealand European, Samoan or Māori mātua. Mātārae gave an enthusiastic description of Te Hurianga's diverse paternal and maternal links and influences:

> His biological father is half Samoan, half Rarotongan. His nana is half Rarotongan as well. Her father is half Rarotongan, half Tahitian. He was brought up by me, my mum, and my dad. He ([Mātārae]'s father) is all white, and he has pretty much brought [Te Hurianga] up his way. Mum has tried to put in her Māoriness into him, but [Te Hurianga] never really took to it (October, 2016).

Māori and Samoan connections are also with T.tau. Her Samoan connection is with her previous partner who is Samoan. She is Māori from Ngāi tahu and Tuhoe iwi (tribes) and her husband is Māori. Sarah and Tautua, had or have a New Zealand European partner. Sarah's previous husband has had a Samoan partner for several years who both children see every two weeks. It suggests there is the increasing likelihood that mātua of the focus secondary schools are navigating two or three ethnicities and / or cultures at home. Statistics New Zealand (2013) and (2018) show that Māori and Pasifika are more likely to be navigating more than one ethnicity than European (Appendix A, p.275). This trend was reflected in these participants. Wilson (2017) noted increasing intermarriage was an influencing factor and increasing complexity for the future of Gagana Sāmoa in New Zealand.

Linguistic skills

There were diverse linguistic skills across all mātua. For the majority of Samoan mātua, Gagana Sāmoa was their first language and English is their additional language. The level of English ranged from native speakers to understanding no or very little English. Sarah was a native speaker of English because she was New Zealand European. In this section, I describe the English language level of participants using the Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2021). Mātārae and T.tau were both Māori (Mātārae was also half New Zealand European) with native speaker competence in English. However, Mātārae was educated in a full Māori immersion school and has native speaker competence in te reo Māori as well. Tautua is Samoan and has near native speaker level in English (at C2 of the CEFR). At the other end of the continuum, Sei o le fafine relied completely on her daughter, and I relied on her daughter to translate between Gagana Sāmoa and English. This interview was a team effort. I empathised with the process of translating. Sei o le fafine was a Basic User for English (A1 – CEFR). Sei o le tamaitai was an Independent User (Intermediate – B1 of the CEFR) of English. She answered all the questions in English with some support from me. There were some grammatical and vocabulary word choice errors in her responses, but the meaning was conveyed. Cahill (2006) stated that school administrators cannot assume the ability of mātua to read and understand written English, or their confidence to express their thoughts accurately.

All other mātua participants were within this range. Some mātua moved between Gagana Sāmoa and English and some used Gagana Sāmoa when prompted and given the choice.

Masina and Tina Leilua inserted Gagana Sāmoa phrases where they felt that it was easier to express themselves. Masina shared that sometimes her children make fun of her by testing her when she wrongly pronounces something in English. They laugh at her. However, she said: "I don't care because it's not my language" (October, 2015). Teuila and Matai worked hard to communicate in English together. At the beginning of the interview, Teuila checked which language I wanted her to use. They decided to speak in English and sometimes conferred with each other on how to say something. They were Basic Users of English Language at A2 of the CEFR. For example:

> AB: In your house, if I was listening for one day, would I hear Samoan for 50% of the time? Or 90% of the time? Or 100% of this time?
> Teuila: Maybe question number 3 (looking at the translated questions in Gagana Sāmoa printed on the paper).
> AB: Yes, yes
> Teuila: 100% inside my house.
> Matai: Me and my wife we speaking Samoan.
> Teuila: Any time.
> Matai: For my kids, but the problem in the kids we gonna the school and speak English.
> AB: Right
> Matai: I'll listen my kids was speaking Samoan, but it's not 100%.
> AB: Ok

Throughout this dialogue, I consciously acknowledged what they said to reassure Matai and Teuila that I understood them. I wondered how this had affected their previous engagement with the children's primary and secondary schools. Uasike (2012) listed one of the eight barriers to parent engagement was that parents could not speak English or did not have the confidence with the English language that they had. Schools did encourage them to bring someone along, but they preferred for the school to have someone in the staff team who could interpret or obtain someone externally. Flavell (2014) found indications that mātua would not attend parent evenings because they believed there was no point as they would not understand.

Aiga composition at home

There was considerable diversity with aiga composition. Tina Leilua proudly talked about her children:

> My daughter is in the [focus secondary school], [Teine Leilua]. Her brother is coming next year. One of my daughters goes to [secondary school], but her last year this year. She's in Year 13. My older son, he's in [tertiary institution]. He doing carpentry school. Another son is in [school]. [Child] is at the pre-school (October, 2015).

Some mātua had additional aiga members living with them. Rebecca was the matriarch and had a nephew, her husband and four children while Sei o le tamaitai lived in the same house with "Mum, Dad, my little sister, my son, and I got two nephews, two nieces and my daughter" (February, 2017). She shared, "When we in Samoa, I was going to work, but I was little hard to look after [son]. That's why I give him to my parents to look after. Then, we came to New Zealand, and he still under my parents" (February, 2017). Sei o le tamaitai appeared to have responsibilities in New Zealand of giving back to her mātua after leaving her son with them to raise. She was the emerging matriarch and navigator for her aiga and mātua in New Zealand.

Additional aiga compositions were shared by T.tau, Sarah and Mātārae. Sarah is divorced from her Samoan husband. They separated when their son was a pre-schooler. The two children live with Sarah and see their Samoan father regularly. T.tau lives with her husband. They have children who were not currently living with them. The children are aged from two to thirteen years old. T.tau's previous partner was Samoan, and he is Falaniko's and T.tau's other child's dad. Mātārae explained additional aiga understandings about Te Hurianga:

> I'm [Mātārae]. I'm his sister. [Te Hurianga] is adopted. He was adopted by my dad. He was brought up by me, my mum, my dad and my two younger sisters. He has just recently seen photos of his real dad and his real grandfather (October, 2016).

Matai and Teuila were affected by government policy before arriving in New Zealand at the end of 2000. They have three sons and three daughters now and one grandchild. Three children live at home. When they wanted to come to New Zealand, they had four children. However, they had to leave their eldest daughter back in Samoa because they could only bring three children to New Zealand because of immigration restrictions. Their daughter still lives in Samoa. I met their daughter in Samoa on a school trip.

Age of arrival and length of time in New Zealand for Samoan mātua
For Samoan mātua, their period in New Zealand spans twenty years, and there are extremes in what age they arrived. All were born in Samoa and went to primary and secondary school there. Sei o le tamaitai arrived in New Zealand at 20 years old, and she is 33 years old now. Afi arrived when she was 17 years old in 1987; possibly the visa free entry period to New Zealand for Fiji, Tonga, and Western Samoa citizens (Bedford & Larner, 1992). Tina Leilua and Masina arrived around the similar years of 2005 and 2003 respectively. The early 2000s seems to be of particular importance, as it is also significant for Sei o le fafine and her family who arrived

in 2004 when she was 49. All have knowledge and experience of fa'asamoa (The Samoan Way). Therefore, no Samoan mātua experienced the New Zealand education system as students. Mātārae and T.tau, were born in New Zealand and grew up here. They experienced the New Zealand education system and government policies as Māori. Sarah is the only parent who experienced the New Zealand education system and experienced it as a Pākehā.

Explicit and implicit family/home language policies

There were challenges for mātua to maintain and grow their children's language and literacy skills in the Pasifika community language or languages. It was difficult to make generalisations of aiga home/aiga language policies. The policies were on a continuum from explicit/planned and organised to the unseen or "laissez-faire" (Caldas, 2012).

Masina, Rebecca and Tina Leilua had the most explicit aiga language policy intentions. One of the concepts which is associated with mātua, such as Masina, Rebecca and Tina Leilua, is 'impact belief' (De Houwer, 1999) whereby mātua have some kind of control over aiga language use. Rebecca explained how Gagana Sāmoa is used at home, "Everyone speaks Samoan at home. I speak Samoan to everyone." She clarified with the percentage of Samoan and English, "50 / 50. Both". She teaches her own children, "I mostly try to make them understand some words when we talk. I said to them and then ask, what's that? I try to explain" (November, 2015). She described the challenges of teaching Gagana Sāmoa:

> Encourage the kids to speak Samoan a lot at home, and to teach them the right language to speak because some people they teach the wrong foundation of the language - slang language. They have to speak completely not incomplete. When you talk to them, you talk completely in your language. Sometimes when you talk in Samoan and mix it with English the kids can't get the word that you are getting into English (November, 2015).

I made a comparison to my own situation. I responded as a parent, "I think that is a very good point actually. I think we try to speak Spanish at home, but it gets mixed up" (November, 2015). Rebecca explained a perceived advantage, "if we want the kids to really understand about our culture, we are all Samoans. None of the parents *(Rebecca and her husband)* part Chinese or English. Both of us Samoan" (November, 2015).

Tina Leilua believed she had a higher percentage of Gagana Sāmoa at home. "I say 90% because most of the time we are talking Samoan, but when they *(the children)* talk each other, if I am not hearing, they were speaking in English because they mix. I speak Samoan to all my

kids. All my kids speak Samoan to me". Her strategies and experiences for learning and teaching Gagana Sāmoa came from the Islands. She learnt to read and write from her parents when she started to talk. This was because, "in Samoa, mums, every night, they sit together, and then start their writing and their learning Maths. When we coming here, then we still do that" (October, 2015). I reflected on what I had or had not done with supporting Spanish at home. I commented to her, "That's very special. I don't think many parents would do that" (October, 2015). Masina established some strict rules for the aiga language policy, "100%. Because we do have a rule. You can speak English at school and when you come home, you can speak Samoan" (October, 2015). She affirmed and imposed an explicit strategy, "This is my house. Live by the rules. If you can't tell me want you want to say in Samoan. Don't speak. They just know everything" (October, 2015).

Sei o le fafine did not see any challenges for maintaining Gagana Sāmoa at home because, "I can't stop speaking Samoan in my house" (November, 2015). Afi and her partner are both Samoan and fluent in Gagana Sāmoa. Afi had a different aiga language policy. She thought that there was about 25% Gagana Sāmoa spoken at home. Other aiga/home language use was directed by aiga situations and how and when aiga were brought together without any specified "rules" or policy of engagement. For example, Sarah has a small percentage of Gagana Sāmoa at her house because she is no longer with her Samoan partner. When they were together, her partner spoke Samoan all the time. Her son did not have as much Gagana Sāmoa as her daughter because they separated when her son was a pre-schooler. This resulted in about 10% Samoan being heard/spoken at her house now. She described the different linguistic environments. She is:

> … unable to read/write. I don't speak Samoan at home. The kids sometimes speak it to each other. They see him *(their dad)* fortnightly. Talk to him weekly on the phone. Their dad totally speaks Samoan to the children. His new partner is Samoan, so they hear about 80% Samoan at their dad's house. [Daughter] has recently started using Samoan to speak to her brother; usually when she is angry. I know that [daughter] dad is teaching [daughter] Samoan (January, 2016).

Similarly, Mātārae described how children in the house, are co-constructing their own language policy. In the weekend there is a mix of three languages in the house. Mātārae explained:

> My sisters' kids have Māori and English. [Child (a)] is Samoan and she mixes. There is [Te Hurianga]. He is kind of just there. I think it is a good mixture because the kids just like talking with [child (a)], which is the Samoan girl, because she tells them the words. They teach each other because my other nephew and niece are very inquisitive. They mix

it up. [Te Hurianga] will say, that's not how you spell. [Te Hurianga] is good at spelling Samoan and [child (a)] doesn't. She speaks it, but she can't read or write it (October, 2016).

Mātārae and her aiga/whānau were affected by government language policies for te reo Māori. She explained, "I don't think we realised till the last few years how important our language was, but now we need to. My mum wasn't allowed to learn and her mother. Now we are with the kids, come on" (October, 2016). A significant government policy of pepper-potting was introduced into New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s. It was an explicit policy designed to scatter Māori into urban areas so that Te Reo had minimal chance of survival. This transition to urban areas for Māori was prompted by the Hunn Report in 1961. Furthermore, in the 1960s, play centre (early childhood education) supporters encouraged Māori mātua to speak English to prepare Māori children for primary school (Human Rights Commission, 2021). Mātārae's maternal heritage was likely to have been affected by this policy and report. I could see Mātārae bringing Te Reo and Gagana Sāmoa into the teaching profession. I responded as a teacher, "We scream out for te reo Māori teachers" (October, 2016). Mātārae continued talking about her experiences of learning te reo Māori:

> Me and my sister were never interested in it because we didn't have a really good experience. Our school was the first Māori school in [place]. It was all learning. We were like the guinea pigs. I am never going to send my kids there because how bad the school was. This was a new thing, but now they need to learn! (October, 2016).

In 1978, Te Wharekura o Rūātoki in the North Island became the first officially bilingual school for te reo Māori and English. Mātārae's experiences reflect the experimental era for this bilingual education at the time. She lamented at how the implicit creation of her aiga, and government language policies created pressure for her. This was prompted by the question asking about the challenges of keeping of Māori and Samoan:

> I think it's hard. The more I learn Samoan, the more Māori I feel I forget it. It's hard to kind of balance it. I really want to learn Samoan cause I am kind of the only white person in their family, so it's hard. I need to learn the language to communicate, but then I need to keep my own. ...Then trying to teach the kids some Samoan some Māori as well (October, 2016).

I appreciated Mātārae's straight comments. Her comment reflected the reality for te reo Māori and Samoan. While te reo Māori, has an official status in New Zealand, without elevating te

reo Māori as the other language for all New Zealanders to learn, Mātārae's comment is likely to remain true for a long time. She shared her key role in supporting her partner's Samoan aiga:

> I do the family stuff. Lawyers, doctors, hospital to help because they can't, and I'm just trying to decipher what they are trying to tell me. They need more people in the community that can help them cause my partners got a massive family, but they just don't know where to go or what to do when they need important things to be done (October, 2016).

The lack of people in the community who were sufficiently bilingual to work across multiple contexts, created pressure for Mātārae. She had strong feelings of obligation towards her extended aiga. This mirrored some of Tulāfale's experiences with the project's mātua community; including the sensitive information community bilinguals are asked to translate and keep in confidence. These pressures were further manifestations and influences of previous and current existent and non-existent family and government language policies. Tautua described what happened at home and what is happening now with some regret. He explained with regards to who spoke Gagana Sāmoa at home:

> Tautua: I am a fluent Samoan speaker. Many times, I refer to Samoan particularly with basic commands. Also, some sort of instructions given in Samoan. I sort of speak to the boys in Samoan. They very often don't respond back.
> AB: Yes, that's like my own children.
> Tautua: Particularly when they are preparing for sport, or are a little bit late. I say vave. I can definitely see the reaction straight away. I do speak as much as I can in terms of Samoan (October, 2016).

Tautua led the interview with how much Samoan is at home:

> Tautua: I would say very little, probably 5%. I am the only person who actually speaks Samoan. Do you teach your children? [Utufiu and Taula] particularly, when they were young, up to the age of probably, 10, I was very consistent with one day a week. If not Saturday morning, a Sunday morning depending what time is church.
> AB: We are similar (October, 2016).

Tautua revealed some significant conversations he had with his children:

> Tautua: In those first two years, for the boys; the songs and hymns in Samoan. The songs they know very well. Also, simple commands, greetings. The alphabet in particular. The boys are very good at sounding out words they know very well. But not really consistent in the last 5 years. Drop a little bit until the boys reminded me about that.

AB: Did they?
Tautua: They do.
AB: When did they remind you?
Tautua: I think [Utufiu] in particular. [Utufiu] is very keen to learn the language and sometimes when you are busy. My world is very much immersed in the English language. With work you come home and you completely don't really remember, that you are fluent in your own mother tongue until the children actually remind you about that.
AB: My husband is the same. He comes home and speaks English to the children, and I have to say 'Speak Spanish!' (October, 2016).

From the conversation with Tautua, I empathised and felt very comfortable sharing my home experiences. Sarah and Mātārae shared how home and government language policies or lack of, had and was affecting their children or themselves: Sarah shared, **"**No-one has challenged [daughter] about her Samoan. None of the schools she went to offered it or encouraged it" (January, 2016). In Mātārae's aiga/whānau, part of the unofficial aiga/whānau language policy is that she is the unofficial translator. She explained:

Mātārae: We've got one niece who is 18. She does a lot cause she speaks Samoan and English. They haven't got many people in the family that speak English. They are always like "ring Mātārae". I'm like "yes, Okay, here we go". This could take a while.
AB: So you've actually taken on quite a lot by the sounds of it.
Mātārae: That's what I do. (Laughs) (October, 2016).

I thought again about how much Mātārae would bring to the teaching profession; however, I also thought that it would be difficult for the aiga/whānau to lose her as a reliable link to the complex Pākehā/Palagi world. Mātārae and Sarah's experiences of Gagana Sāmoa have some parallels in how home and government language policies can manifest themselves. I had seen before how bilingual/multilingual aiga members and members of the community were sometimes pulled everywhere for translating between family members and institutions, mostly financially uncompensated, but they were the bridge for aiga surviving in everyday situations, difficult circumstances, and emergencies. The effects of government, school and aiga language policies were most evident for Falaniko and T.tau. T.tau explained the extent to which te reo Māori, Samoan and English are heard at home:

T.tau: I don't know Te Reo. My husband knows a little bit.
AB: Between you and your husband, would you use a little bit of Reo?
T.tau: A little bit.
AB: Is he fluent?
T.tau: No, but he can understand the girls. He can say some things back to

them. May be a bit broken, but the girls understand him (October, 2016).

T.tau shared what percentage of the languages would be heard with their children and aiga/ whānau in the home, "I would say maybe about 2% Māori, 1% Samoan and the rest is English" (October, 2016). While no official language policies were put in place previously for Pasifika languages when different Pacific Islanders began arriving in New Zealand, Long (1994) reports that New Zealand teachers often advised Pacific Island mātua to speak in English to their children rather than their own Pasifika languages. It was taught in New Zealand teachers' colleges that bilingualism was an educational disadvantage and led to lower achievement levels (Long, 1994). I hypothesise that this is what had happened and was still happening for T.tau and her whanau/aiga. T.tau and the other mātua represent what King (2016) acknowledges as super-diversity. King recognises that the challenge for the next phase of research for family language policies is that a "broad range of family types and experiences be documented and analysed in a wide range of contexts, and further, that this analysis be multi-pronged and interdisciplinary in its approach" (King, 2016, p. 731).

Limited and variable language resources

There was an inconsistency and lack of language resources for Gagana Sāmoa available for mātua to use in their homes. The primary vehicle for obtaining Gagana Sāmoa resources was through their respective religious affiliations. Masina shared "As one of Jehovah's Witnesses, we have lots of magazines. Our Bible as well. We have our DVDs in Samoan. When we go for our convention in [city] they always give you DVDs for the young ones" (October, 2015). For Tina Leilua, the Bible was the only available resource, but I could not help offering to bring in some Gagana Sāmoa readers. Similarly, Teuila and Matai have the Bible available at home, but their primary school was also important, as well as the aiga using its own initiative to bring Gagana Sāmoa resources into the home. Teuila shared, "[Daughter] bring sometime the Samoan book at school and read. From the library. Maybe the newspaper" (September, 2016). Matai continued, "It is good the Samoan movies. Go back to the language and she learn the culture and for the Samoan life (September, 2016). Matai and Teuila talked earlier about a Gagana Sāmoa and English dictionary that they had in the home. This was obtained through an older child in the aiga who received it from their secondary school. Afi had a Gagana Sāmoa and English dictionary which she sometimes told her children to go and look up if they wanted to know the meaning of a word. She had material from church in the form of newsletters and

song books. Mātārae explained their language resources situation for te reo Māori and Samoan resources:

> Me and my sister were actually talking the other day about bringing home some Māori books cause some of the children wanted to read in Māori. I've never thought about Pasifika books. We have the church books. They drop those off every week. We're Catholics, but my partner takes them. He doesn't want to be rude. We've got the Samoan Bible cause his niece and his nephew that live here, they do their Bible study here every Friday and Sunday night. The kids will sit in sometimes, but they just don't have the patience like the Samoan kids. They try and my younger son does because he has been around it for so long. That is all it is. A little bit of Bible study and prayers before dinner and sometimes prayers before bed (October, 2016).

I suggested, "So there are in the library, especially [community's] Library, Samoan readers and things like that you could get out if you wanted to" (October, 2017). Mātārae continued with what the children have available, "They have got the Apps on their iPads because when my nephew, my niece doesn't know how to spell it, she will just jump on the App" (October, 2016). I had a natural reaction to want to create awareness when talking with mātua about Gagana Sāmoa resources. A possible reason for the most prominent reading text being the Bible, was because of their own experiences in Samoa. Valentine (2014) reported that the only reading material four out of five parents had access to in their homes in Samoa while at primary school, was the Bible; therefore, their expectations of the unavailability of other reading materials available in Gagana Sāmoa could have transferred to the New Zealand setting. This highlights the need for New Zealand primary and secondary schools to make them aware or provide other Gagana Sāmoa resources. Church literacy in Gagana Sāmoa in New Zealand has been a significant contributor to Gagana Sāmoa language and literacy. However, as Wilson (2017) found, the assumption that Samoan would be the language heard most of the time was not necessarily the case because English was gradually "encroaching" (Wilson, 2017, p.198) in churches.

In T.tau's home, there was a similar situation for language resources. She explained, "I think it's mainly Te Reo. We might have one Samoan book somewhere. A picture book. I do have a Māori dictionary" (October, 2016). She believed that Falaniko's father had a Samoan Bible (October, 2016). There were very limited te reo Māori and Gagana Sāmoa resources in the home. I was not able to interview Falaniko's father to establish the availability of Gagana Sāmoa resources. I really wanted to help with language resources with my teacher and mātua hats pushing through in the interview again. In my mind, it raised questions of what

conversations had there been with Samoan mātua and schools about what other options were available for accessing Gagana Sāmoa materials and even te reo Māori. Mātārae and T.tau, even with te reo Māori had few reading materials available in the home. While it was expected that there was material specifically related to religious affiliations, it may not give the wider range of contexts needed, for example, to support learning in a secondary school context in New Zealand. Tautua was the only matua who seemed to be aware of and had access to non-religious affiliated resources specifically for reading. Tautua recounted that Gagana Sāmoa resources were more focused on when the children were younger and not as teenagers:

> Going back to [Utufiu's] first ten years. He loves reading books. I have a got a collection of Samoan books at home through the Samoan readers. I got a lot of Foulonga and Tupu series books, and those Bible stories in Samoan. They used to love reading those books. The Samoan newspaper. I do read the Samoan newspaper. I get it from some shop, near [street]. I really I think it's from those readers (October, 2016).

Tautua was the only matua who had the Tupu and Foulonga Gagana Sāmoa readers and the only matua who shared he had a range of resources read by himself and his children. Similarly, Rebecca shared about scriptures mostly only being utilised when the children were learning Gagana Sāmoa, but the reading was not occurring now:

> It's been a while that we tried to read our scriptures. That's where they learn from. We just tell them how we say the alphabet. That's how they understand how to spell the words and say the words. It's a e i o u. From primary school, they started to read. We read the scriptures at home because that's what we usually do in the evenings. Say our family prayer and read the scriptures. That's where they started learn (November, 2015).

Tautua shared about his genealogy book and journal:

> I got my genealogy book. Now and then, [Utufiu], particularly I would say, "go back to that". The first ten years, they look at that quite a bit. Also, the journal that I am still writing for our family here when I first arrived here. I am so behind, but on Sunday afternoon, he is interested in those sort of things. It's getting quite big now. The journal I am doing for the family. I write it in Samoan (October, 2016).

The journal was a unique practice in the group of mātua. This provided not only an evolving reading text for himself and his aiga, but also a vehicle for himself to maintain his own Gagana Sāmoa writing skills while modelling writing and reading as a practice in the home for his children.

Aspiration for teaching culture and values in school

For some mātua, they had a definite idea about what culture and values needed to be taught. Rebecca, Masina, Tina Leilua and Afi stated the Samoan concept and value of fa'aaloalo needed teaching. Pereira (2010) found mātua wanted their children to know and understand the importance of showing respect to those individuals or groups of higher status and knowing how to behave in different contexts. Rebecca gave a comprehensive description with the view of the children reflecting on the aiga. She explained:

> This is what the parent said to me. When you get out there to other families and to the world, you talk with respect. You walk with respect. You sit down with respect. That's our culture. Whatever you do, you do with respect. Respect any other people that seen you as a Samoan. Even the small the thing. If I walk in front of little [Fai]. If I walk in front of her and my dad sees me that I just walk without saying anything. When I come back, he said, where's your respect? We have to excuse in front of anybody you walk, and you have to go lower. You don't have to just walk like this in front of anybody. If the high chiefs of the village are sitting in the big Samoan house doing a meeting. Or if someone wants you to get a glass of water, you have to walk like this with the glass. You have to say something. Excuse me, excuse me. How many people in there you have to go excuse me, excuse me. You have to go lower. You watch out when you get home. Dad will say, Come here. Is that the way you talk? Everyone is going to look at you. They taught the kids well. That's our culture. (November, 2015).

Rebecca gave me a passionate lesson. Tina Leilua linked respect to the school context in Samoa:

> When I am in school, the teachers always ask to respect him or her and they respect us. When the teacher asks, all the kids were sitting down together and then the teacher talk to them. We are not playing around. We are listening and focus what she telling us. That's what I remember. She always told us to respect (November, 2015).

Teuila and Matai indicated the importance of respect through the examples they gave:

> First time she *(he)* going to school. Short hair. We make sure she *(he)* listen you. If you are teacher or a principal, listen you and sometime you walk, you to the front they say 'tuulou', excuse me. Start a dinner or anything, we wait for the old person gonna eat first. If you start a speak anything for your classes and you see [Tupu] and talk someone and you tell him, [Tupu], stop talking. Some white people, you tell him stop, but, she, na, I don't care, but the Samoan, no more that one. I can't talk to you, just only listen (September, 2016).

There was a sense from Matai that he felt he had lost some control over these aspects he had listed. Iusitini, Taylor, Cowly-Malcolm, Kerslake and Paterson (2011) speculate that New Zealand fathers who are Samoan have less time to spend with their children than they do in the

Islands, due to longer working hours. Matai had a sense of worry that his son was not conducting himself respectfully, but he wanted to share what he expected from his son. There were indications that he wanted him to have the cultural knowledge so that he would present himself well to family and community. This is also suggested by Pereira (2010) who found that undisciplined children brought shame on themselves and their aiga.

Sei o le fafine brought together what other mātua had indicated. She stated, "I want my daughter to understand her culture and what she needs to do in the house" (November, 2015). Sei o le fafine was the matriarch of the aiga who was supported by her daughter (Luisa's sister), Sei o le teine. Sei o le fafine did not speak English and relied on her children and grandchildren. Therefore, her daughter's acquisition of especially formal Gagana Sāmoa was central to the cultural rules for running and maintaining the household; including how to receive guests. Tina Leilua highlighted the problem of tamaiti a'oga maintaining respect outside of the classroom. She started with the word 'cheeky' to begin to explain:

> Cheeky. Pe a faia le aoga, e i ai tamaiti e lelei o latou uiga e fa'aali i totonu o le potuaoga. A tuua le aoga, e i ai tamaiti e fai a latou uo, e i ai isi tamaiti e ulaula, e tautalaiti.
> (Translation)
> Inside the classroom, there are some good students doing good things but after school, some students are doing bad things outside of the school that I don't want to see. That is cheeky. Some of them have girlfriends and boyfriends and some of them smoke (October, 2015).

The strong request for respect to be taught was not unexpected. Mātua were utilising their experiences from the Islands and what they recalled as fa'aaloalo in school and wider context in the Islands. Cahill (2006) found that the mātua concerns and beliefs about teachers and schools was "fully consonant" with their Samoan upbringing and pride in their cultural heritage (Cahill, 2006, p.67). Mātua had to relinquish some of their control and influence over their children. The views of mātua about school contexts have come mostly from their own children. It seemed that the junior Gagana Sāmoa was one space in the school mātua believed the value of respect could be reinforced and each tamaiti a'oga behaviour at school be supported.

While respect came through as a necessary and foundational part of understanding the culture, there were other cultural teachings requested. Tautua suggested:

There are basic customs. Simple things like serving a Samoan meal. Model those sort of things. Other ceremonies are a bit complex, but little simple things that the kids can expose to. I think the utilisation of art and music and dance is good. Are they doing a lot of dance and music? Samoan has got a lot of simple tradition and customs that [Tulāfale] know very well (October, 2016).

Tautua noted "simple things" to be taught, but Rebecca identified a more complex cultural ceremony:

Learn how to do the kava. That's our other culture. When they do the kava, the visitors are already there, and they have to do the kava. The lady in the middle of the house with this big kava bowl. She is starting to do the kava and everyone else is waiting; a welcoming kava. It's a beautiful thing. The culture is not an easy thing. It's good that they learn it from the language. One day they can try it; a Samoan culture day for the school (November, 2015).

Rebecca concurred with Tautua's comment that ceremonies are a "bit complex" and also with Afi with regards to the relationship between the language and the culture. Afi stated that it was necessary to "Learn the culture, before you learn the language". Tautua was perhaps thinking more about New Zealand born tamaiti a'oga or tamaiti a'oga who come to New Zealand at an early age having difficulty understanding more complex ceremonies without living in Samoa. Rebecca continued with her knowledge of kava. My interactions with her, built my own Samoan and Pasifika cultural knowledge as a teacher:

Rebecca: All the Islands have different kinds of welcoming to guests. When the kids go the Island, they can see that they are doing kava for welcoming, so they have to understand where they should be and what they should do.
AB We had presentations, and the Tongan boy did a kava ceremony. They are all different.
Rebecca: Ours, it's the lady. They never allowed a married lady to do the kava.
AB: Does she have to be related to the chief?
Rebecca: A high chief's daughter. Every village has a special person that is called a taupou. That should be a person when guests or visitors arrived. She should be the one that calls to come into the fale (house). She knows where she should be.
AB: She knows. That's her role.
Rebecca: Like a model in the village. Some of them they died, never married. They respect to do that role in the whole village.
AB: So they actually deliberately do not marry so that they can do that role?
Rebecca: Men from other village, they came to ask to marry them. That's our culture. If they refuse, they don't want it.
AB: So that's ok?
Rebecca: No-one can force them if they respect their role.
AB: That is very interesting. I didn't know that at all (November, 2015).

This seemed to have aligned with what Tulāfale was teaching tamaiti a'oga and confirmed the significance of kava in Samoan culture. It was visible, concrete, and highly transferable culture. I could see what Tautua was thinking about. There were many other teachings and learnings from the ceremony which could be explored, such as gender roles and kava across the Pacific. Rebecca was also a cultural resource. She had cultural expertise which could be shared, not only for tamaiti a'oga, but also, for other Pasifika mātua and faiā'oga.

Appreciation of the challenges of learning languages

Mātua had a range of understandings about the challenges for their children when learning Gagana Sāmoa. While some mātua spoke about language features, others shared other concerns and their own experiences. There was an awareness from some mātua of Samoan heritage about what language features would be particularly challenging. Masina was the only matua who was sure Afu had no challenges with Gagana Sāmoa. This showed when they went back to Samoa in 2009, "I was so proud of them because when my parents talked to them in Samoan, they just answered them the back" (October, 2015). She affirmed this with Afu's reading and writing, "If you tell [Afu] you can write this sentence down, [Afu] will write it down. He's good at using those question marks. If you give him a Samoan newspaper to read it, he can read it, he can write it" (October, 2015). Masina indicated that Afu's hidden linguistic and cultural knowledge was not given the opportunity to be discovered and shown in the school in other classes or contexts. She seemed proud of Afu's competency with orthographic features and saw him as being successful with writing because he could write down what he hears. Therefore, I was unsure about what she meant by reading and writing. There was some suggestion that she was referring specifically to the skill of understanding the sound to print for reading and writing.

The main challenges identified by a few mātua were spelling and pronunciation. Tina Leilua stated, "know that [Teine Leilua] is good at reading in Samoan, but the writing for spelling the words. Especially the long words. When you have to pronounce the words and then spell, say, the word 'fa'anoanoa'. It is hard to spell" (October, 2015). Sei o le tamaitai shared that "When they try to pronounce, it's pretty hard for them to say it" (February, 2017). Rebecca reinforced, "The only thing I know is pronouncing the words and understanding the meaning of the words. Mostly its double 'a' or double 'e' or double 'i'; especially in big words. They very long words" (November, 2015). Samoan vowel sounds were recently identified in New Zealand as undergoing a shift. Tavita and Aukuso (2019) state that an attention to phonological awareness

in Samoan speech has not been a focus and has been "taken for granted far too long" (p.64). They call for the need for correct instruction in Samoan phonology. They highlight, that there is still the "lingering issue" of the role of diacritic marks. The importance of their presence or not in Samoan orthography will continue to challenge in different ways. This is especially when the Samoan younger population continue to embrace digital technologies to communicate, and they may believe diacritic markers are not important. However, as Tualaulelei, Mayer and Hunkin (2015) also indicate, this raises long-term challenges with the quality teaching and learning of Gagana Sāmoa in the future. They point out that consistency with diacritical markers is needed to minimise cultural misunderstandings and prevent unintentional offense. They explain that guidance for using diacritics needs to have at the forefront that the future of Gagana Sāmoa is dependent on its transmission to younger generations. Therefore, "these learners need unambiguous, consistent orthography to aid their learning and comprehension" (Tualaulelei, Mayer & Hunkin, 2015, p.201). All these present challenges for the Samoan teenager learning Gagana Sāmoa in New Zealand as mātua seem to be aware of.

Rebecca, Tina Leilua and Sei o le tamaitai indicated that the writing was not so difficult, with mostly reference to the grammar of the sentences being like English. As Rebecca believed, "It's easier for people to translate" (November, 2015). Tina Leilua noted the change of the length of a sentence when there was a pronoun change, for example, "I go to the shop. Ou te alu i le faleoloa. It's not a long sentence. He goes to the shop. O le tama ua alu i le faleoloa, it is longer". Finally, Afi, summarised, "In Samoan, long way of saying it, but in English it is short. One word has many different meanings. Depends how you use the word, depends on how the sentence goes" (November, 2015). These grammatical understandings provided insights into what could be used to support those tamaiti a'oga mostly using English to learn Gagana Sāmoa.

While some mātua indicated Gagana Sāmoa language skills which all tamaiti a'oga may have difficulty with, other mātua had concerns about their own children or additional challenges not directly related to language. Teuila and Matai were concerned for Tupu because he could not read or write as there was only listening and speaking in the home. They emphasised, for him, the writing is the most difficult. Matai shared their hope, "If you tell him (Tupu) writing the story, she *(he)* don't know. Happy for [Tulāfale] going learn *(teach)* for writing and story. I think this guy is she *(he)* learn *(teach)* (September, 2016). However, even though there was speaking and listening happening at home, Matai worried, "I thinks [Tupu], she *(he)* no

understand, more learn Samoan language, just only talk here in the family, but I think he's not understand for the [Tulāfale]" (September, 2016). I felt Matai and Teuila, needed to be congratulated for building some foundations for reading and writing by developing listening and speaking for their children. This kind of achievement is not necessarily acknowledged by the education system by extending this to reading and writing in the secondary system.

Tautua and Sarah brought different perspectives not related to language features of Gagana Sāmoa. Tautua identified the challenge with the relationship between language and identity:

> Sometimes we argue that if we don't speak that language, we question our identity. Although they are not fluent, they are very proud Samoan boys. I feel sorry for them as the boys cannot get away from being Samoan. [Utufiu and Taula] lack of confidence in Samoan, but I often say to them, at this stage, they need a lot of exposure to listening and taking part (October, 2016).

Similarly, Sarah, noted that "[Daughter] is lacking in self-confidence and very self-conscious about making any mistakes in front of friends or others" (January, 2016). This was the first time that her daughter was given such an opportunity or challenged formally to learn Gagana Sāmoa. This presented a challenge to mātua of how to support their children with how and if they wanted to learn Gagana Sāmoa and especially, how they supported them navigating their cultural identity.

For T.tau and Mātārae, these challenges again did not rest with the actual language, but in the wider context of teaching and learning the language or languages at home now and in their own narratives. Mātārae cited similar challenges around Te Hurianga's identity and his motivation and attraction towards learning either te reo Māori or Gagana Sāmoa, "I hope that he sticks to it, and he does learn more about his culture and his language. He can be quite curious. He has been around it his whole life. He has just never latched on to it like my other little nephews" (October, 2016). T.tau had a transience narrative of her own to understand. She shared, "I was a shifter. I can't even count the number (*of schools*) on my hands and feet. My Dad was a shearer, so he travelled for work. I ended up doing correspondence for a few years. Then I thought, na, I want to go to school and settle. I need some friends" (October, 2016). She did not get the chance to learn te reo Māori nor had she learnt Gagana Sāmoa with her previous partner. She shared her skills in te reo Māori and indicated where some of her personal challenges and skills were:

T.tau: I can read it, I can write it, I can speak it. I don't understand it.
AB: How does that work? (we both laugh together)
T.tau: Don't know.
AB: So you can read and write it, so . .
T.tau: So if it is written down, I can say it, but I don't know what I am saying.
AB: Oh, ok, right. So you can pronounce what is there. And you can write it?
T.tau: I can write it if I hear it.
AB: But do you understand it?
T.tau: No.

T.tau was unable to gain any meaning from what she read in te reo Māori. It appeared from what she described that she had gained print to sound and sound to print knowledge, but she could not extract any meaning, she had not learnt vocabulary, grammar, and text types. For her own children, she shared, "I would like te reo Māori to stay with my kids. Falaniko doesn't have any knowledge of it" (October, 2016).

Pre-existing and growing community connections with Tulāfale

Most mātua had a community connection to Tulāfale or wanted to connect. Tautua had a professional relationship. Rebecca had an historical connection in the Islands and knew about him and his teaching at school. She shared, "He is very good with the language. He is very good with his speaking (November, 2015). There was another historical connection through Sarah and her daughter. Tulāfale was a member of their (Sarah and her previous husband) wedding party (January, 2016). The majority of mātua embraced that Tulāfale provided a cultural link between home and school. They recognised he could support their values, language and understanding of them and the Samoan community. The historical connections; however, between mātua and Tulāfale, did not always manifest positively. Afi was not convinced that Tulāfale was a trained teacher and questioned his employment background and general character. Afi's reaction was a reality check that all connections were not necessarily going to be positive and how sensitive information needed to be managed and respected.

There were indications that mātua wanted to connect with Tulāfale or wanted their children to connect with him. Matai and Teuila wanted to talk with him about their son. They attended a fono that some mātua, tamaiti a'oga, Tulāfale and I had at the beginning of the school year. They were seeking ways to talk about their son. After a short time into the interview, they started to indicate their hope. This was prompted by the question about whether Tupu talked to them about the class:

Teuila: No, never tell me.

Matai: It's good. But, I don't know, [Tupu]. Lucky you come in today here. [Tupu] sometimes come in here sometimes, 7, 8 *(pm)*

Teuila: 7 o'clock

Matai: She *(he)* ask me and I tell him. "Where are you?" School or library? I think it's good. Thank you for your coming. You talk me. Keep talking for this one. It's good. I'm happy that one (September, 2016).

Matai saw me as a means to link with the school and Tulāfale and talk about his son. There was a preference for talking face to face. Matai engaged:

Matai: What about, anytime, I need to speak [Tulāfale].

AB: Yes

Matai: For my understand, what's he need for [Tupu].

AB: Ok. So, you would like to contact

Matai: For me.

AB: To call him?

Matai: No, I need to go and talk, some time. I don't know when.

AB: You want to talk with Mr [Tulāfale] about some things.

Matai: For my son (September, 2016).

They had a sense of urgency to ensure that they were able to help their son, but there was another layer of connection they needed with the school. Masina saw Tulāfale as someone her son could connect to also. She explained, "He is quite shy. He just want things to keep to himself. I keep encouraging him to open up to [Tulāfale]. Try to make friends with [Tulāfale]" (October, 2015). The knowledge nearly every matua had about Tulāfale revealed the interconnectivity of the community and the sensitivity and confidentiality which is needed when working for and alongside them. With each interview I did, I developed more understanding of links between aiga and how working with mātua individually first perhaps was the best option to build *va* (a relational space between us), understand their community connectedness and understand the individual needs of their tamaiti a'oga for learning Gagana Sāmoa.

Parental support for the initiative

All mātua interviewed, except one, were supportive of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class but for different reasons. Some were receptive to the idea of coming to see the class when Tulāfale was teaching. It provided a possible way to engage with them as experts. Their primary reason for support was to maintain a connection to a range of aiga. Tina Leilua explained, "There are

lots of Samoan kids lost their first language. The parents and the grandparents can't speak in English language, so its better you have to teach the children" (October, 2015). The reasons for mātua were influenced by individual aiga circumstances. Mātārae explained with reference to whanau/aiga previous experiences:

> As he has got older and been around my partner and my sisters' partner, he has thought "ohh, this is my culture". He became interested as he grew up. When he said that he was joining this class, we thought, "Oh, that's good, you're actually interested", cause we don't want to force him into anything, even the Māori side. With all the kids we have let them choose what they want to do. They have all chosen different paths. One of them goes to total immersion Māori and one of them goes to an English school. When we were growing up, we didn't have a choice (October, 2016).

Mātārae also saw Te Hurianga learning Gagana Sāmoa as beneficial for the whole aiga; especially with supporting her when translating for whānau/aiga members in the community. Sarah saw the class as an opportunity that her daughter had not had before. She shared:

> I personally think that [daughter] should embrace the class. I'm pleased they offer Samoan at school for kids who want to learn more. I cannot force this onto her. I have recommended it, but she has discussed with her dad about it and feel they are happy doing what they are doing (January, 2016).

Sarah could see the benefits of the class, but she knew her matua limits over her daughter's choices. The class had created some conversations in Sarah's aiga and possibly created a conscious awareness of what they were doing to support her daughter's continued development in Gagana Sāmoa. The complexity of whanau for T.tau, was a factor in wanting her son to learn Gagana Sāmoa. She shared, "I think it is good for him to learn his father's side of where he is from because I don't know. I know; he's Samoan. It will be nice for him, to learn and to bond with his father a bit more" (October, 2016). T.tau raised the learning of Gagana Sāmoa as a vehicle for enhancing her son and father's connection. I did not know how long T.tau and her previous partner had not been together, but it appeared that she ensured a continuing relationship between her son and his father. It appeared that T.tau had not engaged with Samoan culture or Gagana Sāmoa; hence, her motivation for her son to learn Gagana Sāmoa because she could not teach it to him. T.tau joked that it would be not so good for Falaniko to learn because "they would talk and then I wouldn't understand" (October, 2016). Tautua supported the class, and he was reflective:

> I think that it is fantastic to have Samoan language in the schools that my children go to. Now and then I ask the kids, but not consistently. I think that it is something I wanted to find out more from the kids. [Utufiu and Taula] in particular. What are they learning? I think there is some inconsistency there from our part. My part at home should be strengthened and maintained really for the kids to be able to know and learn a bit more at home. That would be a good way to support what the school is offering for the kids (October, 2016).

There was some enthusiasm and curiosity from Tautua for the junior Gagana Sāmoa class and his children's participation, but he had shared with some reflective feelings about his contributions at home. I did not want him to feel this as I knew he was another very busy father. There were more challenges when only one matua spoke the community language at home. The link between home and school as a reason to support the initiative was indicated by Rebecca who gave an enthusiastic response to coming to visit the class:

> It's good to visit. You can have give some feedback to the teacher. You listen and look at it if there is anything that you have to help. You can encourage the kids as well when you come home if the kids are doing that in the home. Or he can do more teaching for that thing you want the kids to know (November, 2015).

Masina, Matai and Teuila and Sei o le tamaitai gave their support for their respective reasons. Masina supported because this is what her children would be doing if they were still in the Islands, indicating that there was a real possibility that their aiga or their children, could return to Samoa to visit or live. Matai said, "I am happy for that one" (September, 2016), but he was worried about the language demands of the class for Tupu. Matai was assuming that the level of Gagana Sāmoa that Tulāfale was teaching in the class was higher than what was at home. I wondered if Matai and Teuila were aware of the Gagana Sāmoa curriculum to reassure them that Tupu's Gagana Sāmoa existing knowledge was valid and there was a foundation to build on. Therefore, there was a need to share the curriculum document with them.

Sei o le tamaitai worried her son spoke English too much, and it would be difficult for him going to Samoa because her aiga in Samoa could not communicate with him. Therefore, the Gagana Sāmoa class was important because:

> That's for her *(his)* future. I don't know what Sei o le tama want to do when he's older. If he wants to living New Zealand and working here or he want to go back to the Island and working there a good job. In the Island, he will using two language; Samoan and English. If he work in bank and some people go there, they not speak English, they speak in Samoan (February, 2017).

Afi did not encourage her son to attend the class because he "can't get a job out of it". She said that the only job is that he "can only be an interpreter; only in court". She questioned and commented:

> What's the point in teaching Samoan? My son can pick up Samoan in the house. English is a common language with the whole world. If you want to learn Samoan, go back to Samoa. I don't like how he's going to Samoan class. I sent him to school to learn English or other subjects. My son says it's boring in the class (November, 2015).

Afi's opinion is certainly not alone. Wilson (2017) shared of one parent who argued that the school's responsibility was to teach English not Samoan. Afi had been in New Zealand the longest out of all mātua and had arrived in the same year as Tulāfale. I was pleased that she felt she could voice her honest opinion as she had valid reasons, including the class was not linguistically stimulating her son.

What were the supports and challenges for the mātua community, how did these affect the implementation, and how did the implementation affect mātua?

The main support within the mātua community were their overall support for the implementation of the project. This support manifested itself differently. I was surprised at the range of reasons for their support, but I should not have been because of the diversity of their individual personal experiences of language learning and aiga compositions and circumstances. The main effect of their support was that mātua encouraged their tamaiti a'oga to attend the junior Gagana Sāmoa class even though they could not force them to attend. Part of the motivation behind their support seemed to be mātua awareness of the appreciation they had with learning Gagana Sāmoa. All mātua had an appreciation for the difficulties of learning a language or what other personal challenges there were for their children in becoming part of the Gagana Sāmoa class. They all, except Sarah, had experiences of learning an additional language; however, I did not establish if or how much Gagana Sāmoa she learnt from her husband previously. This theme opened up multiple levels about what mātua were aware of with either learning Gagana Sāmoa and / or te reo Māori or learning a language fully or partially part of a person's heritage. Some mātua indicated that there were expectations about where the learning needed to be directed. They identified spelling and pronunciation as the most challenging aspect with some indications in the research that these two aspects do require more focus because of the dependence on diacritical markers for correct pronunciation. However,

mātua identified further significant complex influences of confidence, self-consciousness, motivation and navigating their identity.

There was also evidence of potential support from mātua as key cultural resources for inclusion in the junior Gagana Sāmoa class although there was a range of ideas of what should be included and prioritised. Mātua made two divisions between what culture they believe needed teaching. These were values and visible customs. While the culture iceberg's (Hall, 1976) inception was several decades ago, mātua divided into what is seen above the iceberg and what is not seen below the iceberg until more time is spent in or understanding more about that culture (Hall, 1976). The fa'asamoa value of fa'aaloalo was the most prominent aspect of the culture mātua insisted needed teaching. Because fa'aaloalo is a value, it sits below the water as part of the iceberg model as a less visible aspect of culture. The teaching of visible customs seemed to be on a spectrum from simple to complex. There was the possibility that mātua saw the junior Gagana Sāmoa class as a place where respect could be reinforced. However, this would create a challenge for Tulāfale to bridge Samoan respect with 'respect' as interpreted by school values and the New Zealand curriculum. The interview process highlighted what cultural knowledge mātua had and valued. It showed that mātua believed that respect was not already being enforced by the school. While the teaching of this value could continue to be enforced, there is contrast and conflict, as Iusitini, Taylor, Cowly-Malcolm, Kerslake and Paterson (2011) indicate, between "passive unquestioning, rote learning pedagogical style" and "the New Zealand schooling environment which encourages interactive dialogue and critical understanding" (Iusitini, et al., 2011. p.122). Showing critical understanding could be viewed by mātua as not showing respect. There was a tension for some mātua about "simple" and "complex" ceremonies". The transmission of what aspects of culture, to whom and for what purpose needed a much wider discussion. There were untapped knowledge and learnings to be utilised from the mātua resource.

The main challenges from mātua were their linguistic, aiga, family language policy diversity and lack of and range of language resources. This influenced the family language policies. Mātua reflect an increasing national trend that Māori and Pasifika are navigating at least two ethnicities within their homes, more so than New Zealand Europeans. Consequently, there are varying degrees of bilingual/biliterate or multilingual/multi-literate aiga environments. There were indications from mātua that the successful transferring of Gagana Sāmoa was difficult even for those mātua implementing the strictest policy influenced by the notion of 'impact

belief' (De Houwer, 1999). Most families did not engage in enforcing a family language policy with only two mātua who worked to enforce stricter language policies with only Gagana Sāmoa at home. Each matua had a different circumstance and this needed to be treated with fa'aaloalo and sensitivity.

This was more difficult with the lack of Gagana Sāmoa resources, especially reading resources to support Gagana Sāmoa at home. Consistent with previous research, there was a dominance of reading and visual material with religious affiliation. Only one matua was able to access or was aware of the Gagana Sāmoa readers which are available, and another had visual resource from a shop and reading material from the school library. However, across all mātua there was a variety of religious Gagana Sāmoa resources, but most mātua had only one or two resources. For the two Māori mātua, there were minimal reading materials, but digital Apps were utilised with Mātārae's whanau/aiga. An interesting finding was that a few mātua recognised that the sharing time with their children using these available Gagana Sāmoa resources had reduced considerably or did not happen anymore as teenagers, signally that their children were reading less religious affiliated reading materials.

The research provides an insight for the realities of what was occurring at home for aiga with Gagana Sāmoa and English and the diversity of families. It affected how they engaged with the project; however, this did not reflect their level of support for the project. To develop engagement, we discovered and required an individual family approach rather than a group approach. Relationships needed to be formed between Tulāfale and me and the mātua community; however, this was still insufficient to successfully bring mātua together.

For some mātua, the implementation provided a vehicle of conversation between them and their young person. However, for a couple of families it created some conflict as a couple of parents wanted their young person to attend, but they did not attend, or they only attended a couple of times. For one parent, they were not happy for their young person to attend. While interviewing mātua, I felt empathy for their emotions they had, so I had to navigate these carefully which sometimes involved using some of my own personal positionality and experiences. Different emotions were shared through the interviews which sit alongside the different reasons expressed. These emotions were being anxious, concerned, happy, regretful, angry, empowered, valued, encouraged, hopeful, powerless, and satisfied. This represented the feelings of mātua themselves and how they felt about their children in the project. Mātua voices

affected me as a mother, teacher, and researcher as I shared in the chapter. I felt some anger towards what they had experienced in different government systems, and it gave me further motivation to continue working to implement and evolve the project. It was possibly the first time that mātua had been asked about their linguistic and cultural knowledge, and so this interviewing process provided the place to do so. Emotions from mātua as a result of the implementation were complex and not homogeneous.

Finally, the research revealed the extent of the connections mātua had with Tulāfale and the implementation continued to build these connections. There were some expected and unexpected connections between Tulāfale and mātua. Tamaiti a'oga shared some of their connections, but the connections shared by mātua sometimes were more personal knowledge and history of Tulāfale than tamaiti a'oga had and may not have been public knowledge. These connections were further building with mātua, such as with Matai and Teuila, who were reaching out to him as someone who could support their son. This was a major effect of the implementation. Mātua linked to Tulāfale across very different connections along with an increasing reciprocal aspiration by both mātua and Tulāfale to connect. Dobrenov, Kearny, Birch and Cowley (2004) researching in Australia with a small Samoan community, did not anticipate the central role of the bilingual Samoan teacher in facilitating the success of the research. As indicated by Tulāfale's narrative, he saw his links to mātua as very important as a way to engage them and tamaiti a'oga into the class. For Dobrenov et al. (2004) they explained that the bilingual Samoan teacher was essential to effectiveness of the project because of her bilingual skills to communicate with mātua, intuition about understanding of how they think about the program's important issues as well as credibility to the program. They believed the bilingual Samoan teacher would play an increasingly important bridging role between the home, school, and university research team. Similarly, this occurred in this project and research. However, Dobrenov et al., did not mention the rules and boundaries to protect the bilingual Samoan teacher. Monitoring and protecting when and how Tulāfale worked with mātua was not always possible because he was a central part of the community. However, it was essential that the cluster and I always monitored this to ensure his personal well-being and safety as well as carefully utilising the positive community links he had.

This final data chapter follows the narratives of tamaiti a'oga, Luma, Tulāfale's and my practitioner narrative. This is the *nonoa* which ties the *atosei* and *fau* together. Each theme not

only provides understandings for schools which they may need to consider for similar implementations, but it highlights that the process of interviewing mātua is essential to gain deeper knowledge of families and build *va*. Chapter Nine is titled *Va* to signal the bringing together of the prior chapters and acknowledging the negotiation of *va* in this thesis.

CHAPTER NINE: VA

This chapter summarises and discusses this thesis. First, I engage with the cultural metaphor, *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia* that has given the title to the thesis. Next, I discuss the findings and contributions of this research. Then, I provide recommendations and discuss the implications of these. My final comment looks forward to Pasifika languages in the future in New Zealand secondary schools.

Reflecting on *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia* and the findings

Fau

In reporting the project, I have used the metaphor of *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia,* Garland of Chiefs. The *fau*, strands of hibiscus fibre that hold the garland, represented initially Tulāfale and me. As two strands we worked together to build relationships with mātua, and we began to connect and hold onto tamaiti a'oga in a new teaching and learning space. Luma joined the project as a Learning Tutor and strengthened the *fau* as another strand to support Tulāfale and I and to hold onto and work with tamaiti a'oga. The Learning Tutor programme nurtured a new shoot of life which grew into a strand of the *fau*. Tulāfale's strand became disconnected, so Luma and I needed to become stronger to continue to nurture tamaiti a'oga. The *fau* had to prevent fraying, splintering, and altogether breaking in reaction to the range of difficulties we encountered. The *fau* in its final growth in the project, grew different strands to support tamaiti a'oga. It became four faiā'oga strands to respond to the increasing diversity of tamaiti a'oga and mātua. It consisted of three Pasifika bilingual language support teachers and me as a facilitator of the new multilingual space. The senior tamaiti a'oga in the class became part of the *fau* to nurture the *atosei*. Sometimes senior tamaiti a'oga needed strength and caring from other faiā'oga strands on the *fau* to understand how to nurture junior tamaiti a'oga. The *fau* remains fragile with constant intensity, pelting and wind sweeping from the elements.

Atosei

The *atosei*, basket of flowers, represented tamaiti a'oga. Tamaiti a'oga formed the *atosei* and determined whether they wanted to be part of the evolving teaching and learning spaces and who they wanted as part of it. Each tamaiti a'oga decided how they wanted to be represented on the *atosei*. Their representations were unique and showed their beliefs, connections, and

cultural understandings. Through the evolution of the project and the increasing diversity of the *atosei*, the representations for tamaiti a'oga began with connections with Samoa. However, as the tamaiti a'oga bloomed and moved on, their representations became much more connected to people of the Pacific, including representations from Niue, Tonga, Fiji, and Māori world view. Without the *atosei*, the *fau* had nothing to hold onto and support. Without the *fau*, the *atosei* would be scattered and disconnected from each other.

Nonoa

The *nonoa*, knot, represented mātua. Mātua gave strength to both the *fau* and *atosei*, but each matua did this differently. The strength of the knot was mostly from mātua support for the project. The *nonoa* was held together with increasing diverse strands, so the *fau* needed to gain further strands and strength to continue to support the *nonoa*. The *fau* and *nonoa* needed each other to successfully hold onto the *atosei* to support and grow increasing diversity. The *nonoa* had varying degrees of struggle and strength and often depending on their innate and community strengths to do the best they could in nurturing Gagana Sāmoa or another Pasifika language.

Va

Va is the relational space and *va fealoaloa'i* are the relationships in *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*, created by the *fau*, *atosei* and *nonoa*. *Va* also represents all Pacific Island chiefs and nations who have been enacting *va* as a Pasifika concept for centuries. *Va* represented the existing and new relational spaces negotiated and created. The implementation of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class centred on relationships. An implementation such as this needed the involvement of different groups and different agencies to begin to understand the possibilities. The supports of the implementation usually supported the *va* but sometimes there were careful negotiations needed because *va fealoaloa'i* became strained and needed careful mending. The relationship between Tulāfale and I became the relational space of *va tapuia*. *Va tapuia* is the Samoan concept of 'sacred space' in the covenant relationship between brother and sister (Amituanai-Toloa, 2007). The support from mātua for the project, showed how the building of *va* elicited emotion which I could hear, see, and feel. Relationships are emotional; hence, *va* is emotional. The cluster model was created as a varied and new relational space. It gave opportunity, possibility but also tension. For Tulāfale and I, there was sometimes a feeling of complete misunderstanding or disrespect of *va*. Tamaiti a'oga experienced challenges of *va* and *va tapuia* between those tamaiti a'oga who could engage with the project and those who could not. Most

of them negotiated diversity as a support within the class. They sometimes delicately negotiated with their mātua with signs that for most, this provided a strengthening of the *va* between child and matua. Through this complexity was Tulāfale's ongoing challenge at working to maintain *va* with all participants creating tension and internal conflict but also joy and satisfaction. Amituanai-Toloa (2018) identifies *va tapuia* that exists with the principal, colleagues, parents, teachers, and students. Tulāfale was working to keep these relationships, sometimes at the cost of his own well-being and vulnerability. The effects of the implementation were the result of *va*. *Va* is a space of collaboration, linguistic and cultural development, evolution, engagement, transformation, learning and leadership within *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*.

Findings and contributions of this research

Collaboration of schools

While the cluster model had created some difficulties, this had mostly been because of funding and lines of authority and communication. However, these were outweighed by how it had enabled a cluster of secondary schools and primary schools to support Gagana Sāmoa for a small and diverse Pasifika community. The cluster model enabled Tulāfale to work across the cluster for two years, but it had only a short timeframe to have an effect. A major success was that it gave a skilled and passionate faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa, the time and space to utilise all his knowledge and skills. There were further steps which could have been taken if the cluster or a similar initiative was continued as emerging data indicated. The cluster was beginning to establish the family links across the schools. Within the cluster itself, it was not uncommon for one family to have their children in three different schools. There was potential to grow deeper understandings and bring together deeper and collective data about aiga bilingual/multilingual environments and skills.

While clusters of schools in New Zealand and internationally are used by governments, the specific focus of teaching, learning and maintenance of community/heritage languages remains uncommon. Recently, the Northern Zones Cluster of Schools established their cluster in New Zealand. It set its goals for 2020-2022 with one of the professional learning groups focusing on Diversity, including "Cultural diversity across and within schools" and "Migrant, refugee students and their needs" (p.5). Some important steps that the cluster took, was to identify ESOL funded students and "the percentage of students who speak at least one other language at home" (p.8). The cluster did transition to a Kāhui Ako, with an Achievement Challenge for

students to have "Strong, secure cultural identities and sense of belonging*"* (p.16). The Kāhui Ako identified the need to develop *'culturally sustaining pedagogies and practices'* (p.24)*,* but in the plan, there is no mention of community language initiatives. It appears that the cluster, while it has reached an awareness, it has yet to realise the need and potential for building community language initiatives across the Kāhui Ako. Therefore, it could be that other Kāhui Ako in New Zealand, have not reached this level of awareness, understanding or cultural responsivity. Each Kāhui Ako is challenged to consider whose voices are heard within schools and their respective communities; including those staff and community members who are not in power positions. To create this awareness also takes time. In this project, prior to supporting of Tulāfale across the cluster, there was the building of support for the project. I had the support of the outgoing Principal and the Acting Principal using such evidence as NCEA data of Gagana Sāmoa tamaiti a'oga. This support was continued by the incoming principal, but it was sometimes challenged as he was not part of the historical context of the implementation. The support for such community language initiatives needs critical awareness from current and future Kāhui Ako, similar school collaborative initiatives, principals, as well as targeted thought and selection of equitable sharing of voices of those involved in the community language implementation.

Tulāfale was at the centre of the project from the beginning until he became fully employed by the home base school. His community connections, skills and commitment were all supports which he brought to the project. However, each findings' chapters indicated how he was vulnerable, and his well-being needed monitoring. His vulnerability continued to be challenged through his existing and growing links and knowledge about mātua, his teaching and learning in the classroom to work with an increasingly diverse group of tamaiti a'oga, and the expectations placed on him through working in a cluster environment. His classes were requiring more and more time to plan as he was committed to seeing the progress of all students. One consideration he had to manage were the differences he saw across the schools; especially about what he was seeing in one school, and how he wanted this to be implemented in another school. Torepe and Manning (2018) researched the position of Māori language teachers working in English medium state-funded schools. Research had previously predominantly focused on Māori teachers in the North Island where there is a large Māori population. Torepe and Manning wanted to establish some research in Canterbury, New Zealand. They identified five major themes which were challenges. These were managing cultural misunderstandings, professional isolation, workload, teaching in a 'Eurocentric institutional culture' and additional

cultural expectations. Torepe and Manning's research focused on one Māori teacher in one school. However, Tulāfale was working with key members across five schools; possibly amplifying some of Torepe and Manning's (2018) findings and adding additional challenges because of the multiple schools' contexts he was working in. There was conflict for him about how to approach how he could make changes occur, but he needed a safe space to be able to articulate what he was thinking. Therefore, his positioning needed critical monitoring.

These findings suggest the validation of a cluster model as a means for supporting Pasifika languages; hence, it is a model worth investing in research, further evolution, and support. There is significant future work to consider on moving to engage clusters in thought processes and awareness of supporting Pasifika languages through whose voices are heard when developing cluster goals and foci. This further challenges clusters to research, support and evolve themselves to explicitly understand and support the implications for Pasifika teachers working in the community and across the schools. Research needs to develop a culturally responsive framework to support Pasifika language teachers and their respective schools. In addition, it questions what professional development would be needed which could extend into these diverse Pasifika virtual and hybrid teaching, and learning cluster environments, and communities.

Linguistic and cultural development

Linguistic and cultural development occurred for tamaiti a'oga, Luma and me. The development of tamaiti a'oga linguistic skills for Gagana Sāmoa and other Pasifika languages they learnt varied. Mapping Luma's journey was crucial to understand how, in a predominantly Pākehā context, he arrived at the end of the year with a range of Gagana Sāmoa skills which were at a Level 3 NCEA level. His awareness and consistent development of his Gagana Sāmoa skills began in Year 9. From Year 11 to Year 13, he used the available opportunities through the Pasifika Studies course NCEA tasks and assessments of the Gagana Sāmoa and Pacific Unit Standards. Furthermore, the opportunity to support Tulāfale as a Learning Tutor had forced him to check that what he was teaching tamaiti a'oga was correct. With him taking on a full "teaching" role, this further challenged him to ensure what he was teaching was accurate. It was evident for tamaiti a'oga that what they learnt in the Gagana Sāmoa class was pertinent to their varied linguistic range of skills. These skills ranged from being able to identify single words from a reading to beginning to sound out the letters and sounds of words, to refining orthographic features in larger pieces of writing. Later in the project, this development went

beyond each student's own Pasifika language development to recognising similarities and differences between their own Pasifika language and other Pasifika languages in the class. This shows that the linguistic development opportunities in the Pasifika language can occur over a period through a range of diverse opportunities in a secondary school. The linguistic development and sense of achievement will vary greatly but all achievement can and needs to be acknowledged. A student's strength or strengths in their Pasifika language will vary. For example, a student may continue to develop their speaking and reading skills while others develop their listening skills in that language. This challenges schools and assessment agencies around how to acknowledge achievement in a range of skills or a specific skill of a specific Pasifika language or languages.

Linguistically, through working alongside Tulāfale, tamaiti a'oga and Luma, I increased my knowledge of Gagana Sāmoa and some other Pasifika languages, including te reo Māori. In addition, through the process of writing this thesis, I expanded my Gagana Sāmoa linguistic knowledge. I went through some trial and error with what Gagana Sāmoa words to include which provided opportunities for searching, learning, talking about and repetition of vocabulary and phrases; including many discussions, emails, and Facebook connections to develop *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*. This shows that genuine engagement in research and engagement by a non-Pasifika teacher can result in not only a development in a Pasifika language or languages, but also the motivation to continue this learning. This has further implications for non-Pasifika teacher and researcher identity, and their inclusion in Pasifika communities and agencies as their Pasifika cultural and linguistic connections become stronger.

The research highlighted the absent linguistic data, assessments, processes, and infrastructure to actively monitor, support and grow the Pasifika languages of students in New Zealand. It identified the importance of understanding the linguistic historical narratives of students and their mātua. In the Pacific Education Plan, there is a focus on Pasifika languages and identity, but all reported national data only focuses on English language literacy; hence, this is the primary focus for most primary and secondary schools. Luma's narrative showed how the implementation of the beginnings of a junior Samoan language group provided the start of understanding his linguistic capabilities and what kind of support, awareness and monitoring can be achieved. Tulāfale's narrative and that of tamaiti a'oga, showed the struggles of tamaiti

a'oga with their Gagana Sāmoa and what was occurring with Pasifika languages such as Niuean and Tongan. Policies and strategies at a school and national level which do not have specific action to actively understand, monitor and support students' language and literacy in the Pasifika languages will result in the continued decline in all Pasifika languages. An extension of this research could support a policy and strategy for Pasifika language students self-reporting of their Pasifika language skills and consequently identifying how they can further develop and enhance the less strong of these skills.

Parents' support and engagement

Evidence for mātua support came through the interviews with mātua who were interviewed from Samoan, New Zealand Pākehā and Māori ethnicities. Even though the emotions shared by mātua were complex, they wanted their young person to attend the class and learn for a vast range of reasons. Mātua support was further signalled through the interviews with some tamaiti a'oga whose mātua were mostly not interviewed; including several other Pasifika tamaiti a'oga who were all learning Gagana Sāmoa as an additional language in the Evolving Phase. Tulāfale's connection with additional mātua in the community indicated further support. Support for the project in the New Model Phase was signalled by the wider Pasifika mātua community through permitting and supporting their Fijian, Tongan, and Samoan Year 10 tamaiti a'oga to join the multilingual tuakana teina space through a letter sent home and returned. The New Model Phase was particularly significant as it showed that Pasifika mātua were supportive of different Pasifika languages and cultures working together in the same space with both juniors and seniors. Leafe (2017) researched Pasifika families of mixed ethnicities and confirmed that there is an expectation and reliance from parents in New Zealand schools to teach and maintain cultural knowledge and language in place of such family members as grandparents and those members with extensive cultural knowledge. The parents in the study relied on the school as a convenient place to teach cultural content because they identified that they did not have time. Significantly, Leafe (2017) identified that the schools of the family participants did not have any Pacific language as part of their curricula, but rather, the focus was on cultural enhancement through cultural groups or some language weeks. Therefore, the support of mātua in this research seems to support Leafe's finding. However, I am critical of schools' foci on cultural enhancement activities only. While they are an acknowledgement of culture, they are visible and significantly more easily implemented, but can be conveniently included in a school's strategic plan to ensure parents that the school is meeting the responsibilities for cultural responsivity. This is because the implementation and sustaining of

Pasifika language programmes in a secondary school requires disruption, engagement and sustained resources and commitment. Hence, this suggests that mātua in this research emitted a range of complex emotions of support as they had not been previously presented with the opportunity for their children to learn their Pasifika language, or a Pasifika language in their children's school. They were perhaps accustomed and accepting of cultural enhancement activities. This indicates that conversations with mātua and schools about developing Pasifika languages does not occur or does not occur often. The reasons why this is not occurring needs further research especially at the secondary level.

Effective bi-cultural teacher and student leadership collaboration, and professional development

Tulāfale and I had established our relationship before the cluster came together. Our relationship continued when this project began, and we continue our personal and professional relationship now. The implementation of the project was a partnership between us. Together, we both had professional relationships, skills and knowledge which were needed for the implementation to serve different purposes. *My Practitioner Narrative* could have also been *'The Practitioners' Narrative'* up until Tulāfale had to be employed full-time at the home base school. Tulāfale and I both brought skills and knowledge which were both utilised to implement the project. Added to the unofficial space, our relationship became an unofficial and unlabelled co-leadership and middle leadership team. With this co-leadership came a willingness to work with and for each other. While he already had an historical relationship with the wider Samoan community and church, I had a more school-based knowledge through the links I had gained over the last few years. To maintain the momentum of the project, my role was to utilise my relationships within the focus secondary school to ensure that tamaiti a'oga were in class. Together we built relationships with other mātua. There were some mātua that I connected to better and there were some he connected to better than I did and sometimes we both provided a link. For example, this happened with Tupu's matua. We both brought together skill sets. The most obvious skill he brought was Gagana Sāmoa and literacy; this included formal Gagana Sāmoa and language used by a matai. Both of our understandings of language acquisition, language structures and literacy enabled us to talk about tamaiti a'oga language progress and needs. A significant commonality between us was that we were both committed to starting and building the project. The commitment had different motivations which were complementary to continue working through barriers and challenges. We both had had significant life

experiences, and we were both parents ourselves with teenage children. However, our relationship was challenged by a range of pressures which sometimes resulted in repairing the *va* between us and especially maintaining *va tapuia*. Fa'aaloalo' (respect) is the foundation of this relationship (Anae, 2007) which Tulāfale and I built over the past few years.

For both Tulāfale and I, the junior Gagana Sāmoa class provided intense professional development over this time while on different levels developing leadership skills. Often we were a leadership team working together to work through barriers and solutions. This was significant in itself as I think back to the concept and my position of an ally in Chapter One. I was a middle leader during this time maintaining my regular responsibilities. Cardno and Bassett (2015) criticise the quality and quantity of leadership development available to middle leaders in secondary schools. When I refer to my regular responsibilities, Cardno and Bassett identify that this instructional type of leadership is mostly associated with monitoring and evaluating staff performance. They found that their middle leader participants believed that their leadership development was not considered by senior leadership as a priority in their respective secondary schools. However, I was able to develop and understand my underlying beliefs of who I am as a leader through the implementation process without ideas being imposed of what leadership is or should be. As I continue through this thesis process, I continue to understand not only what and how I lead, but also, what is informing my approach to leadership. One of these understandings influencing my leadership can be framed using critical race theory (CRT). Critical race theory proposes that racism is not just an individual bias or prejudice, but it is also embedded in legal systems and policies. Capper (2015) analysed the literature about CRT to develop CRT tenets and how they can inform leadership practice. The opportunity for middle leaders to actively analyse their leadership influences and theories is rare and sometimes non-existent in a secondary context. As Cardno and Bassett indicate, targeted leadership development for middle leaders in New Zealand is yet evident with the majority focus on leadership development for principals. I believe my leadership beliefs framed by CRT were an underlying stimulus for tension and dilemmas throughout the implementation, especially when identifying two of Capper's identified tenets of first, counternarratives and acknowledgement of majoritarian narratives and second, intersectionality. The former tenet argues that narratives from marginalised groups need to be published and heard to counter those of the majority. The latter tenet focuses on wider racism across races and the elimination of racism as a larger aim of addressing social justice across differences. I question how my understanding of CRT prior to becoming a middle leader and engaging in this research project

would have affected or supported any further my middle leadership or this research project. This has implications for what leadership programmes should contain around such theories and when is the right time for teachers to engage with the right leadership programme for them.

Tulāfale was unofficially delegated leadership roles. He was developing his community, linguistic and cultural leadership across the cluster. For Māori and Pasifika teachers, just because of their position as priority teachers and priority learners, often they are assumed into immediate leadership roles regardless of their registration status or number of years teaching. Tulāfale was already a recognised leader in his community, and when he gained his teaching provisional registration, this added to his rare membership of a Pasifika male teacher in secondary teaching. Entering this membership, he became an immediate leader and role model specifically for Pasifika, but especially for Pasifika males. Palmer (2018) notes the emerging research for bilingual teacher leadership and urges the need for more research as bilingual teachers in culturally diverse schooling contexts. In an earlier study, Palmer (2014) used a transformational leadership model for practicing bilingual teachers to support and promote their critical consciousness and teacher advocacy. Tulāfale was beginning to exhibit characteristics of transformational leadership, but it needed further support.

The research has provided evidence which highlights the position of Pacific Island teachers and Pacific Island student leaders in secondary schools. There is vulnerability because of their positioning between school and community and the personal and professional effect this has on them. It is characterised by a sense of obligation, responsibility and often conflict. Similarly, there are indications that this is similar for Pacific Island student leaders. There is no doubt that both Pacific Island teachers and student leaders add quantifiable / unquantifiable and visible / invisible value to a school. Both vulnerability and high value create real potential for impact on wellbeing, resilience and continuation in teaching and learning or the contemplation of teaching as a profession. Manning (2008) highlighted the risk in this space for Māori teachers when they became the only Māori teacher in the school. Manning found that there were expectations that the Māori teacher; regardless of their own hapu (sub-tribe) or iwi (tribe) connection, would mend the difficult relationships the schools had with local iwi, just because they were Māori. This contributed to Tulāfale's vulnerability although the migrant journey placed him in a different position which can unite migrant groups because they are not living in their homeland. Despite this difference, this contributed to Tulāfale's vulnerability of his own and the clusters' expectations to be able to connect schools with mātua. Furthermore, there

was an expectation to transcend geographical boundaries between Pacific Islands by bringing together different Pacific communities within the evolving space. This became more complex and added cultural pressure. Stahl (2021) noted the vulnerability of the Pacific Island student he followed in a secondary school. He cautions that within "the neoliberal model of education, relationships and the affective are marginalised as they remain unquantifiable" (p.1), hence, suggesting, research validating such supports as affective alliances is lacking and perhaps considered less academic than research which engages more with quantitative data.

Luma exhibited other leadership qualities of cultural, personal and peer/tuakana teina characteristics. He exhibited characteristics of servant leadership first through his understanding that he needed to give back by supporting Year 9 and 10 tamaiti a'oga with their Gagana Sāmoa development. This was achieved by him becoming a Learning Tutor to support Tulāfale in the Gagana Sāmoa class and later taking responsibility for the teaching and learning of the class. In the same year, he was a leader for his Year 13 peers and a role model leader for the Year 9 and 10 Pasifika tamaiti a'oga. However, there were indications that leadership and role modelling in the tuakana teina model in the final year of the project was not an automatic trait which seniors exhibited when placed in this position. Some senior tamaiti a'oga bullied junior students in their unofficial leadership roles in the classroom. This signifies that positive and effective tuakana teina relationships which foster growing Pasifika languages need more research attention in a secondary space. This is needed in roles similar to Luma's, but also, in unspecified roles whereby students of different ages and language skills are working alongside each other. There is great potential to learn how these relationships can be enhanced and used in team-teaching and peer-teaching pedagogy for the development of Pasifika languages.

Stahl (2021) noted that the Pacific Island student in his study had become a prefect because he had completed more community service hours than any other student in his year group. In this research project, I question whether this bullying in the New Model Phase class was tolerated in the community service which Pasifika students engaged in especially in youth groups and churches. This suggested that the understanding of what it means to be a leader and who is a leader, needs awareness by schools when placing Pasifika senior students in a New Zealand secondary school context, into situations when they are expected to be leaders automatically outside official student school leadership roles. Faletutulu (2017) while acknowledging Pasifika youth have the qualities to lead, stresses the support needed from a range of groups

and individuals to cultivate leadership. Stahl (2021) extends Faletutulu's observation for the need of supportive groups and uses the term 'affective alliance' to describe the group of people who bond together to support the young person. He further notes, that in these affective alliances, this can result in blurring or boundaries; especially with teachers and educators going beyond the school duties, such as texting students' words of support when they are struggling. Similar to Tulāfale, Luma was vulnerable in these servant and transformational leadership roles. Hence, research is needed to develop frameworks and strategies for developing, monitoring, implementing support networks for both Pasifika teachers and students in schools so that they are able to fulfil and maintain these essential leadership roles in the classroom, wider school and community while ensuring their safety and wellbeing.

My thesis journey from the beginning to the end, was and still is a deep reflection and reflexive process and documentation. I had to make sense of my practitioner research experience to make sense of what had occurred with participants in the research and what was my part. I had to figure out what were the layers which had created tensions, dilemmas, and emotionality. A contribution to this sense making was the unpacking of the 'in the middle' positionalities which I was navigating in school and research spaces. The two immediate contributions of this research connect with middle leadership and what is referred to as TESOL leadership. Cardno and Bassett (2015) identified that middle leaders felt that they were unprepared for leadership and that their leadership development was not viewed as a priority. As at May 2017, Robson and Bassett identified in a White Paper that there is no move from the government for the development of middle leaders. In the same paper, they identify, a set of principles to guide middle leadership: shared vision, building relationships, implementing systems/structures, and developing culture. I believe that middle leadership needs to be able to drive initiatives, innovation and also support others in the team with their initiatives and innovations. In addition to these four principles, I would suggest a fifth which acknowledges the skills and knowledge needed to create and drive and fully implement innovations and initiatives from the beginning as a middle leader. This is important to include as middle leaders are on the ground and have a perspective at the classroom teaching level, but they also have sufficient power and insight to see where projects can be implemented to serve their student populations and communities better.

In addition to the unpreparedness of most EAL teachers who become unintentional but necessary leaders for their students, the positioning of the HOD EAL in the focus secondary

school and nationally also contributed to the tensions and dilemmas in my practitioner narrative. While the research about leadership from such researchers as Bassett and Cardo makes significant contributions to middle leadership in schools in New Zealand, the position the HOD EAL or sometimes TIC ESOL/ Head of English Language Learners (ELLs) brings additional challenges to a middle leadership role. EAL leadership has an alignment with Māori and Pasifika teachers who often, without explicit permission or role defining, become leaders in a secondary school. Shah (2017) explores teacher leadership in schools and specifically highlights that EFL/ESL teachers do not usually enter a school with leadership experience and leadership qualification. Shah emphasises that schools need to develop TESOL leadership capacity to ensure effective schools, teachers, and English Language Learners. As an HOD EAL, my positioning was within the Head of Languages Faculty; therefore, I was not at heads of faculty, curriculum or teaching and learning teams' meetings. The position of EAL in secondary schools has always been problematic. How this emerges as problematic and what are the consequences depends on each school. The problem's origin is because English as an Additional Language is not a recognised Learning Area in the New Zealand Curriculum. This outside positioning in the curriculum immediately marginalises its position in secondary schools. Gleeson (2012) noted this marginalisation in school structures and gives the example of ESOL placed in Learning Support, possibly signalling that learning ESOL as additional language was a disability. In some secondary schools, the EAL Department is a standalone department which enables some autonomy and representation. One contribution to the tension was my voice not being regularly heard in such forums to gain more exposure and recognition of the project across the faculties. This exposure could have also assisted with the recruitment of mainstream teachers for the project; however, a further tension was the ethical protection of those involved in the research through minimising its public profile.

My second layer of tension and dilemma came from my advocacy for specifically Pasifika learners that was built through targeted professional development propelled by two consecutive Pasifika Education Plans. Because I was already working as an English as an Additional language and then Head of Department, I had already developed a strong sense of advocacy for migrant, refugee, and international students, some of whom were from the Pacific. The professional development heightened my awareness of Pasifika learners and the challenges they, their families and communities faced. Therefore, I became an advocate for Pasifika learners as a practitioner from about 2010. Bradley-Levine (2021) sees the position of teachers who advocate for particular groups of students as a practice of ethical leadership with the

objective of social change. This research has contributed to the literature on teacher advocacy and teacher leadership by illustrating the difficult tensions and dilemmas which emerge, and how some of these can be overcome or avoided when not only advocating for Pasifika students and Pasifika teachers, but also for other marginalised groups in a school community. Additional research needs to provide opportunities to compile and share the narratives of Pasifika and non-Pasifika teachers advocating for Pasifika learners and languages in schools so that these teachers do not give up on creating possibilities for Pasifika languages in schools. The producing of these narratives will provide guidance, strategies as well human hope to succeed at implementing Pasifika language programmes.

The third layer of tension was the transition from working for Pasifika as a practitioner to researching as a non-Pasifika researcher. The transition from being a non-Pasifika teacher receiving and enacting professional development as a practitioner for Pasifika learners in a schooling space, does not necessarily transfer to the right or skills to research as a non-Pasifika researcher in a Pasifika space. However, for some non-Pasifika teachers, this will be the transfer they will want to commit to as an extension of their advocacy for Pasifika learners with an academic lens. Reynolds (2019) highlights that research as an edge walker is personal, emotional, and relational; therefore, this requires the researcher to care for the *va* between research participants and the researcher. Working out how to *teu le va*, he suggests requires a high degree of closeness. Reynolds is reflective of his own reflexivity of how to research honourably as I have been throughout this process. The development of the cultural metaphor was my attempt of how to *teu le va* as I engaged in hours of dialogue understanding how to represent and honour participants. As Reynolds affirms in the understanding of how to *teu le va*, this has been a risk, but I have been humbled in the process by the support of participants and Pasifika guides. There was always a cultural risk of being a non-Pasifika researcher. There were and are tensions between the expectations placed on all teachers to be culturally responsive and the further step of researching in a Pasifika space. In this research space, I needed to constantly negotiate reflexivity. How I conducted myself influenced the research space. Therefore, there is the question of how this space would have evolved with a Pasifika researcher of a specific Pacific ethnicity such as Samoan, Tongan, or Fijian with their individual characteristics of a migrant or New Zealand born and their degrees of fluency in a Pasifika language. I did not have fluency in any of the Pasifika language or cultures; hence, allowing a neutral position, but still a New Zealand European position.

Diversity

Diversity presented itself across tamaiti a'oga and mātua as an entity which required and requires an individual, aiga and community understanding of narratives. Tamaiti a'oga had schooling narratives which began in New Zealand or Samoa and included both the North and South Islands. Their targeted education in Gagana Sāmoa was limited and mostly dependent on teacher agency or being immersed in large Samoan populations. Tamaiti a'oga had extreme diversity in their educational narratives. Additionally, while an important finding was that all Samoan mātua interviewed were born in Samoa, the length of time they had been here spanned 25 years and the age of arrival ranged from arrival as a teenager in their late teens to late 40s. Therefore, even though they had been brought up with fa'asamoa in the Islands and in New Zealand, to what extent, varied greatly. Diversity challenged how we worked with mātua and how we acknowledged their support. Their reasons for supporting the class were not homogeneous. They were manifestations of their own personal experiences, aiga contexts, previous government linguistic implicit and explicit policies, and their family language policy navigation within a national language policy vacuum. Diversity was an important challenge for Tulāfale. This presented itself as the increasing linguistic and cultural diversity in his class over his teaching and learning period. This was a particular challenge for him as he needed to spend more time planning differentiated lessons so that each tamaiti a'oga had success in the classroom. The increasing diversity was noted by tamaiti a'oga. In the New Model Phase, linguistic and cultural diversity were the key to supporting the class as they learned about Pasifika languages and cultures around them. At the same time, tamaiti a'oga continued to develop linguistic and cultural knowledge of their own Pasifika community language and culture. The chosen representations of tamaiti a'oga on the *atosei* reflected their diversity. The *atosei* provided a vehicle to map the increasing diversity of tamaiti a'oga over time as well as presenting a potential visual for further discussion of tamaiti a'oga narratives and significant symbols and meanings in their lives. These representations go beyond traditional data collected by schools for school management systems.

Programmes like Power UP, now called Talanoa Ako (Ministry of Education, 2021) are reliant on mātua visibly showing their commitment by turning up to regular weekly meetings. Church also is a space where mātua meet but it is usually connected to a particular Pasifika ethnicity. Therefore, mātua are generally accustomed to meeting community within their own Pasifika communities. The reality is that the mātua communities often encompass a diverse Pasifika

population in smaller populations; hence, there is strength to be developed through the collective while recognising the uniqueness of each Pasifika ethnicity. This becomes even more complex now, as indicated in this research, as increasingly mātua are bi/multicultural with more than one Pasifika or another ethnicity, such as Māori, New Zealand Pākehā, Filipino or Chinese. This challenges thinking and discussions about what are the most appropriate processes, places, facilitators to bring a diverse group of Pasifika mātua together in a secondary school, which do not amplify the voices only of one or two individuals or ethnicity groups. It requires detailed knowledge of families which in turn requires culturally responsive systems, people, and realistic solutions to engage communities.

Funding uncertainty, class size justifications, and time constraints

The initial funding streams for the cluster enabled a unique opportunity; however, there became consistent funding uncertainty for the project as it progressed. The temporary characteristic of the funding that enabled Tulāfale to work across the cluster became a factor which created tension and stress between the principal and me. We were both 'in the middle'. This became critical and ongoing from Critical Incident Five in my practitioner narrative. There were several factors which created funding tension and stress. For both the principal and me, we relied on other external agencies or individuals for funding information, administration, communication, applications, and continuation. Because of this, I had to direct my criticism and voice at him. This was a difficult time for both of us. Even though the Pacific Education Plan was in place, this did not or does not generate any automatic funding for schools when you are implementing it. Any specific funding is expected to be generated from the schools' existing budgets or applied for individually as a school, cluster, Kāhui Ako, or a different grouping of schools. These avenues create continued uncertainty and competition and hence, tension and stress for those individuals either having to compete, apply or convince senior leadership and / or an external agency to allocate funding again. It is disappointing that a COVID pandemic has been the instigator for the Pacific Education Support Fund and Pacific Innovation Fund (Ministry of Education, 2021) in addition to being yet another temporary funding pool. Those schools who have created worthy plans, initiatives or frameworks for their school will eventually be left with having to find the funding once the funding period ends or discontinue their initiatives because of no available funding within their existing school budgets.

Class size is a particularly poignant challenge with small and diverse Pasifika populations. All classes within a school are questioned with viability; usually because of the funding needed to maintain the course or class. Each school has their own rules which determine whether a class will commence and continue in the following year. Tamaiti a'oga, Tulāfale and me, reflected on class numbers in different ways. We all had different reasons to reflect on these numbers. To establish the class, I first had to justify that this was a viable class implementation with the potential number of students. I added the layers that these were priority learners, I put the Pasifika Education Plan at the fore, the Education Review Office report for the school for 2014, and I utilised every possible argument I knew attached to the importance of bilingual and biliteracy. Tulāfale had two main concerns. As a classroom teacher, he was putting his time into planning for tamaiti a'oga, and he was disheartened when those tamaiti a'oga who especially needed the support, did not turn up. He was acutely aware that the number of tamaiti a'oga in the class would determine his employment, but he saw the cluster as mechanism to increase numbers across different classes in the cluster. Tamaiti a'oga noted their classmates who did not turn up, and for those who were there, they were upset by this and saw it as disrespectful. Through the interviews several tamaiti a'oga expressed that they wanted a lot more people in the class to share with others; not just Samoan tamaiti a'oga.

Time constraints and the logistics of coordination of the project affected all participants. The initiative required working with mātua, teachers, tamaiti a'oga, senior leadership, the cluster and sometimes the Ministry of Education. Time constraints manifested themselves through how Tulāfale and I worked in the evenings to engage with mātua because of both of our schedules during the day and when mātua were at home. Slips in coordination were noted by tamaiti a'oga when they did not receive a message about whether the class was on that day. For mātua, the need to find alternative ways of engaging them was because of their individual aiga schedules; hence, not enabling the successful coordination of a day and evening which was suitable to meet. Sometimes the time constraints and coordination were the outcome of emerging or sudden problems which required time input into contacting external agencies and alternative contacts such as finding another faiā'oga Gagana Sāmoa. Furthermore, with the loss of Tulāfale, additional time, support and coordination was required for Luma and his team to be able to continue the junior Gagana Sāmoa class.

These combined findings particularly highlight the constraints to be worked through when implementing not only a new initiative, but an initiative which challenges the seen and unseen boundaries in a school when beginning to understand better its Pasifika learners and community for the purpose of supporting Pasifika languages. It shows that future projects in similar schools need to be prepared for the initial experiences to minimise tensions and stresses to ensure outcomes conducive to growing Pasifika languages.

Transformative paradigm

This research was framed using a transformative paradigm. My own professional commitment had led me to this research question through the positionality I had developed over the previous professional development and personal history. At the beginning my participants did not necessarily have this sense of making change in terms used by Freire as they did not have this awareness. The transformative paradigm using action/practitioner research provided an approach which allowed constant feedback for reflection and reflexivity. However, *teu le va* ensured that this was enhanced through the building of relationships; especially with Tulāfale and Luma. Luma, Tulāfale and tamaiti a'oga each began to understand inequities for Pasifika and Pasifika languages. Luma exhibited initially the servant leadership. Through his servant leadership, he began to exhibit characteristics of transformational leadership whereby he began to see where and how the Pasifika languages and culture class could be changed to support other Pasifika languages and cultures. This transition from servant to transformational leadership showed that Luma had the beginnings of understanding as he began to see inequities within Pasifika languages and cultures as well as frustration with those Samoan tamaiti a'oga who were not yet aware of the extensive gaps they had in their Gagana Sāmoa with all skills.

Some tamaiti a'oga also became aware of these inequities and gave suggestions to make change. They asked for the junior Gagana Sāmoa class to be a recognised class with more hours parallel with other languages learnt and taught in the focus secondary school. While this was shared through the interviews, tamaiti a'oga leadership began to invite other Pasifika tamaiti a'oga into the class, including Māori. They also saw the class as not just for Pacific people, but for non-Pasifika. While it could be argued that mātua had not reached this point of awareness and this presented an ongoing challenge, there were indications that they were exhibiting this in a different way. By supporting their children with attending the class, they were aware of the need to take an opportunity to develop further, whatever linguistic Pasifika language skills

they had in a Pākehā system. It raises the question of what does the transformative paradigm look like for mātua? Was it indicated by their family language policy or whether they attended a meeting or not? I am not convinced of either of these. I thought that a "group" needed to be formed for equal voice; however, equitable voice and commitment within the group may not have been possible with the different levels of Gagana Sāmoa and English skills and community status. Therefore, what supports were needed to enable mātua to experience and enact a transformative paradigm? I do not think that just because a matua did not or could not attend a meeting that they were not aware of their own marginalisation and their respective community's marginalisation within the New Zealand Pākehā system. For participants, other than myself, of key consideration is that the period which this research used was key to understanding and facilitating change. The transforming of the space such as this needs acknowledgement and permission to listen and implement the voices and possibilities over an extended period involving multiple school year timelines.

Evolution into a new space

At the beginning of the junior Gagana Sāmoa class, there were three significant differences between it and regular, or official classes in the school. The first difference was that the implementation had not been through a new course approval process which needed to have occurred the year before. The focus secondary school knew of my intention to begin this implementation and supported the concept. Starting in May meant that tamaiti a'oga were already settled in their regular classes. Because this was not a scheduled class, the Gagana Sāmoa class provided a more flexible space beyond the constraints of making official changes and usual processes associated with a student changing classes in a secondary school. The class was only a maximum twice a week. In the second year and third year, this flexibility provided constant feedback about how the space should evolve. This was significant to indicate the viability of a Pasifika languages space in the school. The research gave an exploratory opportunity to enable evolution into an official viable and multilevel, multilingual Pasifika language learning space despite some challenges which came with this flexibility.

Allowing time and flexible processes is a significant contribution of this research project for small and diverse Pasifika populations to discover who Pasifika language spaces are for and what they look like. Schools and even some Pacific community members and groups as adults can make decisions which focus on the individuality and focus on their own Pacific community.

However, students bring another world view based on their experiences and position of growing up in New Zealand as a cosmopolitan Pasifika country. They showed in this research their seeking of an understanding of themselves as a vehicle to seeking to understand more about other Pacific Islands, including their linguistic connections. The process of how to arrive at the space students want to be in is crucial for them to want to own and grow in it. This research grew from one potential space which started with my addressing what I believed was an obvious gap. The process showed us the gap was a chasm to challenge every traditional grouping previously used for Pasifika languages. A further significant macro space which was explored for the teaching and learning of Pasifika languages was the use of the cluster model of which there has been little or no research to further understand how this could be used. The research showed the potential of how new micro processes and new micro spaces can be supported. It indicated the potentiality of a cluster as a relatively unexplored macro space in New Zealand and internationally for supporting Pasifika languages. Bes and Ehrhart (2019) highlight the need for exploratory spaces to respond to, recognise and acknowledge globally in schools the variety of languages and language combinations among students. Perhaps one of the options to explore these new spaces is with the actual permission of exploratory practice. Hanks (2019) advocates using exploratory practice to emancipate practitioners engaging with multilingualism. Hanks concludes that exploratory practice is a practice which has been used successfully in schools with both teachers and learners participating to engage in deeper understanding using both research and pedagogy. This kind of approach would be disruptive to traditional one language one room which dominate New Zealand schools.

The evolution from the junior Gagana Sāmoa class to a Year 10 – 13 multilingual Pasifika Studies course was a significant effect of the project. All participants, including the school, contributed to the arrival at this unique teaching and learning space. There had been a complex interface of contributions over a three-year period. Tamaiti a'oga contributed to the evolution of the space by understanding that there were similarities and connections between the different Pacific Islands. The evolution into this space perhaps should not be much of a surprise. Tait and Horsely (2018) highlighted that the participants identified "fluid" identities in their study for New Zealand born Pasifika students. For example, tamaiti a'oga, such as Son, expressed their desire to do something connected to their Pacific language and culture, hoping that he would get something connected to Niue too. Son shared a fluid identity, similar to a Tokelauan student identified in Tait and Horsely's study, who said that: "I identify as Tokelauan but there's some Samoan in there somewhere, my grandma is probably half or a quarter,

something like that" (Tait & Horsley, 2018, p. 357). Greshon (2007) suggests that Pacific peoples' diaspora across Oceania, often results in transnational family networks which go beyond small ethnic communities within a one nation state. Oceania, as Hau'ofa (1998) sees, is a common heritage.

Even though mātua did not directly contribute to the evolution of the class, their support was shown by their approval for their child to join the class. Furthermore, they supported their child to support the multilingual and multicultural Pasifika tuakana teina space. Luma, through his own realisations, identified that all Pasifika students with their own Pasifika languages needed to have the opportunity to learn their own language and culture. Finally, the new space was in response to shifting this to a recognised class as indicated and providing a solution which was sustainable. As a practitioner researcher, I used the existing systems and resources of the school to develop a proposal to initially be presented to the senior leadership team and then move through the relevant committees for approval. This created a model which was not dependent on the cluster but dependent on a key facilitator and a Pasifika team. The use of a facilitator expands the pool of teachers who could grow Pasifika languages. This means the responsibility of Pasifika languages as well can include non-Pasifika teachers as facilitators but working alongside a team of Pasifika language experts. Hence, this will bring opportunities for more Pasifika students and a greater range of Pasifika students to be able to learn, develop, and grow their Pasifika language and engage with other Pasifika languages in the same language setting.

Recommendations

Specific recruitment and training

Averill and Rimoni (2019) highlighted the need for more Pasifika teachers. They suggest that the absence of Pasifika teachers in schools and perceptions of teachers who are not Pasifika, of Pasifika students, means that there is very little understanding overall in schools of Pasifika cultural and linguistic knowledge. This is an easy statement to make. The reality of enabling more Pasifika teachers in New Zealand schools requires initiatives and action from different directions.

The data relating to and about trained Pasifika teachers in New Zealand are those Pasifika teachers who have trained through New Zealand teacher training institutions. The statistics to

support this availability, of especially male Pasifika teachers in secondary schools, was also given in Tulāfale's narrative. I understand that there is no data available which gives accurate numbers of teachers who are trained teachers in the Pacific Islands and who now live and reside in New Zealand. Tulāfale, as a trained teacher in Samoa, took 25 years before he was able to teach in a New Zealand secondary school. In my practitioner narrative, I showed the difficulty of obtaining a teacher who was skilled in teaching Gagana Sāmoa. Targeted and deliberate action is needed for more Pasifika language teachers in schools and specifically in secondary schools. There are three pathways which could be used to increase the number of Pasifika teachers. These are through long-term linguistic and cultural investment in Pasifika students such as Luma, programmes utilising Pacific teachers in the Islands and finally, using the untapped resources and unknown numbers of Pacific teachers trained in the Pacific Islands who are residing in New Zealand.

The first pathway is engaging senior Pasifika students while they are at secondary school. The Learning Tutor programme was an insight into the kinds of programmes which potentially could be built in schools as opportunities to build students' linguistic and cultural capabilities and begin to introduce and give experience to senior students of basic teaching skills in a Pasifika language. The recruitment and incentives to become Pasifika language teachers needs to begin in Year 12 and Year 13 with monetary and targeted training incentives for young Pacific people to take through to university education or alternative pathways which could also lead to a teaching and learning qualification in a Pasifika language or languages. In addition, similar one year study programmes need to be available for Pasifika languages to encourage both Pasifika and non-Pasifika to engage intensively in studying a Pasifika language or languages, similar to those already offered by Teach NZ, Ministry of Education (Teach NZ, Ministry of Education, 2021).

The second pathway is establishing programmes between New Zealand and Pacific education training institutions. There are other programmes internationally which support countries with their shortage of English teachers and / or their support of their own English teachers. Currently, there are no programmes which aim to utilise the skills of teachers in the Pacific as a means of supporting Pasifika languages in New Zealand – which could also act as a pathway to New Zealand teacher training. For example, a programme could recruit 20-30 Pacific Island teachers per year from 5-6 Pacific nations for New Zealand secondary schools. They could come to New Zealand for a six-month period sponsored by the New Zealand government and

their respective Pacific Island governments. They would work in New Zealand secondary school and support a Pasifika language in the school in a Pasifika multilingual classroom. At the same time, they undertake observations in their other specialist area, such as Science and Maths, and undertake a 5-6 week teaching and lesson planning section. Pacific Island countries need much more assistance from the developed world to improve their education systems and assuage some of these factors. However, there is movement to improve in this area. The Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture has been working towards improving the quality of teaching in Samoa (Appendix A, p.281). Esera, Fa'avae, Tuia (2019) note the challenges to the initiative in Samoa from the Samoan Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture for all in-service primary and secondary teachers to hold a Bachelor of Education degree. This step was undertaken to improve teachers' qualifications, skills and knowledge and upgrade their qualifications from a diploma to a bachelor's degree. Interestingly, this is a trend which is also occurring with other countries in the region. This goal, among many others, has been set up in the *Pacific Regional Education Framework (PacREF) 2018- 2030.* This is significant for the future of more Pasifika teachers in New Zealand schools. How can New Zealand capitalise on this framework?

Finally, the third pathway is providing viable and cost-effective options for Pacific teachers already residing here in New Zealand to gain teacher registration. The Protocol for the Recruitment of Commonwealth Teachers is designed to protect the rights of teachers to migrate internationally as well as to ensure adequate investments by governments and the international community to deliver quality education. New Zealand is a signatory to this Protocol, but it does not directly recruit from the Pacific or other Commonwealth countries. Neither does Australia, though Australia is not a signatory. However, both countries gain some Pacific Islands teachers as part of their overall permanent and temporary migration program (Iredale, Voigt-Graf & Khoo, 2009). Iredale, Voigt-Graf and Khoo (2015) pointed out that the Pacific Islanders interviewed at home and in Australia and New Zealand emphasised poor planning, lack of resources and limited career development opportunities as factors in their decisions to move from their teaching positions in the Pacific Islands. While New Zealand does gain Pasifika trained teachers, they are not able to practice because of numerous barriers. To begin to understand the untapped resources and unknown numbers of trained Pacific Island teachers, initial research needs to be undertaken to understand who the Pacific Island teachers are from the Pacific Islands who cannot teach in New Zealand's schools. A plan and process are needed to gather accurate data on the number of existing trained teachers from the Islands in New

Zealand. This could be achieved at local community level to build a national picture. A central agency could keep such data and provide opportunities, incentives, and overall pathways for existing trained teachers to gain their New Zealand registration.

Develop infrastructure and sustainable programmes

The key infrastructure needed is a dedicated regional and central organisation to support schools with Pasifika languages with multilingual models. Ongoing professional development would be an important role for the organisation. Pasifika language experts could work with a cluster of schools and actively monitor Pasifika language development of students from Year 1 to 10. This would be a unique organisation which focuses solely on Pasifika languages rather than the current scattered and uncoordinated approach which exists nationally across different Ministries and agencies. One of its key foci and obligations would be to produce a range of linguistic research for individual Pacific nations, but also collaborative projects across Pacific nations.

The evolution into the new teaching and learning space from two separate Pasifika learning spaces was a practitioner / action research project of one secondary school. This was the result over a period of three years rather than the immediate decision to bring together students in such a space. This was one journey of how this space evolved. Further research needs to continue to understand the voices of students in Pasifika multilingual and tuakana-teina spaces across the country. There are over 100 secondary schools who have between 5-10 percent Pasifika students or between 30-70 Pasifika students. This research needs to consider effective ways Year 10 students are supported by senior students and how can junior students sometimes take on the role of tuakana when their language skills in the target Pasifika language are greater than senior students. In addition, the research needs to investigate at the continued potential of clusters to support these models. Is there a place for itinerant bilingual/multilingual Pasifika language teachers and / or support teachers to serve school communities? What professional development would bilingual language support teachers need? Would they need full teacher registration or what could be developed so that they could support a Pasifika language in the school without full teacher registration?

This study began to develop an understanding of the diverse linguistic skills of the Year 9 and 10 tamaiti a'oga in the focus secondary school. Pasifika students, especially in smaller diverse Pasifika populations, enter secondary schools with a very wide range of Pasifika language skills

and each student with mostly uneven strengths for reading, writing, listening, and speaking. For those students entering Year 9 and those already in Year 10, data is needed to understand these skills. This is particularly important with the newly approved Achievement Standards for Tokelauan and Niue and the new Pasifika Studies subject approved in 2021. I anticipate for many students the attainment of NCEA will be dependent on the additional language teaching and learning of these languages. Furthermore, as indicated in the literature review and this research, for the already supported NCEA Pasifika language subjects of Cook Island Māori, Tongan and Samoan, research is needed to not only establish language skill levels of Year 9 Pasifika students, but assessment tools are needed to establish language skills. The development of assessment tools, formative and summative takes time and consultation, but it will be urgently needed so that effective teaching and learning can occur and there can be success at NCEA for the available Pasifika language Achievement Standards. This will be critical to sustainable programmes.

One of the outcomes from the junior programme was the expectation from incoming Year 9 tamaiti a'oga that they would have available the junior Gagana Sāmoa programme. This was said because some of them had met Tulāfale in the primary school. However, while there were Samoan tamaiti a'oga, there were also other Pacific ethnicities who began to join the group to connect with something Pasifika. There is a predominance of second language learning options which are likely to include one or two foreign languages, such as French or Japanese, and Te Reo Māori. Pasifika students along with other students in their first year of secondary school, are expected to choose one of these languages. The future research in this space would be with the teacher practitioner and bilingual/multilingual Pasifika language support teachers engaging in their own individual Teaching as Inquiry and working in a collaborative Teaching as Inquiry project. This would be supported by a national coordinated project to establish a national research report.

There is no national data on the skills of primary school or secondary school students' Gagana Sāmoa skills or any Pasifika language skills. The only data which continues to be monitored is English language literacy. Gagana Sāmoa has the largest number of speakers in New Zealand for the Pacific Islands other than te reo Māori. The only data which is available is through the Census process, Ministry of Education ESOL funding process or there is a reliance on school management data to include the correct 'Language' information for each student and their family. A national survey could use the current curriculum levels of the New Zealand

Curriculum, but assessment tools would need to be created. The purpose of the national survey would give data to support where there were gaps in the four skills of each student and continue with the students across their education journey. The first national survey would be the initial research to establish baseline of data and findings to investigate and stimulate further research. Without this conscious monitoring and accountability, improved achievement, and attendance at the senior level external examinations, will not happen.

Professional development for facilitating, teaching, and learning in multilingual spaces

Teachers are not taught how to facilitate multilingualism in classrooms in either primary or secondary contexts in their initial teacher training programmes or in-school professional development programmes. As indicated, there is very little research in New Zealand of mainstream teachers facilitating bilingual and multilingual skills. Most of this research has been in the early childhood sector as indicated in Chapter Two. Whether teachers are able to facilitate bilingualism/multilingualism is mostly reliant on professional development after teachers enter the teaching profession rather than it being integrated as part of their training. Targeted initial teacher programmes for teachers intending to facilitate a non-immersion, multilingual, multilevel Pasifika space is not available. Traditional teaching for languages in primary and secondary schools for languages is focused on transmitting a single language as an additional and usually foreign language unless it is Te Reo Māori. The training and pedagogy to support a classroom which facilitates and grows students' community languages could be achieved at the initial teacher training stage. Teachers could be upskilled in second language and translanguaging pedagogy by courses catering for teachers who are working with second language teaching for teaching foreign languages and teachers who would be facilitating a translanguaging space for several different community languages; including Pasifika languages. Furthermore, more teachers across the curriculum at secondary level, need a compulsory initial teacher course to facilitate classrooms which encourage translanguaging processes and practices, not only to facilitate community languages, but also, to convey positive attitudes and messages to bilingual and multilingual speakers. Rowe (2018) developed design principles for creating instructional spaces that support translanguaging. These are the following:

1. Explicitly value students' languages and cultures
2. Model translanguaging
3. Provide authentic opportunities for multilingual communication

4. Invite two-way translanguaging
5. Compose dual-language or Multilanguage texts
6. Connect students with bilingual and multilingual audiences

Here Rowe (2018) has explicitly incorporated into the classroom the opportunities for translanguaging within a primary school context. However, the principles could be applied and developed in the secondary context within a specific targeted multilingual Pasifika languages space such as in the New Model Phase of this project, or they could be used across different curriculum area subjects and classes. The principles have the potential to work, in particular for, those students who have limited knowledge of their community language and/or utilised in multilingual classroom spaces with non-shared languages. These six principles will need further unpacking by professional development providers and teachers, and the principles will need resourcing. For example, teachers who are engaged in a targeted multilingual Pasifika languages space will need to model translanguaging and create opportunities for two-way and even three-way translanguaging opportunities. In a multilingual Pasifika context, whether the facilitator of the space is Pasifika or non-Pasifika, this would encourage the teacher to use various Pasifika languages with students. This could be a range of individual vocabulary, formulaic expressions, or larger chunks of practised and scripted language from across different Pasifika languages. This would have implications for professional development providers to provide professional development for teachers which develops a performative competency (Canagarajah, 2014) that navigates multilingual Pasifika settings. This kind of performative competency would also be developed for the learners in the multilingual Pasifika language learning classroom. Canagarajah (2014) describes for multilinguals that "this competence enables multilinguals not to master one language system at a time but to develop an integral repertoire of codes" (p.87). This means that multilinguals develop more complex language awareness and metalinguistic competence through this practice. Hence, there is not an end point or threshold for proficiency, but rather what is emphasised is the integrated repertoire of codes (Canagarajah, 2014). This idea of what is performative competence would require a significant shift for who and what professional development is provided for languages; especially in the Pasifika languages learning space. In this professional development space, there are significant potential workshops and programmes to be explored and implemented to support a range of teachers, learners, and school leaders.

Professional development for leading advocacy

As indicated in the literature, much of the professional development for leadership has been designed for principals. While there are courses emerging for middle leaders, there remains a dearth of professional development for middle leaders and especially those middle leaders advocating for marginalised groups. Bradley-Levine (2021) identify that the literature of teacher advocacy is still developing; hence it is important to research the ways teachers advocate for vulnerable students who are marginalised within the school or community. Most courses are delivered to a generic group; however, teacher leadership or advocacy with and for marginalised groups often requires another skill set appropriate for the marginalised group. Tulāfale and I utilised both of our skill and knowledge sets to drive the project suggesting that not one person will necessarily have all that is needed, so it is important for teacher leaders and advocates to be aware of establishing their skills and knowledge and build alliances to combine skills and knowledge resources. The building of teacher advocacy and leadership has implications for initial teacher education especially teachers who identify with already marginalised groups; however, this must be approached with cultural sensitivity.

Community outreach and engagement

Given the investment and time that the New Zealand government has put into the numerous Pasifika Education Plans, there is still the assumption that such goals, education targets, professional development and community engagement will occur because of teacher agency or senior management using the operations budget to employ someone for a few hours to link with Pasifika students and families. A Pasifika liaison role does not replace the need for teachers to engage with Pasifika students and community, but rather, the liaison is a bridge to facilitate communication and break down barriers. It is not to be done alone, but alongside teachers in the school who are allies and supports. The relationship which Tulāfale and I formed was mutually rewarding as we both brought different skills and knowledge to the project's implementation. However, in these small and diverse Pasifika populations, it requires the Pasifika liaison to be able to work across all Pasifika groups and build relationships with a range of Pacific Island community leaders to engage the diverse Pacific communities. As schools have evolved their diverse populations, governments need to respond to who are schools' clients and provide funding which does not involve extensive time for applications. However, accountability would be expected through ESOL verification visits, ERO reviews and annual reports to Board of Trustees. This role does need an internal and external support system and professional development. While Tulāfale did not have the title of 'Pasifika liaison',

he was in a vulnerable position with the extensive existing and ongoing knowledge which he had and was developing. As a link between community and school, he was invaluable, but for this role to be a long-term connection, investment in support systems and ongoing training is needed. Future research needs to examine how Pasifika liaison roles are developing in New Zealand. It is a support staff role, which often usually puts a Pacific person at the centre of the whole of school Pasifika community. Research is needed to understand the experiences of these Pasifika liaisons, who become instant middle leaders, often without teacher registration and sometimes not required to engage with an appraisal cycle to engage in reflection. This research would need to produce recommendations for appropriate professional development and needed support mechanisms.

The individual approach to working with mātua soon after the beginning of the project enabled a deeper understanding of who they are. The interview shared details which showed each matua and their historical, family and community context. The expectation that they would all come together was unrealistic, in this context, as it is in most school contexts. Before any attempt can be made, resourcing, time and care is needed to be able to develop *va* between a key person or persons from the school and each matua. This requires meeting mātua in the safest place for them. This contact and connection as a home visit or in the chosen place needs to be 2-3 times throughout the year. Once a picture has been built about the mātua community from the initial visit, as happened in this project, information needs to be secured and sensitively used to understand the school's Pasifika community before any attempt at meeting can be achieved. The process, by whom, in what language or languages, needs research in the future. A key finding from the interview process, was the support of mātua of the project. While there were signs of mātua encouraging their young person to attend the Gagana Sāmoa class, there was not much indication and realisation from mātua about the marginalisation of Pasifika and Pasifika languages in schools and the decline of the languages in New Zealand. One of the limitations of the study was that I only interviewed one matua once and these, except one, were all female. This also questions the inclusion of fathers and their role. A follow up interview did not occur with mātua, but this would have been an opportunity to explore additional realisations about the position of Pasifika languages in New Zealand.

To be able to support students' linguistic development of their respective Pasifika languages upon arrival in the secondary school, a record is needed about their education in that Pasifika

language and languages. How this data collection occurs, raises questions and discussion about who is involved in the collection of these narratives. For some mātua, this may involve conversations in respective Pasifika languages or a dual language approach. If this is a dual language approach, what should the relationship be with mātua? One of the reasons I did not include another Samoan language speaker in the interview process was because of confidentiality and respecting those mātua who wanted to speak in English despite some of their challenges with the language. The practice needs to support mātua to be able to share their aiga narratives either through a formal interview process and / or through writing in their respective Pasifika languages or a multilingual approach. While these aiga narratives are necessary, specific understandings are needed about the individual experiences of their child to understand their linguistic and cultural narratives in the Pacific nation and / or in New Zealand to ascertain their supported or unsupported experiences with their respective Pasifika language. While this practice would give a cohesive understanding of each student's linguistic and cultural history for each school, future research could explore different ways of gathering narrative strands and families presenting their narratives to schools as a tool for schools to acknowledge and respond to. An inclusive element of this narrative collection could be tamaiti a'oga developing their representation for the *atosei* which would follow them through from their primary and secondary education. The same or similar process for deciding the representation could be used with tamaiti a'oga transitioning from primary to secondary school with them potentially changing their representation as they reached the senior school years of Year 11, 12 and 13. This representation would also carry with tamaiti a'oga when and if changing schools to bring some coherence and familiarity despite a new school environment. The collection of this data would lay the foundation for future research to understand what the predominant family language policies are in Pasifika families, and what Pasifika language resources are at home. This would create discussion about how schools, communities and agencies can respond. Hollebeke, Struys and Agirdag (2020) in their systematic review, divide the emotional outcomes of family language policies into linguistic and socio emotional. They refer to linguistic well-being as positive or negative emotions related to such aspects as language acquisition and language proficiency. Socio-emotional well-being, they define, as involving family relations, identity, and general feelings of well-being. The emotions from mātua both reflected linguistic and socio-emotional well-being. The outcome of understanding family language policies from aiga in secondary schools could result in an education programme for all Pasifika mātua to enhance what they are already doing at home and

community. This needs a coordinated national approach supported by clear messaging and guidance from school and government on family language policies at home.

Develop methodologies for Pasifika and Non-Pasifika collaboration

With a growingly diverse Pasifika population it is becoming apparent that methodologies for Pasifika and non-Pasifika should be considered; similar to such methodologies as Braided River, to encompass two or more world views. Macfarlane and Macfarlane (2019) developed the Braided Rivers methodology as a partnership approach between Māori and non-Māori knowledge systems. There could be the exploration of a new methodology which creates a bridge between Pasifika and non-Pasifika methodologies. Increasingly there are non-Pasifika researchers entering this space with social justice and advocacy for Pasifika. With an increasing number of non-Pasifika practitioners and researchers becoming allies alongside Pasifika, there is the potential to work with a new methodology or methodologies which encourage Pasifika and non-Pasifika teachers and researchers to collaborate on research for and with Pasifika. With the Tapasā: cultural competency framework for teachers, there is more permission and guidance for non-Pasifika teachers to walk in this space. While participatory, action and practitioner research offer this possibility, there is perhaps a gap which could be infused with new methodologies. I use 'non-Pasifika' so that other ethnicities are able to co-construct with Pasifika researchers, as does the Braided River methodology support Māori and Non- Māori. The current and increasing diversity of the Pasifika population raises the question of how existing Pasifika methodologies are working to support the co-construction of knowledge between, for example, of Māori and Pasifika, Chinese and Pasifika, Filipino and Pasifika and multi-ethnic knowledge construction and Pasifika. From this research, for example, there is the potential to develop this cultural metaphor into a Pasifika and non-Pasifika methodology to co-construct the research process and knowledge.

Final comment

On the 29th of November, 2021, the Ministry for Pacific Peoples, launched its Pacific Languages Unit. This is a significant step, but it still sits outside the Ministry of Education. The implementation of the junior Samoan language class was a unique opportunity in a secondary school with a flexible space, to respond to the context of a small and diverse Pasifika student community. It suggests that the teaching and learning of Pasifika languages with small and diverse Pasifika student populations inclines to a more exploratory and flexible approach

to understand the diversity and narratives of tamaiti a'oga and their aiga. The approach allowed the evolution into a new multilingual and multilevel teaching and learning environment which manifested the Pasifika linguistic and cultural diversity of tamaiti a'oga and aiga. However, a continuing challenge is that the space was not a comfortable space for some of those who started and did not return or those who did not want to enter the space at all. *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia* was represented through the *fau*, *atosei* and *nonoa*. The project indicated how they are dependent on each other. There is considerable strengthening which needs to occur of the *fau* to ensure sustainability of Pasifika language programmes. This was indicated in the range of recommendations which affect all of *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*. To respond to Pasifika diversity so that each junior and senior tamaiti a'oga, mātua, faiā'oga can have access to what is needed to maintain and grow or revitalise their Pasifika language, a seismic education policy shift of explicit action is needed beyond the existing and past Pasifika Education Plans.

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APPENDIX A

The geographical, political, and educational contexts of Samoa and New Zealand

Geographical

Samoa and New Zealand are part of the Pacific Islands. Samoa consists of two main islands, Savai'i and Upolu. There are two smaller inhabited islands called Manono and Apolima, with a collection of small uninhabited islands including the Aleipata Islands. New Zealand consists of two main islands: Te Waipounamu (South Island) and Te Ika-a-Māui (North Island) with Rakiura (Stewart Island), which sits below Te Waipounamu. In March 2020, New Zealand's population reached five million people. To reach five million, it has taken 17 years since reaching four million in 2003. This has been a combination of natural (births minus deaths) and about half from net migration (migrant arrivals minus migrant departures) (Statistics, New Zealand, 2020). As of the 1st of July, 2020, the United Nations (UN) estimated that the Samoan population was at 198,000 with the population of the capital city, Apia, consisting of 40,407 (United Nations, 2019). According to Howes, Orton and Surandiran (November, 2020) using data from the UN World Population Prospects (2019), they divide the developing countries of the Pacific Islands' region, into two groups: high migration and low population growth; and low migration and high population growth. Samoa falls into the group with high migration and low population growth along with Tonga, Fiji, Tuvalu and Marshall Islands. They also calculate that without migration, Fiji's population would not be 890,000 but 1.2 million, Samoa's population would not be 197,000 but 354,000, and Tonga's population, not 104,000, but 199,000. Therefore, Fiji would be 140% as big as it is now, Samoa 180%, and Tonga 190%. Howes, Orton and Surandiran state that this would result in much higher rates of specifically, underemployment, and therefore, poverty. Therefore, this would place some responsibility on countries receiving migrants from these Pacific nations to accommodate or provide pathways to employment using the qualifications and skills. There is the risk of highly skilled migrants from the Pacific not gaining employment in their chosen country because of differences with qualifications and language skills.

In relation to each other, Samoa is about halfway between Hawaii and New Zealand and is 3409km from New Zealand. In New Zealand, Pacific Peoples were the fourth-largest major ethnic group in 2013. In 2006, there were 265,974 Pacific Peoples, 6.9% of New Zealand's population, and in 2013, this had increased to 295,941 (7.4%) and 381,642 (8.2%) in 2018

(Statistics New Zealand, 2013; 2018). However, there was slower growth of the population from 2006 and 2013 (11.3%) compared to 2001 and 2006 (14.7%) (Statistics, New Zealand, 2013). In New Zealand, the distribution of Pacific Peoples between Te Waipounamu and Te Ika-a-Māui is characterised by a diverse, expanding, and young population with most Pacific Peoples living in Te Ika-a-Māui. In the Tāmaki Makourau (Auckland) region, there were nearly two-thirds (65.9% or 274,806) of those who identified with a Pacific ethnicity. There was 12.2% in the Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington) region. There was a slight increase in the number of Pacific Peoples in Te Waipounamu from the 2006 Census. In 2006, there was 6.6%, while in 2013 there was 7.1% (21,135 people). Waitaha (Canterbury) had the greatest number of Pacific Peoples with 4.3% (21,723) (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). In 2018, the percentage of Pacific Peoples had increased in Te Waipounamu to 8.3% (with Waitaha at 5%), while in the Tāmaki Makourau region it had dropped to 63.9% and Te Whanganui-a-Tara to 11.2%.

The main Pacific Peoples groups in New Zealand are Samoan, Cook Islands Māori, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian, Tokelauan, and Tuvaluan. All groups have shown a steady increase in population in subsequent Census years; however, this is also including the fact a growing number are New Zealand born (66.4% in the census, New Zealand, 2018). This increase can also be seen in specific groups. For example, from 2001 to 2006, the Fijian, Tuvaluan and Tongan communities increased their population by 40.1, 30.2 and 23.0% respectively. From 2006 to 2013, the population continued to increase, but growth slowed (see Table A1).

Table A1

Growth of Pacific Peoples in New Zealand from 2001 to 2018 (Adapted from Statistics New Zealand 2013; 2018)

Pacific ethnicity	2001	2006	2013	2018	2001-2006 growth	2006-2013 growth	2013-2018 growth
Tongan	40, 989	50, 481	60, 336	82,389	23%	19.5%	36.6%
Samoan	115, 503	131,103	144,138	182, 721	14%	9.9%	26.6%
Cook Islands Māori	51, 723	58, 008	61, 839	80, 532	10.4%	6.6%	30.2%
Niuean	20, 214	22, 473	23, 880	30, 867	11.6%	6.3%	29.3%
Tokelauan	6, 219	6,819	7,175	8,676	9.9%	5.2%	20.9%
Fijian	7, 203	9, 861	14, 445	19, 722	40.1%	46.5%	36.5%
Tuvaluan	2, 016	2,625	3, 537	4, 653	30.2%	34.7%	31.6%

The only group who increased their rate of growth from 2006 to 2013, was the Fijian population. In 2018, while the population increases for Tuvaluan and Fijian dropped slightly, all the seven Pacific Island nation ethnicities increased their populations in New Zealand between 26% and 36% which is unprecedented in any of the previous two Censuses.

However, increasingly, Pacific people are of two or more ethnic groups. In 2013, 24% of Pacific people were of two ethnic groups and 10.4% were of three ethnic groups. This had increased to 25.6% and 11.8% in 2018. For Māori the statistics were much greater. In 2013, 45.6% of Māori were of two ethnicities while in 2018 this was 46.1% while for three ethnicities this was lower than Pasifika at 6.4% for 2013 and 6.8% for 2018. For European, in 2013, for two ethnicities this was 13.3% and three ethnicities this was 1.5%, increasing to 15.9% and 1.9% in 2018.

In 2006 and 2013 respectively, as a community, Pacific Peoples had the highest proportion of children (defined as being between aged 0 to 14 years) of all major ethnic groups in New Zealand (37.7% and 35.7%) (Statistics New Zealand, 2006; 2013). In the New Zealand, 2018 Census, this percentage dropped slightly but the percentage for males is 34.5% and 32.7% for females, which was also reflective of the Samoan population with 35.3% males and 33.3% of females (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). Furthermore, according to the 2006 Census, the median age of Pacific Peoples was 21.1 years which is contrasted with the overall median age of the New Zealand population of 35.9 years. In 2013, this statistic only increased slightly to 22.1 years and in 2018 to 23.4 years. Similarly, the median age for Samoan people was 22.8 years in 2018.

The New Zealand has several immigration pathways for Pacific Peoples. There is the Samoan Quota Resident Visa (New Zealand Immigration, 2020) which issues 1100 per year by ballot for 18–45-year-olds, with an indefinite period of stay. In addition, there is the Pacific Access Category, which is also by ballot, and accepts also 18-45-year-olds from Tonga, Fiji, Kiribati, and Tuvalu. The two other major categories are the Skilled/Business Categories and Family Category. In 2016/2017 1,025 Pacific migrants were approved for the Skilled/Business Category and 2,260 for the Family Category (Sin & Ormsby, 2018). Therefore, with these two immigration policies and an increasing New Zealand born population, New Zealand's Pacific People's population continues to grow.

Political

New Zealand has and has had strong political, economic, and cultural connections with its Pacific neighbours. In the 1900s, Samoa, the Cook Islands and Niue began to be administered by New Zealand, followed by periods of migration after the Second World War. Before World War 1, Germany and the United States occupied most of Samoa. The Pacific Islands were generally treated as trading items during this period to be traded off between colonising nations. Britain, for example, traded off Samoa for concessions in Tonga, The Solomon Islands, Niue, and Zanzibar in Africa (Fraenkel, 2012).

From 1920-1962, Samoa was under New Zealand rule. In November 1918, the New Zealand administration in Samoa was responsible for 22% of Samoans losing their lives because of the influenza pandemic due to their lack of response. Samoans initially had no role in government. From 1927 to 1933, there was active opposition to rule by New Zealand by the Mau movement. When the Labour Party came to power in New Zealand in 1935, Mau became recognised as a legitimate political organisation and immediately had majorities in the legislative assemblies (Global Nonviolent Action Database, 2021).

From December 1946 until independence, Western Samoan was a United Nations Trust Territory, administered by New Zealand. In Apia, Samoa, on the 1st of August, 1962, the Treaty of Friendship was signed between the Western Samoa Government and the New Zealand Government in two versions: Samoan and English (Treaty of Friendship, 1962). The Treaty of Friendship guaranteed New Zealand's assistance in areas such as foreign affairs and defence (Fraenkel, 2012). This signing occurred seven months after Samoa had gained independence from New Zealand, which had been achieved by *O le Mau a Samoa 'the firm opinion of Samoa'*.

The flow of migrants from Samoa to New Zealand became significant in the 1960s until the 1970s. This injection caused a dramatic increase in Pacific Peoples in New Zealand. This can be shown by the New Zealand Census figures for Pacific Peoples in 1961, 1966, 1971 and 1976 with 14,340, 26,271, 40,918 and 61, 354 respectively (Statistics, New Zealand, 1976; 1981). Ongley (1996) argued that this was a racist policy which channelled Pacific migrants into a limited range of occupations which required few or no skills. They were immersed into a Pākehā mono-lingual and mono-cultural society which made them vulnerable and

disempowered the place of Pacific Peoples in New Zealand society with minimal change to this situation for first and second generations (Ongley, 1996).

In August 1971 from the 5th to 7th of August, the Pacific Islands Forum (initially called the South Pacific Forum) held its first meeting in Te Whanganui-a-Tara. This was attended by representatives from Nauru, Western Samoa, Cook Islands, Tonga, Fiji, Australia, and New Zealand. Primarily, delegates discussed matters affecting the daily lives of people in the South Pacific with a focus on trade, shipping, tourism, and education. In contrast to this positive meeting initiated by New Zealand, the 1970s were the era of the Dawn Raids. Anae (2020) states that this was "the most blatantly racist attack on Pacific Peoples by the New Zealand government in New Zealand history". This was during the collapse of the New Zealand economy in the 1970s which coincided with a world recession. Pacific Peoples had been brought in as unskilled labour from the Islands but were targeted during this time for taking employment from locals, causing crime and overall, putting a strain on New Zealand's health and education resources. A common occurrence during this political and economic time were Pacific Islanders taken from their homes in the middle of the night as they were labelled as over stayers because of staying past the timeframe of their visas. This was targeted in the media and by politicians (Anae, 2020).

Parallel and connected, during the 1970s, New Zealand was going through an awakening of the racism which existed within its own country. There were several key events which were revealing the racial tension at the time. In 1970, Māori rugby players toured South Africa for the first time. However, they were only able to tour as 'honorary whites'. An outcome of this by the Norman Kirk led Labour Government, because of a fear of violence, was the cancellation of the scheduled 1973 Springbok rugby tour to New Zealand. The repercussions of the All-Black's tour of South Africa in 1976 led to a boycott of the Montreal Olympics by 26 African nations. Furthermore, in the 1970s, there were major changes for Waitangi Day (New Zealand's national day). This day is the day the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 between Māori and the British government. In 1974, Waitangi Day was briefly changed to New Zealand Day. This change ignited further Māori activism. In 1975, there was the land march in addition to protests at Bastion Point and Whāingaroa (Raglan) in Te Ika-a-Māui. Both were significant in fighting for Māori land loss. The land march, together with other Māori protests, resulted in the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal which provided the legal vehicle for iwi to redress from the Crown the injustices of the Treaty up until the present day.

A significant decision occurred in July 1982 when the judicial committee of the Privy Council on the case of *Lesa v Attorney-General* [1982] 1 NZLR 165 granted all those born in Western Samoa between 1928 and 1949, the status of New Zealand citizens. One hundred thousand Samoan citizens gained the right to enter and stay in New Zealand as full New Zealand citizens (Ministry of Justice & Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2000, p.24). For Western Samoa, the Treaty of Friendship was followed up with a Protocol which was signed in Apia, Samoa on the 21st of August, 1982. In 1997, 'Western' was removed from the nation's name, and it became known only as Samoa. In 2012, New Zealand and Samoa celebrated 50 years of this treaty and recognised that Samoa is the only nation of which New Zealand has a Treaty of Friendship. At the time of this 50-year celebration, New Zealand was led by a national government. Currently, under the Realm of New Zealand (an entire area in which Elizabeth II, Queen of England is New Zealand's head of state) are the Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau. The Cook Islands and Niue have 'free association' agreements, giving their governments' considerable financial assistance, and the people, New Zealand citizenship. Tokelau has less independence than the Cook Islands and Niue have. In 2012, Tokelau remained a non-self-governing New Zealand territory and in 2020 remained a New Zealand dependent territory.

New Zealand is party to international instruments such as the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCROC). In New Zealand law, the New Zealand Bill of Rights outlines the rights of minority groups in New Zealand which was based on the ICCPR:

> A person who belongs to an ethnic, religious, or linguistic minority in New Zealand, shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of that minority, to enjoy the culture, to profess it and practice the religion, or to use the language of that minority (New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990, s 20).

The UNCROC was ratified by New Zealand in 1993. The rights are set out in 54 articles that establish human standards for the treatment of children and young people.

> Article 30
>
> In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy

his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language (United Nations, 1993)

Despite this adoption, The Ministry of Justice states that "the Government of New Zealand reserves the right to interpret and apply the Convention accordingly" (Ministry of Justice, 2020); therefore, there are no government obligations for language maintenance of community languages; including Pasifika languages.

New Zealand does not have a national languages policy; however, there have been statements and documents written to lay a foundation for a policy. While it could be debated whether the term 'national languages policy' is the most appropriate, it has been used as base term to stimulate debate and advocacy to gain a policy for languages in New Zealand. The earliest of these was Aoteareo: Speaking for Ourselves (Waite, 1992), which was a proposed language policy framework and commissioned by the MOE.

Te Kāhui Tika Tangata (Human Rights Commission) developed a proposed national languages policy in August 2008. The proposed policy states with regards to Pacific languages:

> All Cook Island Māori, Niuean and Tokelauan people living in New Zealand should have the opportunity and support to learn and use their heritage language. Other Pacific peoples in New Zealand should have the opportunity and support to learn and use their languages through public and community provision Human Rights Commission, 2008, p.4).

Since the Te Kāhui Tika Tangata proposed a national languages' policy, there have been a range of frameworks, strategies and position papers released, but all are without an over-arching national policy. These include Komiti Pasifika paper advocating for a national languages policy (PPTA, 2010), The Pacific Languages Framework (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2012), Languages in Aotearoa, New Zealand paper (Te Apārangi, The Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013) and the Community Languages Professional Development Framework (CLANZ, 2014). In 2015, the Auckland Languages Strategy was launched with a future intention as using it as a precursor to a national languages policy (Harvey, Warren, Rawiri & Johnston, 2015).

Educational

To describe the educational context, this section is divided into three parts: First, there is an overview of Samoa and New Zealand's education systems and significant historical contributions related to education. Second, there is an analysis of the Pasifika Education Plans (PEP) in New Zealand since the year 2000 and their impact on Pasifika achievement in schools. This is also followed by an examination and critique of what and how data is reported. The third section discusses Pasifika languages in the New Zealand curriculum, schools and NCEA.

Samoa

The education system in Samoa consists of three tiers: early childhood (ECE), primary and secondary schooling, and post-school education and training (PSET). Compulsory education is for eight years, from ages 5 to 12 years old. This is significant because as at 2019, 38% of the Samoan population was 14 years old and younger (UNESCO, 2021). Pre-primary education is for 3–4-year-olds, primary is for 5-10-year-olds and secondary is for 11-17-year-olds. Under Samoan law, secondary school is not compulsory. The Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) is responsible for ECE, primary and secondary education. The Samoan Qualifications Authority is responsible for the post-school education and training (Samoa Qualifications Authority, 2021). The MSCE is mandated to carry out its duties and functions under the Education Act (2009), Teachers Act (2016) and the MESC Affairs Act 1993 (MESC, 2021).

An education plan for Samoa was formalised in 1995. This was a policy framework and strategy for education development across Samoa. Auva'a (2003) examined Samoa's education policies from the early to mid-1990s. Auva'a claims that there is a concerted effort to maintain traditional Samoan culture – the fa'asamoa, and the need "to change to adapt to the demands of a modern global economy" (Auva'a, 2003, p.6). He further adds that, current policies "appear to continue this tradition of selective adaptation to change while continuing to maintain core values of fa'asamoa" (Auva'a, 2003, p.7).

A snapshot of the early childhood, primary and secondary sectors was given in a 2017 UN report. As at 2016, the net enrolment ratio for early childhood education (ECE), which is voluntary in Samoa, was 27%. In contrast, Samoa had 100% net enrolment ratio (NER) for primary education in 2015 and 2016. For secondary school, the NER was lower at 68%. Overall, there were more enrolled girls than boys. Two other emerging factors was the

repetition of primary schooling; particularly for boys, and the shortage of teachers in primary schools which has resulted in multi-grade classes (UNICEF, 2017).

Linked to the success of the net enrolment ratio for primary school students is that the Samoan government has been a leader in adopting and promoting the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). According to the United Nations (2020), The Strategy for Development of Samoa, has been fully aligned to the SDGs and Samoa is "making steady progress" (United Nations, 2020). The goal that is the most applicable here is goal four, 'Quality Education'. In addition, Samoa has voluntarily accepted the task of reporting on the progress of these goals. In 2020, Samoa published 'Samoa's Second Voluntary National Review on the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals'.

Samoa is undergoing significant changes in their education system. As recent as 2016, the Teachers' Act came into effect. This is an act to regulate the registration of teachers, establish the Samoa Teachers' Council and regulate professional standards and breach of professional standards, and related purposes. The official establishment of the Samoa Teachers' Council became effective on the 28th of February, 2019 (MESC, 28th Feb, 2019). MESC is also continuing to look at examinations and wider systems. For example, the Samoa Secondary School Leaving Certificate (SSLC) in 2018 had "critical changes in the 2018 examinations". The examinations targeted higher level learning skills of students such as critical thinking and problem saving attributes (MESC, January, 18th, 2019). Juxtaposed with his change, it was also noted that for the 2018 examinations, "Gagana Sāmoa has continued to be a high scoring subject for students and indicates not only its popularity but also that Samoan language and culture is being preserved and valued in schools" (MESC, January, 18th, 2019).

However, assistance has been needed from agencies such as UNESCO and countries such as New Zealand and Australia. For example, since 2010 both New Zealand and Australia have given financial and technical assistance through the Samoa School Fees Grant Scheme (SSFGS) for primary schools. In addition, New Zealand provided funding from July 2013 until 2016/2017 for secondary schools. At the UNESCO level, as of April 2020, the Samoan education sector received $19 million tala (approximately 10 million New Zealand dollars), from UNESCO and their partners, including Vodafone Samoa. This was a project called Global Coalition for Response to COVID-19 (Fruean, 2020). This funding was to particularly support

students across all sectors (primary, secondary, and tertiary) to continue their education in a virtual environment.

Finally, Samoa continues to review its education system. On the 24th of July, 2020, the MESC announced significant changes for all secondary schools with an overall implementation of a four-year level (Years 9, 10, 11 and 12). MESC has been working towards this since 2016 with re-packaging and organising. This has involved an "alignment of curricula standards and learning outcomes". To justify this change, the Ministry has cited research which has monitored students' performances over the last ten years, both at primary and secondary level. Their concern is the increasing numbers of early school leavers after Year 9. In addition, the research shows that the assessments for Years 12 and 13 (particularly for boys) with the current five-year level has shown the decline of students' achievements in Year 13 SSLC after taking the SSC in the previous year. The MESC describes this as a national response to addressing these two issues to improve students' achievements especially in the last year of secondary level. The first Year 9 cohort for this change will begin in 2021 with this cohort completing in 2024. A significant change here is that in Year 10 (for this cohort in 2022), will sit the SSC, followed by Year 11 (2023) and at the end of Year 12, sitting the SSLC. (MESC, 24th July, 2020). The SSLC which will be sat in Year 12 will remain as an achievement test to qualify students for Foundation Entry at the University of Samoa. Another measure that has been put in place is that from Year 10, students will be streamed into learning areas based on their strengths and weakness. These are learning areas or pathways are Commerce, Arts, TVET (technical and vocational training and education), and Science. Additional courses such as tourism and hospitality, food and beverages, marine studies and carpentry will be added to TVET options (MESC, 24th July, 2020). These are important changes and insights into the challenges Samoa faces with student achievement.

New Zealand

In New Zealand, school is compulsory from the age of 6 to 16 years. However, a child can begin school from their 5th birthday. The National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA), as New Zealand's main secondary school qualification was introduced between 2002 and 2004. It replaced School Certificate, University Entrance (UE), Sixth Form Certificate and UE Bursary qualifications (NZQA, 2020). In 2007, the Labour Government brought in 20 hours free early childhood education (ECE) for three and four years old. ECE is not compulsory in New Zealand, but 96.8% of children attend ECE (MOE, 2021). Each school in New Zealand

also has a decile rating which determines some of the funding a school receives from Government. The school decile rating between one and ten, gives an indication of the socio-economic status of the community. The decile ratings are calculated using Census data.

The implementation of School Certificate in 1946 (Education Central, 2018) was a move to norm-referencing, which ensured that only a certain percentage of the population could pass each year. It became a tool for minimising, devaluing, and squashing the potential and true abilities of many secondary students. One aspect of this is that it showed that there had been insufficient initiatives to acknowledge and enhance the abilities of new migrants and their children. The result was that most Pasifika learners were not gaining and adding value to their skills and abilities equitably in New Zealand classrooms (Macpherson, Bedford & Spoonley, 2000).

As Gordon (2014) points out, "assessment systems are not neutral. ... They are used to ration access to social and economic goods and as instruments of social differentiation and control various periods" (p.5). In order to address the inequity of School Certificate, changes were needed. In 1989, the New Zealand Qualifications Framework (NZQF) was established under section 248 of the Education Act 1989. As a single and unified framework, it was first brought in on the 1st of July 2010, under the former section 253 (1) (c) of the Act and was fully introduced in August 2011 as a legislative amendment (the new section 248) (NZQA, 2016). The role of the NZQF is to determine which standards-based qualifications can be offered and awarded by New Zealand educational institutions. The Level 1 NCEA certificate was first offered in 2002, followed by Level 2 and 3 in 2003 and 2004 respectively. According to NZQA, "The NZQF is designed to optimise the recognition of educational achievement and its contribution to New Zealand's economic, social and cultural success." (NZQA, 2016, p.2).

In 2010, two years after the policy introduction, the National Government introduced National Standards in primary and intermediate schools to monitor the reading, writing and numeracy of Year 1 to 8 learners. The Standards faced a lot of criticism from Te Riu Roa - New Zealand Education Institute (NZEI), the biggest teacher union in New Zealand, as they argued that the Standards did not give an accurate indication of each child's progress, it increased teacher workload and put unnecessary pressure on children (NZEI, 2017). In 2017, the Labour Government supported these concerns and ended each school's accountability to National Standards.

From January 2018, the Labour Government began a review of NCEA. This began with an appointment of a Ministerial Advisory Group. Public engagement took place in May and October 2018 with six big ideas proposed by the Advisory Group. Submissions were able to be made by a quick survey or a survey about the Big Opportunities. In addition, a diverse range of groups were able to attend a workshop or focus group (NZCER, 2018). As one of these diverse groups, Pacific Peoples participated in focus groups, regional workshops, the Big Opportunities Survey, and the Quick Survey with 31.1%, 10.5%, 3.0% and 4.7% participation respectively.

Pasifika Education Plans in New Zealand (2001-2017)

The aim of this section is to highlight each of the aims and any gains achieved by and for Pasifika students and their families, as outlined in each of the Pasifika Education Plans (PEP), the PEP monitoring reports and additional Education Review Office (ERO) reports. There have been four Plans: 2000-2005, 2006-2010, 2009-2012 and 2013-2017. As of 2020, a ten-year Pasifika Plan was released for 2020 to 2030. While each plan and subsequent monitoring report covers all sectors: Early Childhood, Primary, Secondary and Tertiary as well as 'Education sector wide' and 'Parents, families and communities', the discussion and analysis for the Plans, will primarily focus on 'Compulsory education' that of primary and secondary but including University Entrance (UE). However, because each PEP evolved from the previous plan, any relevant and significant targets and progress will be noted. To be considered when reviewing these statistics is how and what data is reported in this discussion as this will be readdressed further on in this section.

Pasifika Education Plan 2000-2005

The main foci for Compulsory Education in this Plan were:

- The focus is on increasing achievement in early literacy and numeracy, attainment of school qualifications and reducing at-risk factors.
- Increase Pacific students' achievement in education
- Reduce the number of Pacific school-aged students out of school (MOE, 2000).

During the implementation of the 2000-2005 PEP, there was also the implementation of NCEA in 2002 (Level 1), 2003 (Level 2) and in 2004 (Level 3). The overall PEP plan for 2000-2005 focused on participation and achievement targets. In the PEP monitoring report, it noted that

there was significant progress in participation targets, but achievement targets were proving challenging (MOE, 2007). For Pasifika students in primary school, the achievement reporting focused on specifically Year 4 and Year 8 students. The students' achievement data was reported with the National Education Monitoring Project (NEMP). The report indicated that Pasifika students were mostly achieving below national means (MOE, 2007). A significant shift during this period from 2000-2005 was an increase from 24.9% of Pasifika school leavers gaining Level 2 NCEA to 45.3% in 2005. Similarly, in 2004, 33% of Year 11 Pasifika students gained a Level 1 qualification, 37% of Year 12 gained a Level 2 and 21% for level 3. Furthermore, there had also been a shift in those students gaining University Entrance (UE). This increased to 15% in 2004 from 10% in 2001. While this was similar to the UE achievement of Māori, this was 20% less than European Pākehā students and 40% less than Asian students.

Harkness, Murray, Parkin, and Dalgety (2005), as part of a wider report on the first few years of implementation of NCEA, analysed the achievement of Pasifika students. The significant improvement was the number of students participating in NCEA had increased since 2002 for all Pasifika groups, apart from one. Overall, Fijian students achieved the best results for NCEA. For Year 11, they were the most successful at meeting both the literacy and numeracy requirements for NCEA Level 1, while only about half of all other Pasifika groups met the requirements. This is similar to Fijian Year 13 candidates. An analysis of individual Pasifika groups showed that while most Pasifika groups were approximately 17% of the Year 13 students gaining UE, more than a third of Fijian Year 13 candidates gained UE. At Year 12, Tongan Year 12 candidates improved their achievement noticeably between 2003 and 2004. Despite these gains, there was still inequity between the achievement of Pasifika and non-Pasifika. In 2004, Pasifika candidates were less likely to gain a NCEA qualification, including literacy and numeracy for NCEA Level 1. In addition, they also noticeably obtained fewer credits than non-Pasifika students. At Year 13, there is a larger contrast with 51% of non-Pasifika students gaining university entrance and 19% of Pasifika students gaining UE. However, it is noted that in some schools, university entrance achievement by Pasifika was high. In ten schools with relatively high proportions of Pasifika candidates, the level of university entrance attainment by Pasifika and non-Pasifika was above the decile average (Harkness, Murray, Parkin & Dalgety, 2005).

Pasifika Education Plan 2006-2010

The main foci for Compulsory Education in this Plan were:

- The focus is on increasing achievement in early literacy and numeracy and the attainment of school qualifications through improving engagement in schooling.

- Increase Pasifika students' achievement in education. With the goals of: Positive shifts in performance as measured by national and international assessments (PISA, PIRLS, TIMSS & NEMP) by 2011, by 2010 the proportion of Pasifika students leaving with little or no formal attainment will match that of all school leavers and an increase the proportion of Pasifika students leaving with at least NCEA Level 2 or equivalent from 52% (2004) to at least 60% by 2010 (MOE, 2006).

With the early achievement of Pasifika with the implementation of NCEA, the second Pasifika Education Plan was released in June 2006 with a PEP monitoring report released within the same year followed by additional monitoring reports in 2008 and 2009. In the 2009 monitoring report, it is acknowledged that "Once sufficient data from the national Standards are available for analysis (expected in 2011) targets for an annual increase in the proportion of Pasifika students will be set" (MOE, 2009 p.20).

A subsequent report by the MOE (2010) analysed NCEA data from 2007 – 2009. It showed that there had been further improvements in achievement for Pasifika. Forty-eight percent of Pasifika students gained an NCEA qualification in 2009, compared to 44% in 2008. This was compared to 66% for non-Pasifika. For literacy and numeracy, 67% (compared to 64% in 2007) of Pasifika students gained this requirement as opposed to 77% of non-Pasifika. The divide between Pasifika and non-Pasifika achievement for literacy and numeracy continued to decrease from 2004 from 19% in 2004, to 10% in 2009. Fijian students continued to achieve the best out of all the Pasifika groups, while Tongan students had the greatest increase from 2008-2009 (MOE, 2010). In 2008, 63% of all Pasifika school leavers achieved NCEA Level 2 or above. The gap between Pasifika and non-Pasifika remained constant during this period. However, in addition, according to the PEP monitoring report in 2008, 86% of schools were not comprehensively responding to the needs of Pasifika students (MOE, 2009). Of note again is the absence of any data from primary schools under the heading of 'compulsory' schooling in the years 2007 and 2008. Furthermore, in the full monitoring report for 2008, there was no data for primary students reported for the baseline position for 2008.

Pasifika Education Plan 2009-2012

The main foci for Compulsory Education in this Plan were:

- The focus is on accelerating literacy and numeracy achievement and gaining secondary-level qualifications

- Ensure Pasifika children and young people demonstrate improved progress and achievement in literacy and numeracy in relations to the National Standards (years 1-8), and improved achievement in NCEA levels 1, 2 and 3 and University Entrance. The targets set were: An annual increase in the number of Pasifika students meeting National Standards in schools, increase the proportion of Pasifika school leavers achieving NCEA Level 1 literacy and numeracy requirements from 84 percent in 2008, to 93% by 2012 and increase Pasifika students leaving school with a university entrance standard from 23 percent in 2008 to 30 percent by the end of 2012 (MOE, 2009).

This plan was released in late November 2009 and overlaps with the previous PEP. From 2010 to 2012, the NZQA statistics improved once again. At Year 11 for NCEA 63.3% of Pasifika learners gained a Level 1 certificate. This was an improvement in achievement from 54.1% (2010) to 63.3% (2012). For Pasifika, also, as with Level 2, this is in in 50s and 60s (52%, 55% and 60%) (NZQA, 2013). In the 2010 PEP monitoring report, 87% of all 2010 Pasifika school leavers achieved NCEA Level 1 literacy and numeracy requirements while 68% of all 2012 Pasifika school leavers achieved NCEA Level 2 or above (MOE, 2019). Finally, in the same monitoring report, it also states that the target of 30% of all Pasifika school leavers achieving university entrance standard for 2012 was met as of 2012. The report further forecasted that this would increase to 35% by the end of 2012.

A significant statistic in this report outside of 'compulsory schooling' is the under-representation of Pasifika teachers in the school sector. The reports states that Pasifika students are 10% of the state school rolls; however, only 2.7% of all state teachers identify as Pasifika. The report does not state the percentage of Pasifika teachers in primary and secondary schools as separate statistics.

In transition to the 2013-2017 PEP, the Education Review Office (ERO) released a report in 2012. The overall summary was that the 2012 report was similar to the two previous reports consecutively in 2009 and 2010, ERO had released. These three reports showed that there had

been little evidence of system-wide improvement to accelerate the progress of individual of Pasifika learners. It was no surprise therefore that ERO found that more than half of schools with Pasifika students were not aware of the Pasifika Education Plan (ERO, May, 2012).

Pasifika Education Plan 2013-2017

The main foci for Compulsory Education in this Plan were:

- The focus is on accelerating literacy and numbery achievement and gaining NCEA Level 2 qualifications as a steppingstone to further education and/or employment.
- Pasifika learners excel in literacy and numeracy and make effective choices that lead to worthwhile qualifications.
- The targets were: 85% of year 1-10 learners will meet literacy and numeracy expectations, including achieving at or above National Standards across years 1-8, in 2017. The number of schools leavers leaving with NCEA Level 1 literacy and numeracy qualifications to increase from 80percent in 2010 to 95% in 2017. 85 percent of Pasifika 18-year-olds to achieve NCEA Level 2 or equivalent qualifications in 2017. Increase the number of Pasifika school leavers with University Entrance to achieve at least parity with non-Pasifika school leavers (MOE, 2013).

The reporting of Year 1-8 students against National Standards continued. In 2013, 64% of Pasifika students were at or above the National Standards for reading. In 2013, 65% of Pasifika obtained Level 3 NCEA. However, with regards to UE, the difference is nearly 30% with New Zealand European Pākehā at 77.3%. This suggests that Pasifika students are not in subjects which are approved UE subjects for New Zealand universities and are not obtaining the university literacy requirement or they are not achieving in University Entrance approved subjects. As of January 2020, while there is a monitoring report for 2015, there was no final monitoring report for the 2013-2017 PEP as the format in which the monitoring was conducted was changed (MOE, 12th March, 2021 email correspondence confirmation).

Examining primary and secondary achievement statistics in the Pasifika Education Plans

Primary school statistics

There is a consistent theme throughout the PEPs and monitoring reports of the clumsiness of data reporting for the primary sector. From the PEP and subsequent Plans, it highlighted the

need of meaningful data for primary school Pasifika learners. This data is crucial to the successful transition from a primary (Year 8) to secondary setting (Year 9) and placement of students in classes. While National Standards was an attempt to provide such data, there is a need to find consistency in primary schools, but at the same time understanding the narratives of individual learners. For understanding English Language progress, for example, while the English Language Learning Progressions (ELLP) has been available since 2008 (MOE, 2008), this was never utilised as a reporting tool for primary or secondary Pasifika students in the national reporting of data in such monitoring reports.

Secondary school statistics

Secondary school statistics for reporting achievement data has been primarily shown through NCEA data. As indicated, there are different ways data can be manipulated to make achievement more positive. For example, as already indicated, NCEA achievement data can be shared with results per Year level for the results of that year. For example, Year 11 students who achieved Level 1 NCEA. However, data can be shared as the percentage of students who have achieved this qualification by the time they have left school, which generally gives a better statistic. Both sets of data give different messages. One of the greatest changes in the last ten years which occurred in 2018, for all secondary schools, was the change from reporting of roll-based NCEA achievement and participation achievement to enrolment-based data. Enrolment based data includes all students who have recorded enrolment of one day or more in the academic year targeted. A comparison of these three sets of data is shared in the following tables (Tables A2, A3 and A4) for Pasifika learners.

Table A2

Roll-based Pasifika achievement from 2010 to 2017

Level	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
1	50.8	54.5	58.4	64.8	66.9	71.9	73.2	73.3
2	55.4	57.7	62.5	67.8	74.5	76.6	79.5	80.7
3	36.0	38.1	44.2	47.8	51.6	57.5	60.4	65.3
University Entrance	25.1	27.4	32.1	34.9	28.9	29.5	30.7	32.3

(Adapted from the New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2020)

Roll-base data is measured through a 1st of July roll return which only counts students enrolled on that date. Schools report to the Ministry of Education how many students are on their roll-

on the 1ˢᵗ of July; hence, for NCEA results, these are the students used to calculate achievement data. Students enrolling in the school after this date are not included in the achievement data.

Table A3

Participation Pasifika achievement from 2010 to 2017

Level	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
1	54.1	58.9	63.3	71.4	71.9	77.0	77.1	77.4
2	62.3	64.6	69.3	75.0	79.7	80.0	83.8	83.5
3	52.9	54.7	59.5	65.0	66.4	70.1	71.7	75.3
University Entrance	36.7	39.3	42.9	47.3	37.1	35.6	36.3	36.9

(Adapted from the New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2020)

Participation data includes only those students who are actively pursuing an NCEA qualification based on the number of credits they are entered for. From 2018, this data is no longer used. This was a significant shift for schools as schools previously worked towards ensuring they accounted for those students who were actively pursuing an NCEA qualification. Those students who were not, were removed as part of the participating statistics. An example of why this might occur was when it is more suitable for a student to achieve Level 1 over a two-year period; therefore, they could collect credits in the first year, but only be entered for the qualification in the second year. This could also be the case for the other NCEA qualifications especially if students had arrived late in the year or were a new migrant or refugee in New Zealand who were developing their English language and literacy skills.

Table A4

Enrolment-based Pasifika achievement for NCEA from 2010 to 2019

Level	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
1	44.3	46.6	50.0	58.8	62.6	66.7	66.8	67.1	62.8	61.8
2	46.5	48.7	52.0	61.7	67.5	70.1	73.3	73.9	72.1	71.3
3	32.4	34.4	39.8	43.5	47.3	52.0	54.2	58.9	58.9	60.3
University Entrance	22.6	23.7	27.6	31.6	26.2	26.7	27.7	29.3	28.6	30.3

(Adapted from the New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2020)

The change to enrolment-based data was a significant change because it forced schools to have no control over who could be entered for NCEA qualifications as all students in the year level had to be entered into corresponding NCEA qualification. Enrolment-based data includes every

student across the whole year. In Table A4, it shows how revealing this is for Pasifika student data. The statistics across Tables A2, A3 and A4 reveal how significant this change in reporting achievement data was. For Pasifika students for 2015, 2016 and 2017, while there is an approximate 10% difference for overall achievement for Level 1 and 2 between Participating and Enrolment-based data, this increases to 18.1%, 17.5% and 16.4% respectively at Level 3. However, what is notable is that for Level 1 and 2 enrolment-based achievement data begins to decrease for 2018 and 2019; for Level 1 this is particularly significant. Reasons for these differences requires intensive mining of data for each individual secondary school and an awareness and understanding of nationally significant influences, events, and policies.

Cultural bias

Of particular concern is the direct comparison of Pasifika students' achievement with the dominant group – New Zealand Pākehā. This comparison in endless data reports to New Zealand Pākehā goes a long way to ignore and reinforce the superiority and monolingual, mono-cultural norms, while ignoring and not acknowledging in any of the reports the linguistic and cultural capital Pasifika children bring to primary and secondary school; instead, there is a focus on achievement targets which knowingly or unknowingly support linguistic and cultural genocide. None of the reports go any way to measure or actively create targets for bilingual and bi-literal competency of Pasifika learners despite referring to languages, cultures, and identities to be important in each Pasifika Education Plan (PEP). A constant problem has been the overuse of the concept of 'literacy' and ignoring biliteracy achievement data. For 'literacy', in neither of the PEPs, monitoring or ERO reports does it acknowledge the longer and complex process of learning two or three languages.

Pasifika languages in the New Zealand curriculum, early childhood, primary schools, and secondary schools

Pasifika languages in the New Zealand Curriculum and NCEA

Pacific language curriculum statements were developed based on the 1992 New Zealand Curriculum Framework. The MOE released Taiala mo le Gagaga Sāmoa i Niu Sila: Samoan in the New Zealand Curriculum in 1996 (MOE, 1996). The Cook Islands language curriculum followed in 2004 (MOE, 2004), Niuean in 2006 (MOE, 2006), Tongan in 2007 (MOE, 2007) and Tokelauan in 2009 (MOE, 2009). In 2007, the Learning Languages learning area was added

as the eighth learning area. Currently, Samoan, Cook Island Māori, Tongan and Niuean are NCEA subjects. Samoan, Cook Island Māori and more recently Tongan are Achievement Standards which are at Levels six (NCEA Level 1), seven (NCEA Level 2) and eight (NCEA Level 3) of the New Zealand Curriculum (NZC). Students can gain Merit and Excellence endorsements to reflect high achievement. Samoan gained Achievement Standards in 2010 (Level 1), 2011 (Level 2) and 2013 (Level 3) after being introduced with NCEA as Unit Standards first with the roll out of NCEA. The results and participation for Samoan language NCEA for 2019 are in Table A5:

Table A5
Samoan language NCEA Level 1, 2 and 3 Results and Enrolment for 2019

Level 3	Excellence	Merit	Achieved	Not Achieved	Total results	Total students
AS 91567 (INT) Writing	33.6%	31.5%	19.0%	15.9%	289	304
AS 91564 (INT) Speech	35.9%	27.5%	19.4%	17.3%	284	293
AS 91565 (INT) Conversation	38.7%	27.7%	21.2%	12.3%	292	305
AS 91563 (EX) Listening	15.1%	23.7%	53.5%	7.8%	245	342
AS 91566 (EX) Reading	12.5%	27.0%	53.2%	7.3%	248	342
Level 2	Ex	M	A	NA	Total results	Total students
AS 91147 (INT) Writing	28.5%	32.9%	28.0%	10.6%	407	418
AS 91145 (INT) Speech	30.2%	30.5%	27.9%	11.4%	394	403
AS 91144 (INT) Conversation	28.9%	35.2%	28.9%	7.0%	384	395
AS 91143 (EX) Listening	16.1%	31.9%	44.5%	7.6%	317	443
AS 91146 (EX) Reading	14.6%	40.9%	35.7%	8.8%	342	443
Level 1	Ex	M	A	NA	Total results	Total students
AS 90907 INT) Writing	31.4%	31.2%	28.1%	9.4%	481	498
AS 90904 (INT) Speech	28.8%	28.1%	35.7%	7.4%	527	533
AS 90905 (INT) Conversation	33.2%	28.0%	27.5%	11.3%	443	467
AS 90903 (EX) Listening	5.7%	35.1%	45.9%	13.3%	407	526
AS 90906(EX) Reading	10.7	39.3%	38.8%	11.2%	438	526

(Data and Table compiled from, New Zealand Qualifications Authority data set, 2021)

For Level 1, 2 and 3, there are three major features of the data. First, the internal assessment results are relatively distributed between Excellence, Merit, Achieved and Not Achieved. However, secondly, for Levels 1, 2 and 3, 50% to 60.5% of students are gaining an Achieved or Not Achieved for the external examinations. At Level 1, for the external examinations, there are a very low number of students achieving Excellence grades despite the Listening Standard, for example, using "language related to basic personal information and past, present, and/or future experiences. This includes everyday language for family, shopping, local area, events,

and activities (NZQA, 2019). Third, for the external examinations, for all three levels, there 80-125 students who did not attend their Samoan language exams. At Level 3, this is nearly a third of enrolled students for both the Listening and Reading Standards, potentially denying them a University Entrance approved subject for university entrance.

Samoan and Cook Island Māori have been university entrance approved subjects since, while Tongan has been an approved university subject since 2015. Niuean is still offered as Unit Standards and therefore cannot be currently considered for University Entrance approved subjects. Te Aho o Te Kura Pounamu (The New Zealand Correspondence School) only started to offer Samoan Language Level 1 since 2019 despite various Asian and European languages being offered for a considerable amount of time.

Access to teaching and learning of Pasifika languages in primary and secondary contexts

Early childhood Pacific language nests are established in the New Zealand education system. (Ministry of Education, 2010). In 2020, there were 118 Pacific medium (51% of the teaching time in the Pacific language) licensed early learning services in New Zealand with 19% of Pacific children enrolled. Since 2018, the most common Pacific language ECE centre was Tongan language immersion. Overall, in 2020, there were 3,957 services supporting children's Pacific languages and cultures with varying levels of use of the Pacific language or languages.

As with early childhood, the immersion teaching and learning of Pasifika languages in the primary and secondary sectors is broadly divided into four levels: Level 1 (81-100%), Level 2 (51-80%), Level 3 (31-50%) and Level 4 (12-30%). In addition, in the school sectors, Level 5 is the teaching and learning of the Pacific language or languages as a separate subject in schools. The number of schools with Pacific languages as immersion and as a separate subject over the past 10 years are in Tables A6 and A7. For both Tables, the first row is all schools and the second row in italics are the number of secondary schools.

Table A6

Schools offering a Pacific language as immersion (varying degrees of immersion)

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Samoan	27 *5*	24 *4*	26 *6*	33 *14*	34 *13*	35 *12*	36 *10*	36 *11*	38 *9*	36 *8*	46 *9*
Cook Island Māori	3 *1*	5 *3*	6 *4*	4 *2*	6 *3*	7 *2*	3 *2*	2 *2*	3 *3*	2 *2*	3 *3*
Niuean	0	0	1 *1*	1 *1*	1 *1*	1 *1*	1 *1*	2 *1*	0	0	0
Other Pacific language	0	0	0	0	0	8 *2*	2 *0*	3 *0*	1 *0*	0	0
Tokelauan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 *0*	0	0
Tongan	3 *0*	5 *1*	6 *1*	8 *2*	8 *2*	9 *2*	9 *0*	9 *3*	9 *2*	8 *2*	10 *4*

(Data and Table compiled from New Zealand Ministry of Education, Education Counts data set, 2021)

The most prominent feature for Samoan language is the dominance of bilingual immersion in primary schools with a considerable increase from 2019 to 2020, in contrast in secondary schools. For Niuean, Tokelauan, any kind of immersion provision has gone completely with Cook Island Māori surviving at both the primary and secondary schools. Tongan has grown and proportionally is being offered more per population at the secondary level, than Samoan.

Table A7

Schools offering a Pacific language as a separate subject

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Samoan	38 *25*	46 *25*	40 *24*	33 *19*	46 *31*	46 *26*	45 *29*	51 *33*	46 *31*	41 *32*	65 *43*
Cook Island Māori	13 *6*	17 *7*	15 *6*	11 *4*	15 *3*	15 *4*	11 *3*	10 *4*	6 *2*	5 *2*	8 *3*
Niuean	3 *2*	3 *2*	6 *1*	5 *-*	3 *-*	6 *-*	3 *-*	5 *-*	2 *2*	2 *1*	6 *4*
Other Pacific language	8 *3*	9 *3*	8 *4*	5 *4*	4 *3*	15 *6*	7 *5*	10 *5*	6 *4*	6 *5*	12 *8*
Tokelauan	3 *1*	2 *1*	4 *3*	2 *2*	0 *0*	0 *0*	- *-*	- *-*	1	2	3 *1*
Tongan	11 *6*	11 *7*	13 *7*	18 *6*	18 *6*	18 *7*	18 *11*	25 *11*	27 *12*	19 *10*	27 *13*

(Data and Table complied from New Zealand Ministry of Education, Education Counts data set, 2021)

A Pacific language as a separate subject has been the most offered option in both primary and secondary schools. As with the bilingual immersion options for Samoan language, there was a considerable increase in primary schools offering Samoan language from 2019 to 2020; however, in contrast to immersion options, this solid increase also occurred for Samoan language as a subject. The separate subject option has also provided a space for other Pacific languages to be present in both primary and secondary settings.

Summary

Appendix A aimed to present a comprehensive understanding of the context of this project. The geographical context indicated New Zealand and Samoa's proximity to each other and shares their immigration and migration links and relationships; highlighting particularly the increasing migration of Pacific People to New Zealand. The political context is linked to the geographical context as migration from the Pacific Islands increased and New Zealand cemented its political connection with Samoa with the Treaty of Friendship. The political history over the next few decades laid the foundation for the educational marginalisation experienced by newly arrived immigrants and their children and New Zealand born Pacific Peoples. I shared the educational context of Samoa to support understanding of the past and more recent contexts of participants in this research project and as a window into the constantly evolving education system in Samoa including improving qualification standards for teachers.

The New Zealand educational context presented successive governments focus on the Pasifika Education Plans as response to Pasifika students' academic achievement. While these appear to have good intentions, they ironically undermine Pacific people's language, culture and identity with how 'progress' is monitored. The data shows that access to teaching and learning of Pasifika languages in New Zealand is inequitable; especially in the secondary sector, a high number of students are not attending their Samoan language Listening or Reading external exams and a high percentage of students are gaining only the minimal grade of Achieved or gaining a Not Achieved.

APPENDIX B

Researcher's background relating to my positionality and the project

A monolingual English speaking, secular, Pākehā home

I was born in New Zealand in 1970. I was the first child for my parents and only daughter. My parents both came from families with eight children, two parents (a mum and a dad). English was the only language spoken in each of my parents' families. I started school at aged 5 after spending three years in the local kindergarten. I went to school at the local public co-educational full primary school (Years 1-8) next to our house. In Form 1 (Year 7), we left the area where I spent most of my primary school as mum and dad bought a house on the other side of the city, so I started at the local intermediate close to home. My two younger brothers were born in the early 1970s with a few years a part. My mother's parents were a significant part of our lives. Both my parents did not travel overseas, but they valued exploring our province. As my father's business developed, he worked from home and Mum stayed at home and supported Dad. She was always there when we came home from school for lunch or after school. In primary school I learnt te reo Māori and at secondary school I learnt French for one year in the Form Three (Year 9). I learnt Australasian Signed English for three years at night school in a community college while attending university.

A bilingual, non-secular, Ecuadorian and Pākehā home

I met my husband when I moved to Ecuador. When we met, his English was at an elementary level, and I was about the same for Spanish. I become an insider, but sometimes I was still an outsider in the Cuenca, Ecuadorian community. The process and application for his New Zealand residency was stressful but successful. He later gained his citizenship in early 2000s. He studied English in secondary school in Ecuador. Initially in New Zealand, I translated a lot for him. We lived with my family when we came back to New Zealand. We started his hair-dressing business in the central city because we experienced that hair salon owners were reluctant to take on someone who could not yet converse with customers in English. His English language and literacy learning became the language of the workplace. He also had to become knowledgeable of New Zealand culture, but his customers also enjoyed learning about Ecuador. He taught himself by reading the local newspaper he bought for his salon every day. He also learnt through a tutor from the ESOL Home School Tutor Scheme and accepted conversations and magazines with and from Jehovah Witnesses even though he was Catholic.

We have a daughter and a son. Our daughter grew up hearing Spanish from her father and me. We had some Spanish language reading books from Ecuador, and we would read to her regularly. I did not teach her to read, so in Year 9, she started at a Spanish language school for children with Spanish language at home and those learning Spanish as an additional language. She attended for two years to develop her reading and writing skills. In Year 11, she did Spanish via Te Aho o Te Kura Pounamu (The Correspondence School). She began to discover how much she knew and did not know. There was also a lot of self-doubt, so she did not continue Spanish in Year 12. Our son heard more English as my husband began to grow his English. We were concerned when his language development seemed slow. He did receive grommets in his ears, but this still did not speed language development. At aged three and four, he would only say parts of words or only the intonation for a word. A genetic test showed he had a micro deletion in a chromosome. At aged five, he was only saying single words and two-word combinations. He gained a receptive knowledge of Spanish. His syntax and pronunciation developed, but sometimes it was still difficult for others to understand. Sometimes he asks questions when he does not know the Spanish word. He has a few words he can speak in Spanish, and he will parrot some words, particularly when he meets his cousins in Ecuador. He cannot read or write in Spanish; however, his auditory receptive knowledge continues to grow.

Becoming and being a practitioner and practitioner leader

I completed a Bachelor of Arts in Education. I failed a couple of papers, so I had four years at university. After university, I was a manager for a retail shop in the south of the South Island where I found an advertisement for the ESOL Home Tutor Scheme. I began to train as an ESOL tutor in 1993. Then, I went to Japan on the Japanese Teaching and Exchange Programme (JET) I attempted the Level 3 Japanese Proficiency Test after one year and half but failed. I taught English in mostly junior high schools for two years. In Japan, I began my Post-graduate Diploma in Second Language Teaching by distance from a New Zealand university. In Japan, I prepared for living in Ecuador by learning Spanish by distance learning from New Zealand. In Ecuador, I was able to develop as an English as a foreign language (EFL) teacher, Director of English, and teacher trainer. I finished my Post-graduate Diploma of Second Language Teaching in Ecuador in 1997. When I returned to New Zealand, I completed my Graduate Diploma of Teaching and Learning to teach in secondary schools; however, I taught English for Academic Purposes (EAP) for four years at the major university and also some Private Training Establishments (PTEs) instead of teaching in secondary schools immediately. I completed my Master of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)

in 2007. I was employed at the focus secondary school in 2009 to implement a twelve-hour Intensive English as an Additional Language (EAL) Programme for English Language Learners (ELLs) from Foundation Stage to Stage 1 of the English Language Learning Progressions (ELLP) (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008). The school was experiencing an increase in International Fee Payers and migrants. In 2010, I became the Head of Department of English as Additional Language (HOD EAL).

TESOL Leadership and Pasifika professional development

My initial professional development as an English as an Additional Language (EAL) teacher in the focus secondary school was able to occur because of an EAL Advisor who included me in a group of EAL teachers working with Teaching as Inquiry (New Zealand Curriculum, 2007) and another group of EAL Leaders. Some of the opportunities I became part of were the local TESOL committee team and a member of the National TESOLANZ Executive team. For two years, I also led the local secondary English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Cluster group. All three opportunities provided links to the Ministry of Education (MOE), the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA), PTEs, primary, secondary, and tertiary providers. I was also able to present and participate in a range of forums and conferences. In the focus secondary school, the annual HOD report provided a key mechanism to articulate concerns, recommendations, and solutions. Since 2010, key concerns and recommendations were experienced and actioned around the identification of ELLs, transition processes, budgets, workload, physical spaces, professional development of mainstream teachers, and the implementation of new changes and initiatives. This leadership required challenging and questioning of existing systems, initiating, and implementing change and heightening awareness and understanding of ELLs.

I was involved with three key MOE Pasifika professional development projects from 2010 to 2015: Home School Partnership (HSP), Pasifika Network Learning Community (PNLC) and the Pasifika Success Talanoa Project (PSTP). The HSP and PNLC connected with two primary contributing schools, while the PSTP formed a cluster of schools from early childhood to secondary, and I was one of four Pasifika leaders to lead change in our school for Pasifika students and whanau. Over this five-year journey, I had four main areas of reflection and action for Pasifika learners and whanau: Transitions, during term enrolments, learning support and utilising Pasifika linguistic and cultural capital. These reflections and actions occurred

throughout each year, but the appraisal cycle / document and HOD EAL annual reports were essential tools as a middle leader and practitioner to articulate learnings and next steps.

Pasifika learners were often channelled into Supported Learning classes; therefore, they were being viewed as low ability rather than being identified as English Language Learners and bilingual learners. This perception and understanding permeated throughout the school from transition from Year 8 to 9, Year 10 into Level 1 NCEA and above, as well as when students arrived as new students for enrolment to the school at any level, at any time during the year. While this remained a focus for the EAL Department and some progress was made with enrolments, there was inconsistent knowledge throughout the school, and this created tensions between me and staff outside the EAL Department. As a Pasifika lead, leadership in these early stages was learning how to make change myself, not by leading my peers, but rather influencing senior leadership and deans.

By the end of 2011, I was monitoring and analysing school data through the school management systems and exploring possibilities for supporting Pasifika languages, especially Samoan. I made efforts through different networks and mediums. There was some success. In 2013, the focus secondary school also had their first trip to Samoa, combined with another secondary school, with students, parents and two teachers, including myself. In 2017, we then planned and went on our own school cultural trip to Samoa and Tonga. This was mostly planned and guided by out Pasifika parents. I also advocated for and became part of initiatives for Pasifika languages, cultures, and identities alongside Pasifika achievement in secondary schools, outside of the focus school. This involved connections with Te Aho o Te Kura Pounamu (The Correspondence School) to promote Samoan language as a language they needed to offer by correspondence, working with MOE, Ministry for Pacific Peoples, Ministry of Social development, different tertiary institutions and City Council.

APPENDIX C
The focus secondary school's context

The focus secondary school is a school in New Zealand. Its population has experienced some growth over the past five years; especially increased by a growing national migrant population. From 2015 to 2020, it was one of approximately 150 secondary schools (Years 7-15 and Years 9-15) between deciles 4-7 (Education Counts data set, May, 2021). It has approximately 30 contributing primary or intermediate schools.

As with many primary and secondary schools in New Zealand, there has been an increase for the need of ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) provision. As at the end of 2020 (for Period 2), the secondary school is one of 120 schools in New Zealand which has between 100 and 199 ESOL funded students (MOE, 2020). The school's biggest ethnic groups with ESOL funding are Chinese and Filipino students, which is consistent with the most funded ethic groups in New Zealand schools as of September 2020. Most of these students in the focus school are migrants. Overall, the number of students in English as an Additional Language courses, has increased considerably between 2015 and 2020.

Up until 2020, the school also had a significant international fee-paying student population. For the last 10 years, full-time equivalents (FTEs) ranged from 45 to 80 students. From 2015 to 2019, this was at times above and at the national average with 47, 47, 53, 55 and 57 respectively for international fee-paying students in secondary, composite, or special character schools (MOE, 2021).

The school has experienced steady leadership at the principal, senior leadership, and Board of Trustees levels. In 2018, the school received a 4–5-year review cycle. Of the 410 reviews completed, 13% of schools in New Zealand received this review outcome between July 2018 and February 2019 (ERO, 2019).

With regards to NCEA overall student achievement, the focus school from 2015 to 2019 has mostly been at or above the national average for NCEA Level 1, 2, 3 and UE. For Level 2 NCEA, for example, it was above the national average for the percentage of students who achieved NCEA at this level for 2015 and 2016, then dropped below from 2017-2019. For UE, the percentage of students who achieved UE was below the national average in 2015 but was

above from 2016-2019. For Pasifika learners, the results are more inconsistent with each year and NCEA level. For example. For Level 2 NCEA, the percentage of Pasifika learners to achieve at this level was below the national average from 2016 to 2019. In contrast, for NCEA Level 3, Pasifika student achievement was above from 2015 to 2019 (NZAQ, 2020).

Summary

The context of the focus secondary school highlights its membership of one of 138 secondary schools nationally which have a similar population number of Pasifika students and the school's inconsistent NCEA results for Pasifika students from year to year. All these layered contexts have implications for this project.

APPENDIX D

Each student's chosen representation on *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia*

The representations do not give who each representation belongs to. Instead, there is only the rationale given for their representation choice. This is a further ethical consideration to prevent the identification of each student and their families. However, each one of these students are represented on *O le fa'asolo a Mānaia* for this research and metaphor. The *atosei's* diversity, collectiveness, tenacity, and opinions are shared through the students' narrative to share their story.

Table D1

Each student's chosen representation on O le fa'asolo a Mānaia

Chosen representation	Rational for choice
Red teuila; including its leaves	Red is the colour of men. The teuila has a lot of leaves and these need to reach out and support other family members.
Anchor of a va'a (canoe)	The anchor represents a strong foundation for success.
Eagle	The eagle looks out for everyone.
Taro plant	There are a lot of plantations in the village. Maumaga 'where people grow'. This is how to describe my family. A family that grows and has different leaves.
Red rose	Grandfather's younger sister has a rose necklace which has been passed down from generation to generation. The roses are from a village and island near Samoa.
Sei	A white and yellow flower with s distinct scent. It is a family tradition to use this as a symbol of the last name. It is used in the family for decorations in funerals and weddings.
Turtle (Laumei)	This was one of the first animals the Faiā'aoga Gagana Sāmoa taught in the Junior Gagana Sāmoa language class.
Tā	It represents his siblings and his parents.
Tabua	It is sacred. It is passed down once a person is married and passed from family to family. It is handed over to visitors when they come over.
A can of Palm corned beef	Corned beef is everywhere. It's always at a family function. A favourite in soup.
Mormon temple	The Temple is where promises are made with God and ordinances are performed. The

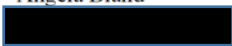|	Temple is also the place of Temple Sealing (marriage). God intends for our marriage and families to last not only in this life but forever.
Turtle	The turtle is slow on land and yet fast on water. It shows determination and perseverance. 'Slow on land' represents to take things lows and steady at your own pace whether you are trying to overcome something or trying to achieve your goals. 'Fast in water' represents when you are very competent when it comes to things that are in my element but sometimes things I am good at whether you know it or not.
Tagimoucia flower	It is the flower that is seen growing around the village when visiting during the holidays.
Fishhook (matau)	Grandfather in Upolu is known for his fishing skills. He is a faifa'iva (fisherman). Sometimes when you have got nothing to eat, with a matau you can find fish to eat.
Pu'a	We come from a background of a lot of matai. An uncle just became a chief to a village recently. The dark seed for the matai necklace comes from the pu'a fruit.
Turtle shell	This is with the grandfather and will be passed down to the only male grandchild in the family.
Red Teuila	It is a plant that is popular and has a beautiful flower. It's used for decorating the church, to make 'ula that is used for special events. It is a beautiful colour.
Pua	This flower flowers all year in Samoa and can be seen in most villages. It falls on the ground and the mums and grandmothers make an 'ula with it or take it into the house because of the nice smell and touches the heart to give a nice feeling to start the day. It represents fighting the whole year even though there are challenges coming our way.
Heilala	The national flower of Tonga
Kalavalu	This represents the personal characteristic of brave.

APPENDIX E

Ethic's Approval Letter

UC
**UNIVERSITY OF
CANTERBURY**
Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Lynda Griffioen
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: 2015/02/ERHEC

23 April 2015

Angela Bland

Dear Angela

Thank you for providing the revised documents in support of your application to the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee. I am very pleased to inform you that your research proposal "The implementation of a junior (Year 9 and 10) Samoan bilingual programme in a secondary school context" has been granted ethical approval.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 20 April 2015.

Should circumstances relevant to this current application change you are required to reapply for ethical approval.

If you have any questions regarding this approval, please let me know.

We wish you well for your research.

Yours sincerely

Nicola Surtees
Chair
Educational Research Human Ethics Committee

"Please note that Ethical Approval and/or Clearance relates only to the ethical elements of the relationship between the researcher, research participants and other stakeholders. The granting of approval or clearance by the Ethical Clearance Committee should not be interpreted as comment on the methodology, legality, value or any other matters relating to this research."

F E S

APPENDIX F

Tulāfale's Gagana Sāmoa tests and test results for tamaiti a'oga

Table F1
Tamaiti a'oga results for Gagana Sāmoa test at the end of 2015

Tamaiti a'oga	Reading	Vocabulary	Writing	Total
Fai	5	7	14	26
Tava	5	7	10	22
Louisa	3	9	10	22
Utufiu	2	9	8	19
Teine Leilua	3	5	10	18
Afu	1	5	12	18
Ao	3	5	9	17
Taula	1	0	4	5

Table F2
Tamaiti a'oga results for Gagana Sāmoa test at the end of 2016

Tamaiti a'oga	Dictation	Jumbled words	Reading	Total
Fai	10	10	10	30
Tama Galue Malosi	10	<u>8</u>	10	28
Sei o le tama	8	10	10	28
Son	10	3	7	20
Te Hurianga	9	5	7	21
Tupu	9	1	0	10

APPENDIX G

Luma's tests and assessments relevant to supporting, developing, and monitoring his Samoan language and English language and literacy

Table G1

English Reading, Writing, and Spelling assessment results from Year 9 to Year 13

Year level	Reading (ELLP) Writing (ELLP)		Spelling Age
	(Ministry of Education, 2008)		(Schonell, 1932)
9	Stage 1	Stage 1	
10	Stage 2	Stage 2	10 ½
11	Stage 2	Stage 2	
12	Stage 2-3	Stage 2-3	
13	Stage 3	Stage 3-4	

(KAMAR, 2017)

Table G2

NZQA NCEA Language related assessments for Year 11 in 2015

Gagana Sāmoa		
Number	**Subject reference and Assessment Title**	**Grade**
AS90907	Write a variety of text types in Samoan on areas of most immediate relevance	Excellence
AS90905	Interact using spoken Samoan to communicate personal information, ideas, and opinions in different situations	Excellence
AS90906	Demonstrate understanding of a variety of Samoan texts on areas of most immediate relevance	Not Achieved
AS90903	Demonstrate understanding of a variety of spoken Samoan texts on areas of most immediate relevance	Achieved
English Language		
Number	**Subject reference and Assessment Title**	**Grade**
27984	Read and understand simple texts for practical purposes	Achieved
27991	Participate in simple spoken exchanges on personal and familiar topics	Achieved
28000	Write simple texts for practical purposes	Achieved
Pacific Standard		
US 26538	Communicate understanding of an aspect of Pacific Culture through a planned presentation with direction	Merit

(KAMAR, 2017)

Table G3

NZQA NCEA Language related assessments for Year 12 in 2016

Gagana Sāmoa		
Number	**Subject reference and Assessment Title**	**Grade**
AS91144	Interact using spoken Samoan to share information and justify ideas and opinions in different situations	Excellence
AS91147	Write a variety of text types in Samoan to convey information, ideas, and opinions in genuine contexts	Achieved
AS91145	Give a spoken presentation in Samoan that communicates information, ideas, and opinions	Merit
AS91146	Demonstrate understanding of a variety of written and/or visual Samoan text(s) on familiar matters	Not Achieved
AS91143	Demonstrate understanding of a variety of spoken Samoan texts on familiar matters	Merit
English Language		
Number	**Subject reference and Assessment Title**	**Grade**
28056	Read and understand texts on familiar topics	Merit
28062	Participate in a formal interview	Excellence
28064	Present information on a familiar topic	Merit
28068	Write texts on familiar topics	Merit
Pacific Standard		
Number	**Subject reference and Assessment Title**	**Grade**
US 26539:	Communicate detailed understanding of an aspect of Pacific culture through a planned presentation with guidance	Merit

(KAMAR, 2017)

Table G4

NZQA NCEA Language related assessments for Year 13 in 2017

Gagana Sāmoa		
Number	**Subject reference and Assessment Title**	**Grade**
AS91564	Give a clear spoken presentation in Samoan that communicates a critical response to stimulus material	Excellence
AS91565	Interact clearly using spoken Samoan to explore and justify varied ideas and perspectives in different situations	Excellence
AS91567	Write a variety of text types in clear Samoan to explore and justify varied ideas and perspectives	Excellence
AS91563	Demonstrate understanding of a variety of extended spoken texts	Did not attend examination
AS91566	Demonstrate understanding of a variety of extended written and / or visual Samoan texts	Did not attend examination
English for Academic Purposes		
Number	**Subject reference and Assessment Title**	**Grade**
US22891	Deliver and oral presentation in English for an Academic Purpose	Achieved

US22750	Write a crafted text for specified audience using researched material in English for an academic purpose	Achieved
US22751	Read and process information in English for an Academic purpose	Not Attempted

Pacific Standard		
Number	**Subject reference and Assessment Title**	**Grade**
US26540	Communicate comprehensive understanding of an aspect of Pacific culture through a planned presentation with consultation	Merit

(KAMAR, 2017)

Table G5

English Vocabulary Levels Test for Year 13 in 2017

(Schmitt, Schmitt & Chapman, 2001)

Vocabulary Level	**Score / 30**
2nd 1000 Word list	28
3rd 1000 Word list	29
Academic Vocabulary Word list	25
5th 1000 Word list	22
10th 1000 Word list	14