The Contribution of Family Literacy Programmes to the Wellbeing of Individuals, Families and Communities

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Abstract

Approaches to literacy education named as 'family literacy programmes' first emerged in Aotearoa New Zealand in the early 2000s amidst considerable enthusiasm. Such approaches involve adults, children, or both in literacy learning in the contexts of home and family life. They are part of a wider field, established internationally, of academic and practical endeavour encompassing studies of the literacy practices of family members, studies of parents' support of children's literacy development, and studies of programmes aimed at enhancing family members' literacy abilities, and the evaluations of such programmes. It is a contentious field, with divergent views of what constitutes both literacy and family, leading to differing expectations of what programmes are for and what they might achieve. From a moral perspective, hopes for such approaches, which hold much intuitive and culturally-located appeal, must be set against the concerning disparities in wellbeing between different groups, evident and growing in New Zealand as elsewhere.

The study set out to explore the effects of a range of family-focused approaches in New Zealand, and their characteristics that seemed important in achieving relevant and meaningful outcomes for participants and their families. An important aim of the study was to encourage the essential conversation concerning the ideological and research-informed basis on which policies and practices should be developed to best suit our contexts, and that have people's overall wellbeing, as well as their literacy development, in mind. The study traced the experiences of nineteen mainly Māori, Pacific and Pākehā adult participants in four varying family-focused literacy programmes located in different kinds of communities, drawing on Kaupapa Māori methodologies in its approach. Conversational interviews with the adult participants, programme staff and others who knew the participants well, repeated over 18 months, as well as participant observations of programme sessions and programme documentation, formed an extensive data set for latent theoretical thematic analysis. I identified literacy and other changes in the participants' lives; synergistic links between factors influencing the programme effects, 'flow on' of effects to wider aspects of the participants' lives and to their

families and communities, and links to the personal, relational and collective wellbeing of individuals, families and communities.

The findings demonstrate that there are complex influences on programmes such that effects are highly individualised, but that there is nevertheless a tangible, discernable process in play as people journey from participation to wellbeing, in which literacy enhancement, familiarity with new literacies, and new uses of literacies, are involved. The study suggests a disjuncture between current literacy education policy and the hopes, aspirations and real lives of many people for whom the programmes are intended and who wish to contribute to their families and communities despite their complex and often fraught lives. It also demonstrates that a deep level of care and holistic concern is possible in a programme which also achieves literacy skill development. Recognition of people's whole selves including their problems and their existing abilities in programme content and approach demonstrated the 'respectful relevance' that appears crucial to the involvement and the positive (useful and meaningful) outcomes that were observed. It demonstrated that a broad and inclusive evaluative lens offers the best hope for full appreciation of the contribution of programmes such as these, when the overall wellbeing of families, communities and society as a whole is placed at the centre of literacy work.

The study offers new and urgently-needed ecological systems-based models within a wellbeing orientation to family literacy theory. These have implications for the future development of programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand and provide frameworks against which programmes internationally may consider their work afresh. The study calls for greater community relevance in family literacy based on local values and aspirations.

Dedication

To Paul Marsh

24.01.55 – 02.04.11

who left behind a
legacy of care and respect
for all people and their families
in all our adult literacy work.

Acknowledgments

Above all others, I extend my most heartfelt love and appreciation to my husband Roger Bell for his endless faith, cooking, love and bill-paying. He was, indeed, a distinguished member of the 'patient husbands' club'.

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Forward

Tonight I am disturbed thinking about the poverty of the home I visited today, the possibility that the woman should really not have died, the failure of our country to share our resources equitably and of course to return resources to whom they belong. I asked my sister, a nurse who established an asthma clinic at Whaiora Marae in Otara years ago, if it was true that no-one should die of asthma these days. She said it was very rare today and that the preventive medications are very good...and generally people are under a good management plan which keeps them safe (Field notes, October 17, 2006).

Thoughts to date...[I have observed] a level of acceptance of how things are and expectation that they will stay the same: "I think my brother will go the same way" in reference to the first of the asthma deaths... (Field notes, November 10, 2006).

I worked in my car while I waited for [the Programme Manager]. Just before 11am I phoned her. She said she was at the tangi of a girl who had been in Literacy Ormond's drivers' license course. She had died of an asthma attack. This is the second asthma death of people the Programme Manager knows in a fortnight (Field notes, November 19, 2006).

These field notes tell part of the story of this thesis. They are a reminder of the real lives of people for whom literacy education is sometimes available. They highlight the critical issue of what literacy is thought to be and what purposes it is thought to serve. They proclaim, loudly, the urgent need for critical evaluation of our priorities as a nation, the values concerning our citizens that our policies display and, specifically, the level of care we show one another. They force us to consider what role literacy education should play, and how and by whom decisions concerning its provision should be made.

Chapter 1

Introduction

"Do you think you are in your very best state of wellbeing?" (Researcher). "I think I am, yeah, I think I am because I'm learning here and then [passing it on] to my kids and family and then to the community, so it's not only me, you know, but me and my family and the community" (Aveolela, Benley Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 3).

1. The promise of family literacy

Family literacy, as I am using the term in this study, refers broadly and inclusively to families' use and support of literacy in the activities and interactions of daily life, theories about families' literacy practices, and programmes designed to extend and enhance family members' literacy abilities and usages. I use the term 'family literacy' interchangeably with the term 'family-focused literacy' when I talk about programmes. In my use of the term 'family literacy', literacy practices and literacy learning within families are recognised as occurring both within and across generations, thus family literacy may be intergenerational but not always so. Literacy, as I use the term within family literacy, refers to many kinds of representative and communicative devices. Of course, families have always engaged in literacy practices, and in this sense family literacy has always existed. However, it is now recognised internationally as a discernable (though contested) field of academic and practical endeavour with several strands (Tracey & Morrow, 2006).

Family literacy holds much promise. For example, reviews of programmes aimed at enhancing families' literacy practices have shown generally positive changes in adults' and children's literacy abilities; family interactions; adults' and children's involvement in learning; children's school achievement; and adults' self-advocacy, work-preparedness, and employment (Padak & Rasinski, 2003; Padak, Sapin, & Baycich, 2002). Many people see considerable potential in what such programmes may yield for society. Much promise is also seen in families' literacy practices themselves. Family literacy practices include the many ways in which children and adults use and learn literacy within the naturally-occurring processes of daily

family and community life. Studies of family literacy interactions show diversity and richness in the literacy practices of families as they go about the business of everyday living, often despite difficult and impoverished conditions (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Taylor, 1983; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). In these observations, researchers applaud the promise within families' existing abilities and strengths, seeking to build on these according to family members' self-determined aims. Others see its promise as more specifically centred on parents' support of their children's literacy learning and school achievement, and advocate strategies and programmes to support such achievement, seeing parents as the children's first and most important teachers and thus as being critical in their children's later success at school (Darling, 1993). Taken together, it is clear that much store is put on what family literacy can deliver for individuals, families and society.

What family literacy actually delivers, however, like all social endeavours, is context-dependent. The historical, social, cultural, political, and ideological milieu influence theories related to family literacy, choices and approaches in research into family literacy practices, the design and evaluation of family literacy programmes, and government policy and funding that supports research and theory development and that provides programmes. All of these aspects have to do with viewpoints on what is relevant or important and whose viewpoints count. Ultimately, they are related to how the resources of a society are distributed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This raises questions, therefore, concerning how social justice objectives may be met within the field.

Section Two of this introductory chapter sets out the aims and contexts of the study. The researcher's background relevant to the study is described in Section Three. Section Four explains the specific foci of the study and introduces the reader to its methodological orientation. The theoretical framework used throughout the study is described in Section Five. Section Six explains the organisation of the thesis.

2. The study's aims and contexts

In Aotearoa New Zealand[1], family literacy is a relatively new term to appear in educational discourse (Benseman & Sutton, 2005). Its earliest manifestation here in the early 2000s was as programmes in which parents, grandparents or carers and their children participated in literacy learning, seen most overtly in the community-driven Manukau Family Literacy Programmes and diversely in the Whānau Literacy programmes offered by one of our national literacy organisations, Literacy Aotearoa Inc. (Literacy Aotearoa[2]). Since then, there has been growing interest in the concept and excitement about its possibilities. The extensive international body of knowledge about family literacy has supported the establishment of programmes in New Zealand and generated local interest in the field.

Whilst family literacy is a broader field than programmes alone, local emergent family literacy discourse has coalesced around programmes, in particular programmes based on the Kenan model[3]. This model dominates the public funding of family literacy in the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK) and has been the basis of the most prominent programmes here (Benseman, 2008a). Most of the still limited research identified as family literacy research in New Zealand are evaluations of programmes based to varying degrees on this model (Benseman, 2002, 2003b, 2004; Benseman & Sutton, 2005; May, Hill, & Donaghy, 2004). However, there is also some internationally-renowned local research on families' literacy practices in the context of children's literacy learning (for example, Hohepa & McNaughton, 2002), part of a different strand of the wider field of family literacy.

A focus on the role of parents in their children's educational achievement as the foundation of family literacy programmes, strongly evident internationally, has

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[1] 'Aotearoa New Zealand', 'Aotearoa' and 'New Zealand' are used interchangeably throughout.
[2] Literacy Aotearoa has approximately 48 affiliated branches throughout New Zealand offering family/whānau, community and workplace programmes, and individual tuition. The national body provides training, support and governance to its member organisations. Each *pou pou* (affiliated organisation) offers services relevant to its community.
[3] This model includes adult basic education, children's education, parenting education and time in which parent and child engage in literacy activities together (Parent and Child Time Together, or 'PACT'; sometimes referred to as 'PACTT' in New Zealand). The Kenan model is variously referred to as the "two-generation" (St Pierre, Layzer & Barnes, 1995), "four component" (Askiv, 2001; Gadsden, 2002), "comprehensive" (Padak, Sapin, & Baycich, 2002), and "restrictive" (Hannon, 2000) model.

also been apparent in the New Zealand programmes that have been evaluated (Benseman & Sutton, 2005; May et al., 2004). However, local programmes have adapted their content and structure in varying ways to accommodate the interests and circumstances of the adults in the programmes' potential or actual participant communities[4]. Overall, evaluated programmes have shown outcomes which the adult participants themselves appear to have valued and these have been quite wide-ranging. They included benefits that 'flowed on' beyond the immediate anticipated ones; for example, to other family members not enrolled in the programme (May et al., 2004). It is also clear that adults are attracted to the concept of literacy education that has a family focus (May et al., 2004) as well as being of interest to those keen to provide it.

At the time that programmes named as family literacy programmes were emerging here, the wider field of adult literacy was undergoing transformation as, for the first time, policy intended to enhance adult literacy abilities was being developed. The policy development process showed up difficulties policymakers were having in accommodating different perspectives on what literacy is and what it is for, and, akin, what emphasis policy should have. In particular, a difference between *Māori*[5,][6] perspectives (the perspectives of the indigenous people of New Zealand) and Western perspectives (those of the majority *Pākehā*[7] population) emerged as a point of contention which was not satisfactorily addressed in the policy that emerged (Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001). This reflected continuing colonial dominance specifically, and, more generally, the difficulties in ensuring perspectives important to different groups are incorporated in policies which affect them. This raised questions for me in the context of family literacy. I wondered to what extent different ways of conceptualising family literacy would be considered and incorporated in official (governmental) meanings and support mechanisms (for example, definitions of what family literacy is and criteria for funding it) if and when it came under closer policy scrutiny?

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[4] For examples see May, Hill & Donaghy (2004).
[5] Throughout, the first use of a non-English word is italicised and its English meaning given: either in parentheses in the body of the text or in a footnote.
[6] Māori means ordinary, native people (Ryan, 1994).
[7] Māori word for non-Māori, European (Ryan, 1994).

This study arose from these local circumstances. There was clearly an interest in programmes which addressed literacy through a family-focused approach and, as in international examples, these appeared to have benefits for adults and children (Benseman & Sutton, 2005; May et al., 2004). However, there was a tendency to focus on programmes when the field also has other dimensions, a tendency for a focus on *one* programme model (albeit with variations), and an evident difficulty in accommodating differing perspectives in wider literacy policy development which, conceivably, could eventually come to roost in family literacy work. Further, definitional matters which would affect every aspect of how family literacy might come to be conceptualised in policy had not yet been subject to widespread discussion. This included the nature of family literacy itself and how the purposes of programmes for adults, as well as for children, might be viewed. It seemed to me that the newness of the field here provided a window of opportunity to shape it to best suit our context on the basis of broad and open discussion about its possibilities yet to be had.

The study's overarching aim is to open up the discussion in New Zealand about how we might conceptualise family literacy. It aims to create an opportunity to think about family literacy broadly, beyond how it has been thus far presented, before becoming settled on a definition (or definitions). It aims to create the possibility of showing there are many ways family literacy may be thought about and programmes constructed. My hope is to contribute to development of ways of thinking about family literacy that best suit our context. In the New Zealand context and internationally, my hope is to contribute to a social justice agenda by approaching this study from an inclusive perspective that locates family literacy within broader concerns for people's wellbeing. Specifically, the study sets out to investigate the contribution that participation in some New Zealand family-focused literacy education programmes makes to the wellbeing of the adult participants, their families, and their communities, with a view to the potential of family-focused approaches in our futures.

The (local) educational and social contexts in which the study is located and which have shaped it are described next. Family literacy in New Zealand does not yet have its own policy niche and only a small emergent academic one; as a field, it has thus far emerged discursively within adult literacy policy. Adult literacy itself has

only recently received sustained policy attention, in the process throwing up issues relevant to understanding the emerging field of family literacy. This is the educational context that is described below. The social context is also described, including aspects connected to the educational context, as the field of family literacy, like all social endeavours, is developing in relation to and in interaction with a wider social milieu. An understanding of this broad social context is relevant to this study's particular focus on wellbeing.

2.1. Educational context – locating family literacy in Aotearoa

In New Zealand, generally speaking, work undertaken that is discussed as family literacy work is limited to programmes which address literacy needs of families (including but not exclusively children), their funding arrangements, and their evaluations. The funding of this work occurs almost entirely through the governments' adult literacy and numeracy education funding stream[8]. Exceptions are the Manukau Family Literacy Programmes (MFLPs) which have a partnership arrangement. If the term was more broadly applied to cover all the work that constitutes the field internationally, other work might be included; for example, the Home Interaction Programme for Parents and Youngsters which is currently funded here by the Ministry of Social Development, and studies on children's literacy development such as Hohepa and McNaughton's (2002) work on Māori and Pacific children's home literacy experiences. This is one sense in which the use of the term 'family literacy' might be broadened; another is at a more fundamental level connected to definitions of literacy and of family that in turn influence definitions of family literacy and how they are represented in academic and programmatic family literacy work. The task of pooling all the New Zealand work which might fit under a broad definition of family literacy remains to be done; this task was not undertaken as part of this study (though known examples related to the wider field are given in the following chapters). The focus of this study is the work that *is* articulated as family literacy work. However, I will argue that such family literacy programmes are framed in a conceptually-narrow way, and that we

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[8] Almost all family literacy programmes were funded through the Adult Literacy Funding Pool, later renamed the Adult Foundation Learning Pool. It was replaced in 2010 by two new funding pools called 'Intensive Literacy' and 'Foundation-Focused Training Opportunities' (Heinrich, J., senior advisor literacy and Barnes, H., consultant, Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), personal communication, May 11, 2011).

should instead adopt a broad and inclusive way of thinking about family literacy as a foundation for developing the field in New Zealand. This would better reflect and include the particularities of and perspectives therein, and thus better serve our own context. It also requires broadening the meaning of family literacy discursively and particularising it for those of us involved in family literacy in New Zealand.

Current family literacy work as delineated above falls within the authority of New Zealand's Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) which has responsibility for the implementation of all tertiary education policy developed by the Ministry of Education. The TEC has a critical role in determining how, precisely, the policy is put into practice including, for example, how decisions are made about what is funded[9].

The TEC was established in 2002 to implement a reformed approach to tertiary education. It was built around an existing organisation – Skill New Zealand[10] – whose function through the 1990s was to support and fund a new system of industry training (Kerr, 2002). This was a time of concern, felt internationally, about the perceived gap between peoples' skills and those needed in industry. New Zealand, like other Western nations, was under considerable pressure to improve its ability to compete in the international marketplace as a solution to its perceived economic problems (Cain & Benseman, 2005). Skill New Zealand also funded a number of programmes aimed at 'upskilling' long-term unemployed people and those with no or low-level qualifications[11] and vocationally-oriented school-to-workforce transitional programmes[12] as part of the response to this perceived 'skills gap'. This response was also partly connected to a social concern to keep young people engaged in society, through either education or employment, and to prevent entrenched unemployment. The TEC now performs Skill New Zealand's former functions and, as well, the policy implementation function and funding of

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[9] At the time the study commenced, the TEC developed *implementation* policy managed via a structural policy-implementation feedback loop that operated between the Ministry of Education and the TEC. My knowledge of this comes from my role as the senior advisor literacy in Skill New Zealand/the TEC from 1999-2005. The policy unit which did this kind of work in the TEC was dismantled in 2011 (Heinrich, J., senior advisor literacy and Barnes, H., consultant, TEC, personal communication, May 11, 2011).

[10] Skill New Zealand was formerly called the Education and Training Support Agency, changing its name in the mid-1990s (Kerr, 2002).

[11] Training Opportunities programmes.

[12] Youth Training programmes.

all other tertiary education transferred from the Ministry of Education but reshaped by the reforms.

The TEC's role is to implement the Tertiary Education Strategy. Its early versions documented substantial changes to the tertiary education system. More recent versions have sought further developments or refinements to these changes. Structured on belief in the growing importance of knowledge and knowing how to learn as fundamental to the economic and social success of nations, the reforms seek as outcomes increased innovation, economic transformation, social development, Māori development, and environmental sustainability (Ministry of Education, 2002). 'Statements of Tertiary Education Priorities', published every two or so years, set out short-term goals and priorities for how aspects of the Tertiary Education Strategy will be implemented in specific time periods (Ministry of Education, 2003, 2005f).

Two policies directly shape the family literacy work as delineated. The first of these is the *Adult Literacy Strategy* (Ministry of Education, 2001). The second is the *foundation learning strategy,* the third of six strategies in the Tertiary Education Strategy (Ministry of Education, 2002). Published in 2001, the Adult Literacy Strategy was the government's response to the findings of the 1996 International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) that over 1 million New Zealanders were below a 'functional' level of literacy (Walker, Udy, & Pole, 1997). The IALS data provided the impetus for government action which repeated expressions of concern from the adult literacy sector had not managed to achieve (Cain & Benseman, 2005). The goals of the Adult Literacy Strategy were to increase opportunities for literacy learning, develop the capability of the sector, and improve the quality of literacy services (Benseman, 2008b; Ministry of Education, 2001). The Adult Literacy Strategy refers to literacy in English and *te reo Māori[13]*.

The first phase of the Adult Literacy Strategy implementation involved work on a number of projects: a programme quality assurance framework, an adult literacy

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[13] The Māori language (Ryan, 1994).

educators' qualification, a framework for assessing learners' literacy progress[14], and increasing availability of new programmes via the establishment of an adult literacy/foundation learning funding pool. These projects marked the beginnings of the considerable infrastructural development mooted in the Adult Literacy Strategy. During this period, the Ministry of Education's Chief Advisor Adult Literacy brought together the main constituent groups of the literacy sector: Workbase: The National Centre for Workplace Literacy and Language (Workbase), Literacy Aotearoa, and the National Association of ESOL Home Tutors Inc. The New Zealand Association of Private Training Establishments, the Association of Māori Providers of Training and Employment Education and its Pacific equivalent, and the Industry Training Federation were also represented in the sector reference group. This membership was important in the context of the recognition articulated in the Adult Literacy Strategy that adult literacy learning needed to be embedded in contexts that were relevant to adults' lives and personally meaningful (Ministry of Education, 2001). Whilst the main literacy organisations already had literacy as their primary focus, the task for the others was to encourage and support their member bodies to embed literacy, more than they often already did, in their other work. The sector worked together on the projects and there were opportunities for perspectives to be voiced in the sector reference group and project reference groups, although these were not evenly accommodated. Perspectives which clearly or readily aligned to a skills-focused, work-oriented view of literacy appeared to be easily accepted into the work in progress. Perspectives eminating from a broader view of what literacy is, embedded within a more holistic social concern for people, were not so well received[15].

The Tertiary Education Strategy with its foundation learning strand emerged a year later in 2002 (Ministry of Education, 2002). The goals of the foundation learning strategy were to improve adult foundation learning skills through increasing access in a range of contexts, improve accountability for quality and outcomes (including a greater focus on assessment), develop a common understanding of the definition of foundation skills and best practice teaching, improve linkages between

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[14] These were, respectively, the Draft Adult Literacy Quality Mark (later the Draft Foundation Learning Quality Mark), the National Certificate in Adult Literacy and Numeracy Education (Educator) and the Draft Adult Literacy Achievement Framework.
[15] Knowledge of this work is based on my direct involvement in these groups in my capacity as the senior advisor literacy in Skill New Zealand/the TEC during this period.

secondary and tertiary education, and improve tertiary staircasing (Benseman, 2008b; Ministry of Education, 2002). These goals reinforced government emphasis on literacy as essential for a knowledge-based economy and society. Funding for adult literacy/foundation learning increased steadily to $16m in 2007, reflecting the emphasis placed on literacy by both the former Labour Government under which the Adult Literacy Strategy and the Tertiary Education Strategy came into being *and* the current new (conservative) National government[16].

The Tertiary Education Strategy changed both the role of the Ministry of Education in the adult literacy work and the articulation of the adult literacy work itself. Two processes occurred. Some responsibilities and the funding attached to them, for example programme funding, transferred from the Ministry of Education to the TEC. The other process was a conceptual alignment of the adult literacy and foundation learning terminology and work. In line with the cross-agency approach required by the Tertiary Education Strategy, this alignment involved the New Zealand Qualifications Authority, the Ministry of Social Development, the Department of Labour, and the Careers Service in addition to the Ministry of Education and the TEC. Representatives of these agencies met regularly for the purposes of developing a shared discourse and aligning the foundation learning work tasks that fell within their respective jurisdictions. The sector itself was kept informed about this alignment process and given reassurance that the long-awaited government focus on literacy would not be undermined[17]. However, it must have been a disconcerting and frustrating time for the sector as officials continued to work on definitional matters whilst the urgently-needed infrastructural development work progressed at what probably appeared to be a slow pace[18].

The linguistic alignment necessitated by the new language of foundation learning introduced by the Tertiary Education Strategy was a further step in a process of

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[16] The funding is currently (in 2011) approximately $12m (Heinrich, J., senior advisor literacy and Barnes, H., consultant, TEC, personal communication, May 11, 2011.

[17] This occurred on an ongoing basis through the sector reference group and in a one-off series of 17 meetings held around the country. At these meetings I, as the senior advisor literacy in the TEC, and the Chief Advisor Adult Literacy from the Ministry of Education outlined the goals of the adult literacy and foundation learning strategies and the alignment between them, and the respective and changing roles of the Ministry of Education and the TEC in the adult literacy/foundation learning work.

[18] Again, knowledge of this work comes from my direct involvement in it.

defining literacy for policy and infrastructural development purposes that began with the Adult Literacy Strategy and continues to this day. Two tensions have always been apparent in this definitional activity. One of these tensions is between a work-oriented, skills-focused view of literacy and a more socially-focused view (for example, see Cain & Benseman, 2005). This tension was present in the sector itself as well as within government[19]. The other tension is between a Māori perspective and a Western/Pākehā/European/ perspective. This tension was evident in the report of a working party of Māori educators that was commissioned by the Minister of Māori Affairs in response to the failure of the Adult Literacy Strategy to include a Māori perspective. *Te kāwai ora* (Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001) expressed a strong concern about this failure, couched in the context of the differing worldviews of Māori and Pākehā, rights of and obligations to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi (discussed further in Section Three), and, generously and powerfully, in terms of the context of nationhood. Despite this effort, a Western view of literacy has largely continued to dominate.

Work with the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) on key competencies undertaken by the Ministry of Education elaborated on the relationship between literacy and foundation competencies and in some senses helped to keep a broader conceptualisation alive. For example, 'literacy', 'language' and 'numeracy' sit alongside 'symbols', 'knowledge' and 'technology' in the framework's 'using tools interactively' category (Ministry of Education, 2005e). Meanings of literacy in New Zealand adult literacy work are discussed further in Chapter Two. Here it is sufficient to point out that in general, the meaning of literacy which *directly* shapes the adult literacy work has narrowed during the course of its implementation[20].

Nevertheless, despite definitional issues and tensions, there is a now an expanded adult literacy infrastructure built on local research, evaluated local development projects, and syntheses of relevant international research. This base includes a best evidence synthesis of 'what works' for adult literacy (Benseman, Sutton, & Lander, 2005), research on teaching practices (Ministry of Education, 2005d), a review of

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[19] One manifestation of this tension in the sector was the establishment of Workbase by some members of Literacy Aotearoa (known then as the Adult Reading and Learning Assistance Federation Aotearoa New Zealand Inc, or ARLA) as a separate workplace-focused literacy organisation.
[20] Developments in 2010 and 2011 suggest even further narrowing.

literacy provision (Sutton, Lander, & Benseman, 2005), literacy and numeracy progressions (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008a, 2008b), and related reading and numeracy teaching strategies and resources[21]. At the time of the study, work had begun on an online assessment tool (Hattie & Sutton, 2007) which was completed in 2010[22]. Further, the National Centre of Literacy and Numeracy for Adults has been established at the University of Waikato. A major development for the future of adult literacy, the centre supports the education of adult literacy teachers. The University itself now offers a postgraduate adult literacy educators' qualification.

Family literacy

Programmes referred to as family literacy programmes emerged through the early period of the development of an adult literacy infrastructure. Despite the more general focus which held officials' attention, there was interest in the concept in both the TEC and the Ministry of Education[23]. Indeed, effort was made to keep open the possibility of funding some programmes. The difficulties in funding these programmes in the absence of specific policy have been documented (Benseman, 2006; Vester, Houlker, & Whaanga, 2006). Some preliminary policy work was undertaken by the Ministry of Education in 2003 and by the TEC in 2007[24]. Although there is as yet no published policy, there appears to be a regeneration of interest within the TEC currently (Heinrich, J., senior advisor literacy and Barnes, H., consultant, TEC, personal communication, May 11, 2011).

Whilst there is now much more New Zealand writing on adult literacy (Benseman & Sutton, 2007), there is as yet only the beginning of a corpus of local research or theoretical writing on family literacy. This small body of work comprises: four process, formative and summative evaluations (Benseman, 2002, 2003b, 2004; Benseman & Sutton, 2005) and a descriptive report of the Manukau Family Literacy Programmes (MFLPs) (Houlker, Whaanga, & Vester, 2006); an evaluation of the

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[21] See the National Centre of Literacy and Numeracy for Adults website http://literacyandnumeracyforadults.com/National-Centre
[22] As above.
[23] My knowledge of this, once again, comes from direct involvement.
[24] I was consulted in 2007 by a TEC official as part of this effort.

Whānau Literacy programmes (May et al., 2004)[25]; a discussion document about future directions for 'intergenerational family learning' based on the experiences of the MFLPs (Vester et al., 2006); and five published papers which, respectively, encourage adoption of family literacy programmes based on the Kenan model[26] (Sutton, 1995), describe the MFLPs and important issues in the implementation of such programmes (Benseman, 2006), and discuss conceptual issues in family literacy in New Zealand, propose an initial typology of New Zealand programmes based on the only source of consistent programme information available at the time[27], and present preliminary findings from this current study (Furness, 2007b, 2009a, 2009b)[28]. The corpus is completed with one book chapter describing the programmatic field in New Zealand and the MFLP work (Benseman, 2008a).

At the time this study commenced (2005), there were only the Benseman and May et al. evaluations and Sutton's encouragement of the Kenan model. Based on this approach but adapted for the New Zealand context, the MFLPs were relatively tightly-structured programmes; for example, they required participation of twenty hours per week for twenty weeks and the undertaking of a specific education qualification. Both these requirements are in themselves to be lauded, offering significant and transformative educational opportunity for the adult participants, along with structured support for, and parental strategies to, enhance children's educational achievement. Programmes such as these should be included in a *kete*[29] of family literacy programmatic offerings. In contrast, the Whānau Literacy programmes, whilst drawing on the cornerstones of the Kenan model, appeared to be more varied in their offerings and to be structured in such ways as to be able to be more flexible and therefore, at least potentially, to be able to respond more readily to variable and changing localised needs. As both approaches reported positive outcomes (Benseman & Sutton, 2005; May et al., 2004), they demonstrated the possibility that there were many ways of 'doing' family literacy programmes locally that had the potential of achieving desirable goals. At the same time, the

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[25] An earlier evaluation of the Whānau Literacy programmes was undertaken in 2002 by the Ministry of Education but was not published (J. Murray, Literacy Aotearoa, personal communication, November 16, 2011).
[26] See p. 3 and footnote 3.
[27] Described further in Chapter Four, the typology was used as the basis for discussion about programmes (for example within the sector) and for programme selection for the study.
[28] In addition there are several other presentations and unpublished papers by Furness (for example 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2006d, 2007a).
[29] Māori word for a bag (Ryan, 1994). The term is used metaphorically here.

best evidence synthesis (Benseman et al., 2005) described above, though welcome as an addition to a growing local knowledge base, raised personal and professional concerns with respect to family literacy.

One of these concerns was the advocating of 'intensity' (number of hours per week of learner participation) and 'duration' (number of weeks or months of participation) as essential in achieving outcomes from programmes. The principle that the more opportunity there is for learning, the more learning is likely to occur, is inherently logical and empirically supported (Benseman et al., 2005). I was concerned, however, about the extent to which participation might be restricted if it was applied too prescriptively in policy. For example, adults who could not commit twenty hours a week, as is required for participation in the MFLPs, might be able to manage five hours a week over a longer period. In other words, variety in the structure of programmes might be needed to marry with people's differing circumstances for full participation.

The second concern arose from the delineation of studies considered to have the necessary criteria to be 'robust'. As experienced internationally, there appeared to be a valuing of quantitative assessments from which objective measures are assumed to be possible as the superior form of programme evaluations (Benseman et al., 2005). Whilst regarded as having their place, such approaches are seen widely in the social sciences as inadequate for understanding what occurs in social contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This issue is discussed further in Chapter Four. At this point it is sufficient to observe that Benseman et al.'s (2005) discussion raised questions for me concerning the basis on which the worthiness of family literacy programmes might be judged in the future.

2.2. Social context

Like many Western nations, New Zealand has a majority European population and other minority cultural groups, thus is multiethnic. It also shares with some Western nations such as the US and Australia a history of European colonisation. However, its Treaty of Waitangi created a particular relationship between the (now) European majority and the indigenous Māori people which is central to the character of relationships within the nation. The Treaty was signed in 1840

between representatives of the British Crown and most Māori tribes, at which time Māori people far outnumbered settlers. Britain sought a means to expand its empire and access new resources; Māori were concerned about the increasingly disruptive behaviour of many of the British settlers and many welcomed the new knowledge and technologies and could see advantages in them. However, historical accounts are clear that the Māori signatories to the Treaty did not believe they were ceding sovereignty whereas the British proceeded as if they had (Walker, 2004). As more settlers came, Māori people lost control over most of their land through warfare, legislation, and confiscation, decimating both their economic base and their primary source of identity (Cram & Pitama, 1998). In addition, thousands of Māori died from European diseases from which they had no immunity. There was always resistance, however, and since the 1970s there has been a strong resurgence as Māori pressure revitalised the Treaty as the basis on which the future of all New Zealanders should be forged. Māori insistence forced the meaning of the Treaty to be debated. There is now agreement by the Crown that the Treaty enshrined principles of partnership between Māori and the Crown, protection of Māori resources, and participation by Māori in all aspects of government and that these promises were not kept, although the issue of ceding of sovereignty is still ignored and thus effectively denied (Nairn, 2007). Since 1975, the Waitangi Tribunal has provided a means of achieving some level of restitution, enabling a degree of rebuilding of an economic base and reunification with some spiritually as well as economically-important lands. There remain, however, the effects of decades of racist and colonial behaviour which continue into the present (Durie, 1998; Nairn, 2007). Its effects can be seen in the health and wellbeing of Māori compared to European New Zealanders. While there have been significant, and in some cases outstanding, improvements in recent years, Māori people still have a shorter life expectancy, higher suicide rate, more unemployment, fewer qualifications, earn less, are more likely to be victims of crime, are more likely to die in motor vehicle accidents, have less internet access, and less phone access than non-Māori (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). Māori argue strongly that the optimal situation of equal wellbeing will not be reached without greater control by them over those things that affect them, or *tino rangitiratanga* (self-determination[30]).

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[30] For discussion of contemporary meanings of tino rangitiratanga in general and in educational contexts see, for example, Bishop (2008).

New Zealand also has a large number of settlers from several island nations in the Pacific basin, mainly from Samoa, Tonga and the Cook Islands and also from Fiji, Niue and the Tokelau Islands. Pacific people began coming to New Zealand in the 1960s and 1970s, seeking education and work and a generally better life, as well as a means of financially helping family members in their homelands. However, Pacific people were badly affected by the economic downturn of the 1980s and 1990s, as they tended to work in areas such as manufacturing which were hardest hit. Pacific peoples tend to live in communities where there are significant numbers from their own island. There are large Pacific communities in South Auckland and Porirua and smaller ones in some towns. The wellbeing of Pacific people is better on some indicators and worse on others in comparison to Māori but, overall, still lags behind European New Zealanders (Ministry of Social Development, 2010).

It is noteworthy in the context of the study, though unsurprising, that governments consider 'knowledge and skills' as indicators of social wellbeing. In New Zealand the Ministry of Social Development (2008) explains this connection, in general terms, as follows:

> Knowledge and skills enhance people's ability to meet their basic needs, widen the range of options open to them in every sphere of life, and enable them to influence the direction their lives take. The skills people possess can also enhance their sense of self-worth, security and belonging. (p. 34)

Knowledge and skills are seen as including education and training, as well as abilities gained through everyday life. It is observed that adults gain these abilities through work and non-work activities (for example, parenting skills and skills relevant to leisure activities). The need for high levels of knowledge and skills, including proficiency with technology, is observed alongside the need for *everyone* to have these skills for an inclusive society. The relationship of knowledge and skills to employment, income, and standard of living is observed, as are the connections to security, choices in life, access to services, and civil and political rights. Finally, sense of belonging and self-worth are observed as connected to people's self-identity in terms of what they can 'do' in life, including but not limited to employment (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). Similar

connections are made in broad terms in government documents on adult and family literacy such as the Adult Literacy Strategy (Ministry of Education, 2001) where literacy abilities are linked to both economic and social issues and status.

In the context of the study, the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) and the 2006 Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey (ALLS) (Satherley, Lawes, & Sok, 2008) are of particular interest though they must be seen as representing levels on particular measures only. The two sets of New Zealand data for prose and document literacy are shown below in Table 1[31]. There were improvements in the ten years between the two surveys which included five years of infrastructural change. However, there are still large numbers of people with low levels of literacy on these measures, particularly Māori and Pacific peoples (Ministry of Social Development, 2010).

Table 1.   Percentage of New Zealand adults below Level 3 IALS 1996 and ALLS 2006

	Prose Literacy				Document Literacy			
	European	Māori (%)	Pacific	Total	European	Māori (%)	Pacific	Total
1996	41	65	72	47	45	70	66	51
2006	36	63	67	44	36	64	57	43

Note: Adults are aged 16-65 years.

3. Personal and professional background

Along with the local circumstances and contexts, several personal and professional experiences stand out as having led to the study topic. The first personal experience is that of having been a parent student. Returning to university study with two small children, I experienced the difficulties this situation can present. Most importantly in the context of this study, I recognised how enabling and empowering it was, both as a student and as a parent, when these dual roles could

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[31] Numeracy was also included in 1996 and 2006. Problem solving was added in 2006.

be accommodated. It took very little in practical terms to do this but was appreciated beyond words. Actions which were supportive of both these roles represented for me a valuing of them both.

The second personal experience relates to my study choices and what I learned from them. Studies of society as a social system and the operation of power within that social system offered a re-viewing of the world and altered my relation to it; I saw myself for the first time as enmeshed in the power relations that shaped experience rather than as independent of it, and thus as involved in both the good and harmful effects of power. Two concerns surfaced: one about the position of women in society and the other about the effects of colonisation and the responsibilities of Pākehā in relation to Māori. In practical terms, this meant awareness of the 'isms', in particular sexism, racism and classism, and my personal positioning in relation to them: the classic realisation of 'the personal is political' of feminist articulations.

The third influence is best described as practical experiences of differing perspectives in contestation: of power at work in the processes of community life and getting things done. Membership of the Board of Trustees of my children's school was one context in which I observed the playing out of these dynamics at varying levels: the power held by the Ministry of Education in setting the expectations of a new school governance and management system and people's roles within it; the power sometimes given to advisors to newly-established boards, who often represented 'authority', such as former school Principals; the power sometimes wielded by the Principal of the moment beyond that which their role on the board mandated; the differing perspectives held by trustees and how these were dealt with to arrive at agreed policy; and implementation processes that reflected community as well as board and staff expectations.

Professional aspects directly related to the topic have two dimensions. The first are the ethical responsibilities and practice standards required of me as a community psychologist. The New Zealand Psychological Society's Code of Ethics (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2002) and the objectives of the Institute of

Community Psychology Aotearoa[32] articulate values of social and cultural justice and commitment to affirm the Treaty of Waitangi. This is an *active* valuing and commitment in which, as Huygens (2007, following Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005) notes, "interventions, including research, should [always] strengthen and resource the aspirations of participants and communities" (p. 12).

The second professional dimension is my direct involvement in the adult literacy work in the roles I held in Skill New Zealand and the TEC from 1995-2005. Initially, I worked regionally with providers of Training Opportunities and Youth Training programmes. This role, a funding and support one, afforded the opportunity to gain appreciation of this important area of work carried out in the community.

Skill New Zealand was aware of the concern felt by the programme providers they funded about the literacy abilities of many of their students and the difficulties students were having in achieving introductory vocational or 'basic education' qualifications and in carrying out the kinds of job search functions the programmes were trying to support (such as creating curriculum vitae, filling out job application forms and being interviewed). It had earlier responded to these concerns with the development of a literacy support system for tutors' use with students. From 1999, it sought mechanisms to encourage greater inclusion of literacy in these programmes. This involved a shift in my role and focus from a regional to a national one. The national role involved (1) trialling, evaluating, and then supporting the provision of regionally-based training for programme tutors on ways to include more literacy in their programmes; and (2) exploring, and then encouraging, organisational changes that would enable programme providers to be more responsive to their students' and potential students' literacy challenges in all aspects of their organisation's functioning. From a community psychology perspective, this was an ecological, multilayered, systems-based approach to a perceived problem (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005).

With the advent of the Adult Literacy Strategy and the Tertiary Education Strategy, my role as the senior advisor literacy involved me directly in the Ministry of

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[32] See Institute of Community Psychology Aotearoa website www.psychology.org.nz/IComPA

Education-initiated work and managing the work that transferred to the TEC. From 2002 to 2005, I represented and/or provided oversight on behalf of the TEC in all adult literacy or foundation learning project and other reference groups described in Section Two. In these settings, the ideological and political nature of literacy was clear. There were many points of view on the matters at hand that were present at any one time, based on the official stance of the agencies people worked for; people's personal sociocultural histories and those of the groups to which they belonged or represented; their culture, beliefs, values, and personal experience and their knowledge of the experiences of the groups they belonged to or worked for; as well as their understanding of literacy as skills or as social practice, or as both, that they personally held or were held by their organisations. It was clear, also, that some points of view held sway over others. There were even moments when historic hurts, including unconscious racist ones, were re-enacted. These experiences laid the groundwork for the study: first, in increasing my knowledge of the field of adult literacy (including family literacy) and revealing the range of perspectives that existed in relation to it and, second, in the first-hand witnessing of politics-at-work in this setting. Further, the lack of definitional clarity around family literacy, coupled with governmental and sector interest in it, suggested a topic of research that would be useful and potentially beneficial in the sense that Huygens (2007) and Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) refer (see p. 19-20).

4. Research orientation

Two particular foci orient the study, influencing what is foregrounded and what is left out of the study and its explication. The first of these is a focus on adults' views and experiences as the starting point of the study. One reason for this focus is simply personal interest derived from the adult learning context in which I was working. Another reason is a concern about the casting of adults, especially women, in particular roles. I felt some disquiet about the strong focus in family literacy discourse on adults' role as parents in supporting children's literacy learning and the seemingly minimal attention paid to other roles and interests that adult family members may have. Two aspects of this seemed pertinent. One is that the constituency of families is much broader than the parent-child dyad; families may also comprise adults whose children are grown up and have left home, adults who live with or care for elders or siblings, or even unrelated people who have

come together in family-like relationships (Gittins, 1993, as cited in McPherson, 2003). And, whether or not children are present, parents have their own interests and concerns. I saw nothing in the language of the term 'family literacy' which in itself ought to restrict its meaning to the parental role, important though this role and focus in family literacy undeniably is. Further, the minimal amount of adult-focused family literacy research internationally (Gadsden, 2002) and in New Zealand (Benseman, 2003a; Benseman & Sutton, 2007) constituted a gap.

The second focus which orients the study is a concern for social justice. My use of the term includes what is sometimes presented separately in social justice and cultural justice definitions, and is akin to Griffiths' (1998) definition. Griffiths (1998) observes that "social justice is concerned both with individual empowerment and also with structural injustices; that is, with questions of power and resources available to individuals and to particular communities or sectors of those communities" (p. 13). Social justice refers to the fair and equitable distribution of the burdens and resources of a society (House, 2005; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). However, it is as much about a process of "continual checking and adjusting" as it is about achievement of a perfect state of affairs (Griffiths, 1998, p. 12). It also involves balancing individual rights and obligations with those of the community, which may require negotiation to determine how the interests of both can best be served. The cultural aspect of social justice (or 'cultural justice') draws attention to the rights and obligations of 'collectivities' (Nairn, 2007) or 'sections of communities' (Griffiths, 1998) within the wider community or society. Such collectivities may be characterised by, for example, gender, ethnicity, social role, social class, sexuality, or (dis)abilities (Griffiths, 1998; Nairn, 2007). Implicit in social justice concerns, then, are struggles over whose perspective counts. Resolution of these struggles is hindered, as Huygens (2007, p. 14) explains in relation to colonial contexts, by the "ontological and cultural blindness" of dominant groups. It seemed to me that there were significant issues to be explored concerning whose perspectives came to define family literacy in New Zealand.

Following Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) concern for 'liberation and well-being' in all social endeavours, I came to consider that a broadly-conceptualised notion of wellbeing and citizenship might provide a framework that could be used to consider the field of family literacy from the perspective of its implications for

social justice as it applied to those affected by work done in its name. This thesis chronicles my efforts to encourage those interested in family literacy to step back from what are often unquestioned assumptions in the field and to return, in a sense, to first principles concerning what family literacy is and what it is for, and from that basis to encourage a broad and inclusive approach to how we might envision this field for New Zealand. It documents my efforts to encourage consideration of wellbeing as the measure that should always be applied in work done by people on behalf of others, in this case in the context of family literacy.

The combination of disciplinary background, personal and professional experiences, and the aims of the study mean the study is shaped from the outset by a particular ontological and epistemological position. Social constructionism underpins the broad socially-focused view of literacy and family literacy that is described and argued for, and epistemologically consistent perspectives of family and wellbeing are drawn on to support this. The inherent breadth of socially-focused perspectives enables the narrowness of other perspectives to be seen and problematised, an important purpose of, and process in, this study. It is important to note, however, that the chapters which discuss the concepts of family, literacy, family literacy and wellbeing simply point to the epistemological underpinnings and consistency in the perspectives argued for. Further discussion of epistemology and ontology does not occur until later in the thesis in the context of the fieldwork that was conducted for the study.

5. Theoretical framework

This study explores the relationship between family literacy and wellbeing within a framework that juxtaposes different perspectives on a number of axes. The framework is used heuristically throughout the study to discuss important tensions in the family literacy milieu. The first of these, which constitutes that which might be called the primary debate, centres on what literacy is. On one theoretical axis, literacy is thought of as an autonomous 'thing', a neutral set of skills, which is necessary for societal progress. On the other axis, literacy is thought of as a social construct and as social practice, with no meaning in and of itself but rather with its meaning embedded in social relations. Its implications for social progress are regarded as contingent rather than deterministic. Literacy as neutral skills is the

dominant view, and a social view has arisen through critique and in contrast to it. Both these perspectives are present in the current milieu of adult literacy in New Zealand and are in contestation with one another, both recognised and (to a greater or lesser degree or partially) accepted but pulling against each other. These different perspectives and their pull against one another can be seen, for example, within the Adult Literacy Strategy (Ministry of Education, 2001). Literacy as neutral skills necessary for progress continues to dominate public discourse and influence policy, despite proponents of the social view calling its foundations and the wisdom of its extensive influence into question. These different perspectives of literacy in turn frame the discussion on family literacy in New Zealand.

The second part of the framework juxtaposes an individualistic worldview or orientation with a more collectivist one[33]. This juxtaposition constitutes that which might be called the overarching moral debate. On one axis lies the individualistic worldview, a peculiarly Western preoccupation and the dominant perspective in modern Western nation-states such as New Zealand. This perspective views people atomistically, seeing them as autonomous beings, in control of, and responsible for, their own destiny. Independence, personal drive and individual achievement are highly valued. This view of people, because it predominates, shapes society in a particular way through contingent institutional structures and practices. Societal structures, shaped around individualistic values, leave little room for other points of view or 'ways of being' (Gee, 2008) to be accommodated. On the other axis, the collectivist worldview is underpinned by a view of people as connected to each other and, often, to the wider environment, thus as always embedded in relationships. Whilst autonomy, independence, and personal achievement are still valued, most highly valued is collective responsibility in which individuals see themselves as connected to, and responsible for, the collective 'good'. This perspective is common, but not limited, to indigenous people (Smith, 1999). These perspectives are both present in the international context in which I first locate the literacy debate (see, for example, Gee, 2008) and in New Zealand where the study is situated, as evidenced in *Te kāwai ora* (Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001). The individualistic orientation is deeply entrenched in the view of literacy as

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[33] Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005, p. 69) define collectivism as "a belief in the importance of groups and communities that shapes attitudes and behaviors of citizens", and individualism as "a belief in the importance and supremacy of individuals over groups or collectives". Individualism can also be regarded as shaping attitudes and behaviours of citizens (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005).

neutral skills. The contrary socially-focused view of literacy is much more accommodating of different worldviews in its illumination of literacy as meaning different things to different people and in different contexts. These differences are seen as culturally based. These different orientations (individualistic/collectivist) also, in turn, frame the discussion on family literacy.

These different orientations are also evident in perspectives on wellbeing: what it is and how it is achieved and maintained. They can be seen in the dominant individualistic Western perspectives on wellbeing and contrasted with collectivist, holistic perspectives as described in Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) wellbeing framework (described in Chapter Five), which better accommodates an indigenous perspective and is the underpinning definition of wellbeing used in the study. In New Zealand, culturally-linked differences in worldview are evident in articulations about wellbeing and literacy by Māori. Māori perspectives on wellbeing and literacy differ significantly from the dominant views evident in public discourses, being more collective and holistic in comparison to their more individualistic orientation.

The third part of the framework juxtaposes family literacy theory and its application, and is nuanced in two ways. On one axis, family literacy theory developed around the richness of home literacy practices stands in juxtaposition to another axis on which programmes have developed almost independently of this theory. Family literacy theory based around the richness of home literacy practices also stands in contrast to theories drawn from studies of parental influences on children's school achievement which have been used to structure programmes in particular, often family deficit-oriented, ways.

The fourth part of the framework juxtaposes adults and children within the field of family literacy and is nuanced in three ways. In one nuance, adults' involvement in family literacy practices on one axis is juxtaposed with children's involvement in family literacy practices on the other axis. In another nuance, how adults are positioned in family literacy theory is contrasted with how children are positioned in family literacy theory. In a third nuance, adults' and children's involvement in programmes and who is expected to benefit from this involvement is juxtaposed.

Each part of the family literacy field (practices, theories, programmes) and the axes within them (theory/application, adults/children) are also viewed from the other contrasting perspectives in the framework; that is, the individualistic/collective orientations or worldviews and the 'social practice' and 'skills' views of literacy. Discussion of programmes will therefore traverse whether or not, and how, programmes are connected to family literacy theory and to socially-focused or skills-focused theories. The discussion will also traverse the extent to which programmes reflect an individualistic or collective worldview, along with the extent to which adults and/or children are involved and expected to benefit, and how they are positioned; for example, whether parents and the homes they provide are seen as rich resources or as deficient.

6. Chapter organisation

In Chapter One ('Introduction'), I have presented the research aim as being of local importance as the field of family literacy matures in New Zealand, and of international relevance as the field continues to develop. I have described the educational and social contexts in which the field is emerging in New Zealand and shared my background and experiences and the perspectives that have shaped the inclusive approach to family literacy that this thesis argues for, as family literacy develops in this country as a field of academic and practical endeavour. The reader is oriented toward a methodological approach that accommodates multiple perspectives and critical commentary, and the wellbeing and social justice concerns that suffuse the study.

Chapters Two to Five discuss concepts that are central to the study. The first three of these chapters are literacy and family-related. Chapters Two and Three describe the concepts that come together in 'family literacy'; that is, 'literacy' and 'family'. Chapter Four describes 'family literacy' itself. The literacy and family-related chapters draw predominantly on international literature. This is because there is very little New Zealand literature on family literacy or that is locally recognised as falling within this rubric. Chapter Five describes the notion of 'wellbeing' against which family literacy is considered in this study. In a general sense, these chapters point the reader to first principles in relation to these concepts in order to provide a broad and holistic backdrop for the description and discussion of some New

Zealand family literacy programmes – the central focus of the study – in Chapters Seven and Eight. The topics of these conceptual chapters are contextualised within New Zealand as relevant to the study, and New Zealand examples are given where possible.

Specifically, Chapter Two ('Literacy') describes what is meant by the term 'literacy'. The concept of literacy is discussed first in these conceptual chapters because meanings of literacy have a bearing on meanings of family literacy discussed later. The chapter juxtaposes a view of literacy as socially-constructed social practice with the traditional and dominant view of literacy as ideologically-neutral skills. The chapter explains why the broad view of literacy, enabled by a view of literacy as social practice and revealing the limitations of the skills-focused view, is necessary for a more complete understanding of family literacy. How social practice and skills views of literacy are evident in New Zealand is explained. The chapter gives a detailed account of literacy in order to reveal its multifaceted, historically-shaped and ideological character and to make clear its multiple meanings. Individualistic and collectivist worldviews fundamental to meanings of literacy are juxtaposed in this chapter as they are of special significance in bicultural and multicultural New Zealand. The chapter conclusion summarises how the concept of literacy is viewed in this study.

Chapter Three ('Family') describes meanings of family. A 'bottom line' cross-cultural explanation is given first, followed by perspectives on families of the different cultural groups in the study. The ideological nature of perspectives on families is revealed as dominant Western perspectives are shown to be narrow and prescriptive in their assumptions about families. The chapter describes how families are viewed in the family literacy field, revealing both broad, inclusive, and strengths-based perspectives and more restrictive and deficit-oriented ones. Individualistic and collectivist worldviews are again juxtaposed in this chapter as important dimensions of the perspectives on families present in the wider milieu in which family literacy is located, and of immediate relevance to the groups involved in the study. This chapter also discusses how adults are viewed in the field of family literacy in comparison to children. The chapter summary describes the meaning of family which underpins this study.

Chapter Four ('Family Literacy') brings the discussions of literacy and family in the previous chapters together as meanings of family literacy are presented. The chapter describes the three strands that comprise the field: the naturally-occurring literacy practices of families, family and parental influences on children's learning, and programmes aimed at strengthening the literacy abilities of family members. 'Social practice' and 'skills' perspectives of literacy are discussed again in this chapter as they relate to family literacy, in particular juxtaposing these perspectives as they influence programmes and, in the process, revealing the disjunction between theory and programme practice. How adults are positioned in family literacy in comparison to children is a significant theme in this chapter, particularly in the context of how programmes are designed and their purposes viewed. Programme outcomes are described and the evaluation methods discussed, problematised within a context of Western social and scientific paradigms. The chapter conclusion summarises how the concept of family literacy is viewed in this study.

Chapter Five ('Wellbeing') describes wellbeing within a systems framework in which individual experience is seen as shaped by context through transactional relationships. This view of wellbeing is observed in this chapter as being epistemologically consistent with a social view of literacy. Parallels are also drawn with discussions in other chapters, as wellbeing is explored in relation to individualistic and collectivist perspectives as relevant to the groups in the study. This chapter concludes with a framework for evaluating programmes that has wellbeing as its core value.

Chapter Six ('Methodology and methods') describes the methodology which shapes the study and the methods used in the research. I give a rationale for the 'critical interpretive social constructionist' approach I use in the study, and explain how it shapes the study overall and how it is applied in the examination of the programmes in particular. I explain the particular approaches I took, and their importance as a Pākehā working in Māori and Pacific people's contexts. The specific research objectives, data collection methods, and analysis steps are described.

Chapters Seven and Eight present the findings from the investigation of participants' experiences in the four family-focused literacy programmes in the study. Chapter Seven ('Programme principles and practices') describes the key tenets I found which shaped and reflected the character of the programmes. This provides a backdrop that aids in making sense of the participants' experiences described in Chapter Eight. I identify how these insights deepen current understanding of how programmes achieve the effects they do. I suggest they strongly show the ideological nature of programmatic family literacy work.

In Chapter Eight ('Effects of programme participation'), I trace adults' experiences of participation in the programmes and the 'flow on' of effects to wide aspects of their lives and to their families and communities. I identify where the effects support the findings of other studies and where they extend knowledge and theory of what occurs and how it occurs. I propose a model for the discernable, tangible process I found as people journey from participation in the study programmes to improved quality of life.

Chapter Nine ('Conclusions and implications') draws conclusions on the overall contribution of the study to the field of family literacy generally, and specifically to its development in New Zealand. The implications of the study in relation to the current ability, and the potential, of family-focused literacy education to contribute to a social justice agenda are discussed. Limits to the present research are observed, and directions for further research are proposed.

Chapter 2

Literacy

1. Introduction

In Chapter One I noted that in order to understand the contribution that participation in family literacy programmes can make to wellbeing and citizenship for adults, their families and communities, it is necessary to take a broad view of the concepts of family, literacy, family literacy and wellbeing. Defining any of these concepts narrowly would have the effect of limiting what could be concluded about benefits to individuals, families, communities and society from such participation. I pointed out in Chapter One that a social constructionist epistemology enabled broad conceptualisation of these important constructs.

In this chapter, I focus on meanings of literacy; some international perspectives are described and contextualised within New Zealand as relevant in this study. What literacy is thought to be and the purposes it is thought to serve influence what family literacy is thought to be and to be for. In Chapter One I observed that there are two broadly distinguishable approaches to defining literacy and understanding its meanings and uses: those of literacy as 'social practice' and literacy as 'skills'. The 'social practice' view of literacy, which has arisen from a social constructionist epistemology, has enabled literacy to be seen as a "many-meaninged thing" (Scribner & Cole, 1981, p. 8), as this chapter will show. From this position, the traditional and dominant view of literacy as ideologically-neutral skills essential for progress can be seen as narrow and restrictive. I conclude in this chapter that the broad 'social practice' view is essential for understanding what literacy is and, therefore, for understanding what family literacy is. This broad view of literacy and its critique of the dominant view underpin the discussion of family literacy in Chapter Four.

The next section explores literacy as 'social practice' (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanič, 2000; Street, 1984). Literacy as social practice is discussed ahead of the traditional and dominant skills-focused view (Street, 1984, 1995; Street & Lefstein, 2007) because its inherent breadth enables the limitations

of the skills view to be more clearly seen. The skills-focused view is discussed fully in Section Three where its shortcomings are also noted. The extent of 'skills' and 'social practice' perspectives of literacy in the New Zealand context are discussed in Section Four. This chapter also discusses (where relevant) individualist as compared to more collectivist orientations or worldviews as significant influences on meanings of literacy (Gee, 2008; Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001). As outlined in Chapter One, both these axes (that is, literacy as 'social practice'/literacy as 'skills' and individualist/collectivist worldviews) are important in understanding the pressures exerted on constructions of family literacy and the overall context in which the 'promise' of family literacy can be understood and evaluated. The chapter is summarised in Section Five, highlighting the meaning of literacy that underpins the study.

2. Literacy as 'social practice' – a new view of literacy

A view of literacy which locates its meaning in social contexts and relations began to emerge from the 1980s (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). It acknowledges some aspects traditionally associated with literacy but focuses much more strongly than the traditional approach on contextual and relational aspects. For example, the traditional view focuses on cognitive and technical aspects of literacy and tends to locate literacy asocially within individuals (Scribner & Cole, 1981). A social view configures its meaning of literacy on the social relations in which cognitive and technical aspects take place, integrating them within the more epistemologically-important social framework (Gee, 2008)[34]. By cognitive aspects, I mean the thinking processes involved in using literacy (Zaff, Camille Smith, Rogers, Leavitt, Halle, & Bornstein, 2003); by the technical aspects, I mean the mechanical acts of forming representative symbols such as writing alphabetic script, the symbol systems themselves and the rules which govern their use (Heath & Street, 2008). By social contexts and relations, I mean the various ways in which people as individuals and as members of various groups (such as may be based, for example, on gender, ethnicity, age or geographic location) interact directly or indirectly with one another and the institutional practices and formations (such as those of family, religion or education) that shape and are shaped by people's interaction with them.

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[34] See Gee (1992, 2003, 2004, 2005, as cited in Gee, 2008) for explanation of this integration.

In a social practice view, the meaning of literacy lies in the many meanings people attach to it through its use, and the contexts of its use, rather than having any particular meaning in and of itself; its meaning is socially constructed and 'ideological' (Street, 1984). Literacy is learned through socialisation into the practices that surround the use of text in particular ways in particular contexts (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). Literacy from a social practice perspective is also seen as a multiple construct; there are many meanings of literacy and there are many litera*cies* (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Barton et al., 2000; Street, 1993). And, it is seen as multimodal; there are many modes of literacy of which alphabetic text – such as appears on these pages – is but one (Kress, 1997, 2000). I use 'literacy as social practice' or 'a social view of literacy' as catch-all terms for these different nuances of a socially-located view of literacy, which feature in what is known as the "New Literacy Studies".

The New Literacy Studies "views literacy in its full range of cognitive, social, interactional, cultural, political, institutional, economic, moral and historical contexts", taking what might be broadly termed a sociocultural approach (Gee, 2008, p. 2). Linguists, sociolinguists, anthropologists, and cognitive psychologists who have added a social dimension to their theory have been sources of perspective in this approach (Gee, 2008). Its emphasis on literacy's social meanings is largely absent from traditional, more individual and cognitively-focused, approaches. It has provided an alternative to the dominant view of literacy as a set of technical skills, whilst calling many of its contentions, such as literacy's essentialism (that is, that social and economic progress for individuals and society is not possible without literacy) into question (Graff & Duffy, 2008; Street, 1984).

I will describe some widely-used constructs associated with a social practice view of literacy (texts, events and practices), the multiplicity of literacies, the extent to which literacy is thought to be individual or social activity, and literacy's ideological character (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000a; Gee, 2008; Heath, 1983; Lankshear & Knobel, 2003; Street, 1984). The work of Brian Street, David Barton, James Gee and their colleagues are regular referents as they have been important contributors to the development of the theoretical framework of the New Literacy Studies. I will

begin, though, with Street's theory of literacy[35] which encapsulates the core conceptualisation of a social view of literacy that is the locus of the New Literacy Studies (Rassool, 1999). Nevertheless, a quarter century on from its initial formulation, explanatory detail on aspects which have been further theorised is available from other contributors and is included in explanations of some core concepts.

2.1. Street's 'ideological' model

Street's (1984, 1995) 'ideological' model of literacy concentrates on the social nature of doing reading and writing in which culture, ideology and socialisation are highlighted for their importance in shaping the meaning of literacy for people and for society. Socialisation in relation to literacy is the process by which people are 'apprenticed' (Gee, 2008) into interpreting and using texts in certain ways in certain contexts. People learn to interpret and use texts in certain ways through having access to, and plentiful experience in, the social settings where texts of a particular type are 'read' (interpreted and utilised) in particular ways (Gee, 2008). These practices into which people are socialised, and the nature of the socialisation processes themselves, are cultural and ideological.

Culture refers to "the lived experience, the consciousness of a whole society; that particular order, pattern, configuration of valued experience" expressed, for example, in art, gesture, language, beliefs and modes of communication, and in forms of social relationship and organisation (CCCS, 1978, p. 19, as cited in Street, 1995, p. 59). Literacy is cultural in the sense that it is shaped by, and utilised in, the preferred or embedded ways of the communities and institutions of which it is a part. This includes such structural aspects of social organisation as stratification ("such as where certain social groups may be taught only to read" (Street, 1984, p. 8)). It also includes the rules and expectations pertaining to practices as they are undertaken within particular communities or institutions.

Ideology refers to beliefs or theories which people hold about aspects of cultural life and what is "'correct' or 'useful' or 'moral'" (Gee, 2008, p. 29). Gee points out

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[35] Its authority comes in no small measure from its interdisciplinary foundations and the way in which ideas across disciplines have been integrated into unified theory within the New Literacy Studies (Rassool, 1999).

that we all have cultural models or theories about the world, linked to our "stories, histories, knowledge, beliefs and values" and about which judgments of 'usefulness' or 'correctness' can be made; "we all live and communicate in and through 'ideology'" (2008, p. 29). Because people have different views about what matters and what is 'right' and 'correct', contestation arises over whose opinion should dominate. Classic Marxist theory contends that the opinions of those who already have the most power in society and those of the powerful institutions dominate and serve to reproduce the existing structures, thus maintaining the existing relations of power in the interests of the most powerful (Gee, 2008). Cultural practices in communities, for example, where certain social groups learn only to read as mentioned above (Street, 1984), may be explained by such power relations and, in the absence of protest, the presence of hegemony; that is, taken-for-granted assimilation of such ideas[36]. Institutions, in particular, are identified by Rassool (1999, p. 40) as "key defining sites of what literacy is, who it is for and what purposes it should serve for individuals, specific groups of people and society as a whole".

In describing learning and teaching as processes of socialisation, and relevant to this study, Street (1984) observes that the way literacy is *taught* is dependent on the culture and ideology present in the context in which it occurs and "the processes whereby reading and writing are *learnt* are what construct the meaning of it...for [people]" (p. 8) (my emphasis). Indeed, Street points out that "literacy can only be known to us in forms which already have political and ideological significance" (1984, p. 8). It is therefore not possible for the teaching and learning of literacy, nor, indeed, the using of or talking about literacy, to be ideologically neutral. Street is thus concerned about the role of teaching in "social control and the hegemony of a ruling class", as well as the more general role of institutions in the socialisation process, and "not just the explicit educational ones" (1984, pp. 2-3).

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[36] Hegemony is defined by Williams (1989, p. 57, as cited in Rassool, 1999, p. 2) as "a taken-for-granted assimilation of selective, dominant values, ideas and beliefs 'to such a depth that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political and cultural system seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and commonsense'".

2.2. Texts – central to literacy but in all shapes and sizes

From a social practice perspective, literacy is activity based around texts; it is what people do with texts (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Barton et al., 2000). In the context of literacy as social practice, texts include written (and sometimes oral)[37] expressions of language; for example, a recipe or a note to a teacher. These linguistic texts are sometimes distinguished from other semiotic forms such as images or bodily gestures (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, 2000). However these other semiotic forms, or modes of representation, are also sometimes referred to as 'texts' because, like written and oral language-based texts, they perform a communicative function (Kress & Jewitt, 2003; Rassool, 1999). The term is also at times used to include contextual spaces of meaning-making, as in the case of Pahl's (2003) study of children's text-making in which floor space was analysed as 'text' to be 'read'. 'Reading' or making sense of contextual spaces such as landscapes is sometimes attributed to indigenous cultures (see, for example, Hohepa & McNaughton, 2002). Relevant to this study, New Zealand Māori include 'reading' the geography of the land within their definition of literacy, thereby positioning the land as 'text' (Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001).

The concepts of 'multiliteracies' and 'multimodality' are now well-established within a social view of literacy (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000b; Jewitt & Kress, 2003). 'Multiliteracies', used as an overarching term by Cope and Kalantzis (2000a), highlights a shift from the traditional view of literacy as only definable in one particular way – as an alphabetic system which then renders particular kinds of written and oral texts – to a foregrounding of the many communicative forms and therefore a 'textual multiplicity'.

Textual multiplicity takes two forms. The first form relates to what Cope and Kalantzis (2000a, p. 6) call 'subcultural diversity', by which they mean the number and diversity of localised or situationally-differentiated subcultural languages which are now part of our daily, and "increasingly globally interconnected working and community lives". They point to the multiple languages, multiple Englishes, and communication patterns which may be "marked by accent, national origin,

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[37] Barton and Hamilton (1998) tend to focus on written texts in their writing about literacy and on talk around the text; the text may not be present. Other writers such as Street (1984, 1995) talk about reading and writing.

subcultural style and professional or technical communities" that now, more often than in the past, "cross cultural, community, and national boundaries" such that "the proximity of cultural and linguistic diversity is one of the key facts of our time" (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000a, p. 6).

The second form relates to different modes of representation which include, but are much broader than, language alone (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000a). Modes – "regularised organised set(s) of resources for meaning-making" – include "image, gaze, gesture, movement, music, speech, (and) sound" (Kress & Jewitt, 2003, p. 1). Literacy is often multimodal; people draw on various elements in the contextual setting in making sense of the primary text. Or indeed, the text may itself be multimodal, such as in the case of computers where image, sound, and language may combine (and where multimodality is expanding in scope in tandem with new technological forms of communication) (Kress, 2000). Diversity of texts connected to their context of use as compared to a singular text form, and a valuing of this diversity, are central tenets of a social view of literacy.

Textual multiplicity is evident in the New Zealand context. In terms of languages alone, the Ministry of Education (2008b), for example, reports that 110 languages are spoken among 165 ethnically-different communities. Māori perspectives of literacy reflect multiliteracies and multimodality. Literacy in both English and Māori; oral linguistic traditions, performance and texts; knowledge and recitation of key features of the land of tribal significance (as mentioned above); and 'reading' of other material forms such as carvings (whakairo) and patterned woven panels (tututuku) and the context of their physical location (for example within traditional meeting spaces[38]) are all included (Hohepa & McNaughton, 2002; Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001)[39]. The ability to 'read' body language ('paralinguistics') might also be thought of as literacy (Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001). Within the literacy sector, if not so much within officialdom,

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[38] For example, *wharenui* and *marae* (Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001). *Wharenui* is the Māori term for the main meeting house on the marae. *Marae* means the meeting area of whānau or iwi; the central area of a Māori village and its buildings (Ryan, 1994).
[39] This explanation comes mainly from Wally Penetito's *whakamārama* (explanation) which was accepted by the Māori Adult Literacy Working Party. The full text can be seen in their report (Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001, p. 6).

there is recognition of textual diversity and the continual emergence of new literacies (see, for example, Hanifin, 2008).

In this study, therefore, 'texts' refers to the wider meaning of the term such that language-based texts are regarded as a subset of all communicative forms and all are valued. Literacy is what people do with written and oral expressions of language – linguistic texts – but at the same time other semiotic forms have a role in meaning-making and, at times, any one of them may be the primary form of representation available to people through which they can make sense of events and contexts.

2.3. Literacy events and practices

Literacy as activity based around texts is often conceptualised as events (Heath, 1982) and as practices (Street, 1984). *Literacy events* are the observable component of literacy activity, defined initially by Heath (1982, p. 93) as "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes" and more recently by Barton and Hamilton (2000, p. 8) as "activities where literacy has a role". Text is usually present, and there may be talk around text (Barton & Hamilton, 2000); indeed, the concept of literacy events stresses "the importance of a mix of oral and literate features in everyday communication" (Street, 1995, p. 133). Events can be "regular" or "repeated" such as weekly lectures or they may be one-off affairs such as planning a party. They may be structured by formal expectations or procedures of institutions such as workplaces, or by more informal expectations or "pressures" of the home and other informal sites or networks such as peer groups (Barton & Hamilton, 2000, p. 9). Thus, literacy events are always socially situated.

Literacy practices, described first by Street (1984), is a higher-level concept than that of literacy events. Literacy practices are "the general cultural ways of utilising written language which people draw upon in their lives" (Barton & Hamilton, 2000, p. 7). They refer to "both behaviour and the social and cultural conceptualizations that give meaning to the uses of reading and/or writing" (Street, 1995, p. 2). Thus, they incorporate literacy events (such as weekly lectures or planning a party; the observable, behaviour component) and the less observable (Hamilton, 2000) "folk

models of those events and the ideological preconceptions that underpin them"
(Street, 1995, p. 2). Importantly, Street, with the help of Grillo (1986, as cited in
Street, 1995) for example, has teased out the cultural and ideological aspects of the
literacy practices and illuminated the ideological nature of the cultural contexts in
which literacy events take place. Planning a party is not just a matter of discussing
guests and tasks, making lists in which tasks are allocated and generating
invitations via a computer. Present in the party planning context are also, for
instance, cultural knowledge of what a party entails, normative ideas about
working as a group to achieve an objective, and values and beliefs about parties
and about working with others. Power relations are also present (Gee, 2008; Street,
1995); ideas, values and beliefs may vary between people and questions arise about
whose opinion counts. The cultural and ideological nature of literacy events and
practices is a central tenet of a social view of literacy (Gee, 2008; Street, 1984, 1995)
and is a central concern of this study.

2.4. Diversity of practices with home at the centre

The 'subcultural diversity' of literacies described by Cope and Kalantzis (2000a)
implies not only localised and specialised texts, the sense in which it was discussed
earlier, but also localised and specialised ways of *using* and *thinking* about texts
such as might be observed in literacy events and inferred in practices. There are
many studies highlighting localised uses and meanings of literacy, including
differential uses of Englishes (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000a; Kalantzis & Cope, 1999)
and of languages (Hull, 1997), dependent on context.

Heath (1983), for example, studied how children acquire literacy in three different
communities in the Piedmont Carolinas and found different uses of literacy in
these communities into which children were socialised. Practices varied from
community to community, and some were shared across communities,
underpinned by different beliefs and values which gave rise to different behaviours
that were learned. For example, in two of the communities but not in the third,
parents believed they had a tutoring role in their children's language and literacy
acquisition and they read to their children and asked questions that required labels
(Gee, 2008).

Saxena (1994) reveals the multiple uses of different literacies based on three different languages in a Panjabi Hindu family in London. Saxena describes how the Grandfather catches an English-signposted bus to the Community Club for elderly people where he reads a local newspaper written in Urdu which carries stories about South Asian people living in Britain, local community news and political news from India and Pakistan. On the way home he discusses with a Panjabi publisher a poem he has written and buys a Hindi film magazine from India for his daughter. At home, he reads an English language 'nursery book' to his grandson when he comes home from school. Beliefs, values and interests related to different dimensions of personal and social life can be inferred from these multiple, situationally-variable and localised literacy practices.

As a New Zealand example, McNaughton (1989) describes family literacy practices in Pākehā, Māori and Samoan families, observing some "quite distinctive" practices "reflecting particular functions and needs and the characterisitics of those households" (p. 10). For example, pre-schoolers in the Samoan families had all been taught and learned an alphabet through singing and a Samoan alphabet chart, someone in the household wrote at least one letter a week, and Bible reading to children occurred at least once a week. This latter example was unlike most of the Pākehā and some of the Māori families McNaughton and his colleagues had studied.

Barton and Hamilton (1998) have contributed the concept of 'domains' in which distinctive literacy practices can be identified. They identified different 'literacies', which they defined as "coherent configurations of literacy practices" (p. 9), associated with different domains of life in the Lancaster community in Britain that they studied. They found that contextual features such as resources, social conventions and institutional structures, and people's literacy-related behaviours and conceptualisations of literacy, which are themselves influenced by the contextual features, vary across domains. People engage in distinct discourse communities in, for example, their home, school or workplace. These discourse communities, explained in reference to Swales (1990), are "held together by their characteristic ways of talking, acting, valuing, interpreting and using written language" (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, p. 10). In New Zealand, *marae*, the traditional centre of Māori communities (Rochford, 2004, p. 55), constitute another 'domain'

in which a distinctive discourse community might be found, this time one in which oral language takes centre stage.

Domains are not silo-like, however. They are influenced by wider institutions in which they are located, as Street's 'ideological' model suggests, such as family or education. An example would be when parents help children with their homework as part of a general understanding that supplementary parental activity is part of what is expected by schools and what it means to be involved in education. They overlap (for example, the party invitations may be printed at work), and they can encroach on each other (homes can be inundated with literature from all manner of external sources in such forms as advertising pamphlets, local free newspapers or government election notices) (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). A New Zealand example of the influence of unrelated institutions is evident on marae where government health regulations required changes to the physical layout of kitchens that had the effect of reducing conversation between workers which typified marae kitchen practice, impacting on normal cultural practice and the pleasure associated with it (Field notes, June 12, 2006). Like Cope and Kalantzis (2000a), Pahl and Rowsell (2005) also note the influence of globalised literacy practices in local contexts. This process can be seen, for example, where business franchises use invoices with local customers that were developed elsewhere and are used all around the world.

Of particular importance in the context of this study is Kassen's (1991) observation that the home 'domain' is "the *centre* from which individuals venture out into other domains" (Barton, 1997, p. 4). Rather than there being a distinctive literacy belonging to the home domain, literacies are brought in from outside and taken from home to other domains. 'Hybrid' literacies are sometimes formed in this process (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). Most striking to Barton and Hamilton (1998) was the range of literacies they found within the home. In this study, I view home as a physical and/or social centre which most people have in some shape or form and from which they come and go, in and out of the wider world. In my study, the centrality of the home does not preclude the centrality of other domains in people's lives.

2.5. Literacy practices as individual and social processes

While the focus of a social view of literacy is on literacy's social aspects, individual aspects are recognised (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, 2000). Importantly, as Street's 'ideological' model suggests, and as I have signalled in the party planning example, culture and ideology are simultaneously present in literacy practices. Further, both culture and ideology emerge and change over time – they are located in history – thus literacy practices can be regarded, in fact, as 'multiprocessual'.

As *individual* processes, people personally use the communicative technologies at their disposal (such as language-based text, images or gestures) in their processes of meaning-making (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000a; Jewitt & Kress, 2003)[40]. Individuals also undertake, 'in their own heads' (Gee, 2008, p. 2), meaning-making's cognitive aspects[41]. They use texts in their own particular ways for their own purposes (Heath, 1983). They bring their own values, beliefs and knowledge, and their personal histories and experiences and the sense they have made of these (their personal sociocultural histories and their 'social identities') (Lankshear & Knobel, 2003). They also have awareness of literacy itself, have their own ideas or constructions of literacy, and talk about it and make sense of it in particular ways (Barton & Hamilton, 2000). These individual cognitive aspects are characteristic of the human drive to make sense of the world, which Vygotsky, a cognitive psychologist, has identified as the extent to which literacy can be regarded as cognitive activity (Hagell & Tudge, 1998). In addition, and commonsensically, developmental stage or physical impairment can also affect individual engagement in literacy practices (Hagell & Tudge, 1998).

Beyond the processes internal to the individual in their drive to make sense of the world and the commonsensical observation that people personally bring their states of being to literacy events, literacy practices are in all other senses *social*. For example, identities that people bring to their engagement with texts are socially

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[40] Many examples are provided by these authors.
[41] This psychological principle, which is explained later in Chapter Five (see, for example, Zaff et al., 2003), is not disputed within a social view of literacy. There are many examples from authors writing within the framework of the New Literacy Studies and multimodality where an assumption of the individual aspect of cognition is evident as people's personal experiences are explored (for example, Pahl, 2003). However, this assumption of an individual cognitive component sits alongside recognition that cognitions are at the same time socially constructed; people do the thinking but the thoughts themselves are developed through social processes and cannot be logically separated from those social processes and the social world from which they are derived.

shaped (Lankshear & Knobel, 2003). Literacy practices are also social processes when people engage with one another around texts and construct meaning via their interactions with others. 'Meaning' here refers to the meaning of the text in the context of the event and to the wider social meaning of the event in which the text is central. Shared cognitions – meanings derived from interactions around texts that are shared by participants in the event – may be represented in ideologies (which underpin the shared meanings) and social identities (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, 2000).

Social identity, linked as above to literacy practices, is an important construct in the context of the study. It is both an individually and socially-experienced phenomenon (and, as such, is a good example of the difficulty of separating the individual from the social aspects of literacy (Hagell & Tudge, 1998)). As an individual phenomenon, identity is "a sense of one's essential continuous self"; it is also experienced in relation to particular groups to which the individual belongs, thus people may have several social identities (Reber & Reber, 2001, p. 338). Gee (2008) observes that people's multiple identities are reflected in "Discourses[42]" which he describes as "ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing, that are accepted as instantiations of particular identities by specific groups" (p. 3). In other words, Discourses are particular "ways of being in the world" and of being particular "types of people" (p. 3). In the context of multiliteracies, Kalantzis and Cope (1999) discuss the relationship of 'subcultural diversity' to identity, noting that increasingly people belong to many different subcultures and therefore have many identities. Barton and Hamilton (1998) link the discourse communities associated with different 'domains' of life to people's characteristic ways of being around text; their ways of talking, acting, valuing, interpreting and using written language. As people participate in literacy events, the literacy practices that unfold around the text involve people in particular 'ways of being' (Gee, 2008). These 'ways of being' may or may not be congruent with their existing social identities and may cause conflict (Gee, 2008) or a 'crisis' in identity (Scollon & Scollon, 1981).

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[42] Gee (2008) distinguishes between Discourses with a capital 'D' and discourses with a small 'd'. Small 'd' discourses mean "discourses in its more traditional sense, more focused on language and text analysis" (Street & Lefstein, 2007, p. 239).

Particular 'ways of being in the world' (Gee, 2008) that are shared within particular groups and played out around texts constitute the *cultural* aspect of literacy practices as social processes. Literacy practices are shaped by the general cultural practices, expectations and artefacts of the context in which they are used, which may be personal networks such as one's family or friends, Barton and Hamilton's (1998, 2000) 'domains' of life such as home or school (or marae), or Cope and Kalantzis's (2000a) localised, 'subcultural' settings such as may be marked, for example, by national origin or professional or technical community. The cultural knowledge brought to the party planning process may include family models of how parties are 'done' (such as always sending written invitations) and understandings, for example, that neighbours should be considered. Literacy practices are also shaped by the cultural practices and tools of wider societal institutions such as family, religion and education which bring their influence to bear on these 'domains' and settings, as was evident in the marae kitchens example. Further, cultural practices consolidate, and change, over time; they are *historical*. As cultural practices, literacy practices are therefore both rooted in history and constantly changing (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, 2000). In New Zealand, for example, traditional Māori processes for attending to matters of importance between people have been adapted to fit a variety of new and often multicultural contexts whilst retaining the core elements and values of the past[43].

Literacy practices, and the discourses they represent, are also *ideological*. Ways of being in the world around text incorporate, in Gee's (2008) terms, a "usually taken for granted and tacit set of 'theories' [or 'cultural models'] about what counts as a 'normal' person and the 'right' ways to think feel, behave" (p. 4). These theories "crucially involve viewpoints on the distribution of 'social goods' like status, worth, and material goods in society" (p. 4). Thus conceptions and practices of literacy and people's engagement with them, whether as individuals, groups or institutions, "are always rooted in a particular world-view" and therefore are also always rooted in "a desire for that view to dominate and to marginalise others" (Gee, 1990, as cited in Street & Lefstein, 2007, p. 42).

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[43] For example, use of *mihi* or greeting (Ryan, 1994).

In this study, participants, as individuals and as members of distinctive groups, bring varied personal and cultural histories and multiple and varied social identities to the literacy activities and events in which they participate. Given this variability, questions arise concerning congruence of identities in literacy contexts and the relative valuing of different ways of being, as well as the impact that differential valuing may have, especially in the wider context of ongoing colonial contestation over authority and identity, as described in Chapter One. As has been shown, literacy is not benign. Rather, it is imbued with historical, cultural, social and ideological significance and, as such, embodies issues of power and control in which some ideas about literacy dominate. The dominant view of literacy is now discussed.

3. Literacy as neutral skills necessary for societal progress – the dominant view of literacy

In contrast to a view of literacy as social practice, the historically older (and in this sense, traditional), still pervasive and influential (and in this sense, dominant) view of literacy has developed and is configured around individually-located cognitive or psychological aspects in which literacy is seen as "a set of abilities or skills residing inside people's heads" (Gee, 2008, p. 2). Indeed, the work of cognitive and developmental psychologists has provided the basis for support for the skills-focused orientation to literacy (Rassool, 1999). Texts are regarded as having meaning in themselves, requiring skills rather than context to make sense of them. These skills are able to be studied and taught in a decontextualised way (Street, 1984). Western essay-text literacy based on alphabetic script is the particular form of literacy at the heart of this perspective. Essay-text literacy tends to be seen as superior in relation to other communicative forms although forms associated with new technologies may be embraced by those who otherwise hold a narrower view of what literacy is[44]. In this view literacy, in itself, is seen as having consequences

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[44]Observing the growing role of new technologies of communication in people's lives, Street (2008) draws on the concepts of artefacts and 'figured worlds' to explain the issues and contradictions that occur as new technologies are embraced in the presence of traditional beliefs and approaches to literacy and education. He cites Leander's (2005) research in a US high school which invested heavily in providing internet access to all its students. In Leander's words, which Street cites, the school "presented itself and technically structured itself to be an 'open' wired social space for 21st Century girls" (p. 11). However, "official school practices and discourses domesticated...potential openings of space-time provided by the wireless network...clos[ing] off [the wireless network] and anchor[ing it] in ways that reproduce traditional school space-time" (p. 11). An effort to embrace new

for individual cognition and for the organisation of society and, via these processes, as essential for social and economic progress. Building over time, these ideas are entrenched in popular thought and societal structures. Largely taken for granted as to how the world is, they continue to influence contemporary public and political perception of literacy and its purposes (Street, 1984). I will use 'a skills-focused view' as a catch-all term for the many nuances of this perspective.

The sociocultural approach taken by Street and the New Literacy Studies enabled the skills-focused view to be identified and critiqued. Through this process it has come to be understood as: rooted in history and both reshaped and persistent[45] over time; based on strongly-held and deeply-entrenched beliefs and thus ideological rather than empirically well-supported (Street, 1984); and often associated with the desire of those with power to control others rather than with the rights and empowerment of everyone (Gee, 1993). Most importantly, a *critical* sociocultural approach enabled the ideas and beliefs that underpin this perspective to be seen as hegemonic (Street, 1984). Consequently, many of the beliefs and ideas which underpin a skills-focused view of literacy have been discredited or called into question by this social constructionist critique. For instance, its attention to essay-text literacy has been revealed as narrow in the face of evidence of a multiplicity of literacies (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000a).

The skills-focused view remains influential however. Its influence on what people think about literacy persists and affects what happens in society: for instance, what kinds of literacy education programmes are funded and for whom (Street, 1984, 2008). Indeed, its significance in the context of this study lies in its narrow and essentialist character on the one hand and its entrenchment and pervasiveness – its dominance – on the other, complicated further by the hegemony of the ideas which constitute this particular orientation. Together, these characteristics have implications for how family literacy is theorised and how family literacy programmes are designed and made available. This is discussed further in Chapter Five. First, however, it is important to understand the skills-focused view and the nature of its influence in the context of literacy in its broad meaning.

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communicative forms in what is an otherwise traditional educational context, albeit problematic, can be seen in this example.

[45] Ideological elements persist but their articulations are reshaped to fit the particular social formation and political purposes of the historical moment.

The following description of key ideas which constitute a skills-focused view of literacy is presented from a critical social constructionist perspective. I will describe the centrality and singularity of written text, the cognitive and social consequences claimed for literacy, and the current 'crisis' in literacy skills and its supposed social and economic implications. In doing so, I delve into history and use the critical insights of Street and his colleagues to explain the underpinning ideas. I then problematise the skills view of literacy from a social practice perspective and conclude by contextualising the issues in New Zealand. Writers in the New Literacy Studies are frequent referents throughout this section as it is through them that critical understanding of the implications of different perspectives for people's lives has been possible. I will begin though, as in the previous section, with more of Street's (1984) theory of literacy as a backdrop to the wider discussion.

3.1. Street's 'autonomous' model

Street's (1984) 'autonomous' model is the 'flip' side of his 'ideological' model. Through detailed analysis of key works in the 'autonomous' mode (such as Hildyard and Olson (1978), Goody (1977) and Greenfield (1972) and, later, Ong (1982)), Street clustered concepts and lines of argument that constitute a view of literacy contrastable with a social view[46]. His overarching argument is that many of the representations of literacy are grand claims that are not supported by the evidence available and are thus ideological. The claims he is talking about are the neutrality of literacy and its detachment from specific social contexts. He argues that these claims, "as well as the literacy practices they purport to describe in fact derive from ideologies which, in much of the literature, are not made explicit", thus the nature of the practices which are supposed to have particular uses and consequences for individuals and society is not adequately theorised, particularly across cultures. (1984, p. 1). According to Street (1984)

> The [autonomous] model tends...to be based on the 'essay-text' form of literacy and to generalise broadly from what is in fact a narrow, culture specific practice. The model assumes a single direction in which

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[46] These can be found in Street (1984) and Street (1995) for example.

development can be traced, and associates it with 'progress', 'civilisation', individual liberty and social mobility. It attempts to separate literacy from schooling. It isolates literacy as an independent variable and then claims to be able to study its consequences. These consequences are classically represented in terms of economic 'take off' or in terms of cognitive skills. (pp. 1-2)

These ideas are taken up in the following extrapolation.

3.2. Written text – central, singular and 'schooled'

As Street's (1984) 'autonomous' model suggests, the centrality of a single form of literacy is one of the defining characteristics of the skills-focused view of literacy. The pre-eminence of written language-based text can be seen as originating in its historic positioning as superior and more advanced in comparison to speech (orality) (Gee, 1993) and traced through to the seemingly-immutable association between literacy and schooling which has written language-based text at its core (even though, as Street (1984) has pointed out, attempts are made to separate literacy from schooling, treating literacy in the school setting as if it is detachable from its context).

The positioning of literacy as superior to orality is located historically in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when reading and writing were associated with belief in the unilinear progression of society and were regarded as the property of more advanced societies. Not having reading and writing was seen as a 'crucial lack' and was thought to mark a distinction between primitiveness and civilisation or modernity (Finnegan, 1999, p. 89, as cited in Kell, 2008). Orality and literacy were seen to lie on either side of a 'great divide' (Street & Lefstein, 2007). This divide has been the locus of debate about the meaning of literacy since the 1970s.

Writing's perceived superiority lay in its ability to permanently record 'utterances', which could then be studied, and in its supposed characteristic of having meaning in itself. Unlike speech, written language was thought *not* to be reliant on context and listener participation for meaning to be derived (Hildyard & Olson, 1978, as

cited in Street, 1984, p. 20). According to Ong (2002, p. 77) "writing establishes what has been called 'context-free' language (Hirsch, 1977, pp. 21-3, 26) or 'autonomous discourse' (Olson, 1980), discourse which cannot be directly questioned or contested...After total and devastating refutation, it [the text] says exactly as it did before". The meaning of any piece of written text remains, therefore, constant and universal through space and time (Barton, 1998; Searle, 1999; Street, 1984, 1995) and thus can be consistently interpreted (Olson, 1977). This is one sense in which literacy has a singular meaning: text, which is permanent, only has one true interpretation (Ong, 2002). The republishing in 2002 of Ong's 1982 work is, perhaps, testimony to the continuing popularity of this line of thought.

To be more precise, it is not simply written language-based text but Western alphabetic forms that are at the centre of the distinction drawn between written and oral language. Historically, European forms of alphabetic writing were regarded as superior not only to orality but, as well, to pictographs, hieroglyphs and other forms of speech representation which may have been present in other societies; these other forms were seen as prior and inferior to alphabetic writing (Graff & Duffy, 2008). In particular, there was a bias towards "essay-text" or "essayist" literacy, the "formal discursive writing characterised by strict conventions of form, style, tone" (Farr, 1993, as cited in Graff & Duffy, 2008, p. 45). This is another sense in which literacy has a singular meaning: what literacy is, and the text that counts, is the essayist literacy of Western tradition. Further, as essayist literacy is the form practised within European education systems, what counts as literacy in contemporary times is, in practice, what counts as literacy in schools (Gee, 1993; Street & Lefstein, 2007; Street & Street, 1991)[47].

3.3. Individual and social consequences of literacy

From the mid-twentieth century attempts were made to identify more precisely what written text enabled that orality did not, and the consequences of these differences for individuals and society. The ideas that emerged reflected a

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[47] Evidence of the taken-for-granted nature of this association can be seen in studies such as Hildyard and Olson's (1978, as cited in Street, 1984) which showed effects resulting from literacy. However, the effects of literacy were not separated from effects of schooling thus elided the literacy of the school with literacy in its entirety. This kind of association also means that schools are often blamed for falling literacy standards even though the decline itself is unproven (Graff & Duffy, 2008).

repositioning from an earlier view that "a culture has acquired such technological skills as literacy because it is intellectually superior" to a claim that "a culture is intellectually superior because it has acquired that technology" (Street, 1984, p. 29). This line of thought can be traced through to the pervasive contemporary preoccupation with 'illiteracy' as the cause of individual and social problems.

Goody (1977) captured the essence of this perspective (that a culture is intellectually superior because it has acquired that technology) in his description of writing as the 'technology of the intellect'. With reference to his earlier work with Watt, Goody claimed that "it was the setting down of speech that enabled man [sic] to separate words, to manipulate their order and to develop syllogistic forms of reasoning" (1977, p. 2). Written language was thought to promote logic, abstraction, analytic reasoning and new ways of categorising (Scribner & Cole, 1981, p. 7). It was thought to be "necessary for the development of science, history and philosophy, and the explicative understanding of literature, art, and language, including speech itself" (Gee, 1993, p. 173). These different thought processes were seen as enabling different ways of organising society associated with modernisation[48], hence writing was assumed to enable the establishment of modern societies, thought not possible otherwise. A number of significant studies, along with Goody's, supported these ideas. For example, in relation to literacy's link to higher-order thinking, Vygotsky and Luria's study in Soviet Central Asia, which tested people on a number of syllogistic reasoning tasks, concluded that 'literate' people used abstract reasoning processes more than 'non-literates' (Gee, 1993).

Writing in 2008, Graff and Duffy summarise these ideas as "belief, articulated in educational, civic, religious, and other settings, contemporary and historical, that the acquisition of literacy is a necessary precursor to and invariably results in economic development, democratic practice, cognitive enhancement, and upward social mobility" (p. 41), thus observing that these ideas continue in the current

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[48] Modernisation is defined by Ingham (1995, p. 40, as cited in Rassool, 1999, p. 80) as follows. "In economic terms, [modernisation] implies industrialisation and urbanisation and the technological transformation of agriculture. Socially, it involves the weakening of traditional ties, and the rise of achievement as the basis for social advancement. Its political dimension is in the rationalisation of authority and the growth of bureaucracy. Culturally, modernisation is represented by increased secularisation of society arising from the growth of scientific knowledge." The concept is derived from change in the Western world (Rassool, 1999).

milieu. They cite as evidence "cities' sponsorship of book reading, celebrity appeals on behalf of reading campaigns, and promotions by various organizations linking the acquisition of literacy to self-esteem, parenting skills, and social mobility"; the designation of people as "at risk" when they "fail to master literacy skills presumed to be necessary" (Brandt, 2001; Resnick & Resnick, 1977), as "successful" people "who learn to read and write well", and as "less intelligent, lazy, or in some way deficient" those who do not (St Clair & Sadlin, 2004) (p. 41).

As Graff and Duffy's (2008) examples imply, a characteristic of contemporary articulations of individual and social consequences associated with literacy is consequences associated with *'illiteracy'*. This reverse association links inadequate literacy to various social ills as part of a long-standing generalised fear about 'illiteracy's' role in declining morality and social order (Searle, 1999). This link is either pathwayed via a lack of economic participation that is blamed on poor literacy, in itself a "popular" association (Hull, 1997), or it is made directly by constructing people perceived of as having inadequate literacy as being 'particular kinds of people'. The reporting of percentages of people in prison who have 'reading problems' are an example of such arbitrary linking (Street & Lefstein, 2007). Further, because from a skills-focused view literacy is located in individuals (literacy is 'inside their heads'), individuals and their families are seen as the appropriate target of solutions aimed at addressing both literacy 'problems' and social concerns attributed to inadequate literacy, as will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

3.4. Functionality of skills and the economic imperative

The conceptualisation of literacy as isolable 'skills' characterises the most obvious contrast to a socially-focused view of literacy. Emerging in the 1960s in modernisation efforts in 'developing' countries and in efforts to increase productivity in 'developed' countries, the language of 'skills', and more recently 'competencies', to describe literacy reflects its treatment as a 'thing' with both inherent meaning and ideological neutrality (Hull, 1997). Further, the notion of skills is imbued with functionality: literacy skills are seen as means to particular economic and social ends. Skills are cognitive (thinking is involved) and therefore they are located in individuals. They are also technical in the sense that they

involve the use of a technology (alphabetic script). Note that functionality can be part of a social view too, but it is not the only dimension.

The use of the term 'skills' to describe what literacy is (that is, 'basic skills', 'functional skills' (Rassool, 1999) and, most recently, "those more complex competencies required for an information age" (Hull, 1997, p. 7)) has been part of "popular discourse" for several decades. By "popular discourse" I mean "the common values and viewpoints reflected in the currently dominant ways of talking about [an] issue" (Hull, 1997, p. 5[49]). According to Hull (1997, p. 7) 'basic skills' refers to "simple and fundamental" abilities involving the decoding or encoding of short segments of text or "elementary" addition and subtraction within the context of everyday life. 'Functional literacy', according to Rassool (1999), tends to be associated with being a productive worker and is thus means – ends focused.

Most recently, in the context of rapid technological expansion and changing organisational practices in workplaces (Hull, 1997), higher levels and a more complex array of what Rassool (1999) calls "work-based, work-oriented" skills are perceived as needed (p. 7). These include higher levels of language, maths, reasoning skills and judgment (Hull, 1997) and such skills as "knowing how to learn;...creative thinking and problem-solving; self-esteem, goal setting/motivation and personal career development; interpersonal skills, negotiation and teamwork; organisational effectiveness and leadership" (Carnevale et al., 1998, p. 9, as cited in Hull, 1997, p. 8). The language of "foundation skills" (covering for example "reading, writing, maths, speaking, reasoning, problem-solving, self-esteem, and integrity"), and "competencies" (covering such abilities as "being able to allocate resources, work in teams, interpret and communicate information, understand social, organisational and technological systems, and apply technology to specific tasks") is now part of the discourse of literacy in relation to work (Hull, 1997, p. 8). Thus a wide range of skills, interconnected through literacy, are now seen – 'functionally' – as means to economic ends.

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[49] In the context of Hull's (1997) work, the issue was workplace literacy. Evidence of popular discourse was found in policy documents, newspapers, magazines and interviews (for example with workers and employers).

However, Holland (1998) observes that the functionality of literacy is not only linked to work but also increasingly with *everyday life* in the 'knowledge society'. Rassool (1999) suggests this perspective is evident in the inclusion of social literacies in the International Adult Literacy Survey (and again, with some additions, a decade later in the Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey). Designed to investigate people's ability to 'function' in everyday modern life, the survey used the following literacy definition:

1) *Prose literacy:* the knowledge and skills needed to understand and use information from texts, including editorials, news stories, poems and fiction

2) *Document literacy:* the knowledge and skills required to locate and use information contained in various formats, including job applications, payroll forms, transportation schedules, maps, tables and graphics

3) *Quantitative literacy:* the knowledge and skills required to apply arithmetic operations, either alone or sequentially, to numbers embedded in printed materials, such as balancing a cheque book, figuring out a tip, completing an order form or determining the amount of interest on a loan from an advertisement (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 1997, p. 14).

Thus, the concept of functional literacy has "emerged as a way of describing the degree of literacy necessary to cope with the demands of society *and* the workplace" (Holland, 1998, p. 73) (my emphasis).

Nevertheless, the rationale for focused literacy efforts is thought to be 'categorically' linked to economic and workplace needs (Mace, 1997; DfEE, 1997b as cited in Rassool, 1999), described by Sanguinetti (2007) as a human capital rather than a social capital focus. In Britain in the 1970s, for example, the perceived gap between people's skills and the requirements of the workplace constituted a 'crisis' and efforts to increase literacy targeted both school and post-school education (Gee, 2008). Rassool (1999, p. 6) observed not only the perspective that there was a literacy 'crisis' but also a linking of literacy, schooling and productivity that was made by the British New Labour government at that time in its placing of literacy "at the forefront of its strategy to raise standards in schools" arguing that literacy

was "fundamental to all future learning" and that educational standards needed to be raised in order "to meet the challenges from competitors within the international market place" (DfEE, 1997, p. 11). The literacy 'crisis' also led to a promulgation of adult basic education programmes and workplace training in Britain in the 1980s and 1990s (Mace, 1997).

It is noteworthy in the context of this study that literacy seen as skills for particular purposes tends to align with teaching in literacy programmes that involves transfer of isolated pieces of information from teacher to learner (which may be related to a context such as workplace or aspects of daily living) deemed necessary for the learner to have (for example see Holland, 1998).

3.5. Problematising the 'skills' perspective of literacy

From the perspective of literacy as social practice, treatment of literacy as a set of ideologically-neutral skills 'residing in people's heads' and essential for societal development and progress carries with it a number of problems of an epistemological and ontological nature, as well as from a moral standpoint. Drawing on the description of the social view of literacy presented in Section Two, I will now problematise aspects of the skills-focused perspective of literacy presented thus far.

From a socially-focused perspective of literacy, which has at its core a view that there are many literacies (multiliteracies) and modes of literacy (multimodalities), the tendency to treat literacy as if it is always 'essayist' or 'essay-text' is problematic for several reasons. The first reason is, as Street (1984, p. 1) points out, that essay-text literacy is in fact a "narrow culture-specific" form of literacy and as such is one among many forms, as Heath (1983), Barton and Hamilton (1998) and others have demonstrated. Yet, essay-text literacy is the meaning which tends to be applied in a generalised way as if it is what literacy *always* is – it dominates (Street, 1984). In so doing, other literacies are rendered less visible and, along with the 'cultural models' of what literacy is associated with them, are consequently less valued (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Gee, 2008).

In their Lancaster study, Barton and Hamilton (1998, p. 252) observed the high value placed on dominant literacies ("those [literacies] associated with formal organisations, such as those of education, law, religion and the workplace") compared to vernacular literacies (hybrid literacies which draw on literacy practices from different 'domains' of life and which are used in particular 'domains' such as the home). Reflective of the high value placed on school literacy and other officially-sanctioned literacies (which, Barton and Hamilton observe, are seen as "rational, and of high cultural value"), they found that vernacular literacies "are often downgraded and not valued by schools. They are often actively disapproved of" (p. 255). They observed that "vernacular literacy practices are frequently less valued by society and are not particularly supported or approved of by educational and other dominant institutions" (p. 255). Numerous studies show the problems children face in school when their home literacy practices differ from those of the school and are not acknowledged, valued and built on (see, for example, Heath, 1983).

The second problematic aspect of the dominance of essay-text literacy relates to the interconnectedness of texts and literacy practices with worldviews and people's sense of their social identity, or identities, that a social view of literacy has revealed. Scollon and Scollon's (1981) study of the discourse patterns and worldview of Athabaskans in Alaska and Northern Canada supports this idea. In contrasting the Athabaskans' discourse patterns and worldview – in Gee's (2008) terms, their "ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing, that are accepted as instantiations of particular identities by specific groups" (p. 3) – with those of much of Anglo-Canadian and Anglo-American society, these authors highlighted literacy's role in the construction of identity via the discourse patterns and worldview that texts and literacy practices reflect and are embedded in. The Scollons found that the discourse patterns of Athabaskans were, to a large extent, mutually exclusive of the discourse patterns of the Anglo-Canadians and Anglo-Americans they studied (which were those of "essayist prose") and that, "for the Athabaskan, writing in this essayist mode can constitute a crisis in ethnic identity" (Gee, 1993, p. 184). The dominance of this one narrow form of literacy is therefore concerning given the current, and increasing, cultural and linguistic diversity in our communities

(Kalantzis & Cope, 1999) and the implications for people's sense of identity and belonging.

Third, not only does a narrow view of literacy dominate, the confounding of literacy and schooling means that it is not always clear what is being talked about, leading to unfounded generalisations and questionable conclusions about what literacy does and what purposes it serves. For example, Hildyard and Olson's study made claims for what literacy could do but had not separated out the effects of literacy from the effects of schooling (Street, 1984). Confounding literacy and schooling is problematic because it can lead to erroneous conclusions about literacy's powers and misleading conclusions about students' school achievement. For example, lack of achievement can be blamed on lack of literacy when the problem is actually lack of congruence between home and the literacy and cultural practices of school (Heath, 1983). The failure to be clear about just what is being talked about is part of what Street is referring to when he expresses concern about the lack of theorisation within the skills-focused 'autonomous' model of literacy (Street, 1984).

Finally, from the perspective of literacy as social practice, claims for cognitive enhancement and economic and social progress as consequences of literacy in and of itself, as articulated within the 'autonomous' skills-focused view of literacy, are also problematic. From a social view, these are 'grand' claims based on largely unsupportable or confounded evidence (as Street, 1984, argues in relation to Hildyard and Olson's study) and constitute what Graff describes as a 'myth' (Graff & Duffy, 2008). Questioning Goody's conclusions, Scribner and Cole (1981) found in their 1970s study of Vai people in Liberia that all that could be said about the consequences of literacy is that "literacy makes some difference to some skills in some contexts" (p. 234). Their work showed that particular literacy practices promoted particular literacy-related cognitive skills (independent of schooling). Their view was that literacy was not a necessary or sufficient condition of the skills they saw, there was no general disadvantage in cognitive ability among 'non-literates', and there was no evidence to support a general claim to societal advancement because of literacy. They located the reasons for these very specific and limited consequences of literacy in their 'practice account' of literacy, in which both psychological skills and culture are 'in' (Vai) literacy. In other words, literacy

does have cognitive consequences but these are limited and specific and cannot be separated from the effects of culture. Literacy also has social consequences but these too cannot be so separated. The consequences do not come from some inherent quality of literacy itself.

Other counter-evidence for claims for social consequences can be found in Graff's work which dispelled the notion that literacy is linked, unproblematically, to social mobility. Graff (1979) found that literacy acquisition in nineteenth century Canada did not correlate with increased equality and democracy or with better conditions for the working class. While some individuals did gain, the effect was not statistically significant and the deprived classes and ethnic groups as a whole seemed to fare worse (Gee, 1993). Further, as Graff and Duffy (2008) point out, there have been moments in history where major changes in social conditions have occurred without any changes in the literacy practices of the societies involved. Also noteworthy in the context of the study is the observation that there is not widespread illiteracy. For example, Barton (1997) observes that all families use literacy.

Contemporary expressions of the 'myth' of literacy's powers, as in Graff and Duffy's (2008) examples, are particularly troubling for two reasons. The first reason is because they demonstrate the persistence, pervasiveness and hegemony of this belief in popular and political discourse in the face of considerable evidence to the contrary, such as can be seen in Scribner and Cole's study of the Vai (1981) and Graff's (1979) Canadian study, and the way in which, as Brandt and Clinton (2002, p. 337) observe, calling literacy a situated social practice is "something of an orthodoxy" in contemporary literacy research. The second reason is because they reflect beliefs that enable indefensible constructions of particular groups of people and actions to be taken that can be harmful to them and are ultimately damaging for communities and society. Colley and Hodgkinson's (2001) analysis of a British strategy for engaging young people in post-school training highlights this problem. The strategy has constructed the problem in a particular way; young people in particular situations are constructed by others as being particular kinds of people and the solutions to the problem are seen as resting in them. There is lack of evidence for the assertions which shape both the problem and the solution. The emphasis on the individual means that wider structural solutions are not

considered; the responsibility is placed on the individual rather than on society collectively.

Again a lack of theorising and explicitness in evidence, as Street (1984) laments, allows 'grand' claims to be made, unwarrantedly linking education (literacy) – by itself – with consequences for individuals and society. Part of the function of this current study is to assess the extent to which such beliefs appear to shape family literacy theory and programmes, particularly as these emerge and develop in New Zealand. As I show in Chapter Four, literacy abilities are undoubtedly useful to have as tools of daily, community and working life and by extension can make a useful contribution to addressing social problems. However, care must be taken, as Street has warned, not to over-inflate what literacy can do and to carefully unpack the relationships between people and context in order to see where literacy might help. From the perspective of literacy as social practice, concern about the skills-focused view is not that literacy is seen as skills, as cognitive activity or as the use of a technology per se. From a 'literacy as social practice' perspective, these are all aspects of literacy. The problem lies in the failure to appreciate that literacy is much more than this and to appreciate literacy education from this more complexified position.

4. 'Skills' and 'social practice' perspectives in the New Zealand context

How does the dominant skills-focused perspective, and its associated problems, reveal itself in New Zealand in the adult literacy policy context of which family literacy – the topic of this study – is a part, in comparison to the 'literacy as social practice' perspective?

A bias towards Western literacy forms is clearly present. As described in Chapter One, New Zealand government adult literacy infrastructural development work and provision of adult literacy education based on the Adult Literacy Strategy (Ministry of Education, 2001) and the foundation learning strand of the Tertiary Education Strategy (Ministry of Education, 2002) and implemented through the Learning for Living project (for example Ministry of Education, 2004)[50] – which

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[50] The language of "Learning for Living" was less visible after 2006 but the work continued.

collectively constitutes what I will call the 'adult literacy work' – has focused on literacy, language and numeracy, primarily in English and primarily in written and oral text-based forms. These forms also constitute the literacy of schooling. On the face of it, this is a rational choice. As in other Western nation states, albeit in different languages, these forms of literacy dominate in most domains of life and societal institutions, and many New Zealanders' abilities have been found to be low in the versions of these forms tested in the International Adult Literacy Survey (Walker et al., 1997) and the Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey (Satherley et al., 2008).

However, there are clear markers of awareness of multiliteracies and multimodality in both the sector and in official documents related to the adult literacy work. Within the sector, for example, Hanifin (2008, p. 126)[51], writing in New Zealand about the breadth of literacy, acknowledges the multiplicity of text forms, the evolving nature of literacy, and the new literacies that are emerging such as text messaging. She observes that "the literacy advantage of the 21st century lies with those who can communicate with a wide range of people using a variety of media" (p. 126).

Documents and activities related to the adult literacy work reveal a discursive journey exploring textual multiplicity. As described in Chapter One, the Adult Literacy Strategy itself refers to literacy in both English and Māori but otherwise deals only with literacy in English, as does almost all subsequent implementation activity (Ministry of Education, 2001, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2006a, 2006b) with the exception of the purchase of some te reo Māori programmes through adult literacy funding. Māori educators expressed concern about what they perceived as a narrow and non-inclusive definition of literacy in the Adult Literacy Strategy, not only because of its English language focus but also because of the dominance of the Western perspective which was in part related to its narrow and more individualistic orientation compared to the broader and more relationally-focused definition favoured by Māori (Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001). The National Adult Literacy Reference Group (a group of sector representatives who provided advice to government on the adult literacy work) discussed these

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[51] Tricia Hanifan is a long-time literacy educator and developer of literacy educator training (Benseman & Sutton, 2008).

differing perspectives[52] (see Chapter One). One result of such discussion was the addition of cultural context to the strategy definition for the purposes of an early infrastructural development project which then permitted, at least theoretically, different culturally-based expressions of what literacy is when the project outcomes were used in practical contexts (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2004). However the definition remained unchanged in the Adult Literacy Strategy itself. Indeed, the focus of the overall strategy has increased in specificity as the implementation has rolled out, reflected in and shaped by the refinement in the working definition. Whereas the definition in the Adult Literacy Strategy (2001, p. 4) is "a complex web of reading, writing, speaking, listening, problem solving, creative thinking and numeracy", the Learning for Living project (for example, Ministry of Education, 2004) refers to "literacy, language and numeracy". Literacy is now defined as "the reading, writing, speaking, listening and numeracy skills that adults need in everyday life, including work" (Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 62). The Ministry of Education's (2008a) own assessment of this change is that the new articulation is more specific and less broad. Importantly, it is quite clear, for example from subsequent implementation work[53], that it is essay-text literacy in English that dominates the official meaning of literacy and language in the adult literacy work within which family literacy sits.

The Key Competencies Framework introduced in Chapter One, in which literacy came to be located when links between the notion of foundation skills in the Tertiary Education Strategy and the notion of literacy in the Adult Literacy Strategy were explored, does, however, reflect a broader understanding of 'texts' as writers in the New Literacy Studies use the term. For example, and as observed earlier, the inclusion of 'symbols', 'knowledge' and 'technology' alongside 'literacy', 'language' and 'numeracy' in the 'using tools interactively' category of the framework represents a broader conceptualisation of the tools of meaning-making and communication than 'literacy' and 'language' (as the terms are used in that context) alone provide (Ministry of Education, 2005e, 2008a), a nod to textual

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[52] This comment is based on personal experience as co-chair of the Ministry of Education National Adult Literacy Reference Group which operated from 2002- 2004.

[53] Such as the Descriptive Standards ("descriptions of what adults know and can do when they are successfully meeting the language, literacy and numeracy demands in their everyday lives" in workplace, family and community contexts (Ministry of Education, 2004, p. 4)) and the Learning Progressions (tools for educators to design learning pathways for their adult students (Ministry of Education, 2004)).

multiplicity (see also Chapter One). Modes relevant to Māori, such as the geography of the land and the materiality of their meeting spaces, fit within the broader concept of meaning-making tools, although they are not included as literacies in their own right within the meaning of 'literacy' and 'language' used in the competencies framework or in the adult literacy work more generally.

Location of literacy within this framework also signifies acknowledgment of its complexity and goes some way toward seeing it as an interconnected phenomenon rather than as isolable skills. Competencies, of which literacy is one, are described not just as skills but also as knowledge, attitudes and values and as overlapping with other competencies. Thus literacy, language and numeracy and other competencies in the 'using tools interactively' category overlap with competencies in the 'operating in social groups' and 'acting autonomously' categories, all interlinked through competencies in the 'thinking' category (Ministry of Education, 2005e, 2008a). Elsewhere, literacy, language and numeracy are described as underpinning all other generic and specialised competencies (Tertiary Education Commission, 2006), an understanding reflected in the observation in the *Literacy, Language and Numeracy Action Plan 2008-2012* (part of the New Zealand Skills Strategy) (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008c) that literacy, language and numeracy are important in creative thinking and problem solving. In the sector, Hanifin (2008, p. 126) comments, in the context of the emergence of new literacies, that "reading and writing is still required to access all forms of literacy, whether traditional or new"[54]. This complexity expressed through the notion of foundation skills and competencies reflects the discourses of literacy that Hull (1997) describes internationally in the context of work (see Section 3.4.).

There is also a nod to literacy as ideological in the inclusion of 'attitudes' and 'values' alongside 'skills' and 'knowledge' as components of competencies (Ministry of Education, 2005e, 2008a). And, culturally-based ideological difference was partially accommodated in the adaptation to the 'acting autonomously' category to reflect the preference expressed by Māori and Pacific people (in sector consultation) for a stronger collective orientation[55]. However, the non-inclusion of

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[54] But not necessarily of alphabetic text.
[55] This comment is based on personal experience as a member of the cross-agency officials group (see Chapter Two).

a Māori understanding of literacy (beyond the inclusion of Māori language) in the Adult literacy Strategy and subsequent work continues to reflect a Western bias and in this sense also reflects an ideological choice regarding the literacies that will receive overt official attention at this point in time. Thus, overall, the picture is one in which literacy is seen as a complex and interrelated phenomenon and thus as *more than* skills, and the concept of multiliteracies and multimodalities *is* to some extent recognised. However a choice has been made to focus on the dominant Western essay-text-based forms for reasons which, from the dominant Western perspective, have a clear underpinning logic – these are the predominant forms in society and they are thought to be essential for social and economic progress – and to deal with the complexity by delivering programmes contextually. Of importance in the context of this current study, family and community are identified as examples of relevant and meaningful contexts along with workplaces (Ministry of Education, 2008a). Literacy in all these contexts is functional in the sense that it is for a specific purpose.

Contextualising literacy learning is very important. It aligns with a social perspective of literacy in which literacy is seen as purposeful, a view that underpins the adult learning theory to which the adult literacy strategy work defers (Ministry of Education, 2008a). Such theory argues that literacy is best learned in authentic, meaningful contexts in which the literacy being taught and learned is purposeful and relevant. Teaching literacy contextually reflects a view of literacy as an integrated phenomenon rather than as a set of isolable skills. It also accommodates, even though this is not articulated in official documents, a multiliteracies perspective as, from a 'literacy as social practice' perspective, different literacies are to be found in different 'domains' and 'subcultural' contexts, as described in Sections 2.2. and 2.4. It is also clear from descriptions of literacy programmes (Furness, 2006a, 2009b; Ministry of Education, 2008a) and descriptions of outcomes (Ministry of Education, 2004) that literacy is understood in New Zealand policy as social (rather than solely individual) and cultural phenomena, as described in Section 2.5. For example, literacy learning in work, family and children's learning contexts are described, and outcomes presented include not only changes in peoples' technical literacy skills but also changes in their workplace relationships and their interaction with their children and their children's schools (Ministry of Education, 2008a). There is recognition of the role

of literacy in identity in observations of peoples' changing perspectives of themselves as capable learners and contributors (Ministry of Education, 2004).

Also relevant to understanding the extent to which a skills view of literacy dominates in adult literacy work in New Zealand is the extent to which it is shaped by social or economic concerns. Early community-based literacy efforts, dating from the 1970s, were broadly based in the sense that services were intended to meet the needs of learners as they presented, which could include skills to meet the demands of workplaces or daily life. Community-based providers continue to offer such broad-based assistance (Harrison, 2008). Open access to post-compulsory education since the 1990s has led to tertiary institutions providing support to students with the literacy aspects of their tertiary learning (Cartner, 2008). The gap between people's skills in this more general sense and those needed in workplaces began to be observed and was responded to in the 1980s and 1990s with the emergence of workplace and work-focused literacy provision (Reid, 2008)[56]. Thus New Zealand saw something of the growth in adult literacy education seen internationally. However, despite expressions of concern from community literacy providers, tertiary institutions and workplaces about the level of literacy support needed, literacy was not seen as a 'crisis' by government until the International Adult Literacy Survey revealed large numbers of people with below 'functional' levels (Benseman, 2008b; Cain & Benseman, 2005); the 'promulgation' of programmes seen in Britain is thus more recent. The development of the Adult Literacy Strategy, the first adult literacy policy in New Zealand, and the inclusion of foundation learning as the third of six strands in the Tertiary Education Strategy which followed (Ministry of Education, 2001, 2002), reflect the serious attention paid to literacy following the International Adult Literacy Survey. Indeed, the Adult Literacy Strategy opening statement is that

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[56] A major economic restructuring in New Zealand in the 1980s was intended to transform New Zealand's 'stagnating' economy (Cain & Benseman, 2005). The effects of these reforms and general trends over several decades saw a shift from 'blue collar' to 'white collar' work – including a sharp decline in some sectors and resultant short-term loss of many jobs and quickly rising unemployment – and a general demand for higher levels of skills across all industries in order to compete globally. The Industry Training Act of 1992 and its off-shoot, the Industry Training Strategy centred on the new National Qualifications Framework, were part of these efforts. The Industry Training Strategy was an "industry-led effort to improve the quantity and quality of training tied to national standards" – the National Qualifications Framework – a "system that provides individuals with nationally recognised and portable credentials that reflect attainment of knowledge and skills" (Cain & Benseman, 2005, pp. 172, 170). This framework is overseen by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. School qualifications have also been reformed to sit within the same framework creating a more seamless national education and training structure.

"*urgent action...* is needed to improve adult literacy levels" (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 4) (my emphasis).

Concern has been broadly couched in both economic and social terms, as evidenced in statements in the Adult Literacy Strategy that: "High levels of literacy are critical for the transformation and modernisation of the New Zealand economy, and the transition to a knowledge society" and that "over the long-term New Zealanders should enjoy a level of literacy which enables them to participate fully in all aspects of life, including work, family, and the community" (Ministry of Education, 2001, pp. 4, 3). Neither is the term 'foundation skills' linked exclusively to work in the Tertiary Education Strategy and the Learning for Living project. Rather, work, job acquisition, further education, parenting and supporting children's learning are strong recurring themes, reinforced, for example, through case studies covering this range (Ministry of Education, 2004, 2008a). Funding streams target literacy acquisition in workplaces, industry training certificate-level education[57] and in the community. Community funding is of two types. One is for "high-need groups who might not be able to access learning at work, such as parents, people who have casual employment arrangements or people with very low levels of literacy and numeracy [in the sense as measured by the International Adult Literacy Survey]" (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008c, p. 13). These programmes are provided in contexts such as 'family literacy' or 'resettlement'. The second type is more informal "flexible, individualised learning" that is seen as "often a crucial first step for an individual in building their literacy and numeracy skills" (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008c, p. 13). The programmes in this current study are the first type of community programme.

The social rationale for literacy development appears to be not as strongly articulated currently as in the past, however, and a stronger work link is appearing. The most recent articulation of the adult literacy work locates it in a literacy, language and numeracy action plan that sits within the New Zealand Skills Strategy, the objective of which is to meet workplace needs (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008c). The newest Tertiary Education Strategy (covering 2010-2015) (Ministry of Education, 2010) appears less socially-focused and more strongly work and economy-focused than the previous Strategy and statements of priorities.

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[57] New Zealand National Qualifications Framework certificates levels 1 to 3.

Funding increases are directed at those in or near work (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008c). There is, though, a more strongly articulated commitment to improving Māori and Pacific peoples' involvement and success in education than has been the case, including commitment to appropriate approaches to attract and retain learners and to ensure their success. Māori language continues to be specifically included (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008c). At least in theory, this could allow the inclusion of all aspects of Māori or Pacific people's definitions of literacy in English-focused literacy programmes – presumably as long as English language goals are achieved – as well as in Māori or Pacific language programmes.

This is, then, a mixed ideological picture in New Zealand and it is difficult to tell the true hopes and beliefs of the policymakers, given the implications of the adult literacy work across such widely-divergent groups as businesses, government agencies and non-government organisations, workplace and community literacy providers, formal educational institutions and individual learners and groups of learners of all kinds. For example, the explanation of the literacy work within the Skills Strategy logically has a workplace/business/business 'bottom line' focus, but this does not necessarily mean that it is the only focus understood by the New Zealand government as important. From a surface view, what can be said of the literacy work is that its primary focus is on literacy, language and numeracy in its narrow meaning, but the concept of multiliteracies and multiple modes is recognised to some extent. Economic reasons also appear to be the main driver of the literacy work; social reasons are still present but work/economy reasons are strongly emphasised currently. The recognition of the importance of context in literacy learning, the contextualising of literacy in programmes and the tacit support of culturally-appropriate programme approaches articulated by the Ministry of Education and the TEC (for example, Ministry of Education, 2008; Tertiary Education Commission, 2008c) are positive steps. Genuine application of these principles has the potential to embody a valuing of peoples' different 'ways of being' (Gee, 2008), although perhaps only to the extent that the predominant focus on Western essay-text literacy permits. There is still a sense in which only lip service is paid to the deeper meanings of literacy and its association with identity and what that might mean for non-dominant groups. Of interest in this study is how these dynamics are played out in family literacy theory and programmes and how wellbeing is affected as a consequence.

5. Chapter summary: The meaning of literacy in this study

As I have shown in this chapter, the inherent breadth of a social practice perspective of literacy enables a more complete and complex understanding of what literacy is and highlights the limitations of the dominant skills perspective. A social view of literacy therefore underpins this study. Literacy is viewed as having technical, cognitive and individual aspects but, primarily, it is seen as fundamentally a social activity, deriving its significance for individuals and society from the social and relational context of its use rather than from any inherent qualities in literacy itself. Rooted in history and reflecting culture, literacy practices are viewed as connected to people's identities: their ways of being in the world as individuals and as members of multiple 'subcultural' groups (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Gee, 2008; Kalantzis & Cope, 1999). Literacy therefore means different things to different people in different contexts; there are many literacies, it is a "many-meaninged thing" (Scribner & Cole, 1981, p. 8). Some literacies are more valued in society than others, thus literacy is also ideological (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Street, 1984). In Western societies like New Zealand, essay-text literacy – the literacy of the school – predominates and its status is powerfully linked to a belief that it is essential for social and economic progress, an argument which is thin on empirical support (Graff & Duffy, 2008). The view in this study is that, as one of many literacies, essay-text literacy is important in some contexts whilst other literacies are important in other contexts (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). Further, no literacy is responsible by itself for social change but rather may contribute in complex and interrelated ways with other factors (Graff & Duffy, 2008). Thus, breadth and complexity, along with history, culture and ideology characterise literacy. A social perspective enables this more complete understanding, and therefore, in due course, a better understanding of what family literacy is, including how it has been shaped (including expanded or restricted) by definitions of literacy.

The meaning of family also influences what family literacy is thought to be and is the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 3
Family

1. Introduction

Just as conceptions of literacy are central to meanings of family literacy, so are conceptions of family. This short chapter gives first, in Section Two, a brief cross-cultural perspective on family form and function. This is useful as a 'bottom line' meaning of family on which a broader sociocultural understanding developed in the context of literacy and education is layered. The dominant image and discourse of family as a small, mainly 'nuclear', independent unit is compared to the broader construction of family as varied in form and interdependent. Notions of family in family literacy are then discussed in Section Three. As in Chapter Two in relation to literacy, individualistic and collectivist orientations are identified. In addition, the theoretical axis concerning the relative positioning of adults and children in the context of family literacy is observed, a theme which is further explored in Chapter Four. The discussion is contextualised within New Zealand as relevant to the study. For example, the particular perspectives of Māori and Pacific peoples as important non-dominant groups in New Zealand, and as groups who are in the study, are included. Where possible the perspectives of the particular Pacific people in the study are observed; that is Samoan, Tongan and Cook Islands perspectives. The meaning of family in the context of the current study is described in Section Four. This chapter reveals that 'family', like 'literacy', can be conceptualised in different ways. I argue for a broad conceptualisation of who is included in 'family' and a construction of families as "capable, cultural units" (Purcell-Gates, 2000, p. 859) as essential underpinning notions for family literacy.

2. The meaning of family

Ingoldsby and Smith (2006, p. 76) define family as "a kinship group providing nurturant socialisation of its children (natural or adopted)". According to these authors this definition represents the extent of what is constant in families when cultural and historical context-related differences are removed. Kinship is regarded as an important aspect of defining family as it frames the obligation members have

to other members of the group and to the wellbeing of the group as a whole (McPherson, 2003). Other definitions suggest a broader membership and a wider function of families in which historic and cultural difference (and contemporary circumstances) can be accommodated. For example, Smith (1993, as cited in McPherson, 2003) describes the family as "a small intimate group founded on assumptions of mutual reliance and co-operation" (p. 13). McPherson (2003, p. 13) believes this definition allows for the inclusion of "fictive kin" (Gittins, 1993) which includes non-biologically-related people who nevertheless fulfil their obligation to share resources and help each other. There are cultural differences in whether or not extended family is included in the general use of the term 'family' (McPherson, 2003). Families, irrespective of their form, are also important in fulfilling the human need for a sense of belonging and identity (Gottlieb, 1993, as cited in McPherson, 2003). As sites of socialisation, families provide 'apprenticeship' into particular cultural and linguistic 'ways of being', in Gee's (2008) meanings of these terms.

This 'bottom line' conceptualisation of the family alerts us to the fact that this important social unit, whilst having some core characteristics, can 'look', behave and be experienced by members very differently in different times and places. In this regard, Gottlieb (1993, as cited in McPherson, 2003) draws a distinction between ideology and the actual lived experience of families. Leichter (1997, p. 19) notes the breadth of human experience that can be found in family life in her observation that "Warfare, love, tenderness, honesty, deceit, private property, communal sharing, power manipulation, informed consent, formal status hierarchies, egalitarian decision-making – all can be found within the setting of the family". Family, then, is an enduring construct of importance to society through its provision of care, support and identity for family members, but with differing and changing ideas about membership and the nature and extent of support and obligation, and varying practices of family members within these parameters. Thus, while there are commonalities across families, family membership may also be very differently experienced.

A sociocultural perspective of the family as offered by Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez (1992) builds on this 'bottom line', revealing the richness and complexities that may be found in families as they go about the business of daily

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living: of caring and supporting, of nurturing and socialisation, and of surviving and thriving as best they can. These authors offer important insights in the context of concern about families' roles in learning. Moll et al.'s (1992) illumination of family life reveals the breadth of social relations and connections within and beyond the home that contribute to the social, cultural and economic life of the family; the wealth of knowledge and skills in the extended family and community that are social, cultural and economic resources for the family; and the complex ways in which reciprocated social relations and resources are entwined in family life. Families, as Moll et al. (1992) find them, are broad in membership and diverse in form, rich in knowledge and skill, and complex in their workings. There are many 'ways of being' for families, all with rich potential for caring for and supporting their members and the family group as a whole, and for contributing to the communities to which they belong and to society more generally. Such a perspective accommodates different culture and language-based family 'ways of being' such as was present in the mix of families in this study.

For Māori in New Zealand, extended family or whānau, among whom there is reciprocal responsibility, is collectively the primary source of support. Extended family to whom connections can be traced is much larger numerically in Māori society than is typically the case for Pākehā New Zealanders. Wellman (1990) observed that "the average Western extended family today compris[es] about 30 known kin" (as cited in McPherson, 2003, p. 11). Māori may have over 200 family members whom they see (Metge, 1976, as cited in McPherson, 2003). A high value is placed on interdependence among extended family in Māori society, which includes an extended family role and responsibility in the care of its members, and active family and tribal support. In contrast, individual and family independence is more highly valued in Pākehā society (A. Durie, 1997; Durie, 1998). For Māori, independence, for example of individuals, is acceptable as long as interdependence is not threatened (A. Durie, 1997).

Valuing of interdependence among family is part of a wider belief in the interdependence of all things which is fundamental and integral to Māori thinking and conduct (A. Durie, 1997). Whilst urbanisation has meant that contemporary Māori families, which take many forms, are often geographically separated from their extended family, there is also an increasingly vibrant, reshaped Māori society

in which extended family continues to come together (Durie, 1998). Family and family connections are as integral as they have always been in identity, sense of belonging and mutual support, and are the basis of a resurgent social and economic power base that has begun to emerge in the last thirty years (Durie, 1998).

The interdependence principle also underpins a further meaning of family for Māori which is different from Western perspectives; that is, the interconnectedness between living family, ancestors, deities and the land (A. Durie, 1997). This link binds families to their ancestral lands in ways that are outside the experience of other New Zealand families, generally speaking. Further, a sense of family is so important to Māori that new applications of the concept have evolved in response to contemporary contexts (Metge, 1995, as cited in Pryor, 2006). For example, Māori from different descent lines gather together as whānau in urban marae, and people who gather together for common purposes may regard themselves as whānau irrespective of their family connections (Metge, 1995, as cited in Pryor, 2006). This kind of whānau support has been important in the context of separation from descent family brought about through such processes as urbanisation and changes in lifestyles generally (Durie, 1998). Intermarriage has also broadened the ethnic mix among whānau membership.

People who have settled in New Zealand from the Pacific islands share some similarities with Māori in their historic valuing of collectivity and strong extended kinship ties and obligations (Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998). However, their circumstances as migrants or relatively new settlers with roots and continuing links elsewhere means they have a somewhat different and distinctive experience of family compared to indigenous Māori, European New Zealanders whether multigenerational or new settlers, and families remaining in their Pacific homelands (MacPherson, 2004; Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998). They have tended to settle in enclaves and have reconstituted family-based systems of their homelands strongly centred within the churches established by them within their local communities. For example, hierarchies of *matai* – titled heads of families traditionally at the village level – have been established within Samoan church congregations. Other family-based traditions such as ceremonial exchanges – *fa'alevelave* – on such occasions as weddings have increased in scale, and new

opportunities for ceremonies which bring families together have been found such as cutting a boy's hair and twenty-first birthdays. Contributions to family occasions in New Zealand, which can be very costly, are one expression of the fundamental value of service to family that underpins traditional Samoan life but which is under pressure from New Zealand-born Samoan children. Another form of service to family was the common practice among the early settlers of saving money for their families in the islands so that they could build homes of permanent materials, before turning their attention to their own material needs in New Zealand (Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998).

Pacific families living in New Zealand necessarily comprise *parts* of families, though these are growing and extending as the numbers of New Zealand-born Pacific people increases (MacPherson, 2004). Different, perhaps 'hybrid', identities are being forged by new generations of New Zealand-born Pacific children as they experience increasingly different processes of socialisation than those of their parents and grandparents who arrived as the first generation of settlers (MacPherson, 2004; Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998). Old social systems, even in their reconstituted forms, are increasingly challenged by Pacific young people. With reference to Anae (1998, 2001) and Maingey (1995) respectively, MacPherson (2004, p. 142) observed that the worldviews and lifestyles of New Zealand-born Pacific children "reflected to varying degrees the urban, capitalist, humanist, individualistic, and consumerist environment to which they had been exposed and the pedagogies and curricula of the institutions in which they were formally educated" and that "their increasingly polyethnic social networks reflected the growing importance of education, occupation and personal interest [rather than family and service to community] in shaping peer groups". Notably, Pacific families are increasingly ethnically mixed. In this context, MacPherson (2004) observes the tendency for Pacific families to be inclusive of people of other ethnicities and the consequent gradual blending of differing cultural perspectives or 'ways of being'.

Despite the distinctive meanings and experiences of families for different groups of people, the dominant conception of the family in New Zealand, as in other Western nations, is relatively restricted. The 'nuclear' family of two heterosexual parents and their children is the assumed and idealised family form even though this is a relatively recent and particularly European pattern; Western nations

increasingly comprise many cultural groups with other patterns; and nuclear families, though the most common form, are now becoming generally less common (Stratton, 2003). From a Western perspective, families, which as 'nuclear' are generally quite small, are seen as self-sufficient entities: independent, with choices, and responsible for their own situation (Peirson, 2005). Doing well as a family is often judged on such attributes as educational qualifications and occupation of family members and family income level, standards which tend to be those of the white middleclass – the so-called 'mainstream' of society. Thus, in countries like New Zealand, a Western perspective dominates ideas about 'right' 'ways of being' for families including and beyond their configuration; for example, how they should function and to what they should aspire (Peirson, 2005). Without denying the importance and relevance of such attributes as education and income, Māori and Pacific peoples place importance on additional attributes such as family connectedness and reciprocal support across extended family.

Two problems with the dominance of a Western perspective are especially noteworthy. One is the flip side of the notion of families as self-sufficient entities; that is, when families do not achieve according to 'mainstream' measures or have problems, their "failings" are "attributed to poor choices or deficits within the family" (Peirson, 2005, p. 452). Interventions to 'help' focus on the family and its individual members atomistically. Families are seen as needing to be 'fixed' (Darling, 1993; Street, 1997) rather than the wider societal problems or structures that affect their capacity to be self-sufficient. For example, factors over which families have no control, such as having a low income when there are limited job opportunities, are not given sufficient attention. Further, this 'fixing' of families is thought necessary to address not only problems that individuals and families might have but also wider social and economic problems (Darling, 1993). The second problem is the dominance of this perspective itself which makes the inclusion and expression of alternate family 'ways of being' difficult. Thus, just as for literacy as described in Chapter Two, a sociocultural perspective of the family enables the dominant model to be seen as a narrow, culture-specific form imbued with prescriptive ideological notions of appropriate family 'ways of being'.

3. The meaning of family in family literacy

'Family' is talked about in different ways in family literacy literature. In literature about programmes and in relation to form, the term is often used interchangeably with either parents and children or parents or carers (or 'caregivers') and children, or the surrounding text suggests that these are the people that are included in the meaning of family (see for example Hannon, 2000; Hendrix, 2000; Kerka, 1991). This definition of family as essentially a parent-child dyad, whether explicit or implicit, has a powerful presence in family literacy literature (Anderson, Lenters, & McTavish, 2008; Barton, 1997; Pitt, 2000). It reflects the dominant Western model of the family. Mothers in particular are strongly associated with family literacy, as in the image used in a British family literacy campaign which depicts a woman reading to a child (Barton, 1997). 'Extended family' is also sometimes included in family literacy literature and is sometimes defined, for example as grandparents, aunts and uncles (National Adult Literacy Agency, 2004). When extended family and other non-family adults are involved, for example in programmes, the term 'intergenerational' may be used (Kerka, 1991)[58].

However, more expansive definitions of family form are also found. For example, in a discussion of family literacy programmes and home literacy practices, Barton (1997, p. 103) observed that families "can be with or without children, they can be single-parent; they can be many forms of extended or complex families; there may be links with other generations, or there may be none". Still more expansive, Taylor (1997) observed in her comprehensive presentation and discussion of families and their literacies that:

> Descriptive studies of families and literacy in many different countries with many different cultural traditions…show that each family is an original, that there is a seemingly infinite variety of patterns of cooperation and domestic organization, and that flexible household arrangements are often an adaptive response to an uncertain world (p. 1).

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[58] Other variations in terminology related to meanings of 'family' include Hutchinson's (2000, p. 2) use of 'intergenerational family literacy' to refer to programmes with a dual focus on adult and child literacy.

Both Barton's (1997) and Taylor's (1997) depictions leave open the possibility of inclusion in family people who are neither family members in a biological or legal sense, nor carers, but among whom there is a family-like relationship such as may occur when unrelated people share a household for pragmatic reasons or simply choose to spend their lives together – Gittins' (1993) 'fictive kin'. Anderson et al. (2008) found the term "all types of families" among attempts at expanded definitions in some of the 48 programme websites they reviewed (p. 66). In the New Zealand context, I found varied articulations of family membership in family literacy programmes, including the parent-child dyad (for example Benseman, 2008a) and a broader "parents, grandparents or caregivers of children" (programme documentation, Benley Whānau Literacy Programme[59]). Family membership was seldom defined in programme information supplied in funding applications (Furness, 2006a). Overall, the possibility of broad interpretations of 'family' in 'family literacy' is not foreclosed.

In relation to function, families' literacy practices and their social practices and circumstances that are thought to be related to literacy come under scrutiny in the field of family literacy. Studies in the 'literacy as social practice' tradition which have looked at literacy practices within families[60] (for examples, Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Heath, 1983; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988) have shown, in keeping with Moll et al.'s (1992) observations of families' 'funds of knowledge', that families in all their cultural and linguistic diversity – their different 'ways of being' – participate in a wide range of literacy activities within the home and in daily life; that there are multiple pathways to literacy learning in families (Goodman, 1997); that families, despite often deplorable circumstances such as exteme poverty and deprivation (see Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988), have strengths and are resourceful; and that for the most part parents, regardless of their own literacy abilities, are "concerned about their children's education" (Barton, 1997, p. 105). These perspectives on families sit within what is described as a 'strengths' view (Auerbach, 1989, 1995) and represent one of two broad orientations towards families evident in family literacy discourse (Purcell-Gates, 2000; Whitehouse & Colvin, 2001). In this 'strengths' orientation, families are constructed as "capable cultural units" (Purcell-Gates, 2000, p. 859). Social circumstances such as political

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[59] This is one of the programmes in the study. It is not the real name of the programme.
[60] Such studies are part of the *first strand* of family literacy described in Chapter Five.

and economic oppression are regarded as putting families at risk rather than literacy abilities (Purcell-Gates, 2000). In this context, risk is in relation to such outcomes as poverty and social exclusion.

The other broad orientation is much more negative about families. In this view, diversity is cast in terms of difference in relation to dominant (normative and idealised) perspectives of families (Grant, 1997, as cited in Whitehouse & Colvin, 2001, p. 212). Differences are defined in terms of deficits and deficiencies of 'disadvantaged' families in comparison to 'advantaged' families. Low-income and cultural-minority families, being different from 'mainstream' (white middle-class families), are often assumed to be 'disadvantaged' and in need of "transforming...to mirror mainstream families" in order to "produce educational and economic success for their children" (Whitehouse & Colvin, 2001, p. 212).

This 'deficit' view of families in the context of family literacy pertains to literacy skills and broader aspects of literacy practices such as 'attitudes' and values towards literacy – families' wider literacy practices – and towards education more generally. It is sometimes assumed, for instance, that language-minority students come from literacy-impoverished homes in which education is not valued or supported (Auerbach, 1989; Whitehouse & Colvin, 2001). Further, the deficit net is thrown widely in some family literacy discourse, for example in some justifications for programmes, to include more generalised blaming of families' 'inadequacies' for wider societal ills (Darling, 1993). Such discourse includes targeting families as the solution to these bigger problems[61]. Deficit views and deficit-driven responses are unsurprising when the normative family is expected to be self-sufficient and is viewed, atomistically, as responsible for its own circumstances regardless of the wider context in which it may be located (Peirson, 2005). Further, such deficit discourse includes grand claims for what family literacy and family literacy programmes can do, just as is the case for literacy generally as I described in Chapter Two. For instance, the National Center for Family Literacy in the US advocates changing family literacy practices as the solution to America's social and economic problems through breaking the cycle of educational underachievement

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[61] As Grant (1997) observes, the deficit model has a "really nasty side" including "salving the conscience of the advantaged (like you and me), renders the work of would be helpers patronizing, and is powerless to expose or address the structural evils, the corporate sins and the broader social injustices" (as cited in Whitehouse & Colvin, 2001, p. 2).

(Darling, 1993)[62]. Both strengths-based and deficit perspectives of families are associated with studies on parental influences on children's literacy learning[63] and with approaches taken in programmes[64], as will be shown in Chapter Five.

Across the field as a whole, the parent-child dyad in the context of children's literacy learning is the pre-eminent construction of family. Parents feature mainly in the context of their role in their children's learning and in breaking the cycle of under-achievement and, often, of poverty (Darling, 1993). The prominence of this particular construction of families in family literacy reflects the dominance in the field of literacy generally, and in the field of family literacy in particular and as a whole, of Western ideals of family life and the role of parents, as will be shown in the next chapter. In the context of this study, it is important to lose sight neither of other rich and diverse family 'ways of being' also identified in literacy and family literacy research (for example Moll et al., 1992), nor of the ideological nature of some depictions of families and their literacies that present them as unable or unwilling to support their children's learning when research shows that this is seldom the case (Barton, 1997).

The minimal presence of adults as legitimate family literacy learners for reasons beyond their children's educational success, its importance not withstanding, is notable, although there are some studies, for example Handel (1999), which focus on adults and this gap *is* observed and lamented (Gadsden, 2002). Also notable is the link between families and schools via the predominance of school literacy over other literacies as will be further explored in Chapter Five.

Areas where greater understanding is needed have been observed as linked to concern for family health, the process whereby benefits occur, the divide between research and practice, how family literacy programmes can be relevant throughout the life course, the intersection of learning by multiple family members (Gadsden, 2002), and the meaning of participation to family members (Hannon, 2000).

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[62] The National Center for Family Literacy appears to be a powerful voice in family literacy in the US which may account for the often uncritical use of statements reflecting these ideas (see, for example, Darling, 1993).
[63] Such studies are part of the *second strand* of family literacy described in Chapter Five.
[64] Family literacy programmes and their evaluations constitute the *third strand* of family literacy described in Chapter Five.

4. Chapter summary: The meaning of family in this study

In New Zealand, extended family ties are particularly important in Māori and Pacific worlds (McPherson, 2003; Mulitalo-Lauta, 2001) and there are many ways in which New Zealand families and households are constituted (Pryor, 2006). These facts were the starting point for the choice of a broad and inclusive definition of family in this study. Families could include people of different or the same generation connected through biological, legal or informally-constituted ties, or through relationships of significance whereby members think of each other as 'family'. Using this broad definition, families could include households of related and unrelated people (kin or 'fictive kin') as well as related or 'fictive' family living outside the household. A fundamental principle established in relation to family literacy in the collaborative work *Many families, many literacies* is that families have the right to define themselves (Taylor, 1997, p. 7). I adhered to this principle, including in the participant families any family that named itself as such, irrespective of its form, and including as members of those families whomever they so named. I assumed that any 'fictive kin' were included because a family-like sense of commitment and obligation, caring and support (albeit possibly at varying levels) characterised the relationship/s. The parent-child dyad is therefore viewed as a subset of the various forms families may take. Like literacy, families are seen from a sociocultural perspective within which strengths, embedded in diverse cultural and linguistic 'ways of being', are recognised and valued. Problems experienced by families are seen as manifestations of wider social inequalities. Unsupported deficit perspectives are viewed as ideological. I am particularly focused on adults' experiences, especially as they express them, as a seldom-used starting point for understanding the effects of programmes on adult participants, their families and communities.

The next chapter describes the field of family literacy, which brings together perspectives on family from this chapter and perspectives on literacy from Chapter Two.

Chapter 4
Family literacy

1. Introduction

Like literacy, the term 'family literacy' has many meanings and there is no universal agreement on what it is (see for example, Morrow, 1995). Nevertheless, there are identifiable strands that constitute a discernable field of academic and practical endeavour that brings together families and literacy (Tracey & Morrow, 2006; Wasik, Dobbins, & Herrmann, 2003). These strands and other meanings they transcend will be discussed in this chapter, drawing on the discussion in Chapter Two which described the wider concept of literacy from a social practice perspective and from the dominant, skills-focused perspective and on Chapter Three where meanings of family in the context of family literacy are discussed. International perspectives are described and contextualised within New Zealand within the constraints imposed by the small quantity of local research and locally-derived theory in some strands.

The next section identifies the component strands of the field of family literacy. Section Three describes the first strand – naturally-occurring literacy practices within families. They are described first because this strand represents family literacy's most fundamental meaning. Arising from a 'literacy as social practice' perspective this strand provides a basis for identifying both broad and inclusive and narrow and restrictive perspectives in the other strands. The second strand – family influences on children's literacy learning – is described in Section Four, focusing first on social and cultural influences and then on more narrowly-conceived and more skills-focused studies which continue to be influential, mirroring the pattern in the wider field of literacy described in Chapter Two. The third strand – family literacy interventions and programmes – is then discussed in Section Five. Different kinds of family literacy programmes; the links and disjunctions between them and family literacy theory and research; and what is known about their effects on adults and children, families and communities are described. The shortcomings of a schools/'skills' focus compared to a 'social-contextual' approach is discussed. The chapter is summarised in Section Six,

highlighting the conceptions of family literacy in its various strands that underpin the study.

As well as discussing family literacy in relation to the theoretical axes of literacy as 'social practice' and as 'skills' and in relation to individualistic and collectivist perspectives as occurred in Chapter Two in relation to literacy more generally, this chapter discusses two further theoretical axes that are relevant to understanding the current status, tensions and potentialities in family literacy. The first of these axes relates to family literacy theory and its application (for example, in programmes). The second relates to the positioning of adults and children in family literacy theory and its application. How adults and children are differentially viewed is of particular interest, given the study's focus on adults' experiences of participation in family literacy programmes and the effects that 'flow on' from this participation.

This chapter argues for a broad conception of family literacy built on a socially-focused view of literacy, as described in Chapter Two, and an inclusive and strengths-based conception of families and their literacies as described in Chapter Three, in order to realise "the full range of possibilities that exist for family literacy" (Puchner, 1997, p. 7).

2. Component strands of the field of family literacy

'Family literacy' brings concepts of 'family' and literacy' together (Barton, 1997). For as long as there have been literacy practices, families have engaged in them and therefore family literacy in its most fundamental sense – literacy practices within families – is not a new phenomenon. However, whereas 'reading', 'writing' and 'literacy' are terms widely used in popular discourse and have been used for a long time, 'family literacy' is a relatively new entrant, arriving via research linking literacy and families and the development of educational programmes aimed at strengthening family members' literacy abilities. The concept is widely recognised as first proposed in 1983 by Denny Taylor in her seminal work on the topic set out in her book *Family literacy: Young children learning to read and write* (Taylor, 1983; Tracey & Morrow, 2006). One of the earliest citings of the term in New Zealand is Alison Sutton's description of the Kenan-type model (see Chapter One) at the

ARLA (Adult Reading and Learning Federation of Aotearoa New Zealand Inc.) conference in 1995 (Sutton, 1995).

Perhaps because the phenomenon of family literacy was first named in a research context, a regularly used framework for its definition is in terms of a topic of study. Amongst family literacy researchers there appears to be something of a common view that rather than being, as Tracey and Morrow (2006, p. 89) put it, "a unified theory proposed by a single researcher", family literacy is:

> a series of ideas proposed by many researchers who share viewpoints on (1) the design, implementation and evaluation of programs to facilitate the literacy development of family members; (2) the relationships between literacy use in families and student's academic achievement; and (3) the ways in which literacy is naturally used within the context of the home.

Indeed, these same foci are included in Wasik et al.'s (2003) description which elaborates further on the extensive range of topics and sites that have been included under the banner of studies in family literacy:

> Family literacy includes studies about specific intervention procedures, such as adult education, early-childhood education, and parenting education, as well as programs for learners of English as a second language. Family literacy may also encompass studies of emergent literacy, reading, and school performance. (p. 445)

However, the field of family literacy is not only defined by studies. All the objects of study (family literacy practices, family influences on children's literacy and family literacy programmes), independently of studies about them, are included in the many ways the term is used. Further, like 'literacy', 'family literacy' takes on specific meanings dependent on its context of use. In programmes, for example, it may mean supporting parents to read books to their children or establishing a community library (Brooks, Pahl, Pollard, & Rees, 2008). As practices, it may mean doing the household accounts or writing letters (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). It may mean a child's drawing, model or collage, as in Pahl's (2002) study of children's meaning-making at home. Further, a social practice perspective of literacy suggests

that, like literacy, family literacy may have different meanings for each person involved in any particular family literacy event. In Pahl's (2002) study, Sam's 'texts' (his Pokemon figures) were sometimes construed by his mother as 'part of himself' which should be displayed and sometimes as 'mess' which cluttered the home. Thus, there is wide reach and variety in definitions and meanings of family literacy. Venezky, Wagner, and Ciliberti (1990, p. ix) observe of social concepts such as literacy and poverty that, "Like jelly and sand, they are without intrinsic shape, defined and redefined by the vessels which hold them". This seems an apt description of family literacy. As some writers observe, its widespread nature and complexity may mean there is never agreement on a single definition (Morrow, 1995; Thomas & Skage, 1988, as cited in Fagan, 2001).

It is also important to make the point that 'family literacy programmes' are often used interchangeably with the broader term 'family literacy' even though, as the identification of strands in family literacy suggests, they are not the same thing (Hannon, 2000). As the strands show, family literacy is more than family literacy programmes. Indeed, one of the important ways of considering family literacy in order to clarify its meaning/s is to consider the body of theory and research connected with the term, and to make clear the distinctions and the overlaps between this body of knowledge and family literacy programmes and their evaluations. This necessarily requires clarifying the meanings of literacy and perspectives on families that are evident in the strands as they are discussed hence these were presented in Chapters Two and Three. Distinctions and overlaps between theory and research and programmes and programme evaluations, and their implications, will be clarified in Section 5.2.

3. Family literacy as naturally-occurring practices

Literacy practices within families began to be studied in the 1980s, drawing on the new constructions of literacy as social practice applied and expanded within the particular context of the family. From a 'literacy as social practice' perspective, family literacy is all the reading, writing and communicating which occurs naturally in the everyday social practices of families (Hannon, 2000; Harrison, 1995; Leichter, 1997) and in their community interactions (Barton, 1997; Hannon, 2000; Taylor, 1997) as they go about the business of living. Family literacies are not

confined to those which are evident within the home but may also be observed or inferred from events external to the home that are nevertheless connected to the daily life of family members or the family as a whole. On this basis they are distinguishable from such other literacies as those of school and workplace, though traces, even substantial quantities, of these other literacies may be found within the home (Cairney & Ruge, 1998, as cited in Cairney, 2008). This strand of family literacy – as naturally-occurring literacy practices within the family – can be thought of as contextualised varieties of the wider phenomenon of literacy as social practice described in Chapter Two. In this section, and in Section 4.1., Heath's (1983) and Taylor's (1983) classic studies are referred to often as they are foundational to the perspectives which constitute this strand of family literacy, brought up-to-date with David Barton's and others more recent work which build on these foundational studies.

Studies which explore family literacy practices have found numerous written language, oral language and other texts in homes and used by families (Barton, 1997; Pahl, 2002; Taylor, 1983, Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). Barton's (1997) list of written texts and associated practices from the Lancaster study is illustrative. Presented below, the list is derived from surveys, interviews and observations with adults as the starting point but Barton observes that, as well, children were exposed to the texts and participated in the practices that were documented:

> People deal with shopping lists, TV schedules, and junk mail. They write and receive personal letters and cards; some keep diaries, some write poems; they deal with official letters, bills, and forms; they have notice boards, calendars, scrapbooks, recipe books, address books; they read local newspapers, catalogues, and advertisements; people keep records of their lives, and read and write to make sense of this complex world; they belong to community organisations and pursue leisure interests bound by a web of newsletters, magazines, notices, minutes, and messages; there are instructions that accompany every consumer good and service, from a bicycle helmet to a gas bill; people are even told by written instructions how, when, and where to put out the rubbish. (p. 104)

Likewise, from Taylor's (1983) study can be added information about school events and children's drawings with writing on them. From a New Zealand example can be added Bible reading, "church teachings in the form of morality stories and lessons", and letter writing in Samoan families (McNaughton, 1989, p. 11). Family members talk around written text, for example, as children organise their play and parents organise the household (Taylor, 1983), and oral language can feature strongly in its own right, for example in storytelling among Trackton families as Heath (1983) found in her Piedmont Carolinas study. The multimodality of texts to be found in homes is evident in Pahl's (2002) description of the visual and oral texts (which included written and oral narratives) and artefactual texts (drawings, models and collages) involved in children's meaning-making at home. These examples of a 'textual multiplicity' (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000a) were found in culturally, linguistically and socioeconomically diverse families – 'working-class' families in Barton and Hamilton's study, 'white middle-class' families in Taylor's study, low-income 'minority' families in Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines study, 'black working-class' families in Heath's study[65], and Indian and Turkish families in Pahl's study – highlighting the important point that all kinds of families acquire and use texts in their homes.

As Barton's (1997) list indicates, studies have found that families use literacy in many different ways and for many different purposes in the course of their daily lives (Cairney & Ruge, 1998, as cited in Cairney, 2008; Heath, 1983; Pahl, 2002, 2005; Saxena, 1994; Taylor, 1983, 1997, 1998; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). Kalman's (1997) description of Sr. Gonzalo's reading and writing illustrate one person's particular uses of literacy in their home and family context. Sr. Gonzalo, a retired driver who continues to work as a chauffer and handyman for a family, had no schooling as a child and less than four years education as a young adult. Among his ten daughters are a physician, an accountant and a translator. Noting that Sr. Gonzalo's work literacies are different again, Kalman (1997, p. 54) lists his home literacy practices as:

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[65] Heath's (1983) study also included families from a 'white working-class' community and families from a 'white middle-class' community.

Home	Administrates family budget and keeps records of expenses
	Maintains family file of official papers, files, forms, bills, and identification documents
	Looks for information in phone book and TV guide
	Uses how to manuals for building and gardening projects
	Writes and receives messages
Church	Reads Bible and prayers
School	Does homework with grandchildren
	Reads stories to grandchildren
Recreation	Does crossword puzzles
	Reads 'Readers Digest', illustrated texts (comics, fotonovellas), novels, stories and sports journals

Sr. Gonzalo's literacy practices carried out within the home 'domain' are purposeful and get things done as information is found, documents are organised, crosswords are enjoyed and grandchildren's school learning is supported. Individual, family and community interests, values and concerns can be inferred from the things that get done via the home literacy practices of this one family member. Barton and Hamilton (1998) also point out that practices may be casual and opportunistic, such as browsing a magazine brought into the home by someone else.

Family literacy practices, occurring naturally within the ebb and flow of daily life, are embedded in a rubric of social relations (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Heath, 1983; Pahl, 2002, 2005; Saxena, 1994; Taylor, 1983, 1997, 1998; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). Whilst Sr. Gonzalo's practices are in some senses individual (for example, he personally undertakes them for his own purposes), they are also social, connecting Sr. Gonzalo with other family members and the community. Sr. Gonzalo reads to his grandchildren and helps with their homework; he assists the family as a whole through his management of financial matters and official documents; he is connected to his local community through his Church interests and his grandchildren's schooling and to his wider national community as a citizen, indicated in his filing of identification documents. Thus, family literacy involves relationships not only with family members but with others in the 'borderlands' between home, and community and society (Wilson, 2000). Sr. Gonzalo's many

social identities – as grandfather, teacher, financial manager, builder, gardener, Church member, citizen and so on – can be observed in these varying transactions.

Through this embeddedness in a network of relations within the family and extending out from the home to the community and society (Kassen, 1991, as cited in Barton, 1997), literacies from many 'subcultural' contexts or 'domains' of life or institutions such as the Church and school (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Cope & Kalantzis, 2000a) become part of the literacy experiences in the home. Homework and bills come into Sr. Gonzalo's home from outside and go back out again to the community as homework is done and bills are paid. Others are 'hybrids', drawing on established literacies such as financial literacies re-formed within the home for specific family purposes, as when Sr. Gonzalo constructed a petty cash accounting system for his daughters so they could buy their 'minor school supplies' (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Kalman, 1997). These practices reflect wider cultural practices and traditions of both the home and the organisations and institutions from which the outside literacies derive: Bible reading (as practiced by Sr. Gonzalo as well as Samoan families in New Zealand for example) is a cultural practice of the Church; homework is a cultural practice of the school. Barton and Hamilton (1998) conceptualise home and community literacies as 'local' by which they mean as experienced within people's contexts of daily living which takes them from home out into their community or communities. Pahl and Rowsell (2005) observe that local literacies may also be 'global'. Cope and Kalantzis' (2000a) observation that people are increasingly engaged in many 'subcultural' communities and that these are increasingly global supports the notion that even within the relatively confined and private space of the home, both local and global connections from outside the home may intrude or be welcomed in.

Given the high value placed on school literacy (and other officially sanctioned literacies associated with formal organisations and institutions) over other literacies (Barton & Hamilton, 1998), several observations about the presence of school literacy in the naturally-occurring practices of the home are noteworthy. School literacy is just one of many literacies that may be found in the home, as was the case for Sr. Gonzalo (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Cairney, 2008; Kalman, 1997; Saxena, 1994). Indeed, home literacy is broader than school literacy (Cairney, 2003;

Freebody, 2008; Kalman, 1997)[66]. Logically, school literacy in such forms as homework and school reports may not be found at all in homes in which no children are present, though the literacy of the school – essay-text literacy – which dominates formal organisations and institutions beyond school is a consistent presence in households and communities in which family members interact. The Bible and official documents in Sr. Gonzalo's home (and the Bible in the New Zealand Samoan families' homes) are examples (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Kalman, 1997; McNaughton, 1989). Cairney and Ruge (1998, as cited in Cairney, 2008, p. 214) observed in their study of Australian families' home and school literacy practices that, in families where children are present, school literacy can be a large part of home literacy, "primarily in the amount of time spent on homework...and, to a lesser extent, siblings 'playing schools'". In New Zealand, Phillips and McNaughton (1990) found that parents in the Pākehā families they studied read an average of 87 books to their pre-school children in 28 days.

Further, observations of home literacy practices have revealed support for literacy among family members and within the home in deliberate acts or at the "margins of awareness" (Kalman, 1997; Leichter, 1997, p. 19) such as, respectively, Sr. Gonzalo's homework help and storybook reading. There is strong evidence that parents care about their children's education. Indeed, the hope of a better education for their children is often cited by families as the reason why they leave their homelands for other countries (Auerbach, 1989; Puchner, 1997), a phenomenon observed in relation to families moving from Pacific islands to settle in New Zealand (see Chapter Three). And, bidirectionality of literacy interactions between and across generations has been observed, reflecting many pathways to literacy in families (Goodman, 1997). For example, in bilingual or multilingual immigrant families where English is the dominant language in the society but is not the families' first language, children who are learning and using English at school may help parents and grandparents with English language tasks, whilst parents and grandparents model the home language for the children in their daily interactions (Puchner, 1997).

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[66] According to Freebody (2008), studies have found that school literacy is a much more restricted form than can be found in families and workplaces.

Thus, a broad 'social practice' view of what literacy is and what it is for applied to families reveals a rich and varied array of literacies and literacy practices occurring naturally as families go about their daily lives (Barton & Hamilton; 1998; Heath, 1983; Puchner, 1997; Saxena, 1994; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). These include dominant literacies which may in turn include school literacies but are not limited to them (see, for example, Saxena, 1994; Taylor, 1983). An ideological stance is therefore evident in 'deficit' constructions of families, their literacies, and their literacy practices found in some family literacy discourse. This is often in relation to some kinds of families and not others (as described in Chapter Three) and is contrary to the empirical support that exists in such studies as those cited in this section of widespread literacy use and interest in literacy in all kinds of families – of family and literacy 'strengths'.

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4. Family and parental influences on children's learning

Family and parental influences on children's literacy development is the oldest strand in family literacy theory and research, preceding studies of naturally-occurring practices which were in part a response to these earlier studies (Gadsden, 2008). This strand appears to predominate in the conceptualisations of family literacy that underpin most policy and programmes. It originates from studies in the US in the 1960s and 1970s which searched for explanations for poor school achievement of cultural-minority children in low-income homes (Gadsden, 2008). These studies identified differences in the literacy experiences of these children compared to the literacy requirements of school, sometimes expressed in terms of 'deficits' and 'disadvantage' and locating the 'problem' in the students and their homes. At other times, this phenomenon was expressed in terms more akin to a 'multiliteracies' approach (Auerbach, 1995) whereby the home dialect was seen as one among many. In these studies, the 'problem' was located in teachers and schools and their "problematic attitudes" towards the home dialects of their students and their families (Gadsden, 2008).

Gadsden (2008) reports two consequent responses to the perceptions of the 'problem': one which turned attention towards family and parents and their particular influence on children's literacy learning, and another which was a more

general exploring of the place of sociolinguistic, cultural and contextual factors that influenced children's literacy and which challenged the existing predominant cognitive paradigm of literacy learning[67, 68]. The broader studies enabled a more comprehensive understanding of literacy practices and literacy learning within the family and community and a more critical account of the wider social milieu shaping actual and perceived literacy achievement. Important ideas about children's literacy learning within the home from the broader studies are described first, enabling a critical perspective to be taken in relation to other more narrowly-conceived studies.

4.1. Social and cultural factors

Studies such as Heath (1983), Taylor (1983) and Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988), which explored in ethnographic detail the naturally-occurring literacy practices of families, provided an important base of evidence of their richness and diversity, their socially-embedded nature and the cultural factors which shaped them. Connected to this base, these studies also illuminated how, in complex ways, children are socialised into the literacy practices of the family and learn to read, write and talk according to the social requirements and cultural practices and expectations of their families and communities as a naturally-occurring part of daily family and community life. These and other studies also revealed important implications for children's later success in school, connected to how well home literacy practices match those of school (Heath, 1983; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988).

Heath's (1983) account of family and community literacy practices and children's socialisation into them as they learn to read, write and talk clearly illustrates cultural differences yet also consistent complexity and richness across all

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[67] Prior to the 1980s children's language and literacy learning was seen as the purview of the schools (Gadsden, 2008); children were thought to come to school more or less with a blank slate and it was the school's role, not the parents, to educate them. Learning theories were shaped by behavioural theories in the form of maturational theories and later developmental theories (Cairney, 2003); schools preferred to manage children's learning, including their literacy learning, according to ideas of maturational or developmental readiness which they, rather than parents, they believed, understood.

[68] The 'problem' of poor school achievement of some groups of children continued to be located in families but there was a shift from a perception that schools should address it to a view that it could be addressed by changing families (Gadsden, 2008).

communities. For example, Roadville[69] parents, who lived a relatively contained and private family life, see themselves as preparing their children for roles they expect them to play, talk to their children from babyhood, and later, seeing their children as "conversational partners", expect them to "answer questions, read books cooperatively, and learn to label and name the attributes of real-world and book objects" (p. 146). According to Heath these are "seemingly tutored and pre-scripted roles in which the children learn their parts". In contrast, Trackton[70] parents expect that their children will grow up to fulfil a variety of roles. The children are surrounded from birth by the conversation of parents, extended family and community members as life is lived much more than Roadville families in open community spaces. Of Trackton children, Heath explains:

> As they come to talk, they repeat, vary the language about them, and eventually use their language to work their way into the streams of speech about them....Once old enough to be accepted in ongoing talk, children are expected to answer questions comparing items, events, and persons in their world, to respond creatively to question challenges, and to report their feelings, desires, and experiences. Without specific explication, they must learn to see one thing in terms of another, to make metaphors of the world about them. (p. 147)

Heath (1983) and Taylor's (1983) studies with culturally-different communities contributed important insights about children's literacy learning within their families and communities, evident in the examples above from Heath's study. Though literacy practices differ across communities, Heath and Taylor both found that parents are engaged in the transmission of literacy values and styles to their children and approaches to this transmission change at important moments, such as when children start school. Parents and other family members such as siblings and extended family (Taylor, 1983), as well as community members (Heath, 1983), mediate children's literacy experiences. The experiences through which children become aware of and learn to use literacy occur within the rubric of family and community life rather than being special, added on activities, and this is the case in families of both successful and less successful readers (Taylor, 1983; Taylor &

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[69] A 'white working-class' community.
[70] A 'black working-class' community.

Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). Further, variability in how much literacy is used and valued occurs within rather than across culturally-different communities (Hohepa & McNaughton, 2002; Purcell-Gates, 2000).

Duran (1996, p. 26) reminds us that "acquiring and learning to use one or more languages cannot be separated from learning how to be a competent participant in activities requiring language use". In Barton and Hamilton (1998) and Gee's (2008) terms, this means being able to engage in the D/discourses[71] – ways of being in the world and of being particular types of people – associated with the uses of literacy in particular contexts. This process was clearly evident as Roadville and Trackton children learned from their families and communities how to participate in daily activities in which literacy was used in ways which were valued by their families and the communities in which they lived. Such participation is also, therefore, tied to people's identities (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Gee, 2008; Reber & Reber, 2001).

A New Zealand example is provided by Hohepa and McNaughton (2002, p. 202) who describe "distinct cultural patterns" within Māori families in specific home-based literacy events "such as reading to children or learning to write one's name". For example, the preferred interactional style in such activities involves "an adult or more expert reader reading part of the text and the less expert child repeating that part of the text or completing a missing section" (p. 202). This practice reflects the *tuakana-teina* principle, a valued cultural practice whereby "the older sibling or more expert member of the group takes responsibility for the needs of the younger or less expert member of the group" (p. 203). Further, such events often take place as 'multiparty' activities (for example, with siblings or other family members) reflecting the Māori cultural preference for group learning (aligned to their collectivist worldview) rather than the dyadic parent-child pattern common in European/Pākehā families in literacy learning contexts (which reflects a more individualistic worldview) (Hohepa & McNaughton, 2002). In this context in which collectivity is valued, development of individual expertise carries with it responsibilities to the group. Knowledge, regarded as a group possession rather than belonging solely to the individual, is to be used in the service of the group as in the tuakana-teina relationship. This is part of the wider principle of collectivity –

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[71] See footnote 42.

of *whanaungatanga* or 'familiness' (Hohepa & McNaughton, 2002). These practices are expressions of a distinctive culturally-based 'core' identity[72] (Hohepa & McNaughton, 2002).

Children's literacy learning, then, involves more than merely acquiring a technology, but rather is a socially and culturally-embedded process involving transactions between people and experienced at both an individual and social level. Parental, family and community values and beliefs about literacy and its purposes, and broader social practices of family and community life, all influence children's home literacy experiences (Heath, 1983; Hohepa & McNaughton, 2002; McNaughton, 1989; Taylor, 1987; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). The teaching and learning of literacy, occurring naturally within the socialisation processes inherent in the daily interactions of families and communities, construct the meaning of literacy for children (Street, 1984). It is in this sense that not only parents but families as a whole (that is, including siblings) and extended family members, and the members of communities in which children closely interact, may be regarded as strongly influential in children's literacy learning and socialization, a process which may occur in conscious or unconscious ways (Leichter, 1997). And, it may also include influences from far-off places, as Pahl and Rowsell (2005) and Cope and Kalanzis (2000a) suggest in their more general literacy work, via the increasingly global connections to be found in the literacies of families and communities. Importantly, children's identities – how they see themselves in relation to their social world – are bound up in the literacy practices they come to engage in as part of their wider social experience.

With this understanding of diversity and richness in family literacies and literacy practices and of families and communities engaged in various ways in the literacy socialisation of children, I return to the issue of the poor school achievement of some groups of children, a concern identified in New Zealand as well as elsewhere (see, for example, Bishop, 2008). The work of Moll et al. (1992), combined with that of Heath (1983) and others, suggests that family literacies and literacy practices and the body of knowledge and skills in which they are complexly intertwined are ample resources for children's literacy and learning achievement at school. Yet the

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[72] Which is not to say all Māori families are the same. There is also considerable variation, reflecting what Hohepa and McNaughton (2002, p. 203) refer to as 'negotiable' aspects of identity.

problem of poor achievement for some children persists, pointing, as these authors suggest, to the 'problem' not lying with families but rather in the mismatch between home and school literacy practices and the choice of schools not to draw on and build on home experiences as resources.

Instead of drawing on children's and families' literacy practices and 'funds of knowledge', schools, as was pointed out in Chapter Two, tend to use and teach the narrow essay-text form of literacy. Further, schools tend to regard reading and writing of essay-text literacy forms as skills (rather than as social practices) and teach them in a decontextualised way (Street, 1984). This approach may be contrasted with the highly contextualised socially and culturally-embedded uses and transmission of literacy practices and values that occur idiosyncratically in families and at home (Heath, 1983; Taylor, 1983; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). In their efforts to ensure success at school for all students, schools have generally sought to improve families' support of the existing narrow and restricted school practices (Cairney, 2008) rather than embracing and building on the diversity of children's and families' literacies, literacy practices and 'funds of knowledge' with which they are already familiar and which could provide a more relevant and meaningful context for learning (Moll, et al., 1992). Researchers who have identified these rich resources in families, seeing them as strengths rather than deficits in relation to the expectations of school, argue for them to be more highly valued and incorporated in school curricula and pedagogy (Heath, 1983; Moll et al., 1992). They observe that by ignoring home and family resources, their generative potential for success in school literacy has been overlooked. Observing the rich literacy experiences in the home environments of pre-school Māori and Pacific children in New Zealand (McNaughton, 2001), Hohepa and McNaughton (2002) have argued for collaborative approaches between home and school in order "to add to the proper literacies of families [in this context that is literacy as Māori define it (see Chapter Two)] and to add to the effectiveness of classroom instruction" (p. 212). Schools' persistence with non-inclusion of home literacy practices must thus be regarded as an *ideological* choice.

4.2. Family and parental influences

Studies in this ilk focus more narrowly on the role of the family and home as a site for preparation for and support of schooling and, within this, the role of parents, their literacy interactions with their children, and their use of and support for school-like literacy behaviours – "children's literacy achievement in school was seen as inextricable from parents' capacity to engage in school-like interactions and communications with their children" (Gadsden, 2008, p. 165).

Studies in 'emergent literacy' (Cairney, 2008) and constructivist theories of children's literacy learning provided a backdrop for parent-focused studies. Emergent literacy studies challenged maturational theories of children's cognitive development which had previously confined literacy learning to the school years and the responsibility of teachers not parents. These studies showed that pre-school children were actively engaged in literacy learning and were encountering significant literacy experiences at home and in community settings. Simultaneously, according to Cairney (2008, p. 211), newly emerging constructivist theories based on the work of Vygotzky (1978) and Brunner (1983) proffered that "rich literacy experiences, scaffolded support and encouragement of meaning-making and risk-taking" were "vital" in children's language learning. Such work "reinforced the social foundations of literacy" (Cairney, 2008, p. 211). In general, schools interpreted this work as providing valuable new mechanisms to support what was and still largely is seen as the cognitive, skills-based work they do with children as they learn/are taught to read and write.

Against this backdrop of theoretical and empirical support for early social influence on children's literacy learning, the role of parents received specific attention. Much of the support for the idea that parents have a vital role in their children's school literacy achievement comes, according to Wasik et al. (2003), from a 'long history' of research that correlates parental storybook reading with later literacy success in school (for example Bus, van Ijzendorn, & Pelligrini, 1995, as cited in Wasik et al., 2003). Other influential studies include those which have shown that the style of parent-child interaction is more important than book reading per se (Beals, DeTemple, & Dickinson, 1994; Snow, 1994, both as cited in Wasik et al., 2003) and that the uses of print and the number of books in the home

influence children's literacy (Wasik et al., 2003). Other studies have shown correlations between school literacy achievement and parents' (particularly mothers') literacy abilities (Handel, 1999) and between school literacy and home language and culture (Purcell-Gates, 2000)[73]. The argument derived from these kinds of studies is that children who are familiar with those attributes of literacy which schools use, teach and value are more likely to achieve success at school. Or, in Heath's (1983) terms, when there is 'continuity'[74] between home and school practices. Parents and homes are seen as critical providers of this familiarity. One interpretation of these studies has been that families can be rich resources for children by providing them with opportunities and resources to learn, and to come to value, the literacy ways of school (Gadsden, 2002).

However, another interpretation has been that such studies reveal evidence of parental and family *in*ability, linked to some societal groups and not others, to adequately support their children's learning. Such a deficit perspective has been used to support a distorted and unfair perception of many families, in particular families from low-income and cultural-minority backgrounds. Families whose literacy practices differ from those of the school are labelled deficient, blamed when their children do not succeed in school, and often subjected to the more generalised labelling and blaming, for example by policymakers, for everything that is wrong in society (Darling, 1993).

Researchers who have identified richness in the differing literacy practices of families do not accept this blaming of families for children's lack of success in school (nor for all of society's problems!), observing that it is based on faulty reasoning (Taylor, 1997) and misuse of data (Hannon, 2000). For example, a causal link has not been established between storybook reading and later school success (Wasik et al., 2003). Studies report children succeeding in school whose parents could not read (for example, Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith, 1984, as cited in Gadsden, 2008). Chall and Snow (1982, as cited in Auerbach, 1989) found a differential effect rather than a simple correlation between parents' literacy level, educational background, amount of time spent on literacy work with children and

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[73] Many writers have reviewed the numerous studies on these topics making similar general comments, for example Purcell-Gates (2000).
[74] See McNaughton (2001) and Hohepa and McNaughton (2002) for useful discussion of this notion in the New Zealand context in which they argue for strategies in both directions.

overall achievement. Further, several other factors indirectly affected many aspects of reading and writing. These included "frequency of children's outings with adults, number of maternal outings, emotional climate of the home, amount of time spent interacting with adults, level of financial stress, enrichment activities, and parental involvement with schools" (Chall & Snow, 1982, as cited in Auerbach 1989, p. 172). The important point here is that parents and home literacy activities are not the only factors which affect children's literacy achievement.

5. Family literacy as programmes

Perspectives on families, their literacies and literacy more generally come together in family literacy programmes. The varying nature of these perspectives means that family literacy programmes vary considerably in their purposes, for whom and how they are designed, and how their success is measured. Relatedly, they vary in the extent to which they are connected to family literacy research, in the extent to which they are based on beliefs and assumptions about families and literacy, and what these beliefs and assumptions are (Auerbach, 1989; Gadsden, 2002; Wasik et al., 2003). The term can apply to one kind of programme or to a variety of programmes which bring families and literacy together, and meanings can vary within and between countries (Hannon, 2000). Taking into account these various bases on which family literacy programmes may differ, what is consistent across uses of the term is that family literacy programmes are organised efforts which bring family members together or which work separately with adults or children for the purposes, or in the expectation, of enhancing the literacy of family members.

Beyond this shared ground, many programmes do conform to commonly-occurring and commonly-agreed patterns but there are also, appropriately, many different approaches. Some programmes sit within a broad definition of what a family literacy programme is, view literacy as social practice, are contextualised within family and community, and recognise and build on families' strengths. Others are more narrowly conceived, focused on school literacy and transmission of school-based literacy skills to children via their parents, and see weaknesses in families' skills. These orientations will be described next and discussed in relation to their empirical and ideological underpinnings, where the shortcomings of the

narrower focus are noted. Finally, the benefits of programmes and issues in measuring benefits are described.

5.1. Family literacy programmes

It is often stated that family literacy programmes began to emerge in the 1980s, originating in the US (for example Brooks et al., 2008; Gadsden, 2002; Handel, 1999). However, Hannon (2000), writing from Britain and having examined publications related to family literacy efforts in several countries, observed that the term began to be *applied* to educational programmes from this time, but that some programmes actually pre-date the 1980s[75]. This appears to be a more accurate depiction of what has occurred when international perspectives are taken into account and a more expansive view of family literacy programmes is applied, signalling one sense in which the term can have different meanings. According to Hannon (2000) family literacy programmes, broadly conceived, include any programmes which explicitly address the family dimension in literacy learning. Such programmes share a recognition that learners are part of families, and family members are affected by individuals' literacy learning (Hannon, 2000, p. 122). On this basis, adult literacy programmes that focus on everyday literacy could also be included within a rubric of family literacy programmes (Furness, 2007b, 2009b). When the term is used more narrowly, it is usually referring to programmes in the particular style of the prominent Kenan model (Gadsden, 2002) (see Chapter One).

Programmes which fit within a broad categorisation, in Hannon's (2008) terms, include 'parent involvement programmes', community development, and the extension of adult literacy education to include children. Parent involvement programmes "work with parents for the primary purpose of improving their children's literacy...cover a wide range of age groups and populations and originate from a variety of organisations including schools, libraries and community service groups" which may work collaboratively to provide a programme (Morrow, Tracey, & Maxwell, 1995, p. 17). Broad programmes may include those designed to increase parents' involvement in their children's schools, pre-school interventions such as tutoring parents in their homes in storybook reading, parenting education and

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[7]1 Morrow, Tracey, and Maxwell (1995) cite examples of programmes which predate the 1980s and Hannon, writing in 2000, noted that some programmes now recognised under the "new descriptor" of family literacy programmes may have been two or more decades old (p. 122).

programmes aimed at increasing families' use of libraries (Hannon, 2000; Morrow et al., 1995). (Note that each programme, while contributing to a broad conceptualisation of family literacy, may nevertheless itself be tightly focused). An example of a community development focus in a family literacy programme is the establishment of a community library as part of the South African National Literacy Initiative (Brooks et al., 2008). The establishment of a local library meant the women participants in the programme did not need to walk a long distance to the nearest town to borrow books, which they also read to their children, as they learnt to read and write in Zulu and then later began to learn English. The library was seen as a means of improving the knowledge and skills of the community and increasing opportunities for education and employment.

New Zealand examples of these kinds of family literacy programmes include the *Reading Together* programme which helps parents support their children's reading at home (Biddulph & Allot, 2006, as cited in City of Manukau Education Trust, 2007). In New Zealand, the Home Interaction Programme for Parents and Youngsters (an international programme) which trains adults to work with parents in their communities who then work with their own pre-school children on educational activity packs (City of Manukau Education Trust, 2007) is a parent involvement programme which has elements that may also contribute to strengthening communities. Examples of extensions to adult programmes are documented by the National Adult Literacy Agency (2004) in Ireland where family literacy courses were added as a result of interest shown by participants in adult classes.

Some of these broadly defined programmes focus directly on children and only indirectly, if at all, on parents, whilst others focus on parents and only indirectly on children (Hannon, 2000, Nickse, 1993). Programmes in which the literacy of both adults and children is expected to be enhanced indirectly might also be included in a broad definition. Literacy activities organised for families such as 'read-aloud' sessions at public libraries are an example of this type of programme (Nickse, 1993). Hannon (2000) reported broad use of the term in such publications as Morrow (1995) and Morrow et al. (1995) in which US programmes are described, and in Wolfendale and Topping (1996) which details developments in Britain,

Australia and New Zealand, suggesting considerable adoption by, and relevance to, the field of a broad conceptualisation.

A narrower use of the term 'family literacy programmes' is evident in its application only to programmes which combine adult basic education and early childhood education in a "dual simultaneous focus on two generations" (Hannon, 2000, p. 122). Adults and their children participate in these programmes and the literacy skills of both are expected to be enhanced (Nickse, 1993). The Kenan model (see Chapter One[76]) typifies this kind of programme. Focusing on low-literacy parents and their pre-school children, programmes based on this model strongly articulate a view of parents as children's first teachers. Hannon (2000) refers to these programmes as 'restricted' because they are limited to families who participate in *all* aspects of the programme – adult basic education, children's education, parenting education and time in which parent and child time together – and because they constitute a subset of all family literacy programmes.

Irrespective of their narrow focus and restrictive structure, Kenan-type programmes are widespread and influential. Originating in Louisville, Kentucky, and now enshrined in federal funding arrangements, there were 500 such programmes by 1993 (Nickse, 1993, as cited in Brooks et al., 2008). This model has dominated the field in the US to the extent that it appears to be almost synonymous with 'family literacy programmes' and often with 'family literacy' in that country (see Hannon, 2000). It has been adopted in essence by the Basic Skills Agency (the funding body for family literacy programmes in the UK (Brooks et al., 2008)) and has been influential in many other countries (Hannon, 2000). The most widely-known New Zealand programmes are locally-contextualised versions of the Kenan model or refer to its component parts in their programme design (Houlker et al., 2006; May et al., 2004). However, as has been suggested by Wolfendale and Topping (1996) and as will be further discussed, there are also more broadly-conceived programmes here (Furness, 2006a, 2007b, 2009b).

Among the varied programmes included under the rubric of family literacy programmes many, probably most, are closely linked with school literacy

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[76] Specifically, p. 3, footnote 3.

(Gadsden, 2002). This is another sense in which 'family literacy programmes' have different meanings. The focus can be on nurturing children's emergent literacy directly and/or via parents' interactions with their children or by creating rich literacy environments, preparing children for school generally or particularly around reading, encouraging parent-school relationships and communication, building parents' understanding of school expectations and culture, helping parents to support children's or teenagers' homework and on developing parents' literacy for the purposes of modeling literacy practices the school values (Brooks et al., 2008; Morrow et al., 1995). Some of these programmes teach very specific strategies for engaging children in reading and developing reading skills (for a New Zealand example see Furness, 2006b). However, non-school-linked family interests can also be found in programmes which have a school literacy focus. An example is the Family Initiative for English Literacy programme in Texas which brought low English proficiency parents and children together to develop the biliteracy of both around topics of interest to them – "puppets (a popular art form in Mexico), extended family, recipes, holidays, cotton (cotton fields surround two of the schools in the project) and Thanksgiving (as celebrated by the Spaniards in 1598)" (Morrow et al., 1995, p. 55).

As well as developing their own literacy through learning to support their children's school or family activity-based literacy development, parents may complete school qualifications as part of the programme, for example the General Equivalency Degree (GED) in the US (Brooks et al., 2008; Morrow et al., 1995). Non-school-linked curriculum for adults may include child development (which is also often linked to emergent literacy, for example learning about age-appropriate literacy activities), parenting skills, nutrition, health care and vocational training. Adult literacy components, 'English for Speakers of Other Languages', community literacy, 'basic skills' and 'life skills' may link to school literacy or to family, home or community interests and concerns or survival needs (Brooks et al., 2008; St. Pierre, Layzer, & Barnes, 1995). For example, they may include the 'school competencies' of how to read a child's school report or write a note to a teacher *and* the 'everyday survival competencies' of how to read a bill or write a cheque, as in the Illinois Home English Literacy for Parents Project (Morrow et al., 1995, p. 58). Or, they may involve developing a community library in the context of recognised community need for knowledge, skills and employment as in the South

African National Literacy Initiative (Brooks et al., 2008). New Zealand examples identified in Furness (2006a) revealed a mix within a range that could be thought of as family literacy programmes. A range of services such as mental and physical health care, substance abuse help and child care are sometimes offered to family members, either directly or through referral (Morrow et al., 1995). Many New Zealand programmes also include these services (Furness, 2006a).

Thus, while the predominance of a focus on school literacy and children's school literacy achievement is observed in family literacy programmes (see, for example, Gadsden, 2002), programme content does sometimes reflect broader interpretations of what family literacy is that are inclusive of a wider range of family members' interests and concerns. As well, when programmes provide access to a range of services beyond those which directly support children's literacy learning, they offer a more holistic approach to family literacy education. More broadly-based approaches suggest appreciation of the complex nature of family life and the difficulties of various kinds that families may face daily. An expansive interpretation of the term 'family literacy programmes', therefore, more accurately captures the range of programmes which can be, and is in practice, included within it. This underlines the important point that there is nothing inherent in the term which should limit it to a narrow meaning, as seen in programmes based on the Kenan model, or aimed primarily at children's school literacy achievement.

In the context of variability in families and wide-ranging perceptions of what literacy is and what it is for, processes of decision-making regarding family literacy programme content, pedagogy and availability require further comment. Here, a further difference may be seen between programmes which work with families and communities to meet their needs and aspirations and those which offer an externally-developed model which may be inflexible and unresponsive to local community contexts and varying family circumstances. In New Zealand, the City of Manukau Education Trust *has* adapted features of the Kenan model to better fit the New Zealand context (Houlker et al., 2006) and Literacy Aoteaora has applied a quite loose version of it that is interpreted variably in each Whānau Literacy programme, depending on the particular local circumstances (Furness, 2006c).

Whilst no purpose-designed survey has been undertaken in New Zealand to determine the extent and nature of family literacy provision, my analysis of 84 programmes funded through the 2006 Adult Foundation Learning Pool – for the typology referred to in Chapter One[77] – revealed 57 programmes with elements of family literacy; that is, they involved different generations, they expected to benefit different generations or they included everyday literacy beyond preparation for further learning or work (Furness, 2006a). In addition, there were a further eight government-funded and three privately-funded[78] Literacy Aotearoa Whānau Literacy programmes which involved family (including extended family) and benefits to family were anticipated (Furness, 2006a). Whilst the conclusions should be treated with care, as they are based on information about the programmes' intentions rather than what actually occurred, a number of important points relevant to this study can be made.

The large number of adult literacy programmes in which family is seen as a relevant context signals its importance in attracting learners, as has been recognised in adult literacy and foundation learning policy (see Chapter Two). Relevance to people's lives (and therefore breadth of content) and a family focus were recurring themes, as were the provision of holistic services intended to address the wellbeing of the whole person and recognition of adults' multiple roles which can complicate participation. Literacy was seen as purposeful social activity and the goals of programmes were expressed in terms of increasing people's participation in society generally, or specifically within their families and communities. This included further personal learning or supporting the learning of others, preparing for employment, managing everyday life and building friendships and relationships. There was, therefore, inclusion of school/essay-text literacy and there were varying kinds and strengths of connections with schools, though very few of these were formal. Funded through the adult pool, they do reflect a concern with adults' needs and interests, and outcomes for them. Overall, these intentions reflected locally-situated, socially-focused views of literacy located within holistic concern for people.

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[77] The typology development preceded the current study.
[78] Through the Tindall Foundation.

As I have already observed, we know from local family literacy programmes that have been studied that there are literacy and broader gains for adults, but the gains for children are less clear (Benseman & Sutton, 2005; May et al., 2004).

5.2. Examining and problematising the schools/('skills') focus in programmes

The epistemological and ontological problems identified in Chapter Two in relation to the skills view of literacy from a social practice perspective are mirrored and further nuanced in the context of family literacy. Purcell-Gates (2000), for example, has observed an 'ideological division' between what Gadsden (2002) and Auerbach (1989) term a 'social-contextual'[79] approach and what Gadsden (2002) calls a 'school-like or skills-based' approach in family literacy programmes. Drawing on a social practice view of literacy and strengths-based views of families, aspects of the schools focus, which tends to be associated with deficits views of families (Gadsden, 2002), are problematised in this section as these orientations (social-contextual and school-like/skills-based, which align broadly to social practice and skills orientations towards literacy itself), and the gaps between research and implementation evident in them (Auerbach, 1989, 1995; Gadsden, 2002; Wasik et al., 2003), are now discussed.

The focus on school literacy in many family literacy programmes, found by Auerbach (1995) and others such as Street (1984), reflects the dominant perspective in the wider milieu of literacy as the single unitary phenomenon of essay-text literacy, or at least that it is the most important literacy. This is the case even though research in the 'literacy as social practice' tradition has shown it to be a narrow, culture-specific form (Street, 1984), that there are, in fact, many literacies and many modes of literacy and that all these have been found in families (Barton, 1997; Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Kress, 1997, 2000). The dominant perception of (school/essay-text) literacy's importance for social and economic progress is often combined with concerns about low school achievement of some groups of children and poverty in some communities in arguments in support of family literacy programmes (for example, Darling, 1993). Targeting families from communities where children are not succeeding in school for the purposes of addressing both

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[79] Gadsden (2002) and Auerbach's (1989) use of the term 'social-contextual' is based on a social practice view of literacy.

adults' and children's educational under-achievement has a 'surface logic' in this context. However, notwithstanding the observation in Chapter One that ability with school literacy is, commonsensically, helpful for participation in a society in which school literacy predominates, this emphasis on the one form of literacy marginalises families' other literacies, categorising them as less important and less worthy. Given the association between literacies and identity described in Chapter Two, such marginalisation is not just of a person's literacy but also of their continuous sense of self (Reber & Reber, 2001).

Linked to the belief in the pre-eminence of school literacy, many programmes focus on transmitting the culture of the school to the family, following what Auerbach (1989) called a 'transmission of school practices' model, in an effort, as explained in Section 4.2., and well-intentioned as it may be, to improve children's (and parents) educational achievement. Auerbach (1989, 1995) observed the uni-directionality of approaches based on this belief whereby educators identify the "needs, problems, and practices" then "transfer skills or practices to parents in order to inform [in other words, to shape] their interactions with their children" (Auerbach, 1989, p. 169).

Programmes often assume, similarly, that literacy abilities and values are transmitted in one direction from parents to children, ignoring research such as Pahl's (2002), Saxena's (1994) and Puchner's (1997) for examples, which show cross-generational and bidirectional transmission. The belief in one-way transmission from parents to children locates the responsibility for children's literacy development with the parents when they are, in fact, one influence among many. This is not to say they are not important, and perhaps the most important, just that they are not alone in their role in their children's literacy learning (Heath, 1983). It also suggests a view that school interventions are "either less important or already adequate and need only be reinforced at home" (Auerbach, 1989, p. 173). In this context, blaming families, particularly parents, for their children's poor achievement is an easy step. Schools are let off the hook, and wider issues which might be the problem are not considered.

Relatedly, Auerbach observes the assumption in many programmes that children succeed in school because their parents do school-like activities with them and,

conversely, that if they do not do well it is because school-like activities have not been done (Gadsden, 2002). However, a variety of practices have been found in families of successful readers suggesting there is no such causal effect (Gadsden, 2008). When parents do not engage in school-like activities with their children, it is thought to be because they do not have the skills themselves or do not value literacy, or because their own problems get in the way (Auerbach, 1989). Yet studies have shown that children of non-reading parents also succeed in school (Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith, 1984, as cited in Gadsden, 2008), all kinds of families including very poor families use literacy in their homes (Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988), and parents in all kinds of families are concerned about their children's education (Puchner, 1997). Perhaps most unhelpful of all (and undoubtedly hurtful and potentially harmful) is the tying together of unsupported assumptions about particular kinds of families with assumptions about their literacy practices. For example, the view that low-income and cultural-minority families do not use and or value literacy is often articulated (see, for example, Darling, 1993), yet research such as Heath's (1983) and Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines' (1988) has disproved this contention.

Overall, the prominence of school literacy in family literacy programmes represents a diminished opportunity for other foci to flourish within the field. From a broad and inclusive perspective of what literacy is, other literacies have equal claim as appropriate foci of family literacy programmes, whether based on family or local community languages or Englishes or other text forms. As well, the school literacy focus overshadows other relevant, purposeful and meaningful uses of literacy in families' lives. Other topics of concern to adult family members relate to their wider parental, family and extended family roles and responsibilities, and their interests, concerns and roles in the community and as a citizen. For example, a class in the University of Massachusettes (UMass) at Boston English Family Literacy Program included a new immigration law, housing, AIDS, language use at work, bilingualism, and daycare (Auerbach, 1989). Such topics may be appropriate programme foci in certain circumstances, alongside tools and strategies for supporting their children's literacy learning. In fact, it can be argued that deliberate teaching of literacy to children by parents is unnecessary as literacy learning takes place within the naturally-occuring literacy activity families engage

in as they go about their daily lives. Auerbach (1989, p. 166) points out that "doing formal schoolwork and developing literacy are not necessarily synonomous".

The ideological nature of literacy described by Street (1984, 1995) (see Chapter Two) is thus strongly evident in family literacy programmes. Programmes, like all endeavours, are shaped by people's beliefs and values, and theories and models, of how the world is (Gee, 2008). These in turn are founded to varying degrees on assumptions or on fuller understanding. In the family literacy field, this fuller understanding, derived from detailed, literacy as social practice-oriented ethnographic studies, has revealed diversity in families' literacies and literacy practices rather than lack, and strengths and resilience in families rather than deficits (Barton, 1997). Thus programme emphases represent a choice of some perspectives on literacy and families over others. Programmes may also be seen as manifestations of Street's (1984) 'ideological' and 'autonomous' models of literacy when, respectively, they demonstrate appreciation of literacies' ideological nature and build on a broad view of literacy, or when literacy's ideological nature is not recognised and they are built on a narrow, school-based view of literacy. The relatively strong emphasis on adults' role in their children's school literacy learning compared to their wider parental, family and community roles and responsibilities, interests and concerns can also be interpreted as an ideological choice flowing, with 'surface logic' from a narrow, 'autonomous' conception of literacy and normative ideas about parents' roles in families.

Whilst considerable concern has been and continues to be expressed about the 'disconnect' between what has been learned through research (in particular the more broadly-conceived, socially-focused studies) and what is implemented in family literacy programmes (for example, Auerbach, 1989; Hannon, 2000; Taylor, 1997), strong examples of programmes based on broad conceptions of what literacy is, how it is (or could be) used and what purposes it serves (or could serve) in family contexts, coupled with strengths-based views of families, do exist. For example, the UMass programme referred to above focused on understanding and acting on community issues of concern to parents as the mechanism through which literacy enhancement occurred (Auerbach, 1989), suggesting that this is one such programme. In working on community issues of concern to the adult family

members as a group, this programme also reflects a more collective orientation or worldview than is often the case in family literacy programmes.

In New Zealand, the typology of family literacy programmes I have developed captures, like Nickse's (1993), varying configurations of adult and child involvement and direction of intended benefit (differentiated in five ways) while adding dimensions of holism (how individually or collectively-focused the programme is), community connectedness (how connected to the community the programmes is), and criticality of pedagogy (how functionally or critically-focused the curriculum and pedagogy are) (Furness, 2006a, 2007b, 2009b) (see also Section 5.1.). A small number of the 57 adult literacy programmes found to have elements of a family orientation had formal relationships with schools. A broad conceptualisation of family literacy programmes in the spirit of Hannon (2000), Morrow et al. (1995) and Wolfendale and Topping (1996), coinciding with a good deal of our existing adult literacy provision here in New Zealand, underpins this particular study.

5.3. Benefits of family literacy programmes

Evaluations of family literacy programmes in Western nation-states have tended to report on outcomes that reflect the globally-focused, economic concerns of their governments. Thus, such outcomes as employment and further education, along with increases in literacy skills measured through standardised tests, are frequently reported. This kind of focus is particularly evident in the US where programmes such as Even Start have collected data on reduction in welfare dependency and increases in tax revenue. Data on other outcomes, such as increases by parents in the valuing of education, interaction with children, and literacy activity in the home have also been collected in evaluations of these large national programmes. In Britain, work has been conducted within the field of family learning around the construct of confidence (Eldred, 2002). There appears to be a particularly strong advocacy for the reporting of broader effects of family learning, adult learning, and adult literacy, language and numeracy learning in Britain. There has been a small amount of research on New Zealand family literacy programmes looking at effects on confidence (Benseman & Sutton, 2005) and the 'ripple effects' of literacy gains on other aspects of people's lives and on the lives of others in the adult

participants' social networks (May et al., 2004). Some research on general adult literacy programmes in developing nations, such as Stromquist's (1997) study of a women's programme in Brazil, has documented beneficial family and community effects.

Views on the benefits that result from family literacy programmes can best be described as generally positive but mixed. One of the widely-acknowledged difficulties preventing more certainty is that studies to date have not succeeded in providing definitive answers to many questions. Another is that many relevant and important questions have not yet been asked in research studies. There is, in particular, a dearth of studies which attempt to understand the impacts of family literacy from an adult, as compared to a parent, perspective. Confounding the issue is what some commentators say are "extravagent claims" often made about the impacts of programmes which become part of the rhetoric of family literacy (Hannon, 2000). Wasik et al.'s (2003) cautious but hopeful stance regarding the research supporting the benefits of family literacy programmes can be contrasted to Padak and Rasinski's (2003) rather more definitively-expressed findings from a review of US research on family literacy programmes:

> ....children's achievement in school improves, they attend school more regularly, and are more likely to complete their education; and their general knowledge, reading achievement, social skills, self-esteem, and attitudes towards school improve. Parents persist in the programmes longer than in other adult literacy programmes, their attitudes about education improve, their reading achievement, writing ability, math and science knowledge, knowledge about parenting and child development, social awareness and self advocacy increases. Families learn to value education, become more involved in schools, become emotionally closer, read more, and build foundations for lifelong learning. The programmes positively affect these social problems: nutrition and health, low school achievement and high school dropouts, social alienation, and home and community violence (p. 1).

Padak et al.'s (2002) review of US programmes conducted a year earlier had acknowledged the problems of establishing the nature and extent of benefits of

family literacy programmes, noting the differences in programme goals, how and what programme outcomes information was gathered and the difficulties in looking across programmes because of these differences. Acknowledging these problems and the limitations they impose on how findings should be interpreted, their overview nevertheless indicates the kinds of findings programmes do claim. They concluded that family literacy programmes 'work' and that at least four groups – children, adults, families, and the larger society – benefit. With respect to adults, they found enhanced academic skills, improved adults' literacy skills from interaction with their children, greater comfort in the school setting, personal and social growth (increased confidence, self-esteem and self-advocacy), and increased job skills and employment.

Being explicit about the use or otherwise of control groups, Purcell-Gates (2000) reported on the limited number of evaluations by the National Center for Family Learning, Even Start and the Basic Skills Agency's Family Literacy Program which reported on adult outcomes. With respect to adults, she found that they demonstrated "modestly increased [literacy] skills, as well as changed literate behaviours, and greater confidence"[80] (p. 863). She concluded that "most programs that provided direct skill instruction to parents documented effects of that instruction, given sufficient instruction time" (p. 864).

In 2008, Brooks et al. undertook a meta-study of 19 studies of 16 programmes, including the few random control studies that have been completed, and carefully noting the basis for evidence and the 'strength' of that evidence. They reported methodological or data-related problems in the studies which limited interpretation, such as 'patchy' information even in well-funded and highly-regarded studies, but this attempt to update the field on what can be claimed for family literacy programmes is probably the best currently available; certainly it is

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[80] For example: National Centre for Family Literacy (NCFL) – gains in literacy and academic attainment (for example, the General Equivalency Degree (GED)), self-reported increases in the amount of literacy-related activity in the home, self-reported improvements in self-confidence and confidence in parenting strategies (Darling & Hayes, 1996); Even Start – gains in literacy but somewhat unclear, programme effect on GED attainment, no change in home literacy activities (St Pierre et al., 1995); Basic Skills Agency (BSA) – increase in average reading and writing scores, self-report of growth in confidence overall and as related to involving themselves in their children's school (Brooks et al., 1996). Regarding parents only programmes: Project FLAME – literacy gains, increased confidence in English speaking abilities (those who did the English for speakers of other languages part of programme) (Paratore, 1993); CAPER and Talk to a Literacy Learner (TTAL) – increased self confidence (Branston, 1996 and Cairney, 1995 respectively).

the most current. With regard to adults, about whom they found a dearth of evidence, they concluded there were benefits to parents' skills (literacy, spoken language, numeracy) but it is a conclusion they came to "on balance" from the limited and mixed evidence (p. 28). Also found were improvement in parents' ability to help their children but again it is a conclusion they decribed as "probably cumulative enough to be convincing" (p. 28). Wider benefits reported were to mothers' child-rearing practices (two studies), to parents' employment (two studies), parents' self-confidence (four studies) and parents becoming more involved with their children's schools (five studies). The authors noted that some of the reports of wider benefits came at follow-up stages. This highlights the importance of longitudinal studies in understanding the impacts of participation in family literacy programmes.

There is an overlap between Purcell-Gates (2000) overview, Padak et al.'s (2002) overview and Brooks et al.'s (2008) meta-study. Drawing these together, I conclude that, depending on what is taught (Purcell-Gates, 2000), benefits for parents from participating in family literacy programmes may include, and perhaps only modestly (Brooks et al., 2008), the following:

- enhanced literacy and academic skills,
- positively-changed home literate behaviours,
- improved ability to help their children,
- increased confidence, self-esteem and self-advocacy,
- increased involvement in their children's school,
- positively-changed child-rearing practices,
- positively-changed job skills and employment.

With respect to children, the National Research and Development Centre (2008) concluded from the Brooks et al. (2008) meta-study, three case studies by Mallows (2008), and another study which focused on test scores (De Coulon, Meschi, & Vignoles, 2008), that "international studies have found evidence of improvements in children's literacy skills" and "most follow-up studies suggest that gains made by parents and children...are maintained over time" (p. 5). Maintained gains included positively-changed child-rearing practices; parental involvement in their schools;

benefits for literacy, language and numeracy; and generally "somewhat better" rating by their teachers than a comparison group (Brooks et al., 2008, p. 30).

A New Zealand study of programmes based on the Kenan model (which is reported on in the Brooks et al. report (2008), though not its findings) found all of these positive effects for parents although the effects for children were less clear (Benseman & Sutton, 2005). Another New Zealand study found positive effects for adult participants and other family and social network members but noted these were hard to codify and raised the issue of the difficulties associated with meaningful and relevant measurement of gains from participation in literacy programmes (May et al., 2004).

While we know some things about family literacy programmes, it is clear that much more needs to be known if this approach to adult and children's literacy development is to be advocated convincingly and safely. Hannon (2000), for example, points out that "more needs to be known about programme effects, what can be expected from specific approaches used singly and in combination...[and]...the meaning of programmes to participants...in order to understand the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of programmes" (p. 135). Historically, family programmes have used a mix of standardised measures to satisfy the demands of funders. Results from standardised tests are always going to be problematic because they capture such a small part of the story of change, and such ways of evaluating the effects of family literacy programmes are far removed from the nuances of daily literacy usage across a range of cultural, social and academic milieu. Further, much evaluation appears to have been designed with little input from participants. Thus the picture that emerges of family literacy programmes in general may not reflect those effects that the participants themselves would say are the most important to them and their families or to their communities. Such issues cannot be overlooked because they are indicative of larger issues of power, visibility and voice. Without full involvement of participants in programme design and evaluation providers and funders cannot know the participants' needs and wishes as individuals, families and communities *as they themselves see them* are being met. Finally, the 'methodological fundamentalism' seen in Western governments' preference for studies based on random controlled trials above any others as the 'gold standard' research on which to base their policy

decisions (Benseman et al., 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Smith & Hodkinson, 2005) adds to the difficulties of accessing the full contribution of family approaches to the most important of all objectives: that of the overall wellbeing of *all* citizens, their families, communities and society as a whole.

6. Chapter summary: The meaning of family literacy in this study

Chapters Two to Four discussed literacy, family and family literacy respectively, drawing attention to the richness and diversity of literacy use to be found in families when these concepts are viewed from a sociocultural perspective. I observed that programmes informed by a broad perception of what literacy is and a strengths-based view of families build on families' already existing 'funds of knowledge' (Moll et al., 1992) to enrich their literacy repertoires in ways that are meaningful to them and that have relevance in their daily lives. This means that their children's school learning and the literacy of the school is part of everyday life for many families. Programmes that include this focus or use this context are appropriately part of the rubric of family literacy programmes. However, family literacy programmes can equally appropriately include other foci relevant to family members' daily personal life within the home and family context and family and community life more generally. This includes the dominant literacy where family members need to interact with domains of life where this literacy is used, as well as other literacies important to them or useful in their daily lives. The choices made by funders regarding what they offer is seen as ideological and therefore always open to critical evaluation as to its relevance in people's lives and whose puposes it serves. The current study recognises the many meanings of family literacy. I take into my examination of some New Zealand programmes a broad view of family literacies' component parts and an allied recognition that there is often poor alignment between, for example, articulation of strengths-based theories of families and the practices and purposes that are found in programmes.

Chapter 5

Wellbeing

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the nature of wellbeing and citizenship and what is required to maintain and enhance positive or 'healthy' forms of these states (for example *active* citizenship). This is in order to expose for later analytical purposes what might be encapsulated within a construct of citizen-centred outcomes, a notion I introduced in Chapter One. As I observed, wellbeing is fundamental to humanity but is not experienced evenly within most societies, including New Zealand (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Ministry of Social Development, 2008). Therefore, all endeavours that are engaged in on behalf of people, such as the provision of literacy programmes for families by governments, should be considered on the basis of their contribution to wellbeing.

Just as I have argued for broad conceptualisations of literacy, family and family literacy, I offer in this chapter a broad and holistic conceptualisation of 'wellbeing' as the best hope of understanding family literacy's contribution to it. Section Two, therefore, describes an ecological approach to wellbeing (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). This approach is epistemologically consistent with a social view of literacy in the sense that wellbeing from an ecological perspective, like literacy from a social perspective, shapes and is shaped by relationships and contexts. As significant groups in this study with distinctive perspectives, Māori and Pacific peoples' perspectives are separately described within an ecological framework. This section also presents some overarching concepts relevant to wellbeing: social support, social capital, social inclusion and exclusion, and social cohesion (Gottlieb, 1981b; Kagan & Burton, 2005; Robinson & Williams, 2001; Shaw, Dorling, & Smith, 1999; Stansfield, 1999; Stone & Hughes, 2002). Sections Three to Six describe individual, family and community wellbeing and citizenship respectively as the study locates individuals within families and communities and as citizens of New Zealand. The axis of perspective concerned with individualist and collectivist orientations or worldviews, especially relevant to wellbeing, is discussed throughout. The chapter concludes with a conceptualisation of a notion

of citizen-centred outcomes which provides a framework for considering the field of family literacy and, in particular, the effects of family literacy programmes.

2. The meaning of wellbeing in this study

The pursuit of wellbeing has been explored by thinkers for centuries but its starting point as a subject of research attention is regarded by Moore and Keyes (2003) to be the late 1950s. These authors locate its beginnings in the post-war period in which there was considerable humanistic emphasis following the devastation of World War Two, manifested in a "cherishing of people" through concern for their perceptions and viewpoints and for their welfare (p. 6)[81]. The post-war period could be regarded as a time in which wellbeing as a fundamental right of all citizens was actively pursued and there were many advances in public health in this time that improved people's lives (Moore & Keyes, 2003; Shaw et al., 1999). The notion of wellbeing born in this period, which continues into the present, included objective measurable states as well as subjective experience in a broadly-conceptualised notion of wellbeing for all citizens (Moore & Keyes, 2003).

Broadly construed as related to quality of life, the current conception of wellbeing in the academic literature is multidimensional, with contributions to its meaning emanating from several disciplines including anthropology, sociology, psychology and biology (Bornstein, Davidson, Keyes, & Moore, 2003). Wellbeing is understood to include objective and subjective experiences of physical and mental health. Social-emotional, psychological, cognitive and, for some people, spiritual wellbeing, material conditions such as access to and quality of basic requirements such as food, clothing and shelter, and access to the resources of the society such as health and social services, education, and opportunities for leisure and recreation are all included. Wellbeing thus goes beyond meeting basic needs, being connected to what people value and see as important in life (Durie, 1998; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Rochford, 2004).

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[81] According to Moore and Keyes (2003, p. 6) this period saw "a reaction to the hegemony of behaviorism" in the form of growth in phenomenology ("the centrality of people's perceptions and viewpoints"), existentialism (which "emphasises subjectivity, free will and individuality" (Reber & Reber, 2001, p. 255)) and symbolic interactionism ("the importance of personal meaning and concerns").

The term is applied to individuals as well as to social groups such as families and communities, as will be discussed in Sections Three to Five respectively. At a societal level, governments report on the wellbeing of their nations, identifying and comparing groups based on such factors as age, sex, ethnicity and socioeconomic status[82] (for example, in New Zealand the Ministry of Social Development has this responsibility (Ministry of Social Development, 2008)). Wide-ranging indicators of wellbeing are used by governments in their reporting[83]. For example, in 2008 the New Zealand government reported on indicators related to health, knowledge and skills, paid work, economic standard of living, civic and political rights, cultural identity, leisure and recreation, the physical environment, and safety and social connectedness (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). People's "happiness" sits alongside "quality of life" and "welfare" as the goals of social policy (Ministry of Social Development, 2008, p. 4). These examples reflect wellbeing's conceptual relatedness to what is thought to be necessary for, and reflective of, the 'good life'. The way in which governments perceive and measure wellbeing is important as modern nation-state citizens expect their governments to work in the interest of their wellbeing.

The New Zealand government uses as its reference point for wellbeing reporting the conclusions of the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988, p. 472, as cited in Ministry of Social Development, 2008) as follows:

> [New Zealanders] have said that they need a sound base of material support including housing, health, education, and worthwhile work. A good society is one which allows people to be heard, to have a say in their future, and choices in life...[they] value an atmosphere of community responsibility and an environment of security. For them, social well-being includes that

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[82] According to Marks, Murray, Evans, and Willig, (2000, p. 38), socioeconomic status is "a complex and multidimensional construct which defies a simple definition" but nevertheless is "usually defined in terms of occupation, education or income".

[83] As explained in Ministry of Social Development (2008, p. 5) indicators are "sign-posts that help measure progress toward a desired outcome". The desired outcomes are discrete components of aspects of life that society collectively agrees are important for wellbeing. In New Zealand, health, knowledge and skills, paid work, economic standard of living, civic and political rights, cultural identity, leisure and recreation, the physical environment, and safety and social connectedness and so on are the aspects of life that are considered important "for a person's happiness, quality of life and welfare" (Ministry of Social Development, 2008, p. 4). As an example, the desired outcome of paid work may be in part measured by unemployment which is a predictor of, or associated with, paid work (Ministry of Social Development, 2008).

sense of belonging that affirms their dignity and identity and allows them to function in their everyday roles. (p. 4)

The conceptualisation of wellbeing that the Commission expresses is based on the perspectives of thousands of New Zealanders (Dyall & Keith, 1988)[84]. As such, it can be regarded as reflecting their collective views and, therefore, as a defensible basis for government reporting on "those aspects of wellbeing most people hold in common" (Ministry of Social Development, 2008, p. 4).

However, even when there is widespread agreement on elements of wellbeing, individuals, groups and whole societies may have different perspectives on, or a different orientation toward, what constitutes wellbeing, what is needed to achieve it and how it should be measured (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). Thus, there are cultural and ideological dimensions to how wellbeing is defined. This observation has been made in the New Zealand context. The Ministry of Social Development (2008, p. 4) acknowledges that "the needs and aspirations for different people and different communities will...vary in important ways". And, Durie has pointed out that "important outcomes for Māori are likely to include outcomes relevant to the rest of society" (Ministry of Social Development, 2008, p. 4) but that there are also outcomes important in Māori wellbeing that are distinctively Māori. Examples include a regenerated Māori land base, participation in Māori society, and use of te reo Māori in multiple domains (Durie, 2006a, p. 8).

Recognising the ideological nature of definitions of wellbeing and valuing cultural diversity, Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) have included explicit consideration of values and the role of institutions and societal structures in shaping wellbeing and in explaining differential experience of wellbeing for some groups compared to others. Theirs is an ecological systems-based perspective: wellbeing is viewed as experienced relationally within an interactive system in which people and contexts are mutually influential (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). This systems-based understanding of wellbeing accommodates different perspectives of what wellbeing is and what is needed to achieve it; for example, an integrative,

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[84] This substantial work captured the voice of the citizens of Aotearoa through over 4,000 submissions in a way that is unlikely to be repeated. Although more than 20 years have passed, as an expression of the core beliefs of New Zealanders the relevance of this work is likely to be enduring (Dyall & Keith, 1988).

holistic Māori perspective and a Western perspective which is more reductionist and individualistic (Durie, 1998; Rochford, 2004). It also enables dominant perspectives to be assessed for their relevance and appropriateness for non-dominant groups and for the good or harmful effects on non-dominant groups that may result directly from them or because they prevent other perspectives from flourishing. As there are many diverse groups to be found in New Zealand, some of which are included in the study, a framework that allows this kind of inclusion and critique is essential for understanding family literacy's impact on wellbeing in its widest sense. Importantly, this ecological framework for wellbeing parallels a sociocultural perspective of literacy. People are seen as socially located: thus individual experience is relevant but cannot, in reality, be meaningfully separated from its social and contextual aspects, including cultural, historical and ideological ones.

In explaining wellbeing from a systems perspective, I refer mainly to Nelson and Prilleltensky's work. Indeed, their ecological orientation, which is similar to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory that is widely cited in both health and education studies (for a health example see Marks, Murray, Evans, & Willig, 2000), largely frames the broad and holistic view of wellbeing which underpins this study. This ecological approach and Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) expansion of it are described next, providing the backdrop for descriptions of individual, family and community wellbeing and citizenship which follow after.

2.1. An ecological framework

Ecological approaches[85] to wellbeing rest on the assumption that "human development [that is, changes in people over their life-span (Reber & Reber, 2001, p. 195)] can only be understood in reference to structural ecosystems" (Marks et al., 2000). Bronfenbrenner (1979) explains this process as:

> the progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing
> human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in
> which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations

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[85] Ecological theory is variously referred to as the "ecological theory of human development" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), an "ecological perspective" or a "systems theory approach" (Marks et al., 2000, p. 41) and the "ecological metaphor" (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 71).

between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which these settings are embedded (p. 13).

For community psychologists[86], the 'ecological metaphor' – defined by Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005, p. 71) as "the interaction between individuals and the multiple social systems in which they are embedded" – constitutes the key paradigm in wellbeing (Angelique & Culley, 2007). Through the lens of the ecological metaphor, Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005, p. 33) explain that:

> human problems and competencies...[are viewed]...within the context of characteristics of the individual (for example coping skills), micro-level analysis (for example family, peer group), meso-level analysis, settings that mediate between smaller systems and the larger society (for example work settings, schools, neighbourhood organisations) and macro-level analysis (for example social policies, social class, social norms).

As in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory, systems are nested and interdependent such that "any change within any one part of the system will have ripple effects that impact on other parts of the system" (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 71). This principle is recognised in policy approaches to wellbeing in New Zealand. For example, the Ministry of Social Development observes in its 2008 social wellbeing report that "the outcome domains are interconnected" and cites as an example "participation in leisure and recreation is a good thing in itself, but it may also lead to improved physical and mental health, and better social networks" (p. 4). In this study, participants can be seen as individuals with particular characteristics, as members of families and other groups such as sports teams and *kapa haka*[87] groups, as participants in settings such as their geographic community, their children's schools, or their churches. They are also seen as located within the wider context of the influence of social policies which affect them, such as those related to welfare and education. 'Ripple' (or 'flow on') effects are evident in the way in which the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) led to the Adult Literacy Strategy and then to the funding of the programmes in which the adults in the study are participating, as described in Chapter One. This current study is

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[86] This is my academic background and orientation as described in Chapter One.
[87] Māori song and dance (Ryan, 1994).

exploring the 'flow on' effects through other levels in the system: the participants themselves and the various social systems they are connected to.

Taking an ecological perspective, Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) have developed a framework for wellbeing which encompasses what they have called 'personal', 'relational' and 'collective' dimensions. In explaining their framework, they observe that:

> At the individual level, well-being is manifested in terms of personal control, choice, self-esteem, competence, independence, political rights and a positive identity. At the relational level, the individual is embedded in a network of positive and supportive relationships and can participate freely in social, community and political life. The person is an active member of the community. At the community and societal level, the individual is able to acquire such basic resources as employment, income, education and housing. Thus, well-being is not a matter of individual health, but rather a state of affairs that involves a transaction between individuals and supportive relationships and environments. (Stokols, 2003, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 28)

In Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) approach, personal wellbeing is related to factors which enhance the wellbeing of individuals, but individuals are not seen atomistically. Rather they are seen as embedded in a network of social relations connecting them to other people and to wider societal institutions which affect their wellbeing in multiple ways. The notion of relational wellbeing embodies the quality of these relationships. People having a say in decisions which affect them, being able to develop and express their identities, having respect for differences between people and having one's differences respected, and collaborative processes for resolving conflicts, are aspects of relational wellbeing. Trust, and norms of reciprocity – that is, bidirectional interactions and transactions between people and between people and institutions, which may vary between people and across groups (Stansfield, 1999) – are important components of relational wellbeing (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005).

Collective wellbeing refers to society's resources, how these are distributed and how this distribution is viewed (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Community structures, institutions and organisations providing social goods (such as transport, water and sewage systems, education, libraries, recreational spaces and activities and health services) are resources for wellbeing (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Collective wellbeing refers to the extent that these are available and to whom. The term also draws attention to the notion of responsibility for wellbeing and how this is shared between individuals, families, communities and society as a whole. In Nelson and Prilleltensky's view (2005, p. 58), "fair and equitable allocation of bargaining powers, resources and obligations in society" – "distributive justice" – is essential for personal and communal wellbeing. Wellbeing – for everyone – is attained through "holistic practice" that attends to personal, relational and collective domains (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2002, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 57).

Whilst many aspects of wellbeing in this definition such as its transactional nature are included in other definitions (for example Bronfenbrenner, 1979), Nelson and Prilleltensky's work is especially important in the context of this study because it reflects an understanding that conceptualisations of wellbeing have cultural and ideological components: that is, wellbeing is defined and realised differently by different groups of people and some ideas about wellbeing are more valued than others, just as is the case for literacy and family literacy as shown in Chapters Two and Four. Historic antecedents to wellbeing, such as colonisation in countries such as New Zealand, are also acknowledged in this framework (Glover, Dudgeon, & Huygens, 2005). As well as having had direct detrimental effects on wellbeing, colonisation has resulted in loss of power to determine the structure of society itself.

Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) explication of the place of values (ideology) in wellbeing is evident in their articulation of their own beliefs and values which have given rise to and shaped the framework. This is most evident in their argument that what shapes wellbeing is influenced by what is valued in society, and the explication of factors which influence wellbeing in these terms. They observe that the factors they describe as contributing to or expressing wellbeing are embedded in, and expressed in the context of, a particular set of values and a particular vision

of a 'good society'. Their goal of social ("distributive") justice permeates their framework in which issues of power and voice and the balancing of self-determination, autonomy and independence with shared responsibility, obligation and interdependence, are regarded as central concerns in the achievement of wellbeing (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 58). This framework can, therefore, also be regarded as a moral framework in which actions of individuals, groups and societal institutions can be judged in terms of their contribution to the wellbeing of everyone in the society across all social and cultural groups.

In acknowledging the place of values in wellbeing, differences in worldviews are also acknowledged in Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) framework. The dominance of Western individualistic worldviews is recognised as often problematic for non-dominant groups with differing cultural practices and perspectives. However, even in Western culture where individualism is valued, *unmitigated* individualism is recognised as counter-productive to the common good (Damon, 1995; Etzioni, 1996; Sen, 1999a, 1999b, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) argue instead for the synergistic balance of the fulfilment of individual needs and aspirations, engagement in mutually satisfying social relations and the realisation of collective responsibility and contribution. In other words, they argue for less individualism and more collectivism, and attendance to the quality of relationships to achieve this, for everyone's sake. This necessarily includes the accommodation of differing ways of being in and of perceiving the world that different people and groups may have. In this study, relevant non-dominant perspectives on wellbeing are those of Māori and Pacific peoples.

Māori perspectives of wellbeing
Based on belief in the interdependence of people and the environment, as I observed in Chapter Three (A. Durie, 1997; Durie, 1998; Walker, 2004), wellbeing in Māori terms is thus also ecological. As Arohia Durie (1997, p. 146) explains, belief in the interdependence of all things is 'fundamental' and 'integral' to Māori 'thinking and conduct', shaped over time through the telling and interpretation of the creation stories, the personification of ancient deities and heroes, the "eponymous ancestors" and the telling of *whakapapa*[88]. These genealogical

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[88] Māori word for genealogy, family tree (Ryan, 1994).

accounts set out the relationships between "the living and the ancestors, the deities and the land" (A. Durie, 1997, p. 147). In Māori thinking there is, therefore, not really a separation between self and family or between self and the environment in the sense that is so in Western thinking; people are "one part of a complex whole" and are not above it. Thus, the health of all aspects of the environment is regarded as essential for the health and wellbeing of people (A. Durie, 1997; Rawiri, 2005). A systems perspective is inherent in Mason Durie's (1998, p. 71) description of Māori health as "an interrelated phenomenon rather than an intra-personal one" in which "poor health is typically regarded as a breakdown in harmony between the individual and the wider environment".

There are a number of models for Māori wellbeing, all based on a holistic framework (Durie, 1998; Pere, 1997; Pitama, Robertson, Cram, Gillies, Huria, & Dallas-Katoa, 2007) [89]. These models all include taha wairua (the spiritual side of wellbeing), taha hinengaro (thoughts and feelings), taha tinana (the physical side) and taha whānau (extended family). These four aspects are the basis of Mason Durie's (1998) Whare Tapa Whā model on which many Māori health developments have been based (Rochford, 2004). Taha hinengaro equates to mental wellbeing and taha tinana to physical wellbeing, but family and 'the spiritual side' are also critically important in a Māori view of wellbeing in which the integration and correct balance of all four aspects are necessary for good health. It is therefore a much more holistic and 'unified' conceptualisation of wellbeing, perhaps especially through its spiritual base, than is typically the case in Western thinking (Rochford, 2004). It is consistent, however, with "new orientations and global trends: general systems theory, family psychotherapy, the community health movement, health promotion, primary health care, and calls for de-medicalisation of the human life cycle" (Durie, 1998, p. 78).

This meaning of wellbeing places into context the impact of historical loss of land and the ongoing experiences of racism that are lived on a daily basis by Māori (Love, 2008). The land losses were a spiritual and familial separation, as well as a loss of means of physical survival – a food source and an economic base – which are only now, very slowly and only to a small degree, being returned or

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[89] These are Te Whare Tapa Whā, Te Wheke (the octopus) and the Meihana Model respectively.

compensated for, enabling some restoration of this critical base. Love (2008) graphically points out, however, the powerful effects of the mix of blatant and subtle racism that persists and which directly affect Māori wellbeing and constrains the use of culturally-effective approaches to achieving wellbeing. He notes also the considerable resistance by Māori to dominant discourses of health and wellbeing and of Māori health and wellbeing that have always been, and continue to be, displayed. Progress in Māori wellbeing, which lags behind that of Pākehā New Zealanders, is evident and is acknowledged (Durie, 1998; Ministry of Social Development, 2008) but there is a long way to go before Māori enjoy equal wellbeing. One of the major barriers for continuing improvement is considered to be insufficient Māori control – rangitiratanga (Durie, 1998; Humpage, 2006).

Pacific peoples' perspectives on wellbeing

As observed in Chapter Two, Pacific peoples, like Māori, enjoy a historical valuing of collectivity and extended kinship networks and obligations (Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998) and a similar connectedness of all things realised through oral traditions which "define the uniqueness of each Pacific ethnicity" (Gibbs, 2008, p. 41). Strong family and community connectedness remain important factors in the wellbeing of Pacific people living in New Zealand, extending even into workplaces where whole workforces or company departments may have been from one Pacific group (Gibbs, 2008). Cultural identity, in a context in which Pacific cultures are minority cultures and in a context in which they are separated from their homelands, has emerged as another important factor in the wellbeing of Pacific settlers. According to Mulitalo-Lauta (2001), people's cultural identity in a minority/migrant settler context concerns 'who' they are as Pacific people living in New Zealand which is increasingly varied and cannot be assumed based on island nationality alone, and their genealogical connection to their homelands. A number of factors are involved. These include whether or not people are island-born or New Zealand-born and thus the amount of exposure they have had to their culture in its indigenous context, and the nature and extent of inter-cultural connection and assimilation that occurs when living in New Zealand. The latter include, for example, the influences of schooling, involvement in sport or intermarriage (MacPherson, 2001, 2004).

Supporting wellbeing, which lags behind that of Pākehā New Zealanders but is generally better than that of Māori (Ministry of Social Development, 2008; MacPherson, 2004), therefore involves understanding the varied personal cultural identities that Pacific people living in New Zealand construct (Mulitalo-Lauta, 2001). In this context strategies which help individuals retain cultural identity linked to their homelands and to their peoples, such as rituals and ceremonies which reinforce culturally-based practices, and working with people 'through the heart' (or spirituality, "the emotional and intellectual values of Pacific peoples" as defined by Mulitalo-Lauta (2001, p. 253), are considered important in achieving Pacific settlers wellbeing. Importantly, McPherson (2000) observes that many of the traditional structures and practices that influenced wellbeing in homelands are under pressure, or no longer have the same relevance, as roles and expectations and 'ways of being' of Pacific people are reshaped in New Zealand.

Mulitalo-Lauta (2001) describes ways in which values which underpin traditional practices may be recontextualised to support wellbeing in this context. A framework for Pacific peoples' wellbeing offered by her (2001, p. 249) in the context of social service provision includes consideration of the:

> social structures, including the family, the church, clubs and groups to which a person belongs; the strategies a person uses to ensure his or her survival in New Zealand; the ceremonial activities or rituals in which a person is involved which reaffirm his or her existence in New Zealand; the system of protocols and values learned from elders, the church or from their community groups, and which guide the person's cultural development; [and] the sense of spirituality that maintains the person's sense of growth and well-being.

It is important to remember that Pacific people came to New Zealand in the hope of a better quality of life (Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998). In the context of the current study, the importance placed on education by Pacific families as a mechanism to achieve this is relevant (MacPherson, 2001).

Nelson and Prilleltensky's framework for wellbeing

Nelson & Prilleltensky's (2002, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 57) framework for wellbeing, adapted to foreground its values base, is as follows. As the authors intended, and as relevant in this study, the framework should be interpreted as recognising that varying cultural perspectives and worldviews of different groups or sections of society are to be accommodated. For example self-determination for Māori – tino rangitiratanga – means the right to live as Māori in New Zealand (Durie, 2006a) or 'Māori authority' (Durie, 1998; Love, 2008).

Personal well-being

Self-determination – Where self-determination is valued, opportunities are created in self and others to pursue chosen goals in life without excessive frustration. The need for mastery, control, self-efficacy, voice, choice, skills, growth and autonomy is met.

Caring and compassion – Where caring and compassion are valued, care and concern for the physical and emotional well-being of self and others is expressed. The need for love, attention, empathy, attachment, acceptance and positive regard is met.

Health – Where health is valued, the physical and emotional health of self and others is protected and in so doing the need for emotional and physical well-being is met.

Relational well-being

Respect for diversity – Where diversity is valued, respect for, and appreciation of, diverse social identities and for people's ability to define themselves is promoted. The need for identity, dignity, self-respect, self-esteem and acceptance is met.

Participation and collaboration – Where participation and collaboration are valued, fair processes whereby people can have meaningful input into decisions affecting their lives are promoted. People's need for participation, involvement and mutual responsibility is then met.

Collective well-being

> *Support for community structures* – Where community structures are valued, vital community structures that facilitate the pursuit of personal and communal goals are promoted. The need for sense of community, cohesion and formal support is met.
> *Social justice and accountability* – Where social justice and accountability are valued, fair and equitable allocation of bargaining powers, obligations and resources for the oppressed are promoted. The need for economic security, shelter, clothing, nutrition and access to vital health and social services is met.

2.2. Important concepts

In this section I explain some important concepts related to the socially-shaped, embedded and transactional nature of wellbeing that span individual, family and community wellbeing and citizenship. These concepts – social support, social capital, social inclusion and exclusion, and social cohesion – operate in interconnected ways to impact on individual, family, community and societal wellbeing (Kagan & Burton, 2005; Robinson & Williams, 2001; Shaw et al., 1999; Stansfield, 1999; Stone & Hughes, 2002). They are presented here in the context of an ecological, systems perspective of wellbeing. Their sometimes or potentially problematic use in policy, as one part in the system, is observed.

2.2.1. Positive social relations and social support

Social support is an important concept in wellbeing because of its well-substantiated role in promoting wellbeing and in buffering people from the detrimental effects of negative experiences (Reich, Riemer, Prilleltensky, & Montero, 2007; Stansfield, 1999). Indeed, Keyes and Waterman (2003) note the numerous studies showing health and wellbeing benefits of positive social relationships. In essence, social support is associated with having positive effects on health, whilst isolation is associated with negative health effects (Stansfield, 1999).

The notion of social support is founded on connections between people, that is, 'social networks'. A social network is "a set of nodes (e.g., persons) connected by a

set of ties (e.g., relations of emotional support)" (Wellman, 1981). The type, number and density of social networks can indicate people's integration in their communities and society; that is, "how much the individual is part of a community of mutual obligation and exchange" (Gottlieb, 1981b; Stansfield, 1999, p. 156)[90]. Levels of social integration, as reflected in network membership, are one way of defining social support. A second way of defining social support is in terms of the support that is accessed as "a by-product of people's interactions in a social network with particular structural properties" (Gottlieb, 1981a, p. 32). Indeed, it is in the quality and type of support offered by network members that social supports' role in wellbeing can be understood (Stansfield, 1999).

Cohen and Syme (1985, as cited in Stansfeld, 1999, p. 155) define social support as "resources provided by other persons". Types of support include emotional support – for example, the act of listening and showing empathy (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 101) – and practical or instrumental support (Stansfield, 1999). Emotional support may include two other types of support: informational support that can help in problem solving, and support which "boosts self-esteem and encourages positive self-appraisal" (Stansfield, 1999, p. 156). Practical support includes such actions as providing financial assistance or transport. Social support therefore has behavioural, cognitive and affective (feelings) components. Network members of all kinds may be sources of support including individuals (for example, friends, family, work colleagues, neighbours), groups of people such as extended family, or community groups including 'self-help' or 'mutual help' groups (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). For most people, family is a 'primary community' (Sonn & Fisher, 1999, as cited in Brodsky et al., 2002, p. 330) and an important source of support and help. This is a particularly strong feature in Māori society where family networks are extensive (McPherson, 2003). However Mason Durie (1997, p. 2) observes that the ability of family members "to meet obligations associated with whanaungatanga – the process in which "both sexes and all generations support and work alongside one another" (or 'familiness' as Hohepa and McNaughton (2002) defined it in Chapter Four) – and to share in whānau activities is more difficult in current contexts, for example as families are more geographically

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[90] Whilst Gottleib's (1981a, 1981b) work is now almost three decades old, it is a classic foundational work on social support, the core concepts of which remain important in more recent discussions (such as Stansfield, 1999) and the refinements and developments that have followed.

separated than in the past. Pacific peoples also have strong family networks, though these are fragmented for those living in New Zealand with many family members remaining in the islands (MacPherson, 2004; Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998).

Social support is thought to have two main effects. One is the positive effects on health that derive directly from positive social relations and support (Gottlieb, 1981a; Stansfield, 1999). The other is its role in buffering people from the effects of stressful events in their lives – the 'stress-buffering hypothesis' (Eckenrode & Gore, 1981; Heller & Swindle, 1983; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Stansfield, 1999). Emotional support and practical help can reduce the stress and distress caused by difficulties in daily life and traumas that people may encounter. This is thought to occur through reducing the perception of the 'size' of difficulties as well as improving ability to cope (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Not all network interactions, however, are positive and the existence of networks in itself does not guarantee that support will be available (Wellman, 1981). For example, among Pacific settlers, Meleisea and Schoeffel (1998) observe that many New Zealand-born Samoans are ambivalent about fa'alevelave (see Chapter Three) as it has come to be practised in New Zealand, which can be very costly.

Social support is viewed as bidirectional and reciprocal (Stansfield, 1999). The reciprocated nature and the quality of social support are part of Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) 'relational well-being'. Stansfeld (1999) points out that there are 'structural prerogatives' which guide reciprocity, shaped by such factors as cultural expectations (for example, whanaungatanga for Māori and fa'alevelave for Samoans), roles and age differentials. Personality factors such as hostility, and environmental conditions such as the physical design of communities, may also affect people's ability to form relationships and to access support (Gottlieb, 1981a; Stansfield, 1999). According to Stansfield (1999, p. 171), however, "socioeconomic status in general does not seem to have a major influence on social support". In summary, Gottleib (1981a, p. 29) observes that:

> a holistic and ecologically sound understanding of the role of social support in coping and social adaptation...requires the study of the interactions between broad sociocultural factors..., the proximal social and physical

environments that form the context for coping, and the personality and competencies people bring to the life demands they face.

Social support operates at the individual level in the ways described wherein, in Nelson and Prilleltenskys' (2005, p. 101) terms, "relational well-being leads to personal well-being". It also operates at the community level in the contribution network activity can make to social integration (Stansfield, 1999). Social support and social capital (described next) are interrelated with each phenomenon providing opportunities for access to the other.

2.2.2. Social capital

Nelson & Prilleltensky (2005) define social capital as "collective resources consisting of civic participation[91], networks, norms of reciprocity and organizations that foster (a) trust among citizens and (b) actions to improve the common good" (p. 95). It is, therefore, a "set of relationships and [social] structures in civil society that provide resources for people to act as citizens in their community" (Putnam, 1993, p. v, as cited in Hillier, 2002, p. 46). It can also be thought of as "a capacity to associate for mutual benefit or common purpose" (Robinson & Williams, 2001, p. 54)[92]. It is thought to "provide the basis for a general sense of well-being and promote integration between people" (Hugman & Sotiri, 2000, as cited in Hillier, 2002, p. 46). Indeed, higher levels of health and wellbeing have been found across whole populations when there are higher levels of social capital and social cohesion (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Putnam, 2000; Stone & Hughes, 2002; Wilkinson, 1999). The notion of social capital has gained the attention of policymakers in the context of wellbeing (Edwards, 2004; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Shaw et al., 1999) and of policymakers and academics interested in the effects of literacy and of literacy education (for example Balatti, Black, & Falk, 2006; Black, Balatti, & Falk, 2006; Falk, 2001).

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[91] Civic participation refers to participation on one's community and as a citizen. It is connected with the notion of duties and obligations of belonging to a community or being a citizen.

[92] Social capital has also been referred to by Falk (2001) as the 'third capital'. Aligned to this idea, Putnam (2000, p. 19) explains that "whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them".

As for social support, network membership is the cornerstone of social capital. Layered on this cornerstone, social capital is thought to be manifest in trust that people have in members of their networks which may include, therefore, trust in family members, 'neighbours', 'workmates', 'local people', 'people in general' or 'local civic groups', and in 'institutions' (Stone & Hughes, 2002, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 96). Also layered on the cornerstone of network membership is reciprocity between people and between people and institutions, and the negotiated norms of behaviour associated with these interactions and transactions (Hillier, 2002; Stone & Hughes, 2002). Consequently, social capital has behavioural and cognitive components (Bess, Fisher, Sonn, & Bishop, 2002; Perkins & Long, 2002). It may also have an affective component. For example, community psychologists such as Perkins and Long (2002) include 'sense of community' as part of social capital. 'Sense of community' is "the extent to which a person feels part of a readily available, supportive and dependable structure; that one belongs somewhere (Sarason, 1974, as cited in Pretty, 2002, p. 193)[93]. Trust and emotional support are thought to be important components of 'sense of community' (Mahan, Garrard, Lewis, & Newbrough, 2002; Perkins & Long, 2002).

As well as trust and norms of reciprocity, characteristics of networks themselves are part of social capital (Hillier, 2002; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Important characteristics are size (for example, how many neighbours or local people are known), extensiveness (for example, how many different kinds of networks people belong to), density, that is "interconnections between other networks to which a particular network is linked" (Hughey & Speer, 2002, p. 75), closure (for example, family members know each other's friends), and diversity (for example, the "ethnic diversity of friends", the cultural mix of the area in which one lives, and the educational diversity in groups people are members of) (Stone & Hughes, 2002, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 96).

A Māori perspective on social capital, as expressed by Robinson and Williams (2001, p. 55), emphasises the centrality of family networks (in the broad meaning that it has for Māori, that is, whānau), observing the seamless connection from immediate family to wider family (*hapū)* to tribe (*iwi)* where "the (extended) family

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[93] Sense of community is sometimes called 'psychological sense of community'.

becomes the community and the community is made up of the (extended) family". Hence, there is less conceptual separation of family and community in a Māori perspective of social capital than in a European one (Robinson & Williams, 2001). These authors also observe that:

> The holistic, integrating nature of relationships and networks are of primary importance [in a Māori conceptualisation of social capital], while their use or functional activity is secondary [whereas their functional use is deemed primary in European definitions]. Family, tribal and community networks may take priority over functional contracts with specified agencies such as health, education or welfare (p. 56).

These points would be important to consider when attempting to build social capital.

'Bonding' and 'bridging' are important mechanisms in social capital (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). 'Bonding' refers to connections and ties within groups and 'bridging' refers to connections across groups (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Based on norms of trust and reciprocity, the connections and ties within groups create cohesive relationships as well as being potential sources of information and support. Networks are therefore generally good for their members (Hughey & Speer, 2002; Putnam, 2000, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). It is important to note, however, that networks can serve "malevolent, antisocial purposes" (Putnam, 2000, p. 22, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 110). The Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan are extreme historic examples of networks which had serious negative consequences for people outside them.

Bridging – connecting across networks – is considered "a necessity of every society" (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 110); trust and co-operation across groups enables a cohesive society; that is, a society in which there is "mutual trust and respect between different sections of society" (Stansfield, 2000, p. 169). Connections across groups also mean that network members have increased potential for valuable connections to others (Sarason, 1976, as cited in Hughey & Speer, 2002). For example, Burt (2000, as cited in Hughey & Speer, 2002) found that it is important to children to be embedded in dense family networks but that there is added value

in having parents who span 'structural holes' in networks to improve, as was relevant in this instance, the family economic circumstances. Structural holes are "gaps...[which] emerge at the boundaries between groups" (Hughey & Speer, 2002, p. 74). Being able to span boundaries can open up new resources through new contacts and the new contact's relationships. Thus, an expanded and heterogeneous 'relationship base', seems to be as important as cohesion in wellbeing (Hughey & Speer, 2002).

Indeed, cohesion within networks and network density can act against achievement of wellbeing by inhibiting changes to wider societal institutions and systems where these are contributors to wellbeing concerns (Edwards, 2004; Hughey & Speer, 2002; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005); through network membership people can feel connected and supported whilst societal inequities continue unabated (Edwards, 2004). Thus the current focus on social capital by policymakers identified by Shaw et al., (1999) and others carries with it a risk for wellbeing. Drawing on Blakely (2002) and Perkins, Hughey, and Speer (2002), Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) express concern that the burden of responsibility for social problems may be placed on communities, deflecting responsibility away from governments, for example to invest in public resources. Further, as Perkins and Long (2002, p. 33, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, p. 110) point out, "excessive concern for social cohesion undermines the ability to confront or engage in necessary conflict and thus disempowers".

Whilst social capital is constructed as a characteristic of families (Edwards, 2004; Stone & Hughes, 2002), groups (Hughey & Speer, 2002), communities (Perkins & Long, 2002) or societies (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Perkins & Long, 2002), benefits of social capital accrue broadly. Stone and Hughes' (2002) model of social capital developed from their study of Australian families identifies outcomes in terms of individual, family, public, civic, neighbourhood, political and economic wellbeing. Black et al. (2006) identified gains in social capital for individual participants in Australian vocational education programmes. Stone and Hughes (2002) cite examples of benefits to families through their network connections such as being better able to organise their daily lives by gaining access to child-care. Community examples include increased 'vibrancy' of civic life through voluntary participation in community affairs and co-operation between sections of

the community, and increased tolerance of diversity in the community through the participation in diverse networks (Stone & Hughes, 2002, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Moreover, the reciprocal nature of determinants and outcomes of social capital are observed in this model whereby outcomes of social capital may themselves create more social capital (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). For example, increased tolerance of diversity in the community may contribute to communities becoming more diverse (Robinson & Williams, 2001; Stone & Hughes, 2002, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). In Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005, p. 95) terms, social capital appears to be a synergistic concept in which "associations, mutual trust, sense of community and collective action" together provide potential for communities and society to better support the wellbeing of their members.

2.2.3. Social inclusion, social exclusion and social cohesion

According to Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005, p. 136) social exclusion is "the experience of living at the margins of society". Marginalisation involves involuntary disconnection from the economic and social mainstream of the society in which one lives and generally involves discrimination, poverty, exclusion from social opportunities and limited personal or collective power (rephrased from Nelson & Prilleltensky, p. 307)[94, 95]. In contrast, "those who are more socially included have greater access to resources...which come from living in a society" including economic resources, educational opportunities, social networks and support (Shaw et al., 1999, p. 223). Socially included people are more connected to and participate more in the economic and social life of their communities as both 'producers' and contributors in their communities and society and as 'consumers' of the "normal perquisites, routines, and experiences of everyday life" (White, 1998, as cited in Shaw et al., 1999, p. 223). The negative impacts of social exclusion and marginalisation on the wellbeing of individuals, groups and society as a whole are widely documented (see for example Glover et al., 2005; Gridley & Turner, 2005; Harper, 2005; Peirson, 2005; Shaw et al., 1999; Sonn & Fisher, 2005; White, 2005; Wilkinson, 1999). Indeed, higher incidence of mental and physical ill-health, crime

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[94] Some people choose to live on the margins of society. For example, citing Leonard (1984), Kagan and Burton (2005, p. 295) include "new age travellers, certain religious sects, commune members, some artists" in this group. The discussion in this section is concerned with people for whom marginality is not chosen.

[95] In such definitions, society in Western nations is acknowledged as capitalist (Kagan & Burton, 2005). According to Sloan (2005, p. 316) "individualism and capitalism go hand in hand".

and violence, and higher mortality rates, are reported in less cohesive societies (Wilkinson, 1999). In the context of this study, desirable social inclusion is within an egalitarian and cohesive society; that is, where there is even distribution of the society's resources, and different 'ways of being', in Gee's (2008) meaning of the term[96], are valued and are able to be expressed. There may therefore need to be times of tension in order to achieve necessary change.

Social exclusion is multidimensional; there are many social exclusions and there are degrees of social exclusion (Shaw et al., 1999). People may be born into a marginalised state – for example poverty – or they may become marginalised or move in and out of marginalisation through changes in personal, family or community circumstances or changes in wider society (Kagan & Burton, 2005; White, 2005). A family may become marginalised through the loss of employment by the primary income earner. Legislation, regulations and policies can contribute to marginalisation, for example rules pertaining to citizenship may prevent people from being employed (White, 1998, as cited in Shaw et al., 1999). And, marginalisation can be multilayered, for example people may experience any combination of racism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism or ageism simultaneously depending on their circumstances (Glover et al., 2005; Gridley & Turner, 2005; Harper, 2005; Kagan & Burton, 2005). Dimensions are interconnected such that there are 'flow on' effects of exclusion in one part of people's lives to other parts of their lives and to others in their social networks. A parent's low income may constrain their own and their family's opportunities for social connection or reduce the family's ability to support their children's emerging talents and interests (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005); social exclusion is thus a process as well as a state. Social isolation reduces opportunities for the enjoyment of positive social relations and the benefits of mutual support and access to resources via networks. Individuals, families and groups can experience social exclusion in their localities, 'social classes' or whole communities can be excluded from the 'dominant social order' and whole societies can be excluded at the global level (Kagan & Burton, 2005).

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[96] Also comparable to 'identities' in Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) meaning and 'subcultural identities' in Kalantzis and Cope's (1999) terms.

Poverty – the lack of economic resources – is a major contributor to and indicator of social exclusion (Bond & Mulvey 2000; Kagan & Burton, 2005; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Shaw et al., 1999). Poverty constrains material conditions such as access to food, adequate housing and education; impoverished material conditions such as insufficient or poor quality food or cold, damp or overcrowded housing in turn underlie poor health (Shaw et al., 1999). Poverty also limits social and educational participation (as in the example of the low-income parent described above) thus inhibiting other factors important in healthy development and quality of life (Peirson, 2005). Other 'flow on' effects include the susceptibility to 'unhealthy' practices in efforts to exercise control over one's life. For example Burt (2000, as cited in Shaw et al., 1999) found higher rates of smoking among women living in deprived conditions; smoking helped them feel better able to cope. Supporting the link between poverty and wellbeing, population health studies have shown a pattern of progressively worsening health the lower down a scale of socioeconomic status people are located, known as the 'social gradient' of disease (Brunner & Marmot, 1999; Marmot & Wilkinson, 1999; Shaw et al., 1999)[97]. As well as being processual, the effects of poverty are thought to be cumulative, with adverse conditions in adulthood compounded by the experience of adverse conditions in childhood (Shaw et al., 1999).

Other factors in social exclusion are related to social status (Glover et al., 2005; Gridley & Turner, 2005; Harper, 2005; Kagan & Burton, 2005; Sonn & Fisher, 2005; White, 2005). Several processes are at work. In general terms, the overarching process is the dominance of the Western worldview which incorporates a preference for homogeneity, a limited range of 'right' ' ways to be', and an individualistic, as compared to collectivistic, orientation (Gee, 2008), as explained in the context of literacy in Chapter Two, family in Chapter Three and family literacy in Chapter Four. The dominance of this narrow worldview, held by the (increasingly small) cultural majority and enshrined in societal institutions, enables structural arrangements that limit the expression of diverse identities and restrict the access of some groups to community and societal resources, both critical dimensions in wellbeing. In essence, these are discriminatory – and

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[97] The possibility that people's health status selects them into particular occupations, in other words that the causal direction is the other way, has been found to not fully explain the relationship between social strata and health (Brunner & Marmot, 1999; Wilkinson, 1999).

therefore ideological – practices (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). In New Zealand this reality contravenes the rights of Māori promised in the Treaty of Waitangi.

The limiting effect on the wellbeing of all people of the preference for homogeneity and narrow prescriptions of 'right' 'ways to be' (Gee, 2008) can be seen, for example, in the social wellbeing reporting in New Zealand where different perspectives are not incorporated into wellbeing measures and analysis (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). Bond (1999) has observed that 'advantaged' people – such as those of dominant cultural groups – have difficulty in understanding 'multiple perspectives', the perspectives of groups or individuals beyond their own. With Mulvey, Bond observed that having 'representation' is insufficient for inclusion and that having one's or one's group's perspectives included is also required (Bond & Mulvey, 2000). In Bond's (1999) terms, failure to include people's perspectives 'delegitimizes' them. Meaningful inclusion of Māori perspectives in New Zealand social wellbeing reporting might include additional analysis of, for example, Māori land valuations, marae attendance, and the percentage of Māori language programmes on television (Durie, 2006b). However, behind this kind of inclusion is a fundamental need for Māori authority and therefore genuine power sharing – inclusion and equality at the political level. Relatedly, Humpage (2006) gives very important critiques of government responses to Māori exclusion, highlighting the failures in terms of citizenship rights held by *all* New Zealanders and "additional rights [as indigenous people] recognised in international human rights legislation and in the Treaty of Waitangi" (Humpage, 2006, p. 230), an issue which will be discussed further in Section Six. Humpage (2006) notes the inadequacy of generalised inclusion/exclusion rhetoric in this context.

Further, as was described in Chapter Three in the context of families, an individualistic orientation tends to mean that when people have problems they are blamed for them (Kagan & Burton, 2005; Peirson, 2005). Kagan and Burton (2005) describe this process in terms of identity, whereby people's identities are defined by others in ways which suit the interests of the dominant group. These authors observe that "what is essentially a social and historical phenomenon is presented as a biological or intrapsychic event...[whereby]...the problems people face are seen as of 'their own making', or at least as inseparable from their particular nature" (p. 297). Because the problems are seen as located within individuals, the solutions are

seen to rest in individuals rather than in wider social structures or the wider collective. The strength of an individualistic worldview in Western societies can be seen in the work of Britain's Social Exclusion Unit which articulates a broad and interconnected understanding of the processes of social exclusion but nevertheless seeks changes in individuals rather than structural, societal-level changes to address it (Colley & Hodkinson, 2001).

Compounding the situation, people experiencing problems can internalise the external reality. With reference to the work of Martin-Baro (1996) and Freire (1970, 1974), Kagan and Burton (2005, p. 298) observe that people may "assume that their destiny is out of their control" and see their inability to change their conditions as "proof of their worthlessness". Or, in the face of limiting structural opportunities, people may internalise cultural prescriptions, "restrict[ing] their life choices to coincide with a narrow range of socially sanctioned options" (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 99). People thus regulate themselves, and the power of the 'dominant classes' can continue to operate in their own interests without overt coercion of other groups (Kagan & Burton, 2005; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005).

Relatedly, studies which sought to understand the relationship between socioeconomic status and disease in nations where most people have adequate material conditions yet health problems are manifest, such as is typically the case in Western nations, contend that the link is via the stressful conditions created by inequality (Brunner & Marmot, 1999; Wilkinson, 1999) or 'relative deprivation'[98]. The first mechanism for this process is thought to be the adverse biochemical effects resulting from chronic anxiety engendered by feelings of shame and inadequacy[99]. Indeed, Wilkinson notes Scheff's (1988, p. 397, as cited in Wilkinson, 1999, p. 264) observation that "there has been a continuing suggestion in the literature that shame is *the* primary social emotion, generated by almost constant monitoring of self in relation to others"[100]. The second mechanism is thought to be the poor quality of social relations whereby social environments are less supportive

[98] 'Relative deprivation' is defined by Shaw et al. (1999, p. 214) as the disadvantaged position of an individual, family or social group in terms of material conditions relative to the society to which they belong.
[99] See Brunner and Marmot (1999) for explanations of this process.
[100] Putnam's (1993, as cited in Hillier, 2002) work supports the problematic effects of hierarchical social relations. He describes relationships in stratified societies in terms of horizontal and vertical relations, comparing the qualities of horizontal relationships to friendship and vertical relations to power and subordination.

and more conflictual so there is less social support and more crime and violence. The third mechanism is thought to be early childhood experiences whereby the self-confidence, or conversely the insecurity, that results from the quality of early relations and attachments is thought likely to influence the extent to which the individual is later affected by social hierarchy-engendered insecurities. Supporting the need for more equal societies in order to have more healthy citizens, Wilkinson (1999) also notes the greater cohesion and better average population health standards that have been found in more egalitarian societies in which differences in wealth and social status are less. In colonised nations the rights of indigenous peoples are fundamental to the issue of status.

Social inclusion is thus at the heart of wellbeing, but inclusion that, as a state and as a process, respects and accommodates differences in people's cultural ways whilst enshrining the rights of *all* people to wellbeing, is paramount. Inclusion of this kind requires a valuing of difference and a commitment to equality, attention to relationships and mechanisms for the inclusion of differing perspectives, and a collective sense of responsibility to all people and appropriate societal structures, all aspects of Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) wellbeing framework. I now turn to descriptions of individual, family and community wellbeing and citizenship.

3. Individual wellbeing

In this section I clarify what is encompassed in the term 'individual wellbeing'. Drawing mainly on Keyes and Waterman's (2003) comprehensive account[101], I refer to the classicly recognised components of individual wellbeing – physical, social-emotional, psychological, cognitive, and subjective wellbeing (Bornstein et al., 2003; Keyes & Waterman, 2003) – to augment the individual aspects within Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) holistic framework. As well, some culturally-based differences in perspectives on individual wellbeing as relevant in the current study are observed, as also occurs later in relation to family and community wellbeing and citizenship.

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[101] Keyes and Waterman (2003) also draw from the McArthur Foundation's Successful Midlife in the US. (MIDUS) Study.

Subjective wellbeing is defined by Keyes and Waterman (2003, p. 478) as "reflect[ing] individuals' perceptions and evaluations of their own lives in terms of their affective [feeling] states and their psychological and social functioning, all being critical dimensions of mental health". Subjective wellbeing is an important concept in individual wellbeing because it recognises the distinction between that which is outwardly observable and that which is inwardly experienced and gives credence to both. Subjective experience is not directly knowable by others; it can only be inferred (Reber & Reber, 2001), thus it is contrastable with objective, measurable states such as diagnosed illness and income level where income is essential for survival. The notion of subjectivity accords with a Māori perspective in which important aspects of wellbeing such as spirituality are recognized as difficult to measure (Durie, 1998). *Emotional* wellbeing is the balance of positive and negative feelings experienced in life (Bradburn, 1969, as cited in Keyes & Waterman, 2003) and the perceived feelings of happiness and satisfaction (Andrews & Withey, 1976, as cited in Keyes & Waterman, 2003).

As in its everyday meaning, *physical* wellbeing is the absence of disease, injury or impairment and the presence of good physical health. Rather than being an independent variable in wellbeing, physical health is interconnected with psychological, social, and environmental factors (Brunner & Marmot, 1999; Wilkinson, 1999). For example, in relation to older people, Schneider and Davidson (2003) note that physical health can impact on people's ability to maintain social relations and connectedness. Conversely, strong social networks lower the risk of physical disability and aid recovery from illness or injury, while physical ill-health does not necessarily result in diminished subjective quality of life. The link between unequal social conditions and physical health via the psychological experience of chronic anxiety described earlier is another example of the interconnectedness of dimensions of wellbeing which can ultimately come to impact on physical health (Brunner & Marmot, 1999; Wilkinson, 1999). In addition for Māori, as relevant in this study, the concept of bodily health – *taha tinana* – emphasizes certain beliefs and practices which are different from those taken into account in Western settings. For example, some parts of the body have special significance and require a circumspect approach in care and treatment procedures (Durie, 1998).

Psychological wellbeing is itself multidimensional (Keyes & Waterman, 2003)[102]. As Keyes and Waterman argue, it includes people's acceptance of both positive and negative aspects of themselves and the maintenance of self-esteem. It includes one's skills and talents and the desire to enhance them, perhaps experienced as feeling increasingly knowledgeable and effective[103]. Thus, it is connected to having mastery over one's environment, involving "recogni[tion] of personal needs and desires and... feel[ing] capable of, and permitted to, take an active role in getting what [one needs] from [the environment]". It includes "the degree to which people seek self-determination and personal authority, in a society that at times requires obedience and compliance" and are independent. This involves seeking to understand one's own values and ideals and seeing one's self as guiding one's own behaviour from internalised standards and values. It includes being able to "cultivate warm, intimate relationships with others...[and] includes the presence of satisfying social contacts and relations", in other words being able to enjoy the positive social relations referred to in Section 2.2.1.

Having a sense of purpose in life and seeing one's life as having meaning is a further dimension of psychological wellbeing (Keyes & Waterman, 2003). For some people this may include holding beliefs that give purpose to life and is therefore connected to *spiritual* wellbeing. For Māori, the spiritual dimension – *taha wairua* – is the most important in wellbeing (Durie, 1998). Taha wairua is the "capacity to have faith and to understand the links between the human situation and the environment" (spiritual awareness) and having vitality (life force or *mauri)* and is closely associated with access to tribal lands and territories (Durie, 1998, p. 70).

Social wellbeing is also itself multidimensional (Keyes & Waterman, 2003)[104]. As Keyes and Waterman outline, it includes having a generally positive attitude toward people even when their behaviour is complex and perplexing. It includes "the extent to which people feel they have something in common with others who constitute their social reality...as well as the degree to which they feel that they belong to their communities and society"– in other words, the individual experience of social integration as described in Section 2.2.3. – and it includes

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[102] All material and quotations in this paragraph are from Keyes and Waterman (2003, p. 479-80).
[103] Self-efficacious; see Bandura (1982).
[104] All material and quotations in this paragraph are from Keyes and Waterman (2003, p. 480-81).

positive evaluation of one's value and contribution in society. It includes perceiving "the quality, organization and operation of the social world" and having "a concern for knowing about the world". It is "analogous with meaningfulness in life" and includes "appraisals that society is discernable, sensible, and predictable"; that is, that the world is cohesive in the sense described in Section 2.2.3. It includes "belief in the positive evolution of society and the sense that society has potential that is being realized through its institutions and citizens".

Finally, Rowe and Kahn (1997, as cited in Reitzes, 2003) observe the importance of 'high cognitive functioning' in adult wellbeing. *Cognitive* aspects of wellbeing comprise cognitive skills and communication skills (Zaff et al., 2003). Cognitive skills are broadly construed as "thinking, communicating thought, and using the products of thought in everyday life" (Zaff et al., 2003, p. 26). Cognition involves the processes of "perceiving, remembering, conceiving, judging, and reasoning" which enable knowledge to be obtained and used (p. 26). Cognition is considered "basic to adapting and making one's way in the world, to maintaining health, to engaging in productive activity, and to taking profitable advantage of the social world and objective environment" (p. 26). Communication skills include "understanding and speaking words in sentences, pragmatics [the use and effects of verbal signs and forms (Reber & Reber, 2001, p. 554)], reasoning with and thinking about language, and literacy" (p. 26). From a literacy as social practice perspective, they also include the use of other communicative forms such as image, gaze, gesture, music, movement, music and sound (Kress & Jewitt, 2003), as discussed in Chapter Two. These communication skills allow people to use their cognitions effectively by permitting "the exchange of thoughts, wishes, and feelings so necessary to developing and maintaining social relationships" (Zaff et al., 2003, p. 26).

Importantly in the context of the topic of this study, Zaff et al. (2003) note that "these various cognitive and language abilities underlie success in school, positive social interactions, and future employability" (p. 26). Thus, lifelong implications of cognitive wellbeing as described by Zaff et al. (2003) are mooted; a view reinforced by the inclusion of literacy and communication skills in many adult vocational training and 'life skills' programmes and investment in adult literacy programmes

in recent decades (see Chapter Two). Zaff et al.'s (2003) description also highlights the interconnected nature of language and cognition, an understanding reflected in much of the adult literacy work and underpinning work such as that carried out by the Organization for Cooperation and Economic Development on adult key competencies (OECD, 2002).

In addition, individuals are thought to process information differently according to pre-existing dispositions (Isaacowitz & Seligman, 2003). These "habitual ways that individuals attend to, remember, frame, and interpret information provided by their environment" (Isaacowitz & Seligman, 2003, p. 449) and are thought to be influenced by environment and may be malleable. In reviewing the relevant literature and research, Isaacowitz and Seligman (2003, p. 471) conclude that the following 'cognitive style' elements may contribute to wellbeing in adulthood (and old age):

> a realistic explanatory style, sensitive to the changes in the nature of life events with age; the absence of dispositional pessimism; selectivity in goal pursuit and social relations when resources become limited; perceptions of control when control is good to have and confidence when control is irrelevant; a fair amount of hardiness [psychological resilience], and expertise in the pragmatics of life, or wisdom.

From an ecological perspective, individual wellbeing thus defined locates people within social systems and environments which influence their experiences of mental (and physical) wellbeing and their quality of life. This perspective accords with a Māori perspective of mental health – *taha hinengaro* – as described by Mason Durie (1998, p. 71). For Durie, "healthy thinking...is integrative not analytical; explanations are sought from searching outwards rather than inwards, and poor health [as noted in Section 2] is typically regarded as a manifestation of a breakdown in harmony between the individual and the wider world". However, for Māori, 'harmony'/ 'disharmony' are connected to affiliations which may differ in significant ways from those of Pākehā New Zealanders, namely stronger and wider family affiliations and sense of obligation, which may also be said of Pacific people, and differently-based affiliations to land mediated through ancestral and spiritual

connections. Relationships with family (and community) – *taha whānau* – important in wellbeing for everyone, reverberate more deeply and broadly for Māori than for Pākehā New Zealanders, generally speaking (Durie, 1998, A. Durie, 1997)[105].

4. Family wellbeing

Prilleltensky and Nelson (2000, p. 87) define family "wellness" as "a state of affairs in which everyone's needs in the family are met", noting that it is "more than the absence of discord; it is the presence of supportive, affectionate and gratifying relationships that serve to promote the personal development of family members and the collective wellbeing of the family as a whole". This description reveals, in their terms, a valuing of the needs and growth of individual family members ('individualist values') and those of the whole family ('collectivist values') (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2000, p. 89). The quality of relationships is central to the individual and collective wellbeing that is enabled by family membership.

Peirson (2005, p. 449) draws on this meaning, locating it in a wider definition of family wellbeing as "a favourable state of affairs brought about by the combined presence of cogent values, satisfactory psychological and material resources, effective policies and successful programmes". This definition draws attention to the necessity of adequate material as well as psychosocial conditions. It emphasises the significance of the wider context in the achievement of family wellbeing through its observation of the role of policies and structures. And it suggests that the responsibility for family wellbeing goes beyond the family itself to society as a whole, including supportive government actions. Both these definitions support a 'strengths' rather than a 'deficit' view of families as discussed in Chapter Three and in the context of family literacy in Chapter Four. They also reflect a view of family wellbeing, as for individual wellbeing, as influenced by the wider social systems of which they are a part (for example policies[106]).

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[105] Arohia Durie observes that "family to the Māori mind is really part of one's self" (Rangihou, 1975, as cited in A. Durie, 1997, p. 150) whereas Western perspectives emphasise "the characteristics of individuality and portable identity" (A. Durie, 1997, p. 149).

[106] See, for example, M. Durie (1997), Durie (1998), Humpage (2006), and Humpage and Fleras (2001) for discussion and critique of the effects of government policies on Māori wellbeing.

Families clearly provide important contexts for wellbeing. For most people, the family is their primary community (M. Durie, 1997; Sonn & Fisher, 2005) or network. As observed in Chapter Three, families provide the nurturant socialisation of children, are very important sources of practical help and emotional support for all their members throughout the life span, and are important forces in people's identity and sense of belonging. From a social capital perspective, the social networks that family membership provides, together with the relationships of trust and the norms of reciprocity to be found in families (concerning how people care for and support one another and interact and spend time together), are resources for family members and for families as whole entities (Hillier, 2002; Robinson & Williams, 2001). Family network members can also bridge 'structural holes' to other networks which may further strengthen family or family members' wellbeing by enabling new opportunities for social interaction and access to new sources of support or information that help to make life more manageable and enjoyable (Coleman, 1992, as cited in Edwards, 2004). Notably, Prilleltensky and Nelson (2000) and Peirson's (2005) definitions of family wellbeing signal by omission the insignificance of family constituency per se in determining family wellbeing[107]. Mason Durie (1998) also notes this in respect to Māori.

Obligations to wider family wellbeing are generally stronger for Māori and Pacific peoples than is typically the case for European/Pākehā New Zealanders. The capacity for whānau to care for whānau members has been identified as an important aspect of wider family wellbeing for Māori (Durie, 1998). Other distinctive aspects observed by Mason Durie (2006b), as extensions of his Te Whare Tapa Whā model, are the capacity for guardianship of customary land and sites of whānau significance; capacity to empower whānau members so that they are able to participate fully as individuals and as Māori in both the Māori and wider worlds and "whānau are well represented in community endeavours" (p. 5);

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[107] Edwards (2004) notes conflicting views on the effect on family social capital from the diminishing 'traditional' nuclear family form and the increasing variety of 'non-traditional' families. One view is that non-traditional families have less trust and reciprocity; another is that there are positive effects from the "openness" and "fluidity" of the variety of modern family forms, for example the "reflexivity and negotiation concerning mutual benefits and shared satisfactions" (Edwards, 2004, p. 9). Most noteworthy is that there has always been diversity in family form, as explained in Chapter Three. Edwards (2004) observes that diversity in family form should be viewed as making a positive contribution in society.

capacity to plan ahead for the needs of future generations; and capacity to promote culture and language. Finally, Durie (2006b) observes the importance of *whakawhanaungatanga* – the capacity for consensus. This concept refers to development of whānau decision-making processes where "consensus is possible and collective action strengthened...[there is] strong interconnectedness within the whānau and better overall [wellbeing] results" (p. 5). Mason Durie (1997) also acknowledges the costs as well as the benefits of whanaungatanga (for example financial and time), an issue also relevant to Pacific peoples with their similar obligations to extended family (Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998). Meanwhile, the capacity of whānau to support personal development is observed to be "not unlimited" (M. Durie, 1997, p. 22). Mason Durie (1997) observes that families and whānau themselves need to be nutured or they can create health risks for their members, a perspective which can be regarded as relevant to all families irrespective of their culture and design. Mason Durie (1997) is also concerned that legislation is compatible with Māori concepts of family. Wider societal support of families inherent in Peirson's (2005) definition of family wellbeing and Nelson & Prilleltensky's (2005) wider wellbeing framework must therefore be culturally relevant and appropriate.

5. Community wellbeing

Like families, communities constitute contexts within which people's identities (Pretty, 2002) and lives are shaped, serving as mediators between "the individual and the social" (Campbell & Murray, 2004, p. 189). 'Ways of being', and therefore conditions of wellbeing, are negotiated within communities as some behaviours are enabled and others are constrained (Campbell & Murray, 2004). However, communities are themselves structured by the social relations of the wider societies in which they are located; as such they may promote good levels of wellbeing for their members or they may serve to maintain poor or unequal wellbeing. They can also be "important social forces in the process of change", such as is required to bring about more just outcomes – better or more equal wellbeing – for everyone (Campbell & Murray, 2004, p. 188). The concept of community wellbeing may be thought of as the ability of communities as a whole to support the wellbeing of their members.

Communities are mainly conceptualised as geographical or location communities in which people reside (such as a neighbourhood community), and as relational communities (such as a group of friends or a church congregation) (Bess et al., 2002). Campbell and Murray (2004, p. 189) refer to these as 'communities of place' and 'communities of identity' respectively[108]. Relational communities exist through a common culture or shared interest, or a family or friendship connection. On the other hand, place-based communities do not always share common identities or values and they may be a microcosm of the wider society complete with its social inequalities (Campbell & Murray, 2004). Communities which share common interest, purpose or identity are notionally similar to the 'subcultural' communities described by Cope and Kalantzis (2000a) in relation to varying literacy forms and usage – the textual multiplicity – to be found within them (see Chapter Two). And, Barton and Hamilton's (1998) 'domains' such as school, home and work may also be thought of as kinds of communities.

Brodsky, Loomis, and Marx (2002) note that everyone lives in multiple communities simultaneously (as did Barton and Hamilton (1998), Cope and Kalantzis (2001) and Gee (2008) in a literacy context (see Chapter Three)). Some of these communities may be independent of each other; that is, they are distinct or non-overlapping. For example, a person "may work in one setting, live in another, go to school in a third, feel belonging with a separate ethnic, professional, religious, or identity community" (Brodsky et al., 2002, p. 324). Other communities may be "nested macro and subcommunities" (Brodsky et al., 2002, p. 320) constituting a "hierarchy of symbolic communities" (Hunter & Riger, 1986, as cited in Brodsky et al., 2002, p. 324). Brodsky et al. (2002, p. 324-5) also note Wiesenfeld's (1996, p. 341-2) further delineation of community membership as comprising "'macro-belonging' which incorporates all into the larger community and 'micro-belongings' that are made up of 'the multiple collective identities' of the sub-communities". Some of the communities to which people belong may be more important to them than others, and they may have a 'primary community' as in Sonn and Fisher's (1999) meaning of the term (Brodsky et al., 2002, p. 330).

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[108] Brodsky, Loomis, and Marx (2002, p. 319) have identified four categorisations in the literature: 'geographic territory', 'physical setting', 'relational community' and 'identity group' which can be thought of as further delineations within the two broader categories of 'place' and 'identity' communities.

Important dimensions of 'place' and 'identity' communities are 'sense of community' and 'community competency'. In identifying the affective, cognitive and behavioural components of sense of community and defining it as "shared emotional connection, membership and sense of belonging, influence, and integration and fulfilment of needs", MacMillan and Chavis (1986, as cited in Pretty, 2002, p. 193) illuminate both the belonging aspect of 'sense of community' as might be experienced by individual community members and the competency aspect which might be associated with community wellbeing in its collective sense. Sarason (1974) and Glynn (1986, both as cited in Miers & Fisher, 2002, p. 143) have endorsed the neighbourhood as the logical place to develop a sense of community. It is important to note, though, that for Māori, family and community is often the same (Robinson & Williams, 2001) and that for Pacific peoples living in New Zealand, community life is often based around their churches (Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998), thus there are culturally-preferred starting points for community.

Sonn and Fisher (1998, p. 459, as cited in Redman & Fisher, 2002, p. 91) describe a competent community as "one that can develop effective ways of coping with the challenges of living (and)…have the capacity and resources to cope positively with adversity". Redman and Fisher (2002) align this conceptualisation to community "strength" which has "a positive relationship with quality of life for those within the community" (p. 91). Conversely:

> Non-competent communities may not have the characteristics to facilitate integration and assist individuals to access the resources that are available (Pretty, Conroy, Dugay, Fowler, & Williams, 1996). They often comprise the lower end of the spectrum of advantage (including economic, educational and social advantage) and provide little support for their members, either in the form of resources or in the ability to facilitate access to existing resources. (Redman & Fisher, 2002, p. 92)

In their review of the literature, Brodsky et al. (2002, p. 319) identified various individual and community outcomes associated with 'psychological sense of community' (which included both belonging and competency aspects). These outcomes were 'positive individual mental health', 'physical health', 'community involvement', 'political participation', 'job-related behaviours (such as 'interacting

with others', 'support', and 'appreciation'), 'positive community indicators' (such as 'safety'), 'resources', 'satisfaction with public services', and 'social control and empowerment' (p. 319).

Active community development – "a process that stimulates opportunities for membership, for influence, for mutual needs to be met, for shared emotional ties and support" (Chavis & Newbrough, 1986, p. 337, as cited in Miers & Fisher, 2002, p. 143) – can transform struggling communities into competent ones. As aspects of social support, these processes are also aspects of social capital and can ultimately address the marginalisation of whole communities. Whilst community strengthening efforts must continue, the issue of simultaneous attention to the wider context is pertinent to communities just as it is, as I have discussed, to individuals and families. As Campbell and Murray (2004, p. 191) argue, "success [in community strengthening work] should be evaluated not only in terms of levels of individual and community empowerment, but also in terms of the extent to which societal institutions become more responsive to community demands and changes in real social conditions".

6. Citizenship

Freire (Freire, 1988, p. 7, as cited in Stromquist, 1997, p. 97) defines a citizen as an "individual who enjoys civil and political rights within the state" and citizenship as "the condition of being a citizen i.e. with the use of rights and the right to have duties as citizen". Citizenship, then, is a fundamental condition of membership of nation states – such as New Zealand – which carries with it rights and obligations on the part of individual citizen members and on the part of the state as representative of the collective views of citizens. In considering benefits that may accrue from participation in family literacy programmes, it is therefore important to consider not just benefits to family and community that might 'flow on' from the adults' participation but also what might change in the adult's citizenship role including in the exercise of rights and duties. For example, of interest is the extent to which civic participation is enhanced and leads to increased social capital and ultimately to fair access to societies' resources.

The link between wellbeing and citizenship is clearly expressed in the extract from *The April Report* (see Section Two), which underpins social reporting in this country, in which both rights (for example "a sound base of material support") and duties (for example "an atmosphere of community responsibility") are expressed (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988, p. 472, as cited in Ministry of Social Development, 2008, p. 4). This interconnection is encapsulated in Dyall and Keith's (1988, p. 365) summary of these ideas – which they found transcended ethnic difference – as 'voice', 'choice' and 'safe prospect'. For Māori, for whom citizenship is not as was envisaged at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, considerably more 'voice' is required for 'choice' and 'safe prospect' to be realized.

7. Chapter summary: Towards a citizen-centred framework for evaluating family literacy outcomes

Wellbeing, as presented in this chapter, is a multifaceted theoretical construct and a complex dynamic in human experience as it is lived from day to day. Citizen-centred outcomes, as the term is used in this study, are those which reflect wellbeing in its individual, relational and collective senses. The notion of citizen-centred outcomes places people as individuals and as members of families, communities and wider society at the centre of concerns about wellbeing. Individuals are seen as part of, as interacting with, and as shaping and being shaped by, the relationships in which they engage and are embedded; they are seen as active members of their families, communities and society, embedded in networks of social relations with bi- and multidirectional influence. In this context, optimally-achieved citizen-centred outcomes see people enabled, supported and unconstrained in the enactment of personally and culturally-meaningful practices that enhance wellbeing for themselves, their families and their communities. A notion of citizen-centred outcomes assumes collective responsibility at appropriate levels and the overarching responsibility of the state through its institutions to ensure 'voice', 'choice' and 'safe prospect' for all citizens as individuals and as groups.

Wellbeing and literacy are linked through citizenship where the 'use of rights and the right to have duties' requires that all people have access to what is required for quality of life within the collective ability of the society to provide it. In *Te kāwai*

ora, the Māori Adult Literacy Working Party (2001) located literacy practices and the adult literacy work within the task of nation building. For them, the "wellbeing of the people" was based on the premise of inclusivity, embedded in the principle and model of partnership the Treaty of Waitangi provides, "which enables everyone to have a place and to be provided for in our society" (p. 4).

There are many connections between literacy and quality of life. In Chapter Two, I noted that literacy is imbued with historical, cultural, social and ideological significance and as such is connected to issues of power, control and identity. In Chapter Four, I described the multiple uses to which literacies are put as people go about the business of daily living. People's literacies enable them to make sense of the world, to get things done and to access resources. In this Chapter, I observe people's quest for quality of life, the meaning of which is deeply located in personally-held and culturally-based values and beliefs about what is important in life, and varies along an individualist-collectivist worldview continuum.

Considering the contribution of family literacy programmes to wellbeing thus requires asking to what extent the individual, relational and collective wellbeing of individuals, families, communities and society as a whole is enhanced by this family literacy work. Chapters Seven and Eight explore this question, following the description of the research method used presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Methodology and method

1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to investigate the contribution that participation in family-focused literacy education programmes makes to the wellbeing of the adult participants, their families and their communities. I have presented and argued for broad and inclusive perspectives of literacy, family and family literacy, and presented a holistic conceptualisation of wellbeing that incorporates personal, relational and collective dimensions, for the purpose of holding open the possibilities for how family literacy might be developed in New Zealand in the best interests of people's wellbeing. Chapters Two to Five have provided a conceptual framework within which New Zealand family literacy programmes at the centre of the study are viewed. What is learned from studying family literacy programmes through the lenses provided by the discussions in these chapters is explicated in Chapters Seven and Eight. However, the processes of this investigation and the beliefs and values that shape the choices in approach are also critically important to what is learned and to judging the usefulness of what is learned. Following Guba and Lincoln's (1989, p. 183) definition of methodology as "the overall strategy for resolving the complete set of choices or options available to the inquirer", this chapter describes the overall methodological approach and the specific steps that were taken as the research was conducted.

Section Two sets out and explains the research objectives. Section Three describes the paradigm of social constructionism which has shaped the research approach, as well as the specific contributions of the theoretical perspectives of interpretivism and critical theory that frame the study as a political and moral endeavour, and layer it with a social justice objective. Approaches used in Māori and Pacific people's settings are described. Ethical issues and validation are discussed and, finally, the methods used are summarised. The specific steps taken are described in Section Four where they are explained in relation to the methodological rationale set out in Section Three. The programmes and the participants are introduced in this section, and the analysis process is described.

Section Five orients the reader towards the findings and discussion chapters which follow.

2. The research objectives

Within the aim of this study, stated at the beginning of this chapter, five objectives were identified. *The first objective was to explore changes in the lives of adults who participated in family-focused literacy programmes.* I set out to identify changes in the everyday uses of literacy and the literacy abilities of adults who participated in family literacy programmes, changes to other aspects of their lives that seemed to be related to their participation in the programme, and any connections that might be observed between the literacy changes and the broader changes.

As I noted in Chapter One, my general interest in the transformative potential of adult education and the signs from the New Zealand research that adults were attracted to family-focused programmes and derived benefits from participation in them (Benseman & Sutton, 2005; May et al., 2004) initially drew me to focusing on adults in this study rather than children or both adults and children. Surveying the international literature reinforced the potential importance of learning more about adults' experiences and perspectives in the interests of improving the balance across and within the strands that constitute the field of family literacy as a whole. Gadsden (2002), for example, has called for much greater attention to adults within family literacy research in relation to adult learning and literacy in its own right. This current study contributes to addressing these concerns. In keeping with the broad and inclusive approach the study pursues, the first objective involved exploring adults' wide-ranging uses of literacy connected to their many interests and concerns. Parents' concerns about and support of their children's literacy learning is part of adults' literacy activity but as Sr. Gonzalo, for example, has shown (see Chapter Four), adults' uses of literacy extend beyond involvement with their children's (or grandchildren's) education (Barton, 1997; Kalman, 1997).

This objective also extended beyond essay-text literacy (and essay-text literacy in English) to include literacy as participants or the groups to which they belong define it. This is in keeping with a 'social practice' view of literacy as having multiple meanings (that is, there are multiple literacies and multiple modes of

literacy) (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Barton et al., 2000; Kress, 1997, 2000). This broad perspective was especially important as research participants and their communities were likely to differ culturally and therefore likely to have differing views on what literacy is and what it is for. The differences between Māori perspectives and official perspectives which framed programme funding, for example, was already known (see Chapters One and Two). The objective included an interest in the assessment information collected by programmes on changes in participants' literacy skills and usages that were of interest within the objectives of the programme (including the official ones) but was not limited to this. Further, whilst changes in literacy skills and usages were noteworthy, of greatest interest in this study were the *meanings* of these changes to the participants. In addition, and again in keeping with the broad, holistic spirit of the study, this objective involved looking for other changes in participants' lives that appeared to be connected to the programme and seeking to understand any connections to the literacy components. The focus of this first objective was those which seem to be most directly and immediately linked with the programme (Furness, 2007b, 2009b; Nickse, 1993).

It is important to note also that focusing on adults' experiences and perspectives, incorporating multiple meanings of literacy, and focusing on the meanings of changes were ways to open up the discussion about how family literacy in its collective, cross-strand sense, might be conceptualised in New Zealand, the study's overarching goal (see Chapter One).

The second objective was to explore ways in which the effects of programme participation 'flowed on' to other aspects of the adult participants' lives and to other people in their social networks, especially within their families and communities. As I observed in Chapter Four, 'flow on' or 'ripple' effects have been identified in previous studies, including New Zealand ones (Benseman & Sutton, 2005; May et al., 2004). I was especially interested in these effects as it made sense that the full score of the benefits of programmes such as the ones I was investigating might be seen in the layers of effects that 'rippled' outwards from the immediate effects on individual participants and be seen over time and in different places and in other people.

The third objective was to examine the effects of participation in the programmes that are found in relation to broad and holistic concepts of wellbeing. I was interested in exploring these effects deliberately from the perspective of wellbeing holistically-conceived and in the New Zealand context. In other words, I wanted to explore how citizens of *this country* experienced and described these effects in relation to *what mattered to them* in the living of a 'good life' (see Chapter Five). This objective was firmly rooted in a social justice agenda, as explained in Chapter One. It involved drawing on culturally-differentiated and historically-shaped perspectives of what wellbeing is and what is necessary for it to be experienced. It involved a multitextured and multilayered look at the impacts of adults' participation in these programmes. I was interested in the personal wellbeing of the individual adult participants including the relational aspects, and in terms that were important to them; for example, their relationships within the collectivities they belonged to. Further, I set out to trace how the benefits which 'flow on' from *the immediate and the personal* to others in the adults' networks and to their family, community and citizenship roles also contributed to the *communal and collective good.* This analysis drew on Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) framework for wellbeing described in Chapter Five. Its use was intended to emphasise the wide-ranging good that may come from adults' participation in family-focused literacy programmes.

This is the new contribution to the field of family literacy, relevant internationally and, contextualised in New Zealand, especially relevant to the field's local development. This objective constituted a challenge to family literacy theorists, practitioners and policymakers to think carefully about what the objectives, practices and assumptions underpinning family literacy programmes ought to be, and how they are arrived at, if those who see promise in family literacy are truly concerned for the welfare of *all* of the members of our societies. In New Zealand, as family literacy programmes are in their infancy, it constituted a potential opportunity to shape how such programmes are viewed and evaluated in the best interests of not only the participants and their families but also their communities and New Zealand society more generally; in other words, in our collective interests as a nation.

The fourth objective was to identify which programme elements seem to be important for beneficial effects to be achieved. I felt it was important to try to understand what aspects of the way the programme was constructed and operated seemed to be important to achieving beneficial outcomes. However, the study is not a programme evaluation per se; I did not set out to describe and analyse the workings of every aspect of the programme and make judgments about its worth against criteria as is an evaluator's role (Rossi & Freeman, 1989). Rather, this objective utilises an opportunity for gaining what may be important additional understandings incidental to the main focus of the study.

Finally, I aimed to include in this study programmes which represented a range of ways in which family literacy programmes might be 'done'. As I noted in Chapter Four, New Zealand programmes based on the Kenan model have already received research attention here. Quite a lot is known about this model, and there is a tendency to equate 'family literacy' with its elements. In order to open up the discussion of how family literacy might be constructed here, two steps were taken. The first step was to determine how and to what extent family approaches were already included in adult literacy programmes that might not have been generally recognised. The second step was to showcase in this study programmes that manifested a focus on families in a range of different ways and, where possible, ways that differed to those typical of the Kenan model. In summary, *the fifth objective was to describe some different ways of 'doing' family literacy programmes* to contribute to a discussion, which has not yet been had in New Zealand, about what might be included under the rubric of family literacy programmes. The first of these steps, introduced in Chapter Four, is not dealt with here but nevertheless provided, as will be explained in Section 4.1., the basis for selecting programmes for this study (see Furness (2006a) for a full description).

3. The research approach

The overall approach to the research is best described as critical-interpretive with influences from phenomenology and Kaupapa Māori methodologies, the latter strongly so, all within a social constructionist[109] paradigm. Interpretive approaches

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[109] An important distinction should be made here between constructio*n*ism and constuctivism (Crotty, 1998) as these terms often appear in literature without clear or distinguishing definitions.

have dominated much social science and educational research in recent decades, providing richness, depth and particularity in their contributions to the understanding of social phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Critical approaches have questioned the taken-for-granted in social phenomena, analysing social experience from the perspective of power in search of a more socially-just world (Crotty, 1998; Denzin & Giardina, 2009; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Tuffin, 2005). These approaches are highly relevant in this study which questions perspectives of family literacy and encourages an inclusive approach to its conceptualisation and practice in New Zealand.

The influence of social constructionism on this study has been evident from the outset in three ways. First, I have foregrounded the 'social practice' view of literacy in the general discussion of literacy and in the discussion of family literacy which, as I observed in Chapter Two, is underpinned by a social constructionist epistemology. Second, the allied sociocultural perspective influenced the discussion of family in Chapter Three. Third, the ecological framework for wellbeing, as I pointed out in Chapter Five, is epistemologically consistent with the social practice view of literacy in that wellbeing from an ecological perspective, like literacy from a social practice view, is seen as shaping and being shaped by relationships and contexts. There are also other ways in which social constructionism has been evident in these chapters, often with a critical theoretical component and an implied anti-positivist stance. Some examples will be referred to as this section of the chapter proceeds. This section is therefore to some extent a retrospective look at concepts whilst also looking forward to the fieldwork, its main purpose.

Throughout these chapters, a contrast has often been made with dominant Western perspectives. The positivism inherent in much Western thought was exemplified in the 'methodological fundamentalism' referred to in Chapters One and Four (Benseman et al., 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Smith & Hodkinson, 2005). Such examples as the individualistic and atomistic qualities of the 'skills'

According to Crotty, social constructivism refers to "the meaning-making activity of the individual mind". Constructionism refers to the "collective generation [and transmission] of meaning as shaped by the conventions of language and other social processes" (1998, p. 58). Constructivism is therefore a more individualistic take on the general theory of social construction and, according to Crotty, tends to dissuade criticality. Constructionism on the other hand is thought to foster criticality.

view of literacy or the view of families as independent entities could also be described as reflecting a positivist stance. However, the study did not set out to provide a theoretical exploration of the juxtapositioning of constructionist and positivist (or objectivist) perspectives per se. Instead, more specific axes of perspective as set out in Chapter One (such as individualistic compared to collectivist worldviews and skills-focused compared to socially-focused views of literacy) were selected to constitute a theoretical framework for organising the thesis argument. That framework sits within the broader methodological approach which links the foregrounding of perspectives, which are themselves consistent with social constructionism, with the social constructionist ontological and epistemological leanings of the study as a whole.

On this basis, this section of the chapter sets out the broader methodological approach. It focuses on a description of social constructionism, critical theory, phenomenology and *Kaupapa Māori*[110] methodologies. Constructionism is contrasted with positivism when doing so is of explanatory value and in deference to the positivist underpinnings of the dominant Western perspectives against which foregrounded views have been contrasted in the preceding chapters. Much of the explanation of the ontological and epistemological concerns of social constructionism described here draw on Michael Crotty's (1998) detailed exploration of the major research paradigms. Among other referents, important New Zealand writers such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Russell Bishop contribute locally relevant insights, such as those that pertain to Kaupapa Māori methodologies for example.

3. 1. Critical interpretive social constructionism

Constructionism rejects the objectivism of the positivist paradigm[111] which contends that there is a single external objective reality or 'truth' that can be discovered. It also rejects the post-positivist stance that objective reality, which in the post-positivist paradigm is also thought to exist, can only be partially known. Rather, constructionism posits that "meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting" (Crotty, 1998, p. 43). Indeed,

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[110] Māori phrase meaning Māori strategy or Māori-themed (Ryan, 1994).
[111] Positivism is described by Crotty (1998, p. 18) as a theoretical perspective within the epistemology of objectivism.

from a constructionist perspective, "the realms of the material and the symbolic are inextricably bound up with one and other" (Edley, 2001, p. 439). In other words, objects do not have meanings in and of themselves (an external objective reality or 'truth'), but rather these are derived from the meanings that objects have for people. Meaning or 'truth' is in the mind – in the consciousness – not in the object itself. Importantly though, these meanings are mutually constituted as object and subject interact together. This process is explained in terms of 'intentionality'. As Crotty (1998) observes:

> When the mind becomes conscious of something, when it 'knows' something, it reaches out to and into, that object...intentionality posits quite an intimate and very active relationship between the conscious subject and the object of the subject's consciousness. Consciousness is directed towards the object; the object is shaped by consciousness. (p. 44)

Thus constructionism in not subjectivism either. Meaning is not simply imposed by the subject on the object as in subjectivism (Crotty, 1998) but rather the subject interacts with the object and so the object has a vital part to play in the generation of meaning. Constructionism holds objectivity and subjectivity "indissolubly" together (Crotty, 1998, p. 44); both are necessary for the generation of meaning that occurs through the interaction between subject and object. Hence 'reality' is socially constructed rather than being a fixed and given thing waiting to be discovered as in the positivist and post-positivist stance.

People bring their cultural selves to their interactions in the world and therefore may have different interpretations of the same reality (Crotty, 1998). Multiple constructions of the same 'reality' or 'multiple realit*ies*' may therefore exist. Language is seen as playing an important role in the meaning-making process, enabling "shared meaning and uncertainty...[to be] discussed and debated" (Tuffin, 2005, p. 163) rather than being viewed as a mirror of reality, as in positivism. Further, from a constructionist perspective "there is *no* true or valid interpretation" (Crotty, 1998, p. 47). However, Crotty observes there are interpretations that are more useful than others, that prove to be "liberating" or "oppressive", that "may be judged fulfilling and rewarding" or that "impoverish human existence and stunt human growth" (1998, p. 48). Examples of multiple realities are seen in the

preceding chapters in the view of literacy as litera*cies*, the differing culturally-located perspectives on family, and the differing ways in which family literacy is defined such as, by way of a broad-brush example, the three strands which were identified as constituting the field (see Chapter Four).

Research conducted within a social constructionist paradigm is interpretive[112]. The researcher is necessarily engaged in two levels of interpretation, confronting what Giddens (1976, as cited in Crotty, 1998, p. 56) calls the 'double hermeneutic', entering into an already interpreted world and then reinterpreting it. In Giddens' (1976, p. 79) words, which Crotty quotes, the researcher's first task is "entering and grasping the frames of meaning involved in the production of social life by lay actors", and then "reconstituting these within the new frames of meaning involved in technical conceptual schemes" (p. 56). Technical conceptual schemes could be formally-constituted theoretical frameworks the researcher has developed or seconded for the purpose. Alternatively, these schemes can be simply the 'meaning systems' the researcher-as-culturally-located-human being already holds and which may be their only starting point, as in grounded theory (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The conceptual schemes are thus also socially constructed! The important point here is that the researcher and the researched, 'held indissolubly together' as subject and object, each bring their socially-shaped selves to the task of yet another layer of meaning-making. The interactive nature of the coming together in this other layer of meaning-making – these re-interpretations that constitute the research findings – are therefore co-constructions (Riessman, 2008). Whilst there is always a level of co-construction, it can be a very deliberate and active working together to make sense of the phenomena being studied in which participants are equally engaged with the researcher in the meaning-making process as in a fully collaborative research process (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005).

The cultural dimension which shapes people's interactions with the world evoked in the constructionist paradigm ('the cultural selves we bring to our interactions in the world') is important. Culture – "our symbols, our meaning systems" (Crotty, 1998, p. 81) – is indelible to humanity; it is "to be welcomed as what makes us

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[112] In Crotty's (1998) terms, interpretivism is a theoretical perspective within the paradigm of constructionism, as are critical theory and phenomenology.

human" (p. 58). Constructionism places culture at centre stage, "emphasis[ing] the hold [it] has on us: it shapes the way in which we see things (even the way in which we feel things!) and gives us a quite definite view of the world" (Crotty, 1998, p. 58). On the one hand, culture is thought to be liberating because through it "we know our past and can plan our future" (Crotty, 1998, p. 81), but it is also limiting. As such it is at once integral to constructionism and a problem with which constructionism must deal.

Drawing on the social constructionist theoretical perspective of phenomenology, Crotty (1998) makes the point that culture is liberating only within its own bounds: "It makes us human but in and through *this* particular culture, *this* special system of significant symbols, *these* meanings" (p. 81). Beyond this, culture can be limiting in a number of ways. For example, the symbol systems which demarcate culture place a barrier between us and our immediate experience of objects, keeping us at a distance from the objects themselves; we may be content with or accepting-enough of the object as we understand it but we cannot necessarily see the full richness (nor indeed, perhaps, ways in which it may be harmful for us) because of the cultural filters which constrain our vision. Bounding meanings of objects though our symbol systems *excludes* other meanings. We miss out on meanings within our own cultural landscape. We also limit the possibilities that could be available to us via cultural frames outside our own. More ominously, Crotty reminds us that "we should never lose sight of the fact that the particular set of meanings [any culture] imposes has come into being to serve particular interests and will harbour its own forms of oppression, manipulation and other forms of injustice" (1998, p. 81). Thus both freedoms and constraints circulate within our cultural frames. A case in point, for example, is the highly-valued individualism of the Western world which also provides a rationale that enables people to be blamed for misfortunes that befall them, even when these are beyond their control. The Western cultural preoccupation with individual freedom, choice and responsibility by and large blinds people from seeing the way in which societal structures such as institutions enable some people and constrain others, and frees people from obligation to help those in their own communities who are struggling. Within our own cultural worlds, phenomenology, however, invites us to set aside our existing meaning systems and "open ourselves to the phenomena in their stark immediacy to see what emerges for us" (Crotty, 1998, p. 82). In this study, I am

inviting those interested in family literacy in New Zealand to approach it in this way and it is what I am attempting to do in my research.

Beyond our own challenging-enough cultural world, increasingly, as Cope and Kalantzis (2000a) have observed, we interact with many diverse 'subcultural' communities as we go about our daily lives. In the New Zealand context, beyond this general presumption, the relationship between Māori and Pākehā has special importance in our daily interactions and our sense of community belonging and nationhood. Huygens' (2007) reference to 'ontological and cultural blindness' to which I referred in Chapter One is relevant. Huygens (2007, p. 14) observes that, "Most Pākehā appear 'blind' to their cultural dominance and its role in oppression of others" and identified several examples in relation to Māori. She identified the nub of the issue for researchers in observing that:

> Part of the struggle for indigenous peoples lies in the difficulty the Western world has in accepting that indigenous peoples define themselves and their world-views according to self determined criteria not derived from any Western system of religion, history, philosophy or politics. This could be seen as a struggle over whose social reality may claim to exist, and scholars must clarify where they stand in such a struggle. (p. 15)

In bringing our cultural selves to our task as researchers we bring with us the risk of ontological blindness but we have in our kete of research tools phenomenology's invitation to be open to what is there and the resources of a critical approach to enhance the likelihood of seeing the operation of power if it is there to be seen, and to discuss it and its effects on the everyday lived experiences of those in our study and on the research interactions themselves. The social constructionist researcher, "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (Crotty, 1998, p. 67). As I have already observed, the social constructionist researcher understands that there will always be many interpretations of the same life-world and the researcher's reinterpretation will be a further construction generated in the interactions between the researcher and the object of their gaze. In realising this, the challenge for the researcher is to be aware of their own cultural imposing; to articulate their own cultural and value

positions and to understand how these affect the interactions with those they are researching and their interpretations. Critical theory helps with this.

Critical theory

In describing critical theory, Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) observe that this paradigm assumes an external reality but, unlike positivism, the reality that critical theory envisages is "constituted of institutional and social structures that have been historically shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnoracial and gender factors" (p. 246). In other words, social structural factors constitute a reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Viewing knowledge as socially constructed, critical theory focuses its attention on issues of power and oppression, and on the values and assumptions that are embedded in social structures that sustain unequal power relations. Critical theorists are interested in how social arrangements come to be reified and how people who are not well served by them "come to accept and even collaborate in maintaining oppressive aspects of the system" (Denzin & Giardina, 2009). At the heart of critical theoretical approaches lies foundational questioning of the taken-for-granted including "challenges to the domination of grand narratives" (Denzin & Giardina, 2009, p. 54) such as the inherent goodness of modernism as 'progress', and critique of forms of normalization; that is, of what counts as the 'right' 'way to be' (Denzin & Giardina, 2009, and see also Gee (2008) and Graff and Duffy (2008) in the context of literacy). Critical theorists are interested in the "usages of language and the circulation of discourses that are used to shape all of social life" (Denzin & Giardina, 2009, p. 55). These authors note that "language gives form to ideologies and prompts action, and consequently, is deeply complicit in power relations and class struggles" (p. 55). Critical theorists deconstruct and reconstruct 'knowledge' through 'analysis of power' (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 246) for the specific purpose of taking "effective action for change" (Crotty, 1998, p. 157). The change critical theorists seek is a more socially just world (Crotty, 1998; Denzin & Giardina, 2009; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Tuffin, 2005). It is important to criticalists that the voices of people who fare less well in the world are heard, so attention is paid by critical researchers to seeking out these voices and creating space for them, and most importantly, to ensuring that they are represented authentically. The critical researcher must ensure the usually unheard voices are captured and the analysis undertaken acknowledges power and its effects (Nelson

& Prilleltensky, 2005). The critical researcher looks to emancipatory and liberatory social justice outcomes from the research so considers how both the topics and the methods might empower or disempower.

Overall, then, as Smith and Hodkinson (2005, p. 915) observe, research is a social process and, as such, it is not possible for it to be value or theory-free. Researchers and the topics studied are products of the times and cultures in which we live (Tuffin, 2005); our cultural heritage, which includes our values and beliefs, "pre-empt[s] the task of meaning making" (Crotty, 1998, p. 79). In New Zealand's multiethnic context, yet where Western individualistic and atomistic cultural perspectives dominate, it seemed essential to approach the study from a perspective which would allow as much as possible for breadth and inclusivity, and a questioning stance in relation to the taken-for-granted.

Social constructionism applied in the research
In this study, I brought my experiences of the adult learning context, beliefs in the transformative potential of education, valuing of diversity, and concern for social justice to my reading of the international and local literature from which I derived an argument for a broad and inclusive conceptual framing of literacy and family literacy and a strengths-based view of families in family literacy contexts, as highlighted in the preceding chapters. This conceptual framing includes or draws on some formally constituted 'schemes' (Braun & Clarke, 2006) such as Nelson & Prilleltensky's framework for wellbeing (2005) and Mason Durie's (1998) Te Whare Tapa Whā model of Māori wellbeing, as well as more general ideas. These two streams of understanding were brought to bear on my investigation of some New Zealand family literacy programmes. As social constructionism explains, participants in the study also brought their own experiences, values and beliefs to the research interactions. Researcher and researched came together within a particular context; that is, the family literacy programme with its aims and processes in which the researched were participating and the wider socio-political context in which the programmes sit. Following a social constructionist approach, I anticipated that participants and others I questioned would differ in their viewpoints – in their interpretations of 'reality' – in regard to the concepts I was interested in and the programmes' effects. I was especially aware of the cultural differences that would exist between me as a Pākehā researcher and participants of

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different ethnicities and cultural histories, in particular the risk of 'ontological and cultural blindness' given my membership of the dominant cultural group. This carried with it the risk, therefore, of misrepresentation of people's perspectives and, in turn, problematic conclusions. The methods used needed to ensure that different perspectives were captured, that there were ways to check the fairness of the representation, and that there was transparency in how differing perspectives were brought together. Given the issue of the dominance of Western perspectives as has been shown in the preceding chapters and in this one, the methods also needed to accommodate challenge to the taken-for-granted. Dialogical approaches built on respectful relationships in which there was alertness to how power may be operating, in both the research context and in the stories told, were essential. Further, and most importantly, it was essential that the research was seen by those who were being asked to participate in it as being of value to them and their communities and, finally, to be conducted in a culturally-ethical manner.

These dynamics required consideration of if and how I might work with different communities. It was also important not to consider the Pākehā participants as a homogenous group either, as class differences, for example, could render very different life experiences, values and beliefs. However, in very general terms by virtue of my Pākehā-ness, I share with this group many similarities, not least of which, the culture which permeates most institutions and many domains of life in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Researching in Māori contexts

The concern about Pākehā researching in Māori contexts has its roots in the colonialist assumption of the superiority of Western ontologies and epistemologies and of rights over others (Smith, 1999). Linda Smith (1999), in her classic book *Decolonising methodologies*, describes a history of colonial 'naming' and 'claiming' of what was already named and claimed by Māori. Bishop (2005) observes a "tradition of research [undertaken by non-Māori] into Māori people's lives that addresses concerns and interests of the predominantly non-Māori researcher's own making, as defined and made accountable in terms of the researchers' own cultural worldviews" (as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 1). Cultural deficit perspectives have featured strongly in writing by non-Māori about Māori (Smith, 1999). Whilst

Smith (1999) observes a move away from cultural deficit views to cultural diversity views, she notes that the legacy remains such that:

> Many researchers, even with the best of intentions, frame their research in such ways that assume the locus of a particular research problem lies with the indigenous individual or community rather than with other social or structural issues...For indigenous communities the issue is not just that they are blamed for their own failures but that it is also communicated to them, explicitly or implicitly, that they have no solutions to their own problems. (p. 92)

The continued colonising effect of past and much present research has led to the articulation of appropriate approaches in research with Māori. Kaupapa Māori methodologies are critical in their stance (Cram, 2001).

Kaupapa Māori research requires whakapapa knowledge (genealogical knowledge which allows knowledge of the Māori world and society); Māori language in which Māori worldviews, social practices and histories are embedded; knowledge of *tikanga*[113] or Māori ways of being; governance and control over the research process (rangitiratanga); a whānau-based support structure for the research (Mead, 1996, as cited in Powick, 2002); and *whakawhanaungatanga* or whānau-like relationships in the research environment (Bishop, 1996)[114]. It requires *Māori* researchers to work in Māori settings thus it cannot be undertaken literally by non-Māori researchers. A supporting role is appropriate for non-Māori in these settings. However, Graeme Hingangaroa Smith has described ways in which non-Māori may usefully engage in research with Māori (1992, as cited in Powick, 2002, p. 8-9). In the *tiaki (mentoring) model* the researcher enlists an 'authoritative' Māori person to 'guide and support' the research so that it is conducted appropriately. The *whāngai (adoption) model* involves researchers immersing themselves in the daily lives of their participants so that a close relationship develops which might extend beyond the life of the research. The *power-sharing model* requires the researcher to seek the engagement of the Māori community in the research in meaningful ways. Pākehā researchers respond to questions Māori want researched and which lead to

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[113] Māori word meaning custom (Ryan, 1994).
[114] See these authors for more detail.

beneficial outcomes for Māori in the *empowering outcomes* model. Other approaches are the *bicultural or partnership model* in which Māori and Pākehā researchers work together on a project (Powick, 2002) and the *accountability model* in which structures are created around the research such that the rangatiratanga of Māori is upheld through the availability of 'monitors, experts and authorities' to the research project to which non-indigenous researchers are accountable (Huygens, 1999, p. 18).

Mead[115] (1996, as cited in Powick, 2002) has outlined a number of practices which embody Kaupapa Māori principles and which are ethical in Māori terms; that is, they respect tikanga (Māori values, belief and worldview) and *kawa* (the process by which Māori promote, protect and develop tikanga) (Powick, 2002). These were developed for Māori researchers to provide guidance on how they could proceed. These practice ethics are (i) *aroha ki tāngata* – a respect for people, (ii) *kanohi kitea* – the seen face, presenting yourself face to face, (iii) *titiro, whakarongo...korero* – look, listen, and find a place to speak (iv) *manaaki kitea tāngata* – share and host people, be generous, (v) *kia tūpato* – be cautious, (vi) *kaua e takahia te mana o te tāngata* – do not trample over the mana of the people, and (vii) *kaua e māhaki* – don't fault your knowledge (Mead, 1996, as cited in Powick, 2002, p. 23-4). Whilst principally designed for Māori researchers, it seems possible for non-Māori researchers to draw on them. Our Health Research Council's "Guidelines for researchers on health research involving Māori" is an example of an existing model which resonates with this approach (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 1998, as cited in Powick, 2002).

There were three reasons for including programmes in Māori communities and/or with Māori participants in the current study. The first reason was that such programmes feature in the range of programmes that include elements of a family approach to adult literacy education (Furness, 2006a) and therefore needed to be included to understand fully the different ways family literacy programmes might be constructed. A second factor was that Māori fared much less well than non-Māori in the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) (Walker et al., 1997) and therefore it is essential that more is documented about effective approaches for Māori learners in literacy programmes where these literacies are taught if they are

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[115] Mead is Linda Tuhiwai Smith.

considered important to have. For these two reasons alone, it would have been, in Bishop's (1996) terms, 'abrogating my responsibility to Māori' not to have included such programmes. A third factor was existing evidence that Māori people are attracted to whānau programmes (May et al., 2004). Including them thus provided an opportunity to illuminate further the essential programme characteristics that encourage and maintain participation by Māori that then creates the 'space' for effective approaches, as they define them, to be carried out. My hope in including Māori settings or Māori learners was to contribute to the development and expansion in availability of programmes that are relevant to Māori. Achieving this goal would rest in my ability to work respectfully and appropriately with Māori, which includes recognising what is and what is not appropriate for me to comment on (Cram, 2001). Intrinsic to this responsibility is the requirement that the research processes are defensible so that findings can be taken seriously and put to good use. I proceeded, then, with what Huygens (2007, p. 14), citing Narayan (1988), has referred to as "methodological humility" and "methodological caution", to invite Māori to participate in my study. My approach in these communities was underpinned by Mead's (1996) principles of ethical practice in working in Māori communities, Graeme Smith's (1992) ideas about ways Pākehā can engage in research with Māori (both as cited in Powick, 2002), and the notion of accountability (Huygens, 1999).

Researching in Pacific people's contexts

People from Pacific islands were also invited to participate in the research as they feature in the range of programmes that include elements of family approaches to adult to literacy education (Furness, 2006a), were over-represented in the IALS data (Walker et al., 1997), and appeared to be attracted to programmes with a family focus (May et al., 2004). As observed in Chapter Three, people from different islands have different experiences and perspectives (MacPherson, 2004) and it was important to accommodate and respect these differences in a context where they are often pooled together as in the IALS reporting for example. In considering appropriate approaches in Pacific contexts, Mutch (2005), drawing on Mara (1999, p. 70), observes the importance of ownership of the research process; the use of face-to-face methodologies; the opportunity for participants to take part using their first language if preferred; cultural knowledge and the use of appropriate protocols such as opening prayers, sharing food, being flexible in time,

method and venue; "the importance of building mutual respect, trust and credibility between the researcher and the researched"; and negotiating the outcomes at the beginning of the process. In addition Mara (1999) noted the importance of "having a level of analysis which includes a realism about what research can and cannot do" in communities where "the needs are great, expectations are high and sometimes unrealistic within present constraints" (Mutch, 2005, p. 70). She also pointed out that issues of confidentiality and giving public recognition posed a dilemma in small communities.

These suggestions underpinned my approach in the Pacific community and with Pacific learners. I did not offer the participants the option to take part in the research using their first language but, taking a cue from the programme tutor, adapted my language and pace of speaking to be more suitable for people for whom English was their second and less familiar language.

3. 2. Ethics and validation

Wilkinson (2001) points out that ethics is about burdens and benefits. The ethical issues of concern in this study related to ensuring the whole of the process was one which was empowering to participants and beneficial to their communities. This required more than ensuring that participants were well-informed before obtaining their consent. It also required using collaborative and particular approaches that enabled participants to have control in the process and using processes that followed the cultural protocols of the community. In the presentation of findings, it involved ensuring all the relevant voices as determined by the research question were included, being clear about whose perspectives were being presented, ensuring there were strategies for interpretations to be checked, and giving honest representation of perspectives. As well as attending to ethics, these are also issues of validity as the validity of findings becomes murky if these things are not done.

Reissman (2008) observes two levels of validity in narrative research: one pertaining to the story told by the research participant and one pertaining to the analytic story told by the researcher. The researcher must demonstrate that "the data are genuine, and analytic interpretations of them are plausible, reasonable,

and convincing" (Reissman, 2008, p. 191). 'Trustworthiness' and 'credibility' are terms associated with validation in qualitative research contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Reissman, 2008). Trustworthiness of findings is established through providing an audit trail documenting the research decisions, the research design, the data gathering and data analysis techniques and demonstration of the use of an ethical approach (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Mutch, 2005). Credibility of findings is established through "the [adequate representation] of "participant's multiple constructions of reality" (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 272, following Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This requires that representations "resonate with those in, or who are familiar with, the case or setting" (Mutch, 2005, p. 115). Prolonged involvement in the setting and persistent observation; the use of multiple information sources, researchers and methods to determine consistency of the data; having means of checking interpretations with participants; and describing the setting in detail are recommended (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005).

The transferability or generality of the findings is also relevant (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Silverman, 2005). Transferability refers to the extent to which findings can be transferred to other contexts (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Silverman (2005) observes that findings from qualitative studies may be theoretically generalisable (as compared to the statistical generalisability that results from quantitative studies). The cases are chosen on a theoretical basis in order to contribute to the development of a theoretical argument. The cases chosen represent what could also exist elsewhere in the milieu; whether they do or do not is irrelevant. The point is that the cases reveal findings that are contextualised and therefore particular, but at the same time demonstrate what is theoretically possible. Therefore, they suggest what could also already exist elsewhere or what could exist in the future (that is, what could be developed). In other words, the findings are particular but related to broader entities (Silverman, 2005).

3. 3. Summary of methods

Within the social constructionist paradigm, talk and text constitute the appropriate data source (Tuffin, 2005). Dialogical processes through which stories

are told and interpreted, and analysis of existing text[116], are appropriate methods (Reissman, 2008). The study focused on 19 participants in four programmes which, as cases, provided rich detail of experiences in context (Erickson, 2009). A participatory research process was followed as much as possible, influenced by Bishop and Glynn's 'Evaluation Model: Research in Māori Contexts' (1999, p. 129) along with the work of Mead/Linda Smith, Graeme Smith, Mutch, Nelson and Prilleltensky, and Reissman. Such an approach requires repeat interviews and "re-storying" as meaning is co-constructed to create a reflection of the participant's story with which the participant agrees. Meaning was co-constructed through repeated conversation-style interviews based on semi-structured interview schedules which included opportunity for interpretations to be checked, giving the participants transcripts of their interviews for checking, engaging in additional discussions and further co-construction of meaning as much as possible and giving participants the draft findings and discussion chapters for checking where possible. These processes align to what Bishop and Glynn (1999) call 'spiral discourse' (co-constructing of meaning over time through repeated conversations) and 'dialogical reflexivity' (reflection on meaning through conversation). Consideration of the 'costs' of participation, for example the time involved for participants in being interviewed and in checking transcripts/interpretations, needed to be balanced against the extent of co-construction. I attempted to arrive at a balance that met the needs (and rights) of the participants for power and control in the research, the time they had available and the time I had available.

The spiral/reflexive approach featured alongside a compositional approach as means of establishing the credibility of the research findings. Multiple data sources and multiple methods were used in combination to create a 'composition' or a 'bricolage' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003) of what occurred. For example, as well as the adult participants' perspectives on impacts of the programme, the perspectives of programme staff who worked directly with them, others in their social networks who were close enough to them to observe changes, and their children's teachers, collectively referred to as key informants, were also gathered. The programme's own descriptive documentation and its data on the adult's progress, children's

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[116] Written and other visual material such as art and photographs are within Reissman's (2008) definition of text which may be examined as narrative (story) (thus she has a 'multitextual' perspective in the manner of Cope and Kalantzis (2000a)), though these are not used in this study.

school progress data, and observation of the programme and its setting recorded in observation and field notes, completed the methods and sources available for interpretation. In these ways, all Lincoln and Guba's (1985, as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005) recommendations for overall trustworthiness of qualitative research listed above were met, except for the use of multiple researchers.

A final consideration concerned how I would separate out the effects of the programme from effects of increased learner critical awareness that might arise from applying the critical pedagogy of the programme or the meta-language taught in the programme, from reflection encouraged by the research process, or from something else. This is a problem that is not limited to qualitative research. It is best dealt with in *these* circumstances, in my view, by staying as close as possible to the research so that I understand as much as possible about what has influenced the findings and in what ways.

4. Procedural steps

4.1. Programmes and participants

Given that the most overtly family literacy work undertaken in New Zealand is funded through the Tertiary Education Commission's (TEC) adult literacy and numeracy funding stream – known as the Adult Foundation Learning Pool at the time the study commenced – I used the typology I described in Chapter Four (Section 5.1. and 5.2.), which is derived from applications to this pool, to select programmes to approach to participate in the study (Furness, 2006a)[117]. Whilst limited by the fact that funding applications expressed intentions rather than what actually occurred, the application forms provided the only readily available[118] and consistent information on the aims and content of programmes. In addition, 11 Whānau Literacy programmes funded through a different funding system[119] about which less consistent information was available were also later located on the typology. The 97 programmes constituted all the New Zealand government-funded adult literacy programmes of which, interestingly, 54 were found to include

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[117] The typology development and results are described in full in Furness (2006a).
[118] These applications were available to me under a research contract arrangement with the TEC involving ethical considerations such as restricted use of the information and confidentiality.
[119] At this tme, it was through the government grant to the organisation.

elements of a family or intergenerational focus. These ranged from both adults and children enrolled in programmes intended to benefit both, to only adults enrolled but the focus including everyday literacy. The programmes were selected from the 42 most strongly family-focused among the programmes on the typology. This meant they were programmes in which adults formally participated and children might also formally participate or were engaged informally in some way with the programme, and both adults and children were expected to benefit from the programme. Using a 'theoretical sampling' approach (Silverman, 2005, p. 130), I sought programmes which in addition:

1. *Were established and/or where I felt there was the least likelihood of developmental challenge.* As much as possible given the newness of the field, I wanted to use programmes which were well-enough established or seemed to have clear aims and processes in place to feel confident that benefits to learners would not be constrained by major developmental issues in the organisation. However, the funding pool was only four years old and many programmes were very new. Therefore new programmes with a history of successful adult education provision were also considered for inclusion. My knowledge of many of the programmes from my time with the TEC was often helpful in making these judgments;

2. *Held the strongest possibility of capturing a full, time-bound cohort of learners.* This would be easier from the point of view of 'bounding' the study but was not the modus operandi for most programmes and thus was an ideal. If it was not possible it would not in itself have eliminated a programme. Investigation revealed the unlikelihood of this tidy situation eventuating. This was dealt with by prioritising learners who were new or early in their participation, and then adding new learners within a fixed period (between June and December 2006), followed by learners who had been in the programme for longer;

3. *Were geographically spread and with an urban-rural mix.* The most studied New Zealand programmes were located in a large North Island city. In my quest to open up discussion about how family is conceptualised and programmes are 'done' in New Zealand, and to create

the opportunity to consider the relevance of particular approaches for their particular communities and constituencies, I chose a geographical spread which included both the North and South Islands and cities, small towns, and cosmopolitan and isolated communities. The extent of spread was tempered with the need for such practicalities as travel time and cost in order to be manageable;

4. *Were primarily for learners for whom English was their first language* or for whom their English competency was beyond what is offered in ESOL programmes. This was another way in which I bounded the study;

5. *Were not already researched or had been only minimally researched*. I wanted to expand the base of knowledge about New Zealand family literacy programmes;

6. *Represented variety in school/community links* (i.e. included but were not all school based). This constituted another way in which I could contribute to opening up the discussion about how family literacy might be constructed here. It was a deliberate strategy to shift the heavy focus on children to a more balanced focus; that is, one that also gave credence to and valued adults' other interests and concerns. It was nevertheless important to include at least one school-based programme as such programmes are part of the rubric of family literacy programmes in New Zealand and school literacy has dominated programmes internationally.

I wanted to include in the mix a Whānau Literacy programme if it met other criteria. Literacy Aotearoa was developing a conceptual model encompassing aims, content, structure and evaluation of whānau literacy programmes (Furness, 2006d). Whilst the approach drew on the elements of the Kenan model, the choice of how the elements were manifested, and even whether or not all of them were used, was connected to the particular community context in which the programme was located, and thus the approach remained fluid (which is not often the case with Kenan-type programmes). It was a clear example of a different way of doing family literacy programmes, there were a number of them in the country at the time, and thus it seemed important to include at least one of them. I consulted

with the *tumuaki*[120] of Literacy Aotearoa regarding which programmes she would like to see included. I also attended a two-day *hui*[121] where I briefly explained the study and that I would be asking, with the tumuaki's blessing, for one or two programmes to be involved. In one case the tumuaki discussed the possibility with the programme manager before I approached her. These processes represented the first steps in entering the setting.

Overall, nine programmes, including two Whānau Literacy programmes, were selected for possible inclusion. Except in the instance above, their managers were approached first by letter (Appendix 1) and then by follow up phone call. Where partnerships with schools were involved, either the programme manager or I approached the school. Following discussion, and visits in same cases, three North Island programmes were eventually chosen and a fourth (South Island) programme added later. In all cases it was necessary to obtain consent from the participants themselves before involvement in the research could be said to be agreed on. The programme manager discussed the research with the programme participants first, achieving either agreement in principle, or agreement for me to talk with them about the research. Their agreement to participate would depend on how they felt after meeting with me. This step-wise entry was important as it gave time for people to consider what they wanted to do and they were introduced to the idea by people with whom they already had a relationship and so were able to choose more freely than if I had been present at the outset. This was a process of entering the community through the whānau rather than at the level of the individual (Mead, 1996, as cited in Powick, 2002).

In now introducing the programmes and the participants, I note that all names are pseudonyms and generic titles are used in place of staff names. I acknowledge two of the programmes as being run by Literacy Aotearoa affiliates. As there are approximately 50 branches of Literacy Aotearoa, the anonymity of the research site and, most importantly, of the participants and their families, remains (see Section 3.2.). The provider of the programme named as the Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka (HPP)-based Whānau Literacy Programme, who ran several HPP programmes, is also named, as doing so does not disclose the specific programme

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[120] Māori word for Principal (Ryan, 1994); in this context equivalent to chief executive officer.
[121] Māori word for meeting (Ryan, 1994).

in the study or its location. The providers concerned welcomed the opportunity to have their work acknowledged. It was not possible to provide a similar level of information about the fourth programme without rendering participants too easily identifiable.

Tables (2 to 5) which follow each description cover in more detail each programme's core focus and structure, context, aims, content, and why I consider it to be a family literacy programme. The reader should note that the aims and content reflect what actually occurred and the perspectives of programme staff and partners, as well as official documentation. Generally speaking, much more was occurring in programmes than was detectable from the programme documentation alone.

The first of the four programmes selected was the *Benley Whānau Literacy Programme* (the Benley programme) located in a large North Island city. It was run within, and in conjunction with, the community's local school which caters for pre-school to Year 13 education. The community and the school have a strong Pacific presence. Eight of the nine participants in the programme were Pacific people and one was Māori. English was their second language for all but the Māori participant. The programme taught participants English reading, writing and numeracy strategies which matched those that their children would be learning about in school, and how to support their children with their school literacy and numeracy learning. This new, 16 week programme, delivered by a well-established provider with a long history of successful adult literacy education, had a fixed start and end date. This was a family literacy programme because it aimed to support adults to help their children's learning and to support adults' learning for their broader everyday purposes, it recognised the centrality of family in the community, and it fostered the possibility of the adults helping other children in the community in a "whānau-like way" (see Table 2 below).

Four of the nine participants (45%) – three Samoan women and a Cook Islands man – agreed to participate in the study. Two of them had begun the programme in its first week. One began in its fifth week and one in its ninth week. Participation ranged from 70 to 116 hours. Aveolela, whose husband had recently been in prison for a drink-driving offence and was still on probation, had six

children, five of whom were at school with the oldest working. She had been made redundant from her job as a production supervisor where she had worked for three and a half years. Penina, an elderly former teacher and current Sunday School teacher, had lived in New Zealand for ten years. She loved teaching (and learning) and wanted to help her grandchildren with their learning, even though her health was sometimes worrisome. Suni lived with her eight year old son who was born when she was a teenager, and her mother, grandmother and disabled niece. Much of her time involved helping her immediate and extended family with housework and babysitting, and caring for her son and grandmother. She had a caregiving certificate and had had some (unrelated) paid work (mainly packing fertilizer) in the past. Haki was the Minister of his Church. His fifteen year old son was still living at home (and was at school). Haki and his wife were raising two of their grandchildren aged six and eight.

Table 2.   Benley Whānau Literacy Programme Overview

Core focus and structure	Context	Aims	Content	Family orientation
Provided by local adult education provider in partnership with local school Nine adult participants who were parents, grandparents (or carers) of young children recruited by the provider Ran 9am-1pm Mondays and Tuesdays for 16 weeks 128 hours duration 8 hours per week intensity *Core focus:* adult learning built around supporting children's learning	Community comprises mainly Pacific settlers Strongly community and extended family-oriented community English is a second language for most Pacific adults in the community Community adult literacy education provider sought programme in community Perceived/articulated limited understanding by parents of schooling, limited understanding of parents by school, children caught in the middle Programme run in partnership with local school School seeking to raise literacy and involve parents more	Enhance the English text-based literacy of adults in the community who are parents/grandparents or carers of school-aged children Increase parents' knowledge of school culture, practices and expectations Increase support of children's learning by those who parent them and want them to do well Reduce tension in families around schooling/increase enjoyment of parent-child interactions around literacy and schooling Enhance home-school relations and understanding Enhance parents' individual/personal skills, knowledge and confidence for their school/child's schooling interactions and their own purposes Family and community strengthening ('flow on') "Empowerment and transformation"	School literacy techniques School workings/programmes/culture Technical language as used by the school Meta-language of school Own literacy interests Critical literacy/questioning Relational aspects of literacy interaction Relational aspects of learning Holistic care and support Counseling Parenting ideas	Literacy for adult role of supporting their children, grandchildren, or children in their care Literacy for other adult roles/interests/everyday Programme enrols parents, grandparents, other child carers Outcomes are expected to be direct for the adult participants and indirect for children (Nickse, 1993) Programme is a mix of parent involvement programme (Morrow et al., 1995) and adult everyday literacy programme (Furness, 2006a, 2009b) (with elements of community development) Participants may also help other children in the community in a "whānau-like way" (and who may be extended family) Programme recognises centrality of family in the community, including the value placed on extended family, then family, over the individual

The second programme was the *Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka-based Whānau Literacy Programme* (the HPP-based programme) located in a school in a small rural Māori community, also in the North Island. The programme was built around an oral language development programme for Year One and Two children (Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka or HPP[122]) which the adults in the programme learned to deliver. The adults learned about the theory supporting the approach and why various skills taught and assessed by the school were important for language and reading development and learning. While learning and using the programme, the adults were encouraged to reflect on their own skills, interests and goals, and to apply their learning in their personal and family contexts. This programme ran in ten-week blocks with fixed start and end points; the adults could participate in any number of blocks. All of the adults were new to this form of the programme, though one had participated in the child-tutoring component previously. This was a family literacy programme because the tutored children were usually members of the participants' extended family, the adults practiced and used the skills with their own children, a whānau approach characterises the school, and all of the community are connected to one another (see Table 3 below).

All three participants in this programme were Māori women and all agreed to participate in the study[123] (100%). Jen, 19 years of age, had moved into the community to be with her partner, a farm worker. They had a three year old daughter. Kate, a single mother, had two sons aged six and eight and was very involved in her community and marae. She lived on her marae and across the road from her mother. Paula, whose husband had died when her children were very young, lived with her parents and grandfather and her two children aged eight and ten. All three women were studying for a National Certificate in Iwi Māori Social Services.

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[122] Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka is the real name for the actual oral language programme.
[123] The programme started with five participants, all of whom had agreed to paticipate in the study. I had completed the network map and the first interview with them all when two chose to not continue in the programme and therefore their involvement in the research.

Table 3. Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka-based Parent Whānau Literacy Programme Overview

Core focus and structure	Context	Aims	Content	Family orientation
Provided by Kia Maia and Associates in a school at the school's request Three adult members of the school's community recruited by the school Adults employed for 5-10 hours per week as teacher aides which included HPP work Ran in ten week blocks (4 per year) Approximately 25 hours of training and support provided by provider, ongoing training and support provided by school's liaison teacher (Principal) *Core focus:* community's school childrens's oral language development around which adult literacy learning built, also interlinked with other adult learning through wider teacher aide role of which delivering oral language programme is a part	Run in a bilingual school Māori community School seeking to raise English literacy of Year 1 and 2 children Strong interest in fostering warm, positive relationships in school and community (historical roots) Strong interest in building community members'/ parents' skills and confidence	Teach adult community members a technique for raising the community's school children's oral language and reading Improve the community's school children's oral language and reading Strengthen positive ways of being Share school knowledge with community Involve community in the school; bring community members/parents into the school Strengthen adult community members' literacy and other skills and confidence for their own purposes/future lives Strengthen adult community members' skills, knowledge and confidence for family and community benefit Strengthen/reinforce warm, positive relationships between people	HPP – literacy knowledge and learning and teaching knowledge (relational based) Other skills and knowledge within teacher aide role – computer, school testing Critical literacy Workings of school Educational theory Relational aspects of literacy interaction Relational aspects of learning Employment skills (e.g. workplace professionalism) Public speaking/social/ relational skills and knowledge Holistic care and support Parenting and home management ideas	Literacy for community member role of supporting community's children Children who community members work with are usually extended family; the whānau/hapū/iwi connections are known Skills are practiced on and used with own children Outcomes are expected to be direct for the adult participants, direct for the children enrolled in HPP itself and indirect for participants' children (Nickse, 1993) In this community everyone is related or connected in some way so family and community are the same A whānau approach characterises the school in which the programme is based

The third programme was the *Ormond Whānau Literacy Programme* (the Ormond programme). Located in a small North Island town, it was one of Literacy Aotearoa's Whānau Literacy programmes. This programme combined structured components of fixed duration with ongoing, informal components. The programme included twice yearly 14-16 week programmes run jointly with a local trust covering wide-ranging topics including gardening, cooking, healthy eating, fitness, budgeting and *waiata*[124]; drivers license courses; and individualised literacy tuition. Young mothers came with their pre-school children and made crafts, practiced writing or developed their CVs; others called in for help in sending an email or to photocopy a document. There were 28 mainly Māori enrollees in this programme (Programme Manager, Interview 1) including those in literacy tutor training which was also supported by the centre. This was a family literacy programme because of its focus on parenting, home management and the literacies of everyday life, along with the strong whānau focus of programme staff and inclusion of whānau in the centre itself (see Table 4 below).

Six of those already enrolled (23%) were recruited for the study. All women, five were Māori and one was Indian. They had participated in the programme for varying lengths of time and were participating in varying ways. Andrea, who was very involved with her church, had six school-aged children of whom the youngest was very ill, an ailing father whom the family moved to live with, and an unemployed alcoholic husband who was a builder by trade. She worked part time as a cleaner and later full time in a bakery (night shift). Emma, a qualified chef, had a four year old child and had recently left her marriage and returned to her home town. Hahana, whose parents stayed with her for long periods, had two children aged six and eight and was expecting her third child. Her eldest son lived in another town with his father. Sarah and her husband, both recently fom India, owned a dairy and had two school-aged children. Selena lived with her mother, her two pre-school children and a seven year old niece whom she was caring for. Tess and her husband had a pre-school child. Practicing budhists, they had settled in Tess's home town where Tess's husband worked as a prison guard, after several years overseas.

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[124] Māori word for song, chant, song poem (Ryan, 1994).

Table 4.   Ormond Whānau Literacy Programme Overview

Core focus and structure	Context	Aims	Content	Family orientation
Community programme provided by affiliate of Literacy Aotearoa Part of the programme is offered through another local community organisation Participants recruited by provider, self-referred or referred by agencies 28 participants 'on books' whose participation changed over time according to goals, programme offerings and circumstances *Core focus:* individual adult 'needs'/goals in context of circumstances and aspirations, usually parenting and home management but also other personal interests. May include supporting children's learning, supporting further training and job-entry/on-job literacy support	Significant Māori population within a town of mixed ethnicities but mainly Pākehā. Unemployment has been a problem but has improved in recent years Concern about number of youth suicides Poverty, health issues (e.g. two asthma deaths in a fortnight) Run in a central community location	Strengthen parents' (mainly young mothers') support of children and management of their lives generally including the parenting aspects Strengthen adults' literacy and other skills and confidence for their own purposes/future lives Reduce isolation Increase community and social participation	Basic literacy and numeracy Embedded literacy and numeracy Home management knowledge and skills Life management knowledge and skills Relational/parenting knowledge and skills Māori knowledge/tikanga Community knowledge, resources and services available Computer skills Drivers licenses Critical thinking Public speaking Home visits Holistic care and support Referrals to other services, resources, programmes	Literacy for parenting and home management role Literacy for other adult roles/interests/everyday (Furness, 2006a, 2009b) Outcomes are expected to be direct for adults and indirect for children (Nickse, 1993). Children may also directly benefit when they participate in the centre itself. Whānau-focused centre with whanaungatanga as the guiding principle

The fourth programme was also one of Literacy Aotearoa's Whānau Literacy programmes. The *Preston Family Literacy Programme* (the Preston programme) was located in a predominantly Pākehā community within which there was a small Tongan community. This programme brought together a group of women for one morning a week in which time an organised activity took place. The emphasis was on communication and social skills and opportunities for new experiences around which skills could be built and practiced. Participants also had individualised literacy tutoring connected to their personal interests and needs, and sometimes home visits. All but one participant in the women's programme were Pākehā. The other participant was Tongan. In addition, as an outreach, the Programme Manager was attempting to build links with another extended Tongan family to support their English literacy development and aspirations. The participants recruited in the study had varying involvement. This was a family literacy programme because of its focus on the literacies of everyday family and community life and its involvement with whole families (see Table 5 below).

Five of the ten current programme participants (50%), of which three were Pākehā women and three were Tongan women (one in the women's programme and two in the outreach programme), and one former participant, a Pākehā woman, agreed to take part in the study. Anna lived with her second husband who was twenty years older than her and her son who was in his twenties. Carrie, who was 65, lived alone. Kalasia was a single mother of four school-aged children. La'a and Lose were sisters-in-law whose husbands had initially come to New Zealand to play rugby for a local club and who worked at the local meat works. They lived together with La'a's parents, of whom the father was a Church Minister. La'a's mother had recently had twins whom La'a helped to look after. Lose was expecting a baby. Both young women had Tongan qualifications and were interested in furthering their education. Sue had moved to the area to be near her mother after leaving her husband. She had two teenage sons.

Table 5.   Preston Family Literacy Programme Overview

Core focus and structure	Context	Aims	Content	Family orientation
Community programme provided by affliliate of Literacy Aotearoa Participants recruited by provider, self-referred or referred by agencies Approximately 10 participants 'on books' whose participation changed over time according to goals, programme offerings and circumstances *Core focus:* individual adult 'needs'/goals in context of circumstances and aspirations	Mainly Pakeha Run in a central community location Wide-ranging reasons for desire for literacy development by community members	Strengthen adults' literacy abilities for their own purposes Reduce isolation Increase community and social participation Increase independence Strengthen knowledge of community resources and services and confidence in accessing them	Reading Spelling Writing Listening Computer skills Social aspects of interaction and communication with others Problem solving Community knowledge, resources and services available Ways to contribute in the community Critical thinking School-based numeracy ('new maths') Public speaking Home visits Holistic care and support Counseling Family work	Literacy for everyday (Furness, 2006a, 2009b) Literacy for settlers for whom English is their second language Includes multigenerational work (in the one family) some of which is with two adult generations Outcomes are expected to be direct for adults and indirect for children (Nickse, 1993). However, children can be directly involved in certain circumstances. Many participants in this programme do not have children in their care. Some support relates to the participants' relationships with their adult children.

Other procedural aspects require comment. Another part to the initial process of entering the setting was the first research task: the development of a social network map (see Section 4.2.). In one of the sites this was done in a group and in another three of the six participants did it together. Where it had been possible to do it this way it was especially enjoyable for the participants, but whether done in a group or by themselves this very informal process allowed an opportunity for the participants to get to know me a little as I shared some of my connections with them, even finding that I was quite closely related by marriage to one of them. Although they had signed the consent forms at this stage, they were able to withdraw at any time. This first informal time seemed important in beginning to establish a relationship before the interviewing began and if it had not gone well I am confident that they would have withdrawn at this stage if they had not felt comfortable with me or the process as they had participated in it so far.

I also needed to establish who the 'caretakers' (in the sense meant by Mead, 1996, as cited in Powick, 2002) of each project would be and negotiate how the caretaking would be managed. In the case of the Benley programme, the caretaker was the Programme Manager. In the Ormond and Preston programmes the caretakers were the Programme Managers and, more distantly, the tumuaki of Literacy Aotearoa. In the case of the Ormond programme which had Māori participants, two local elders (who were related to the Programme Manager and many of the participants) were involved in the programme as tutors and one of them was formally training as a tutor. I saw them regularly. I had also spoken informally to another of the elders at the local marae about the study. The necessity of formal iwi involvement was not suggested to me by the caretakers. In the case of the Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka-based programme I first approached the local Māori trust board that held the contract with the TEC; it forwarded my request to the Project Director. The Project Director was in contact with the local iwi education authority who knew of the study through her. She passed on to them my report on initial findings. After seeking advice from the caretakers, I wrote again to the Māori trust board and iwi education authority updating them on the progress of the study and suggesting an ongoing connection if they so wished as I began the analysis and writing phase (Appendix 2). I sent a draft of the introduction, findings/discussion and conclusion chapters for

comment, again offering to meet with them. The intention, which was made clear, was to respond to any concerns they might have in terms of how Māori were presented in the study as well as sharing with them and discussing the findings themselves, including any concerns about them.

In line with a Kaupapa Māori approach, the way of working with the study caretakers and participants allowed for consultation and negotiation of the research topic and the presentation and use of the data. The study was not set up as a mutually created and managed project as in a fully collaborative project (Bishop & Glynn, 1999) but caretakers and participants were invited to question and seek changes to my research questions and to add their own if they so wished. I was very open to change and guidance at this stage, seeing my proposed questions and approach as a starting point. Practical arrangements were flexible and negotiated with those involved, and discussions were had over how data and interpretations would be checked. Written information on the study was given to provider staff (Appendix 3) and participants (Appendix 4), and consent forms were signed by them that covered the purposes of the research, the process, the requirements on them, what would happen with the products, and their right to withdraw at anytime (Appendices 5 and 6). Protocols appropriate for the context were observed as much as possible in this phase and throughout the research. For example, when working in Māori settings or with Māori learners I brought food to share but it was not always possible to share it together. All participants were recruited between June and December 2006.

The relational aspects of this study were very important, especially given its length in time. Spending informal time with the participants, participating in whatever was going on including attending tangi, and updating the caretakers of the research on progress (Appendix 7) were all part of this effort.

4.2. Data gathering

North Island programmes
The purpose of the initial data collection procedures was to provide baseline information so that it was possible to identify changes over the 18 months of the research timeframe. The first of three initial processes was collecting background

information on participants gender, age, ethnicity, iwi affiliation/s, schooling, qualifications, employment, number of children, and the main activity they were currently doing (Appendix 8). The second process was developing a social network map (referred to in Section 4.1.). The participants used large sheets of paper and coloured pens to map out the people they had connections with, regularly as well as less often, including family, friends and others in the community such as doctors, their children's teachers, marae committees they belonged to and so on as they went about the business of daily living. The third process was completion of a 'roles and literacy tasks form'. I gave the participants a form with some roles already listed under headings of household, wider family, community and citizen (for example, under household were shopper, caregiver, bill payer) and invited them to delete any which did not apply to them and to add their own. These tasks were carried out as group activities in all sites except for in the case of three participants at Literacy Ormond where it was not possible to get everyone together. Doing these tasks together was enjoyable, and it seemed to help elicit connections and roles that may not have come to mind as they reminded each other of their various community activities about which they shared knowledge. Later I talked with each participant individually about each role listed on their role and literacy tasks sheet, adding detail and identifying together the use of literacy and numeracy in the role. Both the social network map and the roles and tasks sheets were used as points of reference (and updated) in the six month and 18 month interviews as change was discussed. Changes were also recorded on the background information sheet where relevant.

The first interview (Appendix 9) provided the final source of baseline information. These interviews sought the participants' perspectives on what family, community and citizenship meant to them, their family and community networks and relationships and their tasks and roles in these relationships (building on their tasks and roles sheet); literacy practices used within these relationships, tasks and roles; feelings about their literacy abilities and the challenges they saw and what they hoped to gain from the programme; and what wellbeing meant to them and their current level of wellbeing. These questions related to Objectives 1 to 3. I also asked the participants if there were any questions they felt ought to be asked in the research. No additional questions were requested. As for all interviews the interview schedules were guides to areas I wanted to cover and acted as a checklist

for me (they were semi-structured as observed in Section 3.3.). As observed in Section 3.3., the interviews themselves were conversational in style and included my stories from time to time. They included checking of meaning along the way within an interview and from one interview to the next.

Interviews with participants took place in a variety of settings: in a Principal's office, in a specially allocated office, in a kindergarten, on a park bench, in people's homes, and often in the presence of young children. Almost all interviews were tape-recorded. In some cases there were frequent interruptions and occasionally extraneous noise was such that taping was unsatisfactory or not possible. Though privacy could have been an issue in some instances, I judged that this was not the case. Transcription that was done by someone else was checked by me against the recording and corrected as necessary or adjusted for consistency of style (for example how punctuation was used to indicate pauses). Apart from repetitive use of 'ums', the transcripts were verbatim; speech had not been 'tidied' in anyway (Gee, 2008). This was to minimise the risk of misinterpretation through reducing the text so early in the interpretation process. Copies of transcribed interviews or interview notes (where interviews were not taped) were given to the participants for checking. Three participants mentioned the 'untidiness' of their speech in their transcriptions. I reassured them that natural speech is often like this, pointing out the untidiness of my own speech in their transcripts and noting that speech quoted in the thesis would be tidied. Those who were concerned, where I have been able to check these with them, are comfortable with the tidied quotes as they appear in the thesis.

When I next met with participants, for the second interview, I returned their roles and tasks forms with the information they had given me typed in to check I had interpreted their meaning in our conversation correctly. I asked any questions that arose from the previous interview or sought clarification where meaning was unclear to me, and asked if there was anything they wanted to delete, change or add. I then proceeded with the second interview (Appendix 10). This interview, conducted after six months and repeated at 18 months, sought participants perspectives on improvements or changes in their literacy abilities and changes in their uses of literacy; impacts of these changes on their everyday lives, on others in their social networks and on family relationships, community participation,

citizenship and wellbeing; other impacts of the programme and their connection to changes in their lives and where these might be connected to literacy changes; and aspects of the programme the learners thought important in achieving positive effects. The latter question related to Objective 4, the former ones to Objectives 1 to 3.

Initial interviews with programme staff were intended to provide information on the programme itself, thus related to Objectives 4 and 5. Questions covered what they believed literacy and its purposes to be; the objectives of the programme and how achievement of them was measured; how the programme was structured and organised, why it is done this way and what was important for its objectives to be achieved; who the participants were and who else they thought might benefit from the programme, why they thought students came and why they stayed; and their beliefs about how people learn; perspectives on the community and wellbeing and how the programme might contribute to individual, family and community wellbeing; the programmes links with the community; and staff and participants' family connections (Appendix 11). As for the participants, I also asked programme staff if there were any questions they felt ought to be asked in the research. The only additional question requested was how important gaining a qualification was to the participants. In their second and third (final) interviews programme staff were asked about any changes that were made to the programme; effects on the participants, their families and their communities they perceived; and their perception of links between the effects they saw and the elements of the programme (Appendix 12). As observed on Section 3.3., data the programme gathered on learners' progress was also obtained. Descriptive documents related to the programme were obtained: the Benley programme background sheet, content sheet and flier; Atvars (2002) description of HPP; and Literacy Ormond's Home-based/Life skills programme content/timetable sheet.

In the two school-based programmes, the Principals were also interviewed initially about their perspectives on the programme in its community context and later about effects of the programme from the school's perspective including what they knew of effects on the study participants, in this sense being key informants for them in the same way programme staff were. These interviews thereby contributed to all objectives. I used programme partner interview schedules with the Principal

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of the school partnering the Benley programme (Appendices 13 and 14) and drew on both in the interview with the Principal of the school in which the Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka-based programme was run as she was also programme staff. Literacy Ormond had an affiliation with a local community organisation with which they ran part of the programme. I interviewed the organisation's manager once, asking the questions covered in the two interviews with school Principals.

The participants were invited to name others in their social networks for me to interview who they thought were close enough to them to be able to comment on changes in them (Appendix 15). Most did. Data on the school achievement progress of participants' own children or grandchildren were collected in order to alert me to any retrograde movement or unexpected positive changes in the children's progress so that I might investigate whether or not such occurrences were connected to the parent's participation in the programme. While a request to gather this information was included in the initial consent form, as considerable time had elapsed since this form was signed I sought this permission again and, in addition, sought approval to speak with the children and their teachers (as well as the other key informants they named) which were not specifically included in the initial consent form (Appendix 16). Once this consent was gained, it was necessary to write to two schools attended by participants' children to seek their permission and assistance to gather the information and speak to the relevant teachers (Appendix 17). In the case of two other schools this was managed through conversation with the Principals concerned. The children were asked, in very informal conversation, about their home and school literacy practices and whether thay had noticed any changes since there parent or grandparent had been involved in the programme (Appendix 18). Their teachers were interviewed about their school progress, any unexpected changes they had noticed in the children (social, academic or other) and any changes in parents'/grandparents or carers involvement with their children's learning they had observed. Data on the tutored children's progress in Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka and their general school progress was also gathered. These children were extended family members and in this sense were also key informants for the adults' who tutored them. Consent to talk to the teachers of these children and to view their HPP and other school progress data was covered by the general agreement the school has

with parents concerning their children's learning (Field notes, November 7, 2006). These interviews and the progress data gathered contributed to Objectives 1 to 3 and 5.

I also observed the programme in action in formal observations of teaching sessions or of the centre in action, and informally during extended periods of time spent in the setting as a participant observer. I spent: six days in the setting and formally observed four sessions of the Benley programme; 18 days in the setting and formally observed three sessions of the HPP-based programme; and 25 days in the setting and formally observed three sessions of the Ormond programme. Formal observation involved recording in writing detailed description of the teaching and learning content and pedagogical processes and other interactions that took place. Informal participant observations were recorded in field notes which contained a record of my visits, what transpired and thoughts about what transpired. Observational and field notes contributed to Objective 5. Appendix 19 contains a summary of data items and the objectives the data items mainly contributed towards. Appendix 20 contains a summary of data items collated for each study participant.

South Island programme
With this programme, I twice interviewed five of the six participants who agreed to participate in the study. The sixth participant had been interviewed in the May et al. (2004) study. I interviewed her once. This was a rare opportunity to gather longitudinal data as five years had passed since she was last interviewed. Questions of participants concerning their experiences on the programme and its effects were reflective, drawing on the second and final interview schedule (Appendix 12) used with the North Island programmes. However, they allowed for aspects of those questions asked in the first interview with the other programmes (such as their perspectives on literacy, family and community) to be covered broadly (Appendix 11). The Programme Manager and staff were interviewed once, based on elements of the first interview and the second and final interview schedules used with the North Island programmes. Questions concerned mainly perceived changes in the participants, their families and communities, and how these changes linked to elements of the programme. As well, I had numerous informal conversations with the Programme Manager which covered other questions in the first interview

schedule concerning the characteristics of the programme itself and its underpinning philosophy. I observed two sessions of the women's programme component of the family literacy programme and spent a total of five days in the setting. This time included some home visits. I gathered the programme's own data on the learners' progress and observed one session in which the tutors recorded learner activity and reviewed progress, recording it in qualitative statements aligned to the literacy and numeracy progressions (Ministry of Education, 2006). Two of these participants had school-aged children and one had an adult son but I did not interview them or collect school progress data. The interviews with the young Tongan women were helped by the presence of the Programme Manager who was accustomed to communicating with them and working with their relatively low spoken English proficiency. Observations were conducted in the same way as for the North Island programmes. Overall, less data was collected for this programme which accounts for less regular reference to it in Chapters Seven and Eight.

The number of each type of data and the time spent on-site for all programmes is summarised below in Table 6.

Table 6.   Observations, interviews and time on site per programme

Programme and no. of participants	No. of visits	Total no. of days on site	No. of formal observations on site	No. of interviews
Benley (4)	4	6	4	24
HPP-based (3)	10	18	3	24
Ormond (6)	12	25	3	21
Preston (6)	2	5	2	10
Totals	26	54	12	79

4.3. Analysis methods

The study uses a thematic approach in the analysis of the collected data. Whilst the identification of themes or patterns of meaning in data is common to all research using qualitative data, thematic analysis is applied in this study as a method in its own right. As described by Braun and Clarke (2006), the method is compatible with constructionist and critical epistemologies as well as with essentialist and other epistemologies being a method which can work "both to reflect reality, and to unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality'" (p. 9). Good thematic analysis is dependent on the transparency of the researcher's ontological and epistemological assumptions which underpin their use of a thematic approach and on detailed accounts of the processes the researcher uses in applying it. A reflexive and dialogic approach to how the researcher deals with the choices which confront them is required in good thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The assumptions are broadly congruent with critical-interpretive social constructionism. Braun and Clarke (2006) would likely describe them as 'contextualist', whereby "the ways in which individuals make meaning of their experience, and, in turn the ways in which the broader social context impinges on those meanings [are acknowledged], while retaining focus on material and other limits of 'reality'". This section describes the processes which accord with what Braun and Clarke (2006) refer to as 'theoretical' thematic analysis in which themes are identified at the 'latent' level. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) these approaches are often found where the epistemology is constructionist.

In thematic analysis, the identification of themes can occur inductively (though never completely free of the researcher's theories and epistemological viewpoints), in which case all of the data are of interest and are analysed. This is similar to a grounded theory approach. Alternatively, it can be more driven by the researcher's theoretical or analytic interest and focuses on aspects of the data in more detail rather than the data overall. My approach is more theoretical than grounded as is appropriate given that I had a specific research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, I have brought broad theorisations of the concepts of literacy, family, family literacy and wellbeing to the analysis task and attempted to remain open to all possibilities as phenomenology encourages (Crotty, 1998). In contrast to a semantic level of analysis which would theorise only about the surface meaning of

the content, a latent level of analysis is used. In latent analysis the researcher "goes beyond the semantic content of the data, and starts to identify or examine the *underlying* ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations – and ideologies – that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 13). These processes were undertaken in conjunction with a participatory process in which opportunity for checking the storying/my interpretations as described above was taken into account.

The process involved several steps. The first step was undertaking an initial review of the literature on literacy and family literacy from which I derived an understanding of literacy as social practice and as having multiple meanings and an understanding of family literacy as multifaceted. At this stage I did not have a fully developed conceptual framework. In the absence of any other framework, an initial analysis was undertaken of the baseline and 12 month adult participant interviews from two of the four programmes (the Benley and HPP-based programmes) using the Key Competencies Framework introduced in Chapter One (Ministry of Education, 2005e). This step was taken to test out the suitability of the data being gathered for analysis in literacy and broad effects terms. The Key Competencies Framework was broad enough for this purpose and was able to confirm the suitability of the data being gathered for the research purposes. The Key Competencies Framework constituted the theoretical framework in Braun and Clarke's (2006) terms[125]. The level of analysis at this stage was largely semantic. When almost all of the data was collected, I began an analysis of the adult interview data from one programme (the Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka-based programme). This analysis was relatively 'grounded' and phenomenological in the sense that I was looking for what was there that was related in any way to meanings of literacy, family, family literacy and wellbeing, change in literacy and other aspects of personal, family and community life, flow on effects to others in the family and community, and connections to wellbeing. This analysis was influenced by multiliteracies and family strengths perspectives but still not by detailed conceptualisations. The process showed me that clarifying the conceptualisations I wanted to work with and why would help in revealing the

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[125] The Key Competencies Framework was also appropriate as the provider wanted to (and did) include my report in her contractual reporting to the TEC. TEC officials were (or ought to have been) familiar with the framework at this time.

broad ideas within the data. This detailed conceptualisation followed, seen in Chapters Two to Five. The conceptual framing revealed in these chapters includes or draws on some formally constituted 'schemes' such as Nelson and Prilleltensky's framework for wellbeing (2005) and Durie's (1998) Te Whare Tapa Whā model of Māori wellbeing, as well as more general ideas. The analysis which underpins the next two chapters is therefore, in Braun and Clarke's (2006) terms, theoretical rather than grounded. The theoretical ideas were summarised on a table and initial codes produced.

Following the phases in Braun and Clarke's (2006) description of thematic analysis, familiarisation with the data began by listening to the audio-taped interviews as I transcribed them or checked the transcription. The conversational nature of the interviews sometimes meant that topics not relevant to the study were traversed. Where I transcribed the tapes some sections of conversation not relevant to the study were not transcribed and where the tapes were transcribed for me irrelevant sections were not coded. Transcripts and other data items such as participant observation and field notes were then read and coded as per the initial codes on the summary table (or close approximations). The data set related to the programmes as a whole comprised three data tables for each programme which collated data items related to programme content, pedagogy and views (for example on literacy, adult learners, children, families, community, citizenship, wellbeing) respectively[126]. These were further analysed in relation to perspectives of literacy, family and family literacy underpinning or specified in them and what seemed to be important to participation and learning[127] (Objectives 4 and 5). In the second round of reading/s, I looked across the interview transcriptions and children's school progress information for programme effects and what seemed to be important to achieving these effects (Objectives 1 to 4). All instances of programme effects constituted the data set for this topic of analytic interest (see Appendix 19). The codes were written in the margins of transcripts and other documents. Coloured pens, highlighters and 'post-it' flags were used to mark

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[126] In the first reading/s, I looked across the data corpus for anywhere where structure, rationale and goals, and content and approach of each programme were referred to. This analysis was not directly used as it was found to be only partially helpful. However, much of it was collated into the new tables.

[127] This approach, which is appropriate for theoretical analysis, constitutes one of two approaches that can be taken in thematic analysis according to Braun and Clarke (2006). The second approach in which it is more likely that interviews with particular people or particular documents might constitute the data set is appropriate when a more grounded analytic approach is taken.

coded data. Coded chunks of data were collated on data tables where more fine-grained analysis and coding occurred using a mixture of computer and manual highlighting and coding. Codes were then collated into potential themes which were checked in two ways: to ensure that they "work[ed] in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2)" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 35). The thematic 'maps' generated in this process were then refined through further cycles of analysis and checking as the "specifics of each theme" were settled and the "overall story the analysis tells" was clarified (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 35). For the programme analysis for example, the process involved identifying from the data tables for each programme the key principles and practices evident in each programme, then identifying themes and sub-themes, interconnections between them, and finally overarching themes.

5. Orientation to the findings and discussion chapters

The next two chapters (Seven and Eight) present the study's findings and discuss them in relation to the concepts and conceptual arguments concerning meanings of literacy, family, family literacy and wellbeing presented in Chapters Two to Five.

Chapter Seven focuses on the four programmes in the study introduced in Section 4.1. of the current chapter. It presents the key principles and practices which were identified as shaping and reflecting the character of these programmes. This analysis is important for two reasons. Foremost, it provides programmatic context information relevant to making sense of the learners' experiences which are described in Chapter Eight, especially the *connections* between what happened in the programmes and its effects on adults who participated in them, their families and their communities. It also contributes to addressing the study's fifth objective which was to describe different ways of 'doing' family literacy programmes in New Zealand. In describing programme effects and identifying elements of the programmes which seem to be connected to the effects occurring, Chapter Eight addresses Objectives 1 to 4.

Chapter 7

Programme principles and practices

"Those women have so many strengths it was just beautiful to behold"
(Project Director, Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka-based
Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 1)[128]

1. Introduction

This chapter presents the key principles and practices which shaped and reflected
the character of the four programmes in the study which were introduced in
Chapter Six. I look across the programmes, identifying and discussing the key
tenets that were evident in programme practices and staff expressions of the beliefs
and values that underlay the practices.

Section Two presents the six key principles and practices related to literacy that
were found. I show what literacy is thought to mean in these programmes and
discuss how ideas about literacy as 'social practice' and as 'skills' are reflected.
Section Three presents the six key principles and practices related to people that
were found[129]. I show how adults are viewed (including in relation to children) and
how families are viewed. As well as the 'skills' and 'social' perspectives of literacy
and perspectives on adults and children, I discuss how the theoretical
juxtapositioning of theory and practice and individualistic and collective
orientations are played out in these family literacy programmes.

Summarised in Section Four, this chapter establishes that programme staff and
partners saw literacy as skills in part but not in isolation from social contexts and
relationships. The importance of literacy practices and abilities was clearly seen to
lie in their social meanings and implications, and this view was combined with a

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[128] Here the Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka-based Project Director describes the
participants in the Porowhā programme, the Māori language version of the English-based HPP
programme. Two of the participants in the HPP-based programme had previously been Porowhā
tutors. I have used the quote here because it is representative of the strongly respectful and
strengths-focused view that the HPP-based Project Director and the school Principal had of the
reading tutors in both HPP and Porowhā.
[129] Tenets about literacy, people, and teaching and learning were identified. Here, tenets about
teaching and learning are embedded within those about literacy and people.

deep respect and concern for all people which incorporated ideas about basic human rights and concerns for people's quality of life. The chapter illustrates that the programmes studied were ideologically loaded and that respect for people, valuing of diversity, genuine caring and a social justice orientation were to be found in abundance in them along with, almost always, high quality, theory and/or research-based literacy teaching. This not to say that there were always strong examples of desirable practices in every programme; the programmes varied in their strengths and there were instances where I observed important learning or support opportunities being missed[130].

The boxed text which heralds each subsection exemplifies a significant aspect of the principle or practice being discussed and is referred to at some point in the discussion which follows. In all cases the quoted text is a programme staff member talking to the researcher. One example from each provider of an observed session, which demonstrate some of the principles and practices that characterise the particular programme, are available in Appendix 21. As for programmes and staff, pseudonyms are used in place of real names for all participants mentioned in this and subsequent chapters, with the exception of the circumstances described in Chapter Six.

2. Key principles and practices related to literacy

2.1. The dominant literacy is useful to have in some contexts

"…we want a balanced approach, the four components of reading, we wanted to make that really strong and that's also what the children need in their [literacy learning]…so we want to teach the adults about decoding, phonemic awareness, building vocabulary…the four components match well for the adults to match with the children" (Programme Manager, Benley Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 1).

As was their purpose, all the programmes in the study taught written text-based ('essayist' or 'essay-text') literacy in English, the dominant literacy of formal organisations and institutions in New Zealand as in other Western countries (see

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[130] As observed in Chapter One, the study is not an evaluation of programme 'quality' per se.

Chapter Two). This included associated oral communication and numeracy in English. Programme staff and partners in the four settings clearly saw these forms of literacy as useful for the people in their communities to have in everyday life in New Zealand and, this being the case, as critically important components of schooling[131] (programme staff and partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; programme documentation). I utilise programme headings as an organisational tool in this first subsection (only) as programmes are talked about in more detail for the first time.

Benley Whānau Literacy Programme

Programme staff in the Benley programme, in which participants were mainly Pacific settlers, saw this literacy as useful to participants for several reasons. The most overtly articulated reason was in their capacity as parents supporting their children's school learning (programme documentation). In line with the views of MacPherson (2001) and Meleisea and Schoeffel (1998) as discussed in Chapter Five, programme staff and the programme's school partner considered that Pacific parents valued New Zealand schooling, including the literacy it offered, seeing it as a route to a better life for their children. They believed that these parents wanted their children to do well in the *palagi*[132] world as well as in the Pacific world and that they wanted to support their children with their schooling but often felt they did not know how or did not feel confident to do so (Programme Manager, Interview 1; Junior School Principal, Interview 1).

Three aspects of this sense of limited capacity to help were evident (programme staff and participants, Interviews 1-3; Observations 1-4; see also Appendix 21). One aspect concerned the parents' limited knowledge of, or confidence in, using the literacy and numeracy the children were learning: the English language itself as used in the school and the techniques and strategies the children were taught. The second was the parents' limited knowledge about how the school worked, what was available for students and the expectations the school had of students and parents: the cultural practices and expectations of the school as Heath (1983), for example, might describe them (see Chapter Two). This issue was thought to have

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[131] Even Kaupapa Māori schools (Māori language and culture-based schools) teach English, in line with a biliteracy view of literacy as described in *Te kāwai ora* (Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001) which includes literacy in both English and te reo Māori (see Chapter Two).
[132] Pacific people's word meaning European or Pākehā.

arisen at least in part from the parents' limited personal experience of New Zealand education (Programme Manager, Interview 1). The third aspect was the adults' restricted facility with the English language, their second language in all but one case, which complicated their ability to understand what was happening in the school and their confidence to interact with their children or the school around their children's learning. Programme staff considered that parents ought, in the sense of having the right, to know about the literacy and workings of the school so that they could help their children and be involved in school life to the extent that they wished. The Programme Manager (Interview 1) described the situation as a "cultural gap" between the school and the community and saw the language of the school as a denominator that could help to "bridge" it. The situation can be seen as a separation of parents and the community from the discourse community of the school 'domain' and the programme as an attempt to open it up to parents and the community (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Gee, 2008).

Consequently, the Benley programme content comprised mainly specifically school-based literacy knowledge such as how to do the 'rounding technique' in addition and the 'scooping strategy' in reading fluency as taught to the children in the school, including the technical language associated with the concepts and techniques such as 'phonemes' and 'graphemes' in the context of spelling and reading (Observations 1-4; programme staff and participant interviews[133]; programme documentation). It also included information about the wider context in which the children's literacy learning took place such as how the school's reading programme operated and the range of resources and supports available to students[134] (Programme Manager, Interview 1; programme documentation). The participants visited some sites within the school, and heard from and asked questions of key people involved in the school's programmes (Programme Manager, Interview 1; programme documentation). They also studied school documents such as newsletters, analysing their messages (Programme Manager, Interview 1; Junior School Principal, Interview 2). In itself, participation in the programme also gave participants a new opportunity in their lives to practice and enhance their use of the English language.

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[133] For example, Programme Tutor Interviews 2 and 3; Aveolela, Interview 2; Penina, Interview 1.
[134] Such as the library, the reading resource room, Resource Teachers of Learning Behaviour and health services.

This new knowledge and these new skills provided the parents with a material foundation with which to help their children directly, for instance with their homework, and to do school-like activities with them. It also gave them a meta-language with which they could engage with the school; for example, ask questions of their children's teachers and discuss their children's progress (Programme Tutor, Interview 2). There was also an increase in respect by the children for their parents as knowledgeable people, another way in which parents found this literacy knowledge valuable! (Programme Tutor, Interview 3; Aveolela, Interview 2)

Another reason for the programme's focus on the dominant literacy related to the participants being seen as adults in their own right (discussed further in Section 3.5.). The programme was described by the Programme Manager (Interview 1) as "an adult literacy programme that incorporates adults learning about how to support their children with their school work". The programme content sheet described participants as "family members, workers and community members", thus as adults foremost within which parenting can be seen as one but not the only role they might have in their families and communities. As is illustrated in the boxed text above, programme staff saw that the close alignment between how literacy was taught in school and the strategies that adult learners of English literacy find useful meant that learning about school literacy was helpful to them in their wider lives where the dominant literacy also featured (Programme Manager, Interview 1; Programme Tutor, Interview 2). Further, programme staff thought it was useful for participants to have knowledge of the dominant literacy and the school 'domain' because this knowledge and these skills could be passed on to other adults in the community. Programme staff anticipated this occurring because this Pacific community was characterised by strong extended family and community connectedness (Programme Manager, Interview 1).

From the perspective of its school partner, the programme made an important contribution to the school's efforts to develop children's literacy and numeracy, abilities which, in the Junior School Principal's view, were of paramount importance (Interview 1)[135]. An aim of the Junior School (Years 1-8) was to have all

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[135] The Benley programme was one of several strategies that the school used to enhance students' literacy and numeracy (Junior School Principal, Interview 1).

children reading at least at their chronological age. However, the Principal wanted parents to *actively* support their children (not just in spirit), seeing parental involvement as a necessary adjunct to the school's efforts in order that children do well. This is a common rationale for family literacy programmes, as I highlighted in Chapter Four (see Section 4.2.) (see also Gadsden, 2008, and Wasik et al., 2003). The Junior School Principal saw parents as "the first teachers of their child" and wanted parents to see themselves this way too (Junior School Principal, Interview 1). He saw that the parents in this programme, by improving their own literacy and numeracy skills, gaining confidence with school knowledge and confidence to engage with the school, would be better positioned to help and support their children. He also saw that parents who strengthened these skills might be able to help the school further by working with other people's children, in a 'whānau-like' way, in other literacy programmes that the school operated (Junior School Principal, Interview 2)[136]. The Junior School Principal also saw value for the adults themselves and for their families more broadly. For example, he felt that having limited facility with English was a barrier for the adults in gaining paid work, seeing the income generated as important for individual, family and community wellbeing (Junior School Principal, Interview 1).

Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka-based Whānau Literacy Programme
Like the Benley programme, the HPP-based programme shared the unifying theme of supporting young children's literacy development and schooling but in this case looked to community members for help with other people's children (who were nevertheless usually extended family members) by training them to deliver a specific oral language development programme[137], HPP (Atvars, 2002; Atvars, Stock, & Pinfold, 1999). The impetus for the instigation of this programme came from the school in which it was located rather than from the programme provider, as in the case of the Benley programme (Principal, Interview 1). This bilingual school had sought a way of working with its Year 1 and 2 children identified as below their chronological age in oral language development and reading in English. The dominant literacy was valued for its role in enabling involvement in the school's wider curriculum and as a foundation for participation in wider life as

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[136] Three participants went on to help in other programmes (Junior School Principal, Interview 2).
[137] Oral language is considered foundational to reading by the developers and providers of the programme (Project Director, Interview 1; Atvars, 2002; Atvars, Stock & Pinfold, 1999).

children became adults (Principal, Interview 1). As at the school in which the Benley programme was located, the Principal wanted to raise these children's reading and oral English language performance to at least their chronological age. This goal reflected the wishes of the school's almost completely Māori community[138] whose views the Principal had sought[139]. Application of HPP requires 'reading tutors' to have a knowledge of Stock's (1999, as cited in Atvars, 2002) One Handed Approach to storybook reading, and phonological awareness and pragmatic communication skills (what they are and strategies to develop them). The tutors engaged the children in activities that helped to develop specific aspects of literacy with which they were having difficulty according to the school's standard testing of reading and oral language abilities[140]. Reading tutors also learned the related technical language and a good deal about school testing and its purposes.

There were other ways in which these skills and this knowledge were seen as useful in the school context. One of these ways inhered in the adults' presence in the school *as* reading tutors which provided additional models for children of adults as readers, helping to normalise for them reading as an activity that people do (Principal, Interview 1). The Principal thought this was especially helpful in cases where children might seldom observe their parents reading (Principal, Interview 1). Another way was through the additional tasks, some of which were related to HPP, that the tutors carried out in their wider teacher aide role[141], which were helpful to the teachers and the Principal. For instance, Kate recorded the HPP test results on the computer and graphed them, and developed her knowledge of HPP testing to the extent that she was later able to complete the computer-based reporting of results in draft from the teachers' notes which the teachers then checked, saving them valuable time; she also learned to do some of the regular testing with non-HPP students (Principal, Interview 2). Further, through HPP training and their wider teacher aide role, these community members learned a good deal about many aspects of literacy, how children learn (literacy and more generally) and how

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[138] In 2006, all except two of the children were Māori (Field notes, October 24, 2006).

[139] Parents had said that they did not want their children's English literacy skills to slip even though they also valued and supported the teaching of te reo Māori literacy (Principal, Interview 1).

[140] Running records (reading), Phonological Awareness Test, JOST (associations etc.), sound identification.

[141] The reading tutors were employed as teacher aides in which capacity they undertook other tasks in the school as well as HPP.

the school 'worked'. As was their cultural habit, they shared this knowledge with others in the community; in other words they were a conduit between school and community helping increase the understanding in the community about children's learning and what happened in the school in much the same way as was hoped would occur, and did, in the Benley programmes' community (Benley Programme Manager, Interview 1; Aveolela, Benley, Interview 3).

The knowledge and skills of these highly trained reading tutors were also seen by the Principal and the Project Director (HPP-based programme) as more broadly useful to communities. For example, the tutors could help in schools in other communities should they move[142], and their enhanced literacy and language knowledge and skills were seen as generally useful in other settings in their communities such as on marae committees (Principal, Interview 2). They also saw them as useful in participants' personal contexts and for their own purposes such as helping their own children in their literacy development, and enhancing their employability and their social confidence. They observed dramatic increases in the participants' communication and willingness to express a point of view and to ask questions.

Ormond Whānau Literacy Programme and Preston Family Literacy Programme
Different again, the Ormond and Preston programmes aimed to be able to respond to a *wide range* of English text-based literacy needs people came to them with, in ways the participants found helpful, rather than having a specific school-centred focus as the Benley and HPP-based programmes did. As in these programmes, the literacy content was taught in context; it was for some purpose and had relevance for people in their lives or was incidental to some other meaningful purpose. Examples in the Preston programme included listening strategies for Anna and her family (an older new husband and an adult son who lived at home) to help improve their floundering relationships (Preston Programme Manager, personal communication, May 10-11, 2007) and spelling and vocabulary for Carrie (who, at 65, lived alone, tended to be isolated and could get depressed) so that she could write more interesting letters to her friends (Preston Assistant Co-ordinator, Interview 1). In the Ormond programme, examples included sewing, cooking and

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[142] The Principal confirmed that this occurred (Interview 1). She commented that Principals from other schools rang her saying, "How come they are so well trained?"

harakeke[143] as useful home-based practical abilities in which the literacy or numeracy needed for specific tasks were taught (Ormond programme staff, Interview 1). Worksheets, with their imaginary rather than authentic contexts, were completed by students when they wished. This was often as the young mothers loved them! (Hahana, Interview 2; Selena, Interview 2, Ormond) Authentic reading and writing occurred in such activities as keeping a journal and writing official letters (Ormond Programme Manager, Interview 1).

2.2. There is more than one literacy

"You'll get kids...unpackaging it in different ways and I feel that that's what we want to do within literacy too...its how can we unpackage situations, we're giving them a pathway of choice...and we've always said that speaking and listening go hand in hand and then the writing and the reading so Māori being a very oral language and visual language, you know its quite important here...we've got some children that are very good at art and producing a picture so we might sit kids around [in] a group and say, 'Right, here's the storyline, how are you going to manage to express that?' 'I'm going to draw about that', 'I'm going to write a poem about it', 'I'm going to just write a bit of transactional writing here' and, 'I'll do some research and add to it', so it becomes four or five and [they] can package it up and make a very good presentation but everyone had a part in it, so some of our better artists don't say much, but boy their pictures say a thousand plus words, you know?, and so that's alright, they're still contributing to the whole, so we look at it as really its quite a holistic approach" (Principal, HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 1).

Even though the dominant literacy was seen as important to have, it was clear in all the study programmes that it was not seen as the only literacy or the only important one by programme staff or, where relevant, their partners (programme staff and partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3). A broad and inclusive, multiliteracies perspective of literacy in which it was understood to take many forms – multiple languages such as English and Māori and multiple modes or 'texts' such as written alphabetic text, oral performance and art as described in Chapter Two – was evident (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Cope & Kalantzis, 2000a; Cope & Kalantzis, 2000b; Hohepa & McNaughton, 2002; Kress & Jewitt, 2003; Māori Adult Literacy Working Party, 2001).

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[143] Māori word for flax leaf (Ryan, 1994). Used here as meaning craft using flax leaves such as weaving kete.

The boxed text shows that the Principal at the school where the *HPP-based* programme ran recognised not only other languages within a definition of literacy (in this case te reo Māori as well as English) but also other communicative forms such as art. Further, she clearly understood that literacy meant different things to different people, evident in her efforts to search for the common ground between the school and its community (Principal, Interview 1). She asked parents what they thought reading was, she and the other Year 1 and 2 teachers gave their perspectives and described literacy learning and teaching in the school, she sought to find out about home literacy practices so that the school's expectations could be matched to the realities of family life, and she sought parents' opinions about the relative emphasis they wanted on English and te reo Māori within the school (HPP-based Principal, Interview 1). According to the Principal, reading and writing in English were highly valued by families and the school – HPP was introduced as a way to raise the abilities of children struggling with English oral language and reading about which, she said, both were concerned – but she also recognised that there are other ways of communicating and that some children were especially talented in these other ways and these abilities were also to be valued (Principal, Interview 1).

The Project Director shared with the Principal a broad view of what literacy is. Valuing both English and te reo Māori, she offered HPP[144] in both languages and believed that:

> simply put, literacy is about becoming a competent language user which includes of course the reading, the writing, the spelling, the numeracy, using the internet and using technology but its also about becoming a competent singer, developer and creator of waiata...and all those things that have cultural meaning for different people... (Interview 3)

She, too, clearly valued these other literacies and the skill that they involved (Interview 1). She did not see any difference between literacy for adults and literacy for children.

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[144] The Project Director also offered Pause, Prompt, Praise and its Māori version *Tātari, Tautoko, Tauawhi.*

Befitting their cultural importance in the context of having mainly Māori participants, te reo Māori, colonial history and Māori stories, tikanga of the local iwi and waiata were taught within the shared part of the *Ormond* programme[145] in addition to the dominant literacy (programme staff, Interview 1; Observations 1 and 2). Māori language skills were also recognised as useful to have in terms of future employment[146] (Programme Manager, Interview 1).

In the *Benley* programme, the tutor talked to the students about different kinds of 'texts' that people 'read' as they go about daily life such as traffic lights as visual texts, instruction booklets and sales dockets, pointing out that it was important to "be proficient in reading all these types of texts as only then can you live successfully, otherwise you become dependent on others" (Interview 2). The Tutor observed that this discussion of different literacies "enlightened" the participants (Interview 2). Literacies from other 'domains' (Barton & Hamilton, 1998) such as the Church were included and treated as important (Observations 1-4; Programme Tutor, Interview 2). Further, Pacific adults' knowledge of *two* languages was regarded highly by the Junior School Principal whose only language was English (Interview 2).

2.3. Literacy is partly technical skills

"I can teach you a cueing system and I can teach you to ask yourself certain questions about that decoding process that will help you to unlock that for yourself" (Project Director, HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 1).

As reflected in the boxed text example, all the study programmes demonstrated a view of literacy as including the technical literacy skills implicit in the idea of literacy as a technology, which they explicitly taught (programme staff and partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; programme documentation). Teaching the 'rounding technique' as occurred in the Benley programme is one example

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[145] Literacy Aotearoa and its affiliate bodies define literacy as a complex web of reading, writing, speaking, listening, numeracy, problem-solving and critical thinking.
[146] However, relevant qualifications were also seen to be required in current times. This was identified as an issue for some fluent Māori speakers who, in current times, needed officially-sanctioned qualifications to be paid to teach where as once this was not the case. A kuia, in her seventies and having taught te reo Māori for a long time, was undertaking Literacy Aotearoa's tutor training and other tertiary study for this reason.

which demonstrates this perspective. Staff in the Benley and HPP-based programmes noted (and I observed) that they taught the rules and the underlying knowledge associated with the skills, and used and taught the relevant technical language (Benley Programme Tutor, Interview 2; Benley Observations 1-4; HPP-based Project Director, Interview 1; HPP-based Observations 1-3). Teaching of literacy skills was also evident in both the Ormond and Preston programmes (Ormond and Preston learner progress documentation[147], programme staff and participant interviews[148]).

Details of some of the technical aspects of literacy that were taught can be seen in sample observations of HPP-based and Benley programme sessions (in particular) in Appendix 21.

2.4. Literacy is partly individual activity

"People are coming here for their own reasons…You've got the ones who want their license and they need their license because they've been pulled up and they've got fines way up their arms" (Programme Manager, Ormond Whānau Literacy Programme, Staff Interview 1).

The study programmes demonstrated a view that literacy practices are in some senses individual (programme staff and partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; learner programme progress information). There appeared to be recognition of the highly-individualised sociocultural histories and personally-located motivations (including beliefs and feelings about literacy) that each person brought to their participation in the programme. Staff seemed to understand that personal work is done in literacy events, and that personal meaning is associated with what takes place in literacy events and what changes as a result – the cognitive drive to make sense of the world (Vygotsky, 1978, as cited in Hagell & Tudge, 1998). Whilst commonalities within groups were recognised (such as shared culture, religion, parental status and desire to help children) people's individual differences were

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[147] Student Learning Plans for Andrea, Emma, Hahana and Selena (Ormond) and Anna, Carrie and Kalasia (Preston); Tutor Record of Programme Delivery and Student Learning for Hahana and Selena (Preston) (2005-8 as applicable).
[148] For example, Assistant Co-ordinator, Interview 1; Programme Tutors Interview 1, Carrie, Interview 1 (Preston).

also recognised as relevant in their literacy experiences. (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Gee, 2008; Heath, 1983; Lankshear & Knobel, 2003)

The *Preston* and *Ormond* programmes gave credence to individual aspects of literacy activity in an overt way recording in a formalised system the learner's background, their literacy experiences including their perceptions of their abilities, and their goals and aspirations (for example, Student Learning Plans for Andrea, Emma, Hahana and Selena, Ormond). Together, the tutor and participant worked out a programme that matched a meaning of literacy that was appropriate and relevant given the participant's personal account. In other words, the literacy activity in the programme was to be personally meaningful to the student given their particular sociocultural history and current circumstances. For example Carrie (Preston) asked for help with spelling so that she could improve in her letter writing, an important means of social connection for her (Preston Assistant Co-ordinator, Interview 1). Through tutoring, she got better at letter-sound relationships and at using a dictionary. Her letters, which had been short and formulaic, became more expansive, detailed and interesting. She gained a good deal of enjoyment and satisfaction from this improvement and went on to do other writing such as reporting on a women's group activity and writing poems (Assistant Co-ordinator, Interview 1; Carrie, Interview 1). In other words, she developed her skills and this improvement was of personal significance to her. Joining the women's group was part of her learning plan, which helped to "get her out of the house", reduced her isolation (in addition to her letter writing) and increased her social interaction in her community through participation in the group and visits to community sites (Assistant Co-ordinator, Interview 1).

The tutor in the *Benley* programme showed understanding of personally-located motivations in her belief that students needed to "achieve their base objective", which might not be known to the tutor initially, to maintain interest in the programme (Programme Tutor, Interview 1). The boxed text reflects this same belief in the *Ormond* programme.

Across all programmes, in general terms, programme staff actively sought to know and understand each participant as an individual well enough to understand where literacy might help them in personally-meaningful ways and illuminated for them

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links between literacy and their personal circumstances. In the Benley tutor's view, she could only hope to know the student's base objective if there was "rapport" and "bonding" between them (Programme Tutor, Interview 1). She spent the first three weeks of the programme getting to know the students and building rapport and trust, and maintained opportunities throughout the programme for shared time to talk so that rapport and trust remained and she continued to know at least something of what was happening in their lives. The students were already well-known to the Ormond staff, being usually related to one or other of them.

They also actively and constantly monitored the participants' literacy learning progress on an individual basis and were concerned with the effects of the programmes on each of them individually. The Benley tutor closely observed their engagement with and understanding of taught material on an ongoing basis, and regularly sought learner restatement to enable her to monitor understanding and retention. She established a pattern of turn-taking and of asking questions of people so that everyone participated in every activity (Observations 1-4). In the Preston programme, the women's group tutors used the learning progressions (Ministry of Education, 2006c) to set individual as well as group goals and evaluated each session against them on both bases (Observation 1). The informality of aspects of the Ormond programme did not prevent monitoring of participants' progress; astute awareness of their progress was evident in the Programme Manager's comments about them (Programme Manager, Interviews 1-4). Learning achievement and progress against goals were formally recorded.

2.5. Literacy is social activity

"We've got to try and get a [oral language development] programme that is non-threatening to the parent and non-threatening to the child and...has all those little bits like, 'I'm talking to you nicely and this is how it goes and we say hello to each other' because a lot of times you'd say hello to a kid and they wouldn't say hello back, they'd just take it as, 'Oh somebody said something', so now they're quite chatty" (Principal, HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 1).

The study programmes reflected a view that literacy is more than technical skills and individual activity: that it is social and relational activity (programme staff and

partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; programme documentation). In various ways it was evident that programme staff saw the technical aspects of literacy as inseparable from their social and relational contexts of use, that literacy involves 'how to be' with the technical skills and, as such, it involves values and beliefs, and behaviours beyond the mechanical aspects. In Gee's (2008) terms, it involves socialisation into particular 'ways of being', of being 'particular kinds of people'. This interconnectedness was articulated by programme staff and the 'ways to be' in literacy events were explicitly taught. These 'ways to be' were understood as connected to culture and history, and to human needs.

The boxed text illustrates the belief held by the Principal of the school in which the *HPP-based* programme ran in the interconnectedness of literacy (in this case oral language use) and how people are with each other, that these aspects are not separate but intertwined: the child develops his or her vocabulary and 'mean length utterance' (Atvars, 2002)[149] at the same time and through the process of the adult (the 'reading tutor') and the child talking "nicely" together. This view was, of course, shared by the Project Director who was also a co-developer of HPP (Atvars et al., 1999). Warm and positive relationships were at the heart of HPP, exemplified in the *mihi mihi* (greeting) and farewell components and the emphasis on warm interactions around literacy, praise and fun (Atvars, 2002). These values mirrored those held by the Principal and the Project Director with respect to all people, all of the time.

Both aspects – the way in which HPP ran and the literacy skills it taught – were equally important to the Principal. Following a traumatic period in the school and community's history she sought to develop a warmer and more positive culture in the school and to strengthen the school–community connectedness. The Project Director and the Principal in her literacy liaison role explicitly taught that this is the '*right*' 'way to be' and *how* to be this way in the context of the adult-child relationship in HPP and in *all* relationships people share. Glasser's theory of psychological needs underpins HPP and is applied to adults as well as children. The Principal also referred often to Maslow's 'hierarchy of needs'. The theory was explained to the reading tutors (Observation 2, see also Appendix 21). Programme

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[149] Average length of sentence spoken counted in number of words, the main measure of progress used in HPP.

staff also modeled warm and respectful relationships constantly in their interactions with the adults; more, they were genuinely warm and respectful.

The *Benley* programme tutor similarly modeled for the participants how to be positive and encouraging and how to have fun in their interactions around literacy with their children and was this way with them, as appropriate for adults (Observations 1-4). In the Benley programme the parents' increased knowledge of school literacy helped certain other events to occur that were social in nature: parents (and grandparents) could help children with their homework, talk to their teachers about their children's progress and make sense of the school newsletters and thereby know more about what was happening in the school (all participants, Interviews 1-3).

In the *Preston* programme the Programme Manager worked with a family teaching them problem-solving through talking and listening strategies (Programme Manager, personal communication, May 10-11, 2007; Anna, Interview 1. In the *Ormond* programme the Programme Manager helped students deal with government organisations such as WINZ through accompanying them to meetings and ensuring they got their entitlements (Programme Manager, Interview 2).

That culture was a significant factor in how literacy-based interactions played out was marked in the *Benley* programme context where, as I observed in Section 2.1., a cultural gap was seen to exist. The Principal became aware of the misunderstandings that can occur (Junior School Principal, Interview 2). He explained about the upset he inadvertently caused when, in a Board of Trustees discussion about pedagogy, he used the metaphor, "there's more than one way to skin a cat". The Pacific trustees were very upset and afraid that animals or their children might be harmed. The Programme Manager observed that, between home and school, "there can be misunderstandings… parents get angry then the school doesn't understand and children are always caught in the middle" (Programme Manager, Interview 1).

2.6. Criticality is essential

Extract 1
"They need to evaluate things…for example if I say something to you…you have to see whether its, you know, [you] have to weigh that one whether it's acceptable or not and literacy is also, its reasoning as well, the individual has to reason whether it's good or bad" (Programme Tutor, Benley Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 1).

Extract 2
"We're not just talking about assimilating, we're talking about transformation…in terms of them looking at the education system and what works for their children…its not about fitting into Pākehā ways so its looking at the power relationships, not face on but through being critical, a critical approach" (Programme Manager, Benley Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 1).

The programmes in the study shared a critical stance in that they all encouraged questioning. This stance seemed to be associated with a belief in basic human rights; in particular, the right to know, to participate and to have a say (programme staff and partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; programme documentation).

Staff in the *Preston* programme worked hard to inform people about their community and encouraged them to ask questions, to evaluate information and perspectives and to form and express their own opinion (programme tutors, Interview 1). For example, they brought in speakers from a local cement company and a council representative to share their views with the women's group on the establishment of the company's new production site and its predicted effects on the community. The women prepared questions and, afterwards, they discussed the situation and were encouraged to give their point of view. They visited the library, the school which the children of three of them were soon to attend, the local mental health drop-in centre where Anna went every day for lunch, a gym, potential sites for school holiday visits relevant to those with children, local gardens and so on with the same encouragement of questioning and forming opinions. In the *Ormond* programme, as noted in Section 2.5., staff were available to help people deal with government agencies (Programme Manager, Interview 2). They also saw themselves as knowing the community well and as having good networks and therefore as able to put people in touch with those who might be

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able to help with a particular concern beyond the expertise of staff or scope of the Ormond centre (programme staff, Interview 1).

In the *Benley* programme, questioning was encouraged as a strategy for gaining information and for solving problems in participants' personal and class processes of learning (Observations 1-4). The tutor modeled questioning all the time, encouraged the students to ask questions and provided opportunities to practice questioning, building it into the way the class operated. The teaching of the 'rounding technique' (Observation 2) illustrates the use of questioning as the class worked out the technique and its underlying rules. As I noted in Section 2.2., school documents were analysed for their meaning. As illustrated in Extract Two, the programme aims not at uncritical acceptance of the rightness of the school's approach but at critical appraisal and parental involvement in shaping how their children experience education. In their own lives, the tutor wanted the adults to be independent rather than dependent: to be "effective and efficient" adults (Programme Tutor, Interview 2).

Reflection was a key part of the *HPP-based* programme. The Project Director regularly gave verbal feedback and feed-forward in her training and support work with the reading tutors (Observations 1-3). Written feedback and feed-forward was placed in portfolios the tutors kept, in which they recorded their HPP preparation and their student's and their own development (discussed further in Section 3.5.) (Kate, Paula, Jen's portfolios). The adults engaged in this process with each other as well, using a template provided. In the reflective process the reading tutors were asked to think about what worked well in their tutoring and where they might do things differently. Critical thinking was valued as part of learning. Making mistakes was seen as how people learn (Project Director, Observation 2). The reading tutors were also strongly encouraged by the Principal to offer their own ideas in their HPP and wider teacher aide work (Principal, Interview 1). She asked them for their ideas and opinions and encouraged their initiative within this work. Further, she invited adult tutors to read academic and Ministry of Education papers that were displayed in the staffroom and sought their opinion on the ideas presented (Interview 3). She sought their perspectives as parents and as representatives of the community as a balance against internal school views or her own as she was not now a parent of young children. These examples are strong evidence of the

application in the school of the principle of thinking critically about things, of not taking things for granted, of questioning and of expressing one's point of view, of valuing the opinions of others and of incorporating them [150].

3. Key principles and practices related to people

3. 1. People are already skilled

"…we did Books in Homes and…they said, 'Well, who are you going to bring to select?' and I said, 'Well, I'll bring Paula because Paula, she's read everything in the library and she knows what the kids like', and so when she came to do the selection they were so impressed with her and the books and why she said that one should stay into the selection and that one shouldn't that they presented her with two books and she said, 'Oh, I feel really embarrassed' and I said, 'Don't, because you know exactly what the children want in a library. I'm quite good with little children but you know what they want across the board' and that's where the value came" (Principal, HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 2).

Staff recognition of participants' existing abilities was evident in all the study programmes. This is not to say that staff were not aware of what they described as 'gaps' or 'needs' in the participants but these were seen as gaps or needs in relation to particular objectives or purposes and did not constitute the sole definition of the person. Staff members were equally aware that participants already had skills and talents that they used in their daily lives and saw that they already made important contributions to their families and/or communities. They demonstrated and articulated respect for them as capable adults who, in the same vein, could be capable learners. A high level of trust and belief in their abilities and capacities was exhibited. (Programme staff and partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; programme documentation) This was a strengths-based view of adults (Auerbach, 1989, 1995; Purcell-Gates, 2000; Whitehouse & Colvin, 2001) (see Chapter Three).

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[150] The Principal sought to involve parents and the community as much as possible and sought their opinion about what the school was doing and what they wanted for their children, and wanted to know if it fitted with what happened at home. The adult tutors were an important parent and community voice. They could give their own point of view and also, because of the close connectedness of the community, they could give a sense of what others in the community were thinking and feeling. Parents were encouraged in to the school so that they could see what was going on, homework was intended to show parents what the children were doing and the Principal took the opportunity to talk to parents about what they were thinking and feeling and what the school was doing.

The boxed text is an example from the HPP-based programme in which the Principal demonstrated that she recognised and held in very high regard a programme participant's knowledge about children's books which she saw as immensely valuable to the school[151]. Examples of this awareness and valuing of people's abilities can be seen in the Ormond Programme Manager's description of Hahana as "a natural with te reo Māori" and Selena as "good at encouraging all the other girs" (Interview 1). In the Preston programme, a tutor valued a participant's ability to speak frankly but inoffensively to a participant in the women's group about her inconsiderate behaviour (Programme Tutors, Interview 1). Staff and partners knew about other ways that participants contributed to their families and communities that required specific skills and knowledge (including cultural knowledge) such as helping with kapa haka, helping on their marae during events such as *tangihanga*[152], working on local Māori land issues, lobbying for improved road access to their marae, being on the committee of their local *Kōhanga Reo*[153] (HPP-based Project Director, Interview 1; HPP-based Principal, Interviews 2 and 3), helping their island-based community members deal with correspondence (Benley Programme Tutor, Interview 2), raising grandchildren (Benley Programme Tutor, Interview 1), raising a niece (Ormond Programme Manager, Interview, 1) and caring for elders (Benley Programme Tutor, Interview 2).

The *Benley* programme provides two examples of how tutor belief in people's abilities translated into pedagogical practices. One example can be seen in the pattern the tutor established of group-wide conversation at the beginning of the week's first lesson in which each participant shared "a funny story or a problem they were having" (Suni, Interview 1); participants helped each other by suggesting ways problems might be addressed. Another example lies in the tutor's use of group teaching and learning processes in which participants were invited to contribute their ideas to solve a problem as a class such as working out the 'rounding technique' (Observation 2). The tutor steered the overall direction of the process including actively encouraging everyone's participation but otherwise let it

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[151] At the time, Paula was the school's librarian as part of her wider teacher aide role of which initially Porowhā and later the HPP work was a part. Though a student with respect to the HPP-based programme she was seen at the same time as a highly capable contributor in other spheres (including as an HPP tutor).

[152] Māori word for funeral (Ryan, 1994).

[153] Māori phrase meaning Māori language nest. It is the name for Māori language-based pre-school education centres.

play out naturally to what was, indeed, a satisfactory conclusion in which the 'rounding technique' was eventually understood by everyone. Faith in people's abilities as learners was evident in the tutor regularly asking them to demonstrate their new knowledge by explaining concepts and demonstrating strategies to the group and teaching other members of the group in role plays which they did successfully (Observations 1-4). These open, transparent processes of communal learning and problem solving – from personal dilemmas to maths and language ones – also showed belief that *everyone* has something to contribute and that a process of *reciprocation* occurs. This reflects recognition of the power of these groups of people to be providers of various forms of social support and social capital to their members (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). They harnessed existing skills and knowledge for the benefit of still more people. They brought people into contact with others who could affirm and help them.

High levels of literacy knowledge and technical language were taught in the Benley and HPP-based programmes, in themselves demonstrating belief in people's abilities. The Project Director of the *HPP-based* programme recognised that she learned to believe in community members' capacity to learn from programme participants themselves. She explained that:

> ...right at the beginning of this HPP programme [when it was first developed] the Speech Language Teacher and myself and the Assistant Principal that had retired [the programme's developers], we had a question mark over whether or not we would use the words 'phonological awareness', whether or not we'd use the words 'onset and rime'. Well, we certainly got taught! One thing that the parents gave us feedback about was that they were deliciously happy about learning new vocabulary and what 'phonological awareness' meant! What did '*rudimentary* phonological awareness' mean and what the heck's this 'onset and rime'? And, "Hey you've spelt 'rime' wrong" but then when you explain...it was click, click and you could see the glow in them, "Hey, I've got new words. Chur[154]!" So I learnt that you never ever with adults dumb down anything, because they're like sponges, and they want [to learn]! (Interview 1)

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[154] 'Chur' is a slang word which, as used here, replaces something like fantastic!' or 'great!'

The Project Director was very clear that she chose not to take a deficit approach, noting that, "Adults had to identify themselves as having a deficit. I always wanted to come from, 'Look, there are some children who need some help. Are you comfortable in learning some new skills and strategies to help them?'" (Interview 1) As far as she was concerned they only needed to "want to help others and to help themselves".

3. 2. People are multifaceted

"The Programme Manager said Selena was coming to 'Te Reo' and 'Home-based' and the Thursday Literacy and Numeracy but hasn't come this week. She explained that Tina is home (she had been coming to the programme too) and is now living with the father of Selena's children…The Programme Manager is encouraging her to come back [to the programme], even suggesting she and Tina come on different days" (Programme Manager, Ormond Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 3).

In various ways the study programmes acknowledged that people had already existing lives and that these lives were often already very busy and often complex and that some people had multiple problems with which they had to deal. People were seen as multifaceted with each part affecting the other and thus, in the context of the programme, were regarded holistically. Effort was made to accommodate participants' already-existing lives and their changing circumstances and needs. (Programme staff and partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; programme documentation) This accommodation of people's lives reflects a view of participants that does not define them solely by the problematic things they are experiencing but by their whole selves, a strengths-based rather than a deficit view.

The boxed example refers to one problematic facet of the life of a participant in the *Ormond* programme, a complex and unhappy situation concerning the father of her children and her friend in a close community. But this is not all there was to Selena's life. For example, as well as her own two children, she was raising her seven year old niece and later sought to adopt her. During the course of the study she fostered, for a short period, two teenagers and their two year old sibling from a family whose gang connections were problematic for them. She coached a

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children's rugby team and was the minute-taker for her (large) family's Trust meetings. Whilst her basic literacy and numeracy skills were quite good she did not know how to do things like budget or cook (follow recipes) as her parents had "done everything for her" when she was growing up (Programme Manager, Interview 2). As a young mother, such aspects of the programme had been attractive and useful to her. Previously a trainee manager at Burger King, she turned her attention during the time of the study to a goal of becoming a midwife. The Programme Manager was helping her to find the information she needed so she could plan her pathway whilst continuing to help further build her literacy and numeracy skills and to continue her involvement in learning (Interview 4).

Across all the programmes, difficulties that people faced included having an unemployed alcoholic husband, having strained family relationships, having children with behavioural difficulties, coping with diabetes, being depressed, having limited English in a predominantly English-speaking country, being without personal means of transport, being socially isolated and being poor (programme staff, all programmes, Interviews 1-3)[155]. But, at the same time, they were raising children (often by themselves), being employees and committee members of community organisations and helping others with literacy; some were good English readers, writers or mathematicians, one was fluent in te reo Māori; and there were rugby coaches, kapa haka supporters, land activists, Sunday School teachers, carers (of their elders, other extended family and foster children), tertiary students and so on (as described above) among them (programme staff, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; participants' roles and tasks sheets, all programmes). In other words, these were people with things going on in their lives: some were problematic, some reflected their personal interests and concerns or status such as parenthood and some were directly helpful to other people in their extended family or wider communty. Programme staff respected that all these aspects of participants' lives influenced their motivation, the practicalities of their participation and their goals. Under these circumstances, an accommodating, holistic approach was seen as appropriate – the programme simply had to be doable in the participants' lives.

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[155] Other difficulties faced by other programme participants not in the study included having a violent partner, an intimidating ex-partner, mood changes resulting from head injury and a speech difficulty. The specific sources are not identified in order to protect participants' anonymity.

The programmes accommodated the realities of people's lives in practical ways such as, on cold days, picking up participants with babies and no transport (Ormond, Field notes, June 13, 2006) and including people who might not always be there for reasons such as their need to attend meetings as members of the school's Board of Trustees or to see their doctor for their diabetes check (Programme Tutor, Benley, Interview 2). The multiple strands and personally designed content of the *Ormond* and *Preston* programmes accommodated people's particular and changing needs and circumstances as seen in the example of Selena above.

That this mattered can be seen in participants' continuation in programmes (in some cases for several years) despite events in their lives which might have ended their involvement, the intensity of their participation fluctuating according to life circumstances. Two participants in the Ormond programme who had been attending since 2004 and 2006 respectively had increased their intensity in 2008 compared to 2007. Both were attaining the goals they set for themselves and ones the Programme Manager saw as important for their own and their families' wellbeing, demonstrating the positivity of this phenomenon (Programme Manager, Interview 4; Student Learning Plans and Tutor Record of Programme Delivery and Student Learning for Hahana and Selena).

3. 3. People are cultural beings

"So it's giving the opportunity for that culturally-diverse adult to inculcate those things that they dearly love like the kapa haka" (Project Director, HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 1).

The study programmes demonstrated a valuing of people's different 'ways of being' (Gee, 2008), their beliefs, values, and behaviours. These different cultural ways were seen as connected to their identities, the diversity of which was acknowledged and respected (programme staff and partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; programme documentation). Matching the programme content and pedagogy with participants' cultural ways demonstrated awareness of and respect

for differences between people. Staff understood the hegemony of the dominant culture and that differences in cultural ways of being can cause misunderstandings.

As noted earlier, the content of the first three weeks of the *Benley* programme was intended to enable the participants and the tutor to get to know each other (Programme Tutor, Interview 1). Part of the getting to know each other was related to culture, cultural difference and being explicit and active in recognising and valuing people's culturally-based perspectives and 'ways of being'. The pattern of talking together established early on enabled the participants to stamp their cultural mark on the way the programme operated, instituting from the outset a protocol of opening and closing the lessons with a prayer. This was at the instigation of a participant and welcomed by the tutor as it became evident that all participants were of the same faith. Prayers were led by the participants; from the tutor's perspective this was "their work"[156] (Programme Tutor, Interview 1). However, she was also, incidentally, of the same faith and so was able, confidently, to include faith-based resources. For example, in a recapping of reading strategies she gave the parents some Bible stories they could use at home with their children; they used them first in class to practice the strategies in pair role-plays (Observation 1). Thus, she did not teach religion but enabled and supported an aspect of the participants' cultural and spiritual lives that was important to them, and as expressed by them, by incorporating elements of this valued part of their identity. She observed that "it would be different in a different group" (Programme Tutor, Interview 1). That this inclusion of their own 'ways of being' was valued by participants was evident in Aveolela and Suni's comments to this effect (Aveolela, Interview 3; Suni, Interview 1).

In sharing her own background, the tutor clarified to the participants that she was explaining her culture to them, not imposing it. She was able to talk to the students from her own experience about how important people's culture is to them and to observe ways in which she incorporated her culture into her life in New Zealand. This modeled for the participants a valuing of different (and minority)

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[156] She drew on the prayers they offered but did not offer her own. For example, when a student who had been assaulted by her husband arrived in class she referred to the prayer offered that morning, encouraging her to draw strength from the words, to set aside her worries for the moment and draw learning for herself from the programme. This was not minimizing her husband's wrong-doing (she later supported her in court) but rather was helping the student to regain or strengthen her sense of herself as a valuable human being.

cultures within a context in which there is a dominant culture. She was explicit in observing the importance to people of their culture (Interview 1).

In the *HPP-based* and *Ormond* programmes, where participants were all or mainly Māori as were the programme staff and partners, Māori cultural practices dominated the way things were done. The Project Director of the HPP-based programme incorporated time in their training sessions to share *kai* [157]and to talk informally and share aspects of their lives (Observations 1-3). The reading tutors recorded their whakapapa in the portfolios which traversed their HPP work. Their own families and their students were introduced in these portfolios (Kate, Paula and Jen's portfolios). The Project Director linked what they were learning with Māori cultural ways and used common Māori words in her conversation with them. Relationships and connections to one another were very important. This included knowing the connections and sharing some aspects of one's life among students as well as between students and tutor (Observations 1-3). In the Ormond programme the staff knew the students and their families, and, between them, had family connections to them all (programme staff, Interview 1).

The *Preston* programme participants were mainly Pākehā but also included, over the time of the study, a Vietnamese woman, a Tongan woman and a Tongan extended family. Amongst the staff, there was clearly an understanding of the phenomenon of cultural difference and respect for such differences (programme staff, Interview 1; Programme Manager, Field notes, May 9-11, 2007). They understood that people brought their differing, culturally-shaped characteristics to the programme and sought to give recognition to these differences, for example by inviting participants in the women's groups to speak about life in their homelands (Programme Tutors, Interview 1). The tutors, who were also Pākehā, valued the opportunity the participation of people of different cultures provided for everyone to learn about other cultures and to mix with people of different cultural backgrounds and with different cultural ways. The Centre was abundant with Pacific resources, the largest non-Pākehā group coming to the centre (for example, for drivers licenses), including news items from Tonga (Field notes, May 9-11, 2007). In my observation, the Programme Manager was taking a considered

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[157] Māori word for food (Ryan, 1994).

approach as he sought to be of help to the sizeable Tongan community on dominant literacy issues (Field notes, May 9-11, 2007). Kalasia, who attended the women's group, was employed at the centre for three hours a week to help develop Tongan resources.

3. 4. Children need support

"I've...[said]...to some of the parents...'its really if the child is sitting there doing their homework when they get home and you see it and they bring it up and say, "Look, Mum. Look what I've done!" sign it off, because you can [do that while you're] peeling potatoes and everything else'. I'll say [to the parents to say to the children], "Look, give me a few words out of that", just make it simple' because I've also said to them, 'Just 4 minutes a day is good'. It's just really, its the praise bit and the support they can give, it doesn't cost a lot, and...'cause people think you need to throw a lot of money at this but you really don't.....It's the good things that you say at the right moment that's probably the best thing for children" (Principal, HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 1).

It was clear in the study programmes that staff believed that children need to be supported by adults in both relational and practical ways and that parenting was a critically important part of this. The role of other adults was seen as important too, especially where circumstances reduced parents' active involvement or rendered it less positive than was thought desirable. Staff demonstrated that they believed that, in general, all parents care about their children and want good lives for them but that sometimes the children were not getting enough of some of the important things they needed to flourish, for various reasons. The approach taken was to build a relationship with the parents, to share information with them, to model supportive behaviours towards children, to support families by providing the necessary equipment for the children to use for homework, and to encourage the parents through positive affirmation of what they *are* doing rather than to admonish them for perceived inadequacies and, in addition, to recognise, refer to and draw on the wider network of people in the children's lives as additional supports for them (programme staff and partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; programme documentation).

Within the overall aim of the *Ormond* literacy centre which was "to help the whānau to help themselves" (Trainee tutor, programme staff Interview 1) the

whānau programme, whose participants were mainly young single mothers, specifically aimed to "help the parents so they can help the children" (Programme Manager, programme staff, Interview 1). Staff recognised that some participants did not know how to "do for the kids", sometimes because their parents had "done everything for them" so they had not learned basic home skills such as cooking. The programme therefore included a good deal of parent and home-focused content. It was very "hands on" and practical, including in the many options offered such activities as making a child's track suit, growing vegetables, doing arts and crafts (which produced items with which to decorate their homes or use as birthday or Christmas gifts or to make with their children), and baby massage (Programme Manager, programme staff Interview 1; programme content sheet). The practicality extended to sharing the produce of the vegetable garden amongst those who helped work in it (Programme Manager, Interview 4). Children were welcome at the centre and in the programmes which were designed to accommodate them, as noted earlier staff would collect the mothers and their babies on cold days if they had no transport, and the centre itself was a welcoming place for children with books, toys, paper and crayons, and a '*mokopuna*[158] room' where they could sleep if necessary. Staff also modeled giving activities to children, gave ideas to parents for activities they could do with their children and, in getting the parents together, provided for them a forum in which they could support each other and share the challenges they faced and ideas for dealing with them (for example Selena, Interview 2; Selena's mother, Interview 1).

The *HPP-based* programme was built round community members supporting the learning of the community's children who were mostly extended family. Further, the relational base of the programme meant there was always a whānau-like, if not an actual whānau, relationship between child and reading tutor. This was built into the programme in the *mihi mihi*[159] component in which the reading tutor demonstrates warmth and interest in the child through conversation as well as imbuing the entirety of each session. The time the children had in these one-to-one situations with these adults was seen as very important and the relationship between tutored child and tutor as "something they would remember all their lives" (Project Director, Interview 1).

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[158] Māori word for grandchild or young generation (Ryan, 1994).
[159] Māori word for greeting (Ryan, 1994).

What is important here is that what is valued in this programme is the relational aspects in tandem with the skills aspects; both are seen as essential ways children must be supported. These were theory-based ideas, for instance Glasser's five psychological needs are all addressed in each half hour HPP session. The reading tutors were taught the theory and learned about the theorists (Observations 1-3).

The Project Director frequently linked these ideas, both the oral language development ones and the relational ones, to the adult tutors' parenting role (Observation 1-3). For example, in one training session I observed she discussed how Kate could support her son's reading development (Observation 2, see Appendix 21). The Principal helped the adult tutors with parenting in their own personal situations in more general ways by, for example, talking about household patterns in the context of children's need for routine and the benefits for a smooth-running home life (Interview 1).

The notion of parental support of their children's school learning was central to the *Benley* programme. In this programme context, the New Zealand cultural idea of parents being active in their support of their children's school learning was accepted and parents were invited to learn how to do this, to see it as something they could do (Programme Manager, Interview 1). The two aspects of this were the ability to help in a practical sense and being positive with the children around books, school work and learning (as observed in Section 2.5.). As the Programme Manager observed, "It's trying to teach them positive ways to approach the homework"[160] (Interview 1).

In the *Preston* programme, where the ages and familial status of participants was very mixed, the wide-ranging foci of the programme included responses related to participants' parenting role as befitted their particular circumstances, interests and concerns (Programme Manager, Field notes, May 9-11, 2007).

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[160] There was some evidence that some parents in this Pacific community hit their children when they made mistakes or did not behave how their parents wished (Programme Manager, Interview 1).

3. 5. Adults who are parents are also people in their own right

> "I think she's had all these good skills just sitting there and it's probably [that] she's seen, 'Help, I'm super valuable!', you know? For the first time she's sort of thought, 'Well, I'm not just a Mum of the kids, I can actually have a life outside', and she's got this great independence, she's got her license, she's got her own vehicle, she's got her own home and she's doing a fantastic job, and she's just moved, she's moving on. I said to her, 'The thing is you'll move right on, you'll get a full time job. That's basically what we're doing is we're moving you on from here, out there' (Principal, HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 2).

Programme participants were seen as *adults* by programme staff irrespective of their status as parents (programme staff and partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; programme documentation). Within this view of them as adults (which included as already skilled, multifaceted, and cultural) their role as parents often took centre stage but was never the only aspect of their adult status of interest or concern. Even though, for many of them, parenting (as parents, grandparents or carers) was a significant, even their primary, role or their primary reason for participating in the programme, the programme staff and partners seemed to appreciate that their parenting role was not the only characteristic that defined them. In yet another sense, then, they were viewed more holistically; that is, not *only* as parents.

This broad view of the adults was overtly evident in the *Preston* programme where participants varied the most among the study programmes in parental status, the extent of their family connectedness and their reasons for participating in the programme. The programme catered for the diversity through its range of content (e.g. reading, writing, speaking, listening, numeracy (both adult oriented and school based), social skills, community knowledge, social support, drivers licenses), structure and services (e.g. individual tutoring, home visits, holistic and practical help, women's group meetings and evening drivers license courses) combined in different ways according to individual participants' needs and interests. The *Ormond* programme, similarly, comprised wide-ranging content and diverse structural and service components. In both these programmes, people could come in and out of the programme as circumstances dictated thus their

sometimes complex lives and changing priorities and interests were respected and accommodated. These programmes ensured they were personally meaningful to the participants through a systematic appraisal of their abilities and interests, goal setting, learning plans and review (Student Learning Plans template). Ormond staff's existing knowledge of the participants helped in making adaptations to each participant's individual programme to maintain its 'do-ability' and relevance to their lives. They were also able to help people who dropped in with adult concerns (programme staff, Interview 1; Observation 3; Field notes, June 23, 2006, December 6, 2008); thus informality allowed for helpful talk to occur. Such informality led to Andrea hearing about the Step-by-Step computer course in which she subsequently enrolled (Andrea, Interview 2).

The *Benley* programme acknowledged participants as adults in their own right in several ways. One way was by pointing out to the participants the usefulness in their own lives of the techniques they were learning to use with their children. Another way was to incorporate into the programme literacy from other domains of relevance in the participants' lives; for examples, the children's Bible stories and recipes for the diabetic participant noted earlier. The Benley Tutor pointed out that people's personal motivations may be hidden from the Tutor but it was very important that the reason they came was addressed or, as noted earlier, they would cease their participation (Programme Tutor, Interview 1). It appeared to me that getting to know participants well, which the tutor did, helped with this; they shared things with her so she knew quite a lot about them and could therefore make connections to their wider lives. Further, as discussed earlier, she was better positioned to help when events in their lives might have otherwise led to them ceasing to come. (See also Section 2.1.) An important role she played was in helping them to see themselves as still able to do something powerful for themselves (come to the programme and learn) even when awful things had happened to them. Accommodating their non-parent-related roles also reinforced the value of their whole selves and as members of the community extending beyond their families even if it included them.

In the *HPP-based* programme, personally-created individual portfolios recorded the HPP work itself[161], the participant's journey of learning about HPP and contextual information. The portfolios performed as the focal point as links were made between the programme's unifying focus (the community's/extended families' children's oral language development) and participants' wider adult lives. Portfolios began with a description by the participants of their *whakapapa* (genealogical histories). Next, participants recorded their interests, the things they were good at and liked doing, the reading they did, their goals for the child they were tutoring and for themselves and introduced their tutored child. Portfolios recorded feedback and feed-forward given by the Project Director and by the participants to each other, and personal reflections on their own and their student's learning. (Observations 1-3) In addition to what was recorded in the portfolios, participants reviewed their learning goals and wrote a separate reflective comment at the end of each year as part of the programmes' evaluation and reporting process[162] describing what, in their view, they and their own families as well as their tutored children had gained from participation in the programme. An example of a portfolio page is presented below.

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[161] Each book being used in HPP was introduced and the four statements and the question recorded for each page of the story. Tutored students' test-based progress was also recorded in portfolios and reflective comment made.
[162] To the Tertiary Education Commission, the funder.
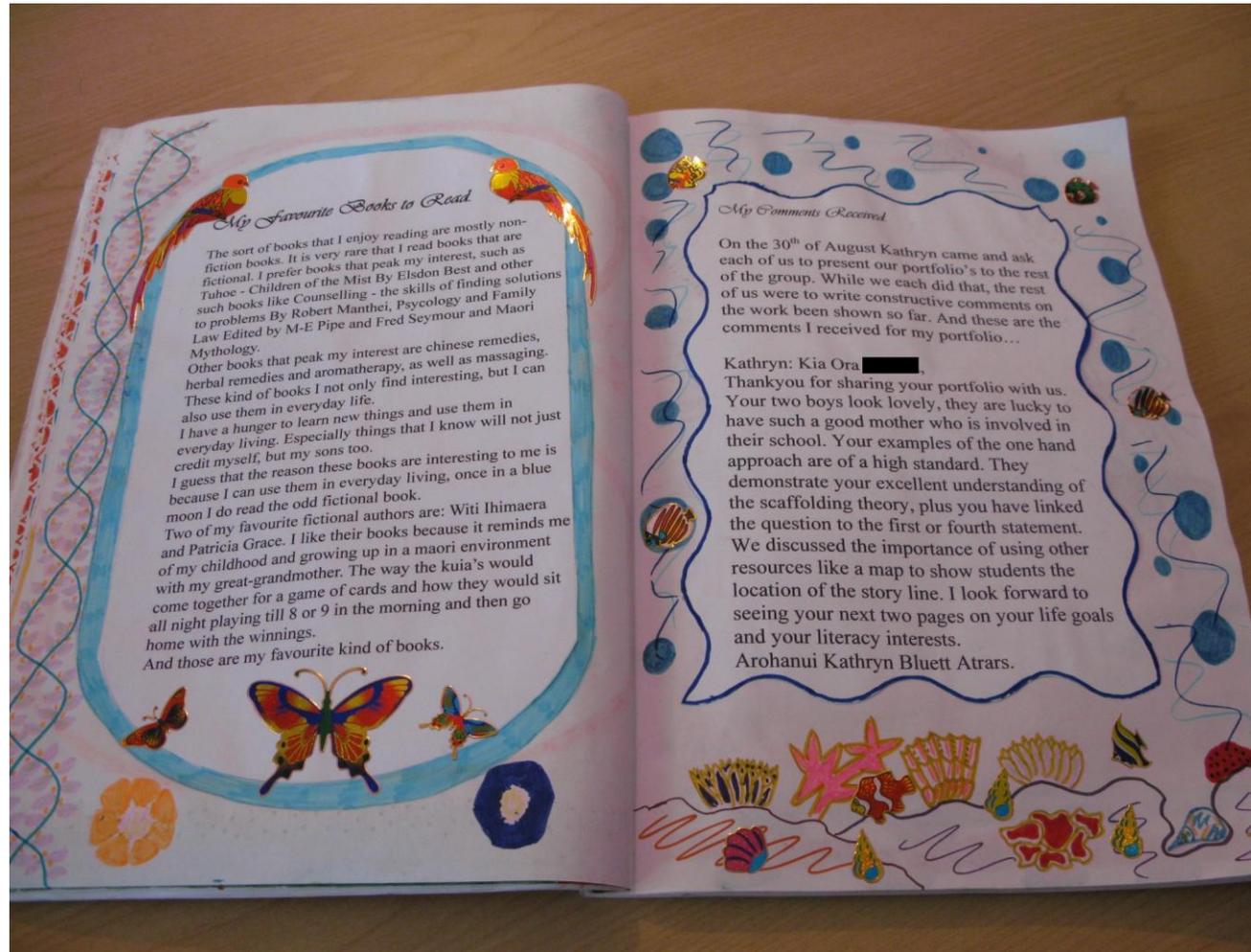
Figure 1. Portfolio page example

The Project Director and Principal worked hard on reflecting back to the adults what they were already good at and their developing skills and knowledge so that they were able to see these abilities in themselves and grow in confidence as capable and contributing adults. Both of them wanted the adults to recognise and value their skills and to value themselves. They saw taking time out from parenting to have time for themselves as important in that valuing of self. There was also work done on showing adults different ways in which these developing skills, and their existing ones, could be used across a range of settings that were of interest to them or valued by them in some way or might be useful in the future. For example, the Principal described the stocktaking Kate learned to do at the school as part of her teacher aide work as, "a template to utilise in the community" (for example, on the marae) (Interview 2). Kate was very involved with her marae and such skills could be useful there. Significantly, it was not only employment-related skills as referred to in the boxed text that were valued by the Principal but skills that would be useful in voluntary roles in the community that could strengthen the community's capacity to meet its needs (such as managing the marae). Observing such wider uses of the programme-based learning was highly relevant in Māori and Pacific communities where people's connectedness with family and community was an important part of identity and therefore of wellbeing (see Chapter Five). In this example, the importance placed on independence *and* interdependence was evident. The Principal's linking of the individual's development with family and community development demonstrates how integrated individuals, families and communities are seen to be by Māori.

3. 6. Human needs must be met – links to wellbeing

"It's because we're different. We *are* different. Literacy Ormond is different because we encompass other things like whānau and we're not like WINZ or those other places where people put up barriers because [the organisation is] automatically 'authority', so we're sort of down to earth, we're with the people" (Programme Tutor, Ormond Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 1).

The study programmes reflected the understanding that all human beings have psychological, social and relational needs that are important to acknowledge with respect to *everyone, all the time,* not just in relation to learners in organised

teaching/learning situations (programme staff and partners, all programmes, Interviews 1-3; programme documentation). Programme staff articulated and demonstrated in their actions the view that relationships are fundamental to all human endeavours and that they valued and classed as the right of all people warm, positive and respectful relationships, opportunities to extend themselves and discover their capacities, knowledge and understanding of what is happening around them and in their communities, and participation and having a say, to the extent that they wish, in their communities and society. All programmes consciously, and constantly, worked within this theory/value framework. Staff in two of the programmes referred to specific theories and/or theorists as influencing their/the programme approach.

All other elements of the programmes described above (2.1-6 and 3.1-5) come together in this fundamental concern for people's general welfare and wellbeing and the 'right' treatment of people – children and adults – which imbued the programmes. This subsection therefore describes and discusses how the four programmes reflected this position under elements common across them.

Holistic concern

Concern for the holistic best interests of people characterised the programmes. This involved a concern for people's welfare and that of their families and the communities in which they lived more generally, extending beyond the immediate focus of the programme, and in which the core focus of the programme was located. Staff had a holistic analysis of the purpose and operation of their programmes. This seemed to be deeply rooted in a fundamental belief that everyone has basic human needs that must be met for wellbeing and that the programmes were equally about this more holistic achievement as they were about passing on a body of knowledge or a set of skills that would be helpful to people in specific ways, important though this was.

In the HPP-based programme, for example, HPP itself is strongly underpinned by clearly-articulated theory of psychological wellbeing which is carried over into the full HPP-based programme. As the Project Director put it, referring to Glasser's theory of human needs, "for us as effective human beings if we've got those five things in place in our life then we are paddling our waka very nicely thank you or

riding our bike very nicely" (Interview 1). Contextualising this view within HPP itself, she observed that:

> that is why the mihi mihi component is so important in Porowhā[163] and HPP…and choices, I always say to the adult tutors, "You've previewed two books. Give the child a choice.... 'This book is about this, this book is about that, what would you like me to read to you the next time, tomorrow when I come for your next session?'" (Interview 1)

In relation to adults in the HPP-based programme, she said:

> Its every bit about the way I treat adults. At the same time as you are training adults about this you are also demonstrating and modelling that you're having fun, that you're giving them a sense of belonging and acknowledging them, you're praising them and you're giving them choices... (Interview 1).

The Principal of the school where this programme was located referred often to Maslow's hierarchy of needs as did the Benley Programme Tutor who referred, as well, to "attachment theory"[164]. Staff in all programmes regularly spoke in terms of basic human needs and, in different ways relevant to the adults in the programme, their families and their contexts, whether or not these needs were met, how the programme was helping and other ways they might help.

Acknowledgment, trust, respect, valuing
Greeting people and welcoming them in, talking with them, providing opportunities for them to share aspects of their wider lives and acknowledging their many abilities, drawing on their existing and newly-acquired skills and knowledge and thanking them for their contributions in literacy and other events were ways in which staff across the programmes acknowledged people – their presence, their existing and new abilities and their contributions.

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[163] Porowhā is the Māori version of HPP.
[164] Also Pressley (1998) mentioned in Atvars (2002).

It was clear to me that although tutors were often consciously modeling particular ways of being that they wanted the adults to use with others as part of what they taught, there was more to it than this. I observed and/or learned about from participants many expressions of *genuine* care, respect, valuing, trust and deliberate conscious awareness and choice to be this way with people on the part of staff. For instance, the Benley Programme Tutor demonstrated trust in the participants' abilities as learners and as participatory group members when she supported the group revision process concerning the 'rounding technique' with little intervention (Benley, Observation 2). The HPP-Based Project Director noted, "I don't work in a deficit model, personally, that's my choice" (HPP-based Project Director, Interview 1).

It was also clear to me that participants valued high-quality programme delivery. They appreciated explicit teaching, variety in teaching strategies and the persistence of tutors (e.g. teaching concepts in different ways until people understood them) (for example, Aveolela, Benley, Interview 2). In the HPP-based programme where the adults worked formally with the school's children, the reading tutors appreciated the readily-accessible support and high-quality resourcing which enabled them to do the work well (for example, Kate, HPP-based, Interview 2).

Social support

All manner of supportive actions were evident in these programmes, interwoven in the formal content of the programme as part of the learning process, woven around the outside, and weaving in and out from the edges. This seemed to be seen as appropriate in these programmes which sought the adults' engagement in literacy learning and at the same time saw them as whole people with already existing lives and associated interests, concerns and obligations, and often as having more problems and less support than is many people's experience. The Benley Tutor sometimes counseled participants privately in relation to aspects of their personal lives they shared with her, or gave them practical support such as accompanying them to court (Interview 1). The HPP-Based programme Principal gave lots of helpful tips on home management and family routines which was especially helpful to parents bringing up children by themselves. The Ormond and Preston programmes provided wide-ranging helpful information. In bringing

people together, all programmes provided opportunities for social contact and interaction which also often led to specific support offered from one participant to another.

Staff in the Ormond and Preston programmes observed what they described as the 'social work' aspects of their programmes. My notes from an informal conversation with the Ormond Programme Manager state that: "She says she is like a social worker in her work. For a while there were a lot of suicides – young ones hanging themselves". This situation was very concerning for the Programme Manager. She kept a close eye on the young mothers in the programme beyond formal programme time and had a very clear picture of how they were in all facets of their wellbeing and what problems they were facing in their lives (Interviews 2-4). The Assistant Co-ordinator of the Preston programme noted that the Programme Manager "was doing more social work", observing that "we're supposed to be providing literacy but it's all so interwoven isn't it?" (Interview 1)

Generally speaking, the continuation of learning opportunities whilst simultaneously offering support for other concerns in people's lives seemed to me to carry a very important message for the participants that, despite their problems, they could still be successful learners and valuable contributors in their learning group and to their families and communities. However, the seriousness of some people's problems with which staff were confronted was still deeply concerning. Multiple supports were sometimes needed. The nature of the support that could be provided was contingent on, and reflective of, the relationships of reciprocity and trust established between tutors and participants.

Belonging and whanaungatanga
All programmes strived to provide positive environments through warmth, caring and inclusiveness or whanaungatanga. The Benley programme displayed this through the practice the tutor established of talking together as a group, sharing aspects of their lives and offering ideas to support each other that was established from the outset and carried through into the literacy learning processes. The ethos of caring that was established as a legitimate part of the programme meant that the tutor also asked people how they were which sometimes elicited information about them which enabled practical help to be made available. For example, Haki's

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lateness to class one day prompted the tutor to ask if he was well. This led to him observing that he was diabetic. She then brought him recipes suitable for diabetics which his wife cooked for him. He also read them and began reading more about his condition, having observed that he could now make more sense of what he read using the strategies he had learned and was using with his grandchildren (Programme Tutor, Interview 3; Haki, Interview 3). 'Familiness' was also expressed through culturally-derived practices of sharing food, and through the welcoming in of babies and young children, and the inclusion of everyone in all activities. These were all forms of social support that were being modeled whilst they were being experienced.

Being 'safe enough' – safety in the context of challenge and growth
Concern for a certain level of comfort and safety was evident. In the Ormond Manager's words "we just make it comfortable for them because they won't come in if it's not comfortable. They will just go. If we can keep them here for half an hour then we've got them for a long time". The Benley Tutor expressed this sentiment as well (Interview 3). Beyond comfort, though, was a concern for the emotional and psychological safety of people, whilst also ensuring there was plenty of challenge for them, evident in several practices. Being culturally aware and inclusive was one way programme staff approached this.

Another way was to take a strengths-based approach to teaching/learning transactions, which itself was manifest in a number of ways. For example HPP-based and Benley staff said, and I observed, that they did not tell people they were wrong in their responses because it would be hurtful and instead suggested other possibilities or restated the correct parts of a response and added to it, reinforcing the understanding they were after (HPP-based Project Director, Interview 1; Benley programme, Observations 1-4). This helped create an environment in which participants felt safe to suggest answers or try out new tasks even if they were not correct or successful. The Principal in the school where the HPP-based programme ran noted that it was a "protected" environment in which nothing too terrible would be allowed to happen to the participants as they learned things, including from their mistakes which were valued as learning opportunities, enabling them to grow in confidence (Interview 2).

A strengths-based approach was also evident in the inclusion of everyone in the learning; at the same time, in the Benley programme for example, the tutor was sensitive to and took into account the particular circumstances of participants', which she was able to do because she knew them well enough (Benley Programme Tutor, Interviews 1 and 2). The Benley Tutor taught concepts in several different ways if need be so that everyone came to understand. She used role-plays extensively to give participants practice with new ideas or skills in a supportive environment so that they had the opportunity for mastery. In both the Ormond and Preston programmes, adults reported staff saying to them, "of course you can do it" (for example, Kalasia, Preston, Interview 1). In all programmes, participants worked hard to ensure students had the knowledge they needed to attempt something new and supported them practically and emotionally with new enterprises. For example, Preston had a speech therapist teach participants how to thank their invited guests, provided opportunities to practice, and encouraged them to take their turn.

Finally, programme staff actively built participants' awareness of and confidence in their abilities. For example, the HPP-based Project Director and the Principal constantly reflected back to the participants both their existing and new skills, demonstrating to them how valuable these abilities were, emphasising that these were *their* skills thus helping to build in them a positive self-image and heightened sense of the value to their families and communities of these skills which *they* had.

It was clear though that it was important to the adults that they did have the opportunity to learn. This was evident in expressions of appreciation when a programme appeared to the participant to be well-structured and at a level of learning that was challenging (for example Haki, Benley, Interviews 1-3; Kate and Paula, HPP-based, Interviews 2 and 3) and noticing when there were aspects of the programme which did not fulfill this aspiration (Tess, Ormond).

Fun and laughter
Programme staff expressed or demonstrated belief in the importance of having fun and of laughter. The Benley tutor invited participants to share "funny stories", I observed much hilarity in lessons, and 'enjoyment', 'fun' and 'laughter' were words used to describe the programme by participants across all programmes (Haki,

Benley, Interview 3; Carrie, Preston, Interview 1). A Preston tutor noted "no laughter, no success" (Field notes, May 10, 2007). Enjoyment of learning, and tutor and tutored child having fun together, were integral to the HPP programme.

Independence, choice, autonomy, self-efficacy
It was clear that programme staff in all programmes saw that it was important for participants to have sufficient independence in carrying out the tasks of daily living in order to live "efficiently and effectively", as the Benley programme tutor put it (Interviews 1 and 2). They saw proficiency in English language literacy as important because it was the dominant literacy in the wider community and society with which at least some level of interaction was necessary and helpful for living a satisfying life in New Zealand. The wide-ranging programme content and the critical approach taken, the encouragement of thinking of their futures when their children were more independent, and the encouragement of adult-focused time and talk, are all examples of ways the various programmes actively sought increased autonomy and independence in their participants.

Interdependence, being part of a group
Independence was always seen, however, alongside the equally-important need to be part of a group and to operate in mutually-satisfying ways within a group. All the programmes included aspects of relationship-building, including oral communication, speaking, listening, and problem solving. This was in recognition that we are all fundamentally social beings, the need to be able to have social connection for our wellbeing, and that we sometimes need help with this. The strong desire that many Māori, Pacific and some of the Pākehā participants showed to support their whānau and communities was understood and facilitated. Although it was not explicitly mentioned, there appeared to be an expectation by staff, aligned to the *tuakana-teina* principle in Māori culture; that these adults would learn from each other and teach each other and then share their learning with family, extended family and the community. It was clear, for example, from Aveolela and Haki (Benley), that the staff expected this of them (Aveolela, Interview 3; Haki, Interview 2). In the HPP-based programme these interconnections were so embedded as to be seamless.

Empowerment, participation, transformation

The Benley Programme Manager articulated an understanding of societal relations of power (Interviews 1 and 2) which was reflected in all programmes, though less overtly. In all programmes, the attendance to encouraging *comprehension* in reading and listening, asking questions and forming and expressing a point of view seemed clearly driven by staff belief in all people's right to knowledge, to participation and to having a say in things which affect them. The Benley Programme Manager's understanding of hegemony was clear in her comment that parents of school children should recognise that they did not have to simply accept the way the school was, that they had a right to shape how it was.

4. Chapter summary: From autonomous to ideological

This chapter presented the key principles and practices evident in the study programmes. Literacy skills and knowledge were taught within contexts and for purposes, their value seen by programme staff to lie in what they could do for people that mattered to them or was useful or in some other way meaningful for them in their daily personal, family and community lives. The programmes reflected, therefore, programme designers' and tutors' understanding of the connection between literacy abilities, literacy's social meanings and people's quality of life (in a broad sense). Concern for the holistic best interests of people characterised the programmes. These 'best interests' were seen in terms of people's broad-based aspirations for themselves, their families and their communities. Staff saw the work they did as connected to quality of life for a wide circle of people, as important from an individual and collective rights perspective, and of critical importance to society as a whole.

Clearly, therefore, literacy in these programmes could not be, and was not, regarded or treated as autonomous – as neutral or value free in Street's (1984, 1995) terms. Rather it was a value-laden phenomenon and the values and beliefs which underpinned it were clear. Programmes were thus ideological enactments and therefore indelibly related to broad-based human needs and rights. Culture mediated the effects of these programmes. It appeared that staff measured the

success of their programmes in broad cultural and ideological ways as well as literacy ones.

It was clear that staff understood that they needed to know participants well enough and run the programmes in such ways that they could see their strengths, give recognition to them and build on them in the programme. They also needed to know them well enough to have at least some awareness of the kinds of things that complicated their lives *and* the contributions they made in their families and communities regardless, within the busy-ness of their daily living. The quality of relationships amongst all of those involved was fundamental to what programme staff thought could be achieved by participation in them. The building of trust-based and respectful relationships with participants was an integral part of these programmes.

The values and beliefs which underpinned these programmes (their ideological positioning) can be summarised as: *respect* for participants as capable adults and people with potential, for different 'ways of being' and for the complexity of people's lives; *trust* in people's abilities and capacities; and belief in the *rights* of all people to have knowledge, to have a say in things that affect them and to participate in their families, communities and society as they wish, to have fair access to their society's resources, and to have reasonable quality of life within the capacity of the nation to provide it.

The link to wellbeing is through the recognition that human needs must be met and the prioritising of this in the minds and actions of programme staff. There was a clear sense of a holistic wellbeing as well as a literacy skills-focused intentionality in the practices evident in the programmes in the study. In the next chapter this link to wellbeing is clarified through the stories of the participants' experiences.

Chapter 8

Effects of programme participation

"I decided to do something, anything, and I thought I would have a go at this one first and see what it felt like then from there things were starting to happen…"
(Andrea, Ormond Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 2)[165].

1. Introduction

This chapter describes and discusses how participation in the four programmes affected the nineteen adult participants in the study and how effects 'flowed on' to their families and communities. The effects were found to be multiple, both literacy-related and social, interconnected, synergistic, seen over space and time, and powerfully linked to people's wellbeing and the wellbeing of their families and communities.

Section Two notes the kinds of effects that were found in the study and provides an overview of the overarching characteristics of these effects. It presents a propositional model of the elements, relationships and processes that were found to be involved in the link between participation in the programmes, their effects and wellbeing, providing an organisational backdrop for the chapter.

Drawing on illustrative examples[166], Section Three discusses the immediate and 'flow on' effects experienced by participants', their families and communities and their meanings for people in their daily personal, family and community lives. It provides evidence of enhancement in technical and cognitive aspects of literacy as might be expected from relevant, accessible and well-delivered literacy programmes. As anticipated, and as foreshadowed in Chapter Seven, effects also went further to include wide-ranging social and relational aspects both related and

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[165] Andrea participated in the Life Skills programme, the shared part of Literacy Ormond's whānau literacy programme. She did not complete the formal enrolment procedures for Literacy Ormond and moved to another town six months after completing the Life Skills programme. She was nevertheless certain of the positive influence that participation in the programme and conversations with Literacy Ormond staff had had on her life as she sought a way forward from dealing with an alcoholic husband, the need to care for her elderly father and ill daughter and support all of her six children. She found inspiration and information in the programme which helped her to make positive changes in her life. (Andrea, Interviews 2 and 3) Andrea exemplifies the significance for people of even limited connection with programmes of this ilk. (See also Section 3.5., Chapter Seven)
[166] The examples used are representative of the range of the many examples found.

unrelated to the literacy aspects of the programmes. This section also clarifies and discusses the links between programme participation and wellbeing evident in the examples. In so doing, it shows the multiple ways these links occurred. Throughout the chapter I note the 'social' and 'skills' aspects of literacy, effects on adults and children and the presence of individualist and collectivist worldviews as evident in the participants' stories. Section Four summarises the effects on individuals, families and communities. The chapter as a whole is summarised in Section Five.

2. Overview of programme effects and the effects process

Six groupings of effects were found. These were (1) acquisition of new literacy knowledge and skills and new uses of literacy, (2) acquisition of other new knowledge and skills that were helpful for everyday living and that fit within a broad definition of literacy, (3) acquisition of a range of knowledge and skills related to the physical location and wider context of the programme, (4) positive social and relational events and changes, (5) affirmation and strengthening of values and (6) affirmation and building of positive identity.

I found three consistently present overarching characteristics of the programme effects. The first of these was the *interconnectedness* of the programme principles and practices described in Chapter 7, the personal circumstances and sociocultural histories of the participants, and participants' experiences and learning from situations external to the programme such that effects were highly individualised, or personalised[167]. As shown in Figure 2 below, the effects across the six categories were also interconnected, as were effects within the categories (not shown).

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[167] My analysis looked at *what* is interconnected and *how*. I did not attempt to tease out the *relative* influence of each of the interconnected factors.

Affirmation and learning

(1) New literacy knowledge,
skills and usages

(2) New everyday living
knowledge and skills

(6) Affirmation and
building of positive
identity

(3) New wider
contextual knowledge
and skills

(5) Affirmation and
strengthening of
values

(4) Positive social and relational
events and changes
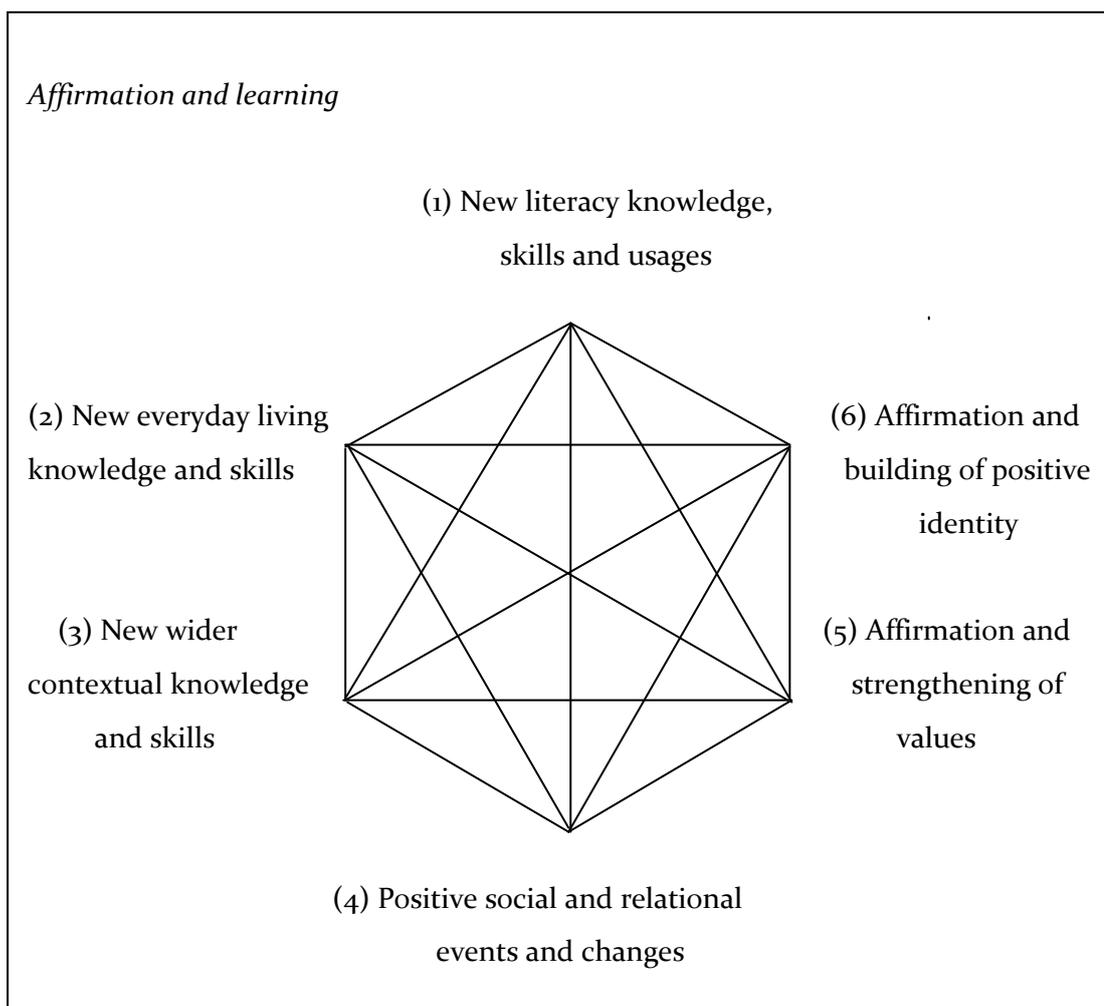
Figure 2.   Interconnectedness of categories of programme effects in four
family-focused literacy programmes

The second overarching characteristic was that there were always *'flow on'* effects
and that, related to the first characteristic, people's experiences of the effects of
participation over space and time followed varying pathways, the specifics of which
were also idiosyncratic. It is noteworthy that it was often difficult to draw a
meaningful distinction between direct and 'flow on' effects of participation in
programmes. As I showed in Chapter Seven, the programmes all had broad goals
and an inclusive approach even though they varied in what and who constituted
their core focus. Further, 'flow on' effects were anticipated and encouraged by
programme staff even if they were not formally recorded as aims in programme
documents (programme staff interviews, all programmes; Observations 1-4). I have
therefore not attempted to draw this distinction in the following discussion unless

it was a clear case *and* seemed useful for sense-making. Instead, I usually simply describe the 'ripples' as I found them. The *personalisation* of the pathways people journeyed constitutes the third overarching characteristic of the programme effects.

Offered as a propositional model, Figure 3 below presents a diagrammatic/textual summary of the elements, relationships and processes linking participation in programmes, effects of participation and wellbeing. It denotes, firstly, the interconnectedness of factors which shaped programme outcomes and their synergistic quality deriving from the programme principles and practices, participants' personal circumstances and sociocultural histories, and participants' experiences and learning from situations external to the programme. The figure shows the resultant highly individualised and idiosyncratic effects 'flowing on' over time and space to wide aspects of the participants' lives and to their families and communities. Finally, it shows the indelible link that was found between these effects and the wellbeing of participants, others in their social networks, and their communities. The wellbeing effects could be identified at the personal, relational and collective levels (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). While the influences on programme effects were complex and the outcomes were multifaceted and layered, they were nevertheless discernable as is evident in the stories told next.

Influences[a] ——————————————————▶ **Outcomes**[b]

Complex   *Multifaceted and layered*

Influences on programme effects	Programme effects[e] – literacy and social	Programme effects – wellbeing
• Programme principles and practices[c] • Participant's circumstances[d] and sociocultural history • Participant's external experiences and learning *Interconnected, synergistic*	• Participant's immediate and wider life • Participant's family • Participant's community/ies *Interconnected, synergistic*	• Personal wellbeing • Relational wellbeing • Collective wellbeing *Interconnected, synergistic*

———▶ Personalised pathways over time and space ('flow on') in which literacy plays a greater or lesser part ———▶

—————————————————

a All parts of the model sit within the wider socio-political context described in Chapter One.

b As above.

c These are the six principles and practices about literacy and the six principles and practices about people described in Chapter Seven.

d These may include existing literacy and uses of literacy and other knowledge and skills people already have; their aspirations for themselves, their families and their communities; and their living conditions.

e These are the six groupings of programme effects described in this chapter. The interconnectedness of these effects across categories is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 3.   Process model of effects of adults' participation in four family-focused literacy programmes

3. Programme effects

3.1. Acquisition of new literacy knowledge and skills and new uses of literacy

Extract 1
"...it's just finding the right movement for them [the tutored children], the right time to let them move on...I just keep doing what I'm doing and just add a little bit more each time, extend it, like extending my sentences to Level 3...and a Level 4...just to give them an idea...I says, 'We can take it slow and we'll just build on it' and they've learnt to build on it, you know? As soon as I scaffold a sentence for them, they scaffold it back to me and add on a bit more, they've picked it up so quickly. So it really works well" (Kate, HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 3).

Extract 2
"... what he [a new tutor] wants to know is *how* does he scaffold...he's finding it hard himself to understand it. I says, 'You know, you take a pen and you say, "What's this?" and he'll [tutored child] go, "Oh, pen." You go, "Yes, it's a pen, it's a green pen."' I says, 'That's scaffolding, you're just building on what you know' and he says, 'Oh okay'. 'It's a green pen with a lid, it's a clear lid' you know? And things like that. I says, 'You're just building up his vocab'" (Kate, HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 3).

The 'new literacy knowledge and skills and new uses of literacy' category of impacts includes both the individual cognitive and technical as well as the social aspects of literacy events and practices. It includes examples where participants added new literacy knowledge or skills to their existing repertoire or applied existing abilities or knowledge in new ways. It includes changes that occurred because of new learning or new opportunity.

All study participants in the four programmes extended their literacy knowledge, added to their repertoire of literacy skills[168] and/or learned how or had the opportunity to use their existing literacy skills and knowledge in new ways. They learned about and enhanced their ability to perform the cognitive and technical aspects of English language-based literacy practices as well as the social aspects. Te

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[168] In line with Barton's (1997) view that all families use literacy (see Chapter Two), and as programme providers observed as shown in Chapter Seven, participants already had many literacy abilities. Existing abilities were also evident in participants' descriptions of the roles they performed already in their daily lives which involved literacy (participants' roles and tasks sheets).

reo Māori was learned as part of one of the programmes. In summary, participants gained different combinations of:

1. Knowledge or affirmation of the usefulness of reading and of being able to read different kinds of texts *(e.g. Aveolela, Penina, Haki and Suni, Benley; Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based [169])*

2. Strategies to enhance reading for meaning, writing, listening, speaking and/or ability to do maths in the English language (including across different kinds of texts) *(Aveolela, Haki, Penina and Suni, Benley; Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based; Andrea, Emma, Hahana and Selena, Ormond; Anna, Carrie, Kalasia and Sue, Preston)*

3. Strategies used with children at school and how to apply or support them *(Aveolela, Haki, Penina and Suni, Benley; Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based; Sue, Preston)*

4. HPP, a school-based children's oral language development programme *(Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based)*

5. Te reo Māori and waiata *(e.g. Andrea and Hahana, Ormond)*

6. Positive ways to engage children around books and learning *(e.g. Aveolela, Haki, Penina and Suni, Benley; Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based)*

7. 'Pragmatic' social skills of relationship-building, communicating with others and public speaking *(Penina, Benley; Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based; Hahana and Selena, Ormond; Anna, Carrie and Kalasia, Preston)*

8. A meta-language of school-based learning and literacy *(Aveolela, Haki, Penina and Suni, Benley; Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based)*

9. A range of computer skills *(e.g. Jen, Kate, Paula, HPP-based; Hahana, Ormond; Anna, Carrie and Kalasia, Preston)*

10. Encouragement and know-how to be critical readers and critical social participants (to ask questions and to have and express a point of view) including in relation to children's school learning *(e.g. Aveolela and Haki, Benley)*

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[169] The participants referred to in the lists like this one that appear early in each subsection in Section Three are, in the main, those who described instances of the effects themselves or reflected them in their testimony. They are not necessarily the only examples.

The boxed text, which refers to the child-focused oral language development part of the HPP-based programme, is illustrative of some of the learning that occurred, in this case high-level school-based literacy knowledge and skills. Kate demonstrates her knowledge about an important aim of HPP (to extend sentence length) (Atvars, 2002), what is needed to produce longer sentences (for example, increased vocabulary) and strategies to teach children how to do this (scaffolding, modeling, encouraging).

In Extract Two, Kate, who carried on with HPP into a second year, is explaining 'scaffolding' to a *new* tutor[170], demonstrating her developing uinderstanding of this particular pedagogical approach which is actively used in schools. This was part of an additional role she had that year: to support new tutors by, for example, helping them gain understanding about what they needed to do and why, and ensuring they had the resources they needed for their teaching. She had also been invited to participate in the staff training day for HPP, Porowhā, Pause Prompt Praise and Tātari Tautoko Tauawhi[171] where she had demonstrated her sound knowledge, showing leadership in responding to questions and completing tasks set by the Project Director who ran the training (Project Director, Interview 2). Kate had become a highly valuable and valued member of the school staff in relation to this particular programme (Principal, Interview 2; Project Director, Interview 2).

Given the diversity of the idiosyncratic effects and pathways that followed from the starting point of acquisition of new literacy abilities or new uses of literacy – just part of Kate's has been described – participants' stories in this section (only) are organised around the personal meanings of the effects they experienced, effects on their children and immediate families and effects on their extended families and communities.

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[170] It is noteworthy that the Project Director observed that she has found that it takes two or three years for reading tutors in either Porowhā or HPP to reach this very high level of knowledge and skill, which surpasses what is needed to be an effective HPP tutor (Interview 2).
[171] Pause Prompt Praise is a reading development approach. Tātari Tautoko Tauawhi is the Māori language version of this approach.

3.1.1. Personal meanings

Study, work and managing life – capability and independence

One of the reasons new literacy knowledge and skills were important to the adults was related to further work-related study or work aspirations and also their day to day living. That it was the dominant language of English was important to all of them, irrespective of their valuing of other languages. As Penina (Benley) observed:

> ...I know English is my second language and I want to make more skill and more, you know, knowledge which will make my English better...[because] every time, yeah, I think in my old self its not enough English because I need to work like going for an interview and make myself better, from other people, that's why I went on the course (Interview 2).

Haki (Benley), a Church Minister, wanted to return to the theological study he had begun but with which he had struggled because of his relatively low proficiency in English (Haki, Interview 3). Having been encouraged through the programme to read English more, he had recently put all his English theology books on to his bookshelves and, using the skills he learned in the programme to help his grandchildren, had "read everything" (Interview 2). He also applied his new skills to making sense of his cell phone billing, researching billing plans and better managing his son's use of the phone because he understood how the phone and the billing worked (Benley Programme Tutor, Interview 2). Thus, the effects of participation in the programme 'flowed on' to wider aspects of his life beyond the purpose of supporting his grandchildren which was very important to him; the skills he learned were also personally valuable in other ways.

In another example, Aveolela (Benley) returned to work as a process worker with the aim of eventually gaining a supervisor's job (Interview 3). She had been a supervisor before but saw that she would need a management qualification to get such a job now. Aveolela saw her improved English gained through the programme as an important step in achieving this. She was now reading more – "even any notice on the notice board [at work]" – and enjoying it, constantly challenging herself to make sense of what she read (Aveolela, Interview 3). She now felt more confident about her ability to tackle English language literacy contexts and was

actively looking for a suitable management course to undertake. Aveolela also used the comprehension strategy of brainstorming with "wh" questions[172] to comprehend her *Samoan* bible, the reading of which was an important personal and family activity (Aveolela, Interview 2).

Paula's (HPP-based) increased vocabulary gained through her HPP work, combined with knowledge of the rules and conventions of writing she learned through being in her daughter's classroom as a consequence of being in the school as a teacher aide, helped her feel confident about writing her formal resignation letter when she stopped work at the school (Paula, Interview 2). Asked how she felt about having that knowledge she said, "I feel good about it eh...I knew how to go about it" (Paula, Interview 2). In this example, HPP learning, combined with wider contextual learning (discussed further in Section 3.3.), enabled Paula to carry out this personal work-related task independently and with confidence.

Participation in the shared part of the Ormond programme led Andrea to learn about the Step-by-Step computer programme from the Programme Manager and to begin it in her home town, then continue it when she moved (Andrea, Interviews 2 and 3). A 'flow on' effect of her improved computer knowledge was that she was able to explain the impact of a problem with the family's home computer which she was pleased about and which impressed her children (Interview 3)! The Step-by-Step programme also gave her confidence to take on her first-ever full-time job which she needed to do to support her family. In other examples, Anna (Preston) learned how to find names in the phone book so she did not need to phone Literacy Preston for phone numbers as often as she had been (Interview 1) and Hahana (Ormond), whose proficiency in te reo Māori was excellent, was pleased to improve her English proficiency as she had felt "embarrassed" about it (Hahana, Interview 2).

In these kinds of examples the significance of the literacy learning was connected to the adults being able to be, and feel (discussed further in Section 3.6.), more independent and capable in their daily lives and as they looked towards their futures. These are important aspects of wellbeing as I showed in Chapter Five.

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[172] Asking "who?", "what?", "when?", "where?" and "why?"

These effects were linked to the programme practice of deliberate inclusion in the teaching of English language-based literacy knowledge and skills those that would enable people to be more independent in specific valued ways, and to the practice of active encouragement to use what was learned in other aspects of their lives. These actions occurred because the tutors saw these wider teaching/learning opportunities as part of the programme in its entirety, and they knew the adults well enough to know where relevant links could be made. I did, however, observe several instances in one programme where clear opportunities for supporting learning in these ways were missed.

Being a capable contributor

Jen, Kate and Paula all enjoyed working with the children they tutored in HPP (Jen, Interview 2; Kate, Interview 2; Paula, Interview 2). Using the warm, conversational approach taught to them, they worked hard to build trust and rapport with the children they tutored so that the oral language learning aim of HPP could be achieved. They found they sometimes needed to be creative in designing additional activities to capture the student's attention (Kate, HPP-based, Interview 2; HPP-based Project Director, Interview 2) and that they needed to be very organised and focused (Paula, Interview 2), all of which they learned to do. For example, one way Kate managed her workload was to find a book suitable for both children she was tutoring so that she could do one lot of preparation, albeit it at different levels as per each child's development needs (Kate, Interview 2). This learning was supported by programme staff being available to talk to, giving them ideas and encouraging their own ideas (e.g. What do you think?)" (Principal, HPP-based, Interview 1), providing opportunities to practice and to try out new ideas (all programmes), and encouraging them to reflect on their skills and learning and giving them feedback (praise) and feed-forward (ideas for improvements or ways forward) (Benley, HPP-based and Preston, Observations 1-4), all actions based on a strengths-oriented view of people that was characteristic of these programmes, as discussed in Chapter Seven.

Their tutored children's success meant a great deal to the adults. It was clearly important to them personally: they felt good about themselves for their

contribution and they could see themselves as capable contributors in this setting. In her reflective comments for the HPP-based Project Director Jen (HPP-based) commented, "As the weeks go by I see my students improving in their oral language. This makes me realise that it has been my commitment and tutoring that has made a difference. I am proud of that" (Foundation Learning Pool Final Report, 2007[173]). Kate (HPP-based) commented that, "seeing the progress of the child that I have worked with has not only encouraged the child to feel good about themselves but [also encouraged] me to feel good about the work I have done with them" (Foundation Learning Pool Final Report, 2007[174]).

It was also clearly important to participants to be contributing in their community, which comprised, the reader will recall, mainly extended family members. For example, Kate's sense of having a stake in these children's futures was evident in her comment about a restless and talkative student who was making excellent progress in reading that, "She better be a lawyer when she grows up!" (Project Director, Interview 2; Foundation Learning Pool Final Report, 2007[175]) This personal/ family/community integration is discussed more in Section 3.6. It was noteworthy that these adults' involvement, 'ownership' and contribution to their families and communities were highly valued by these staff and was remarked upon to these participants.

Social capability

Gaining skills and confidence in situations requiring oral communication was important to many participants. For example, speaking publicly such as introducing themselves at a meeting was mentioned by some participants as something they wanted to be able to do confidently. Having opportunities to practice speaking in the presence of a group quickly led to confidence in this particular literacy practice for Selena (Ormond, Interview 2).

Paula (HPP-based) thought that, for her, it would "take a lot of greeting and talking" to build her "self-esteem and confidence", which she strongly desired, so that she could achieve her goal of being a youth counselor (Interview 1). Six

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[173] Courtesy of Kathryn Atvars, Kia Maia and Associates, Project Director.
[174] As above.
[175] As above.

months after starting the HPP-based programme (and at this time living in another town) she was a much more confident person, talking with the builders preparing the house she was to rent, giving her opinion to her future landlord (her brother's employer) about such things as the position of windows, asking questions of and expressing her point of view to teachers and the Principal as she settled her son into his new school, attending two job interviews – her first ever – and gaining a position as a case manager for a government agency, also requiring an interview (Paula, Interview 2). A year later, having returned to her home area following her father's death, she became the Chairperson of the school's Parent Teacher's Association (Paula, Interview 3). While it is clear that the building of social confidence in Paula had a longer history than her HPP involvement – for instance it involved the librarian work which she began beforehand – being an HPP tutor was an important contributor in her journey. The conversation practise built into the HPP programme that had helped Paula was also cited by Jen (HPP-based) as useful when, for instance, she met people for the first time at the Church she went to for awhile (Jen, Interview 2).

A different kind of example concerned Anna (Preston) who, by her own admission, often arrived in the Preston programme women's group speaking loudly and over the top of others who were already speaking (Anna, Interview 1), a habit that was annoying to other group members and disruptive to the group as a whole. With help, she became aware of this behaviour as problematic and learned alternative ways to enter the space. Carrie (Preston) began to offer contributions to conversations rather than waiting to be asked a question (Preston Programme Tutors, Interview 1).

In these examples, strengthening of their oral communicative skills through help with how to communicate appropriately in particular contexts (what to say and the social practices – the 'ways to be' in the context) contributed to increased and more positive participation in social life and greater inclusion in societal activity (for example, Paula's job opportunities) for participants for whom such learning occurred. In turn, these participants experienced increased access to social support, discussed further in Section 3.4., and, in Paula's case for example, more independence and efficacy and increased access to the resources of society.

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Again, actions of staff which contributed to these effects can be seen as deliberate. Staff wanted unconfident adults to become more confident and to be able to access the benefits of social interaction. Therefore, they created opportunitites for developing and practising some specific oral communication skills that were useful in enhancing the quality and breadth of social connections.

3.1.2. Participants' own children and immediate families

More positive family interaction

Adults with their own children, grandchildren or children in their care applied the knowledge and skills they learned to their interactions with them, adding new shared activities, relating more positively with them, and paying more attention to their schooling. For example, between them, Haki, Penina, Aveolela and Suni (Benley) emulated the school-type spelling tests, reading with fluency practice, brainstorming for reading comprehension and writing using "wh" questions, and mathematics exercises such as application of the 'rounding technique' that they had learned. Critically, they did this in *fun ways* as they had learned to do in the programme such that, as Haki observed: "[The children] really enjoy that spelling...they always look forward to that, and sometimes they get mad if I don't do it!" (Haki, Interview 2). Haki now reprimanded his wife if she hit their grandson when he got things wrong and did not growl at him himself. Instead Haki had learned to "encourag[e]" his grandchildren and "work together" with them" (Haki, Interview 3). Such examples of positive changes in family literacy practices and patterns of interaction around literacy activities seemed to arise from the convergence of participants' understanding of the importance of *actively* supporting their children *and* of having *positive* relationships with them, as well as having actual *knowledge* of strategies to help them in positive ways and how to apply them.

Aveolela (Benley) became proactive in seeking her children's teachers' opinions on their progress instead of relying on school reports and exam results or the children themselves to inform her (Aveolela, Interviews 2 and 3). She had always made sure they did their homework but now went further, seeking out information about their progress at school rather than waiting for it to come to her, and then taking

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steps if needed. She met with the children's teachers between official parent-teacher interviews to ensure they were performing well and, at home, more closely observed her children's skills and understanding herself (Interviews 2 and 3). This action seemed to arise from understanding gained through the programme that parents had a right to a relationship with the school concerning their children along with newly-acquired knowledge of school learning, how schools work and the language of the school which helped in having conversations with teachers.

Positive changes to family organisational practices

Changes to families' organisational habits to accommodate the application of new knowledge and skills were evident. Typically, homework routines changed (Aveolela, Haki and Penina, Benley, Interviews 1-3[176]; Sue, Preston, Interview 1). In Aveolela's family, for example:

> when they come from school they just, you know, "Okay, I've got homework" then I told them, "Do your homework first and then come and eat"...but now I don't tell them to go and do their homework, we have to do it together until its finished and then that's it for...schoolwork (Aveolela, Interview 2).

Fifteen months after Aveolela finished the Benley programme, the shared family homework practices that she had established were continuing even though she was not there to supervise as she was now working at this time of day. Although not in such a hands on way as she had been able to do, Aveolela's husband was ensuring the pattern continued. Aveolela was clear that he would not have done this before she went to the course and she and the children became more school-work focused (Aveolela, Interview 3). This change in Aveolela's family homework practices had other 'flow on' effects. Aveolela reported increases in other family shared activity (which the children did with their Dad because she was working) such as outings to the park and playing tennis together (Aveolela, Interview 3).

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[176] Aveolela, Interviews 2 and 3; Haki, Interview 2; Penina, Interview 2.

Benefits to children at school

Benefits were seen for participants' children at school. For example, Aveolela's children continued to do well or seemed to do better at school in the year after her participation in the Benley programme (Aveolela, Interview 3). Aveolela felt her promotion of reading and comprehension practice – the importance of which was emphasized in the programme – contributed to improved exam results for one daughter who, in her latest exams, read the questions more thoroughly for meaning and consequently gave more focused answers than had been the case in the past. This daughter was very pleased with these improved results. Another daughter began to read a good deal more than previously and was much more studious in her approach to school (Aveolela, Interview 3).

Penina's (Benley programme) son Vaasatia changed dramatically both at school and at home (Teacher, Interview 2; Penina, Interview 2). Penina was already spending a lot of time at school but it was not helping Vaasatia who needed to learn more independence and improve his social behaviour as well as his literacy (Teacher, Interview 1). Big for his age, Vaasatia bullied children at school and his mother at home. In this case, the combined effects of the teacher's actions and Penina's different approach with Vaasatia, steered by the learning from the programme, led to better home and school behaviour and improved school learning. With the teacher's encouragement, Penina spent less time at school, allowing Vaasatia to become more independent. The teacher also talked with Vaasatia about being kind to his Mum (Teacher, Interview 1). Penina began helping Vaasatia with his homework, understanding from the programme that it needed to be a positive experience, and left him alone if he got upset. Fourteen months after the Benley programme was finished, Penina reported helping Vaasatia with his homework and doing school type activities with him (Penina, Interview 2), and his teacher reported great improvement socially and in his school work. For example, he was "moving up in his testing", was first to answer questions about language features and was writing a good deal more, having the most published work on the classroom walls (Teacher, Interview 2; school progress information, 2007). The teacher commented that he now made fewer negative comments about his Mum and that now he would say, "I love my Mum...we did...". She felt that the presence

of his Uncle in the house may have hastened the improvement in his behaviour but was not its cause, which she attributed to the new approach being taken by Penina.

Interestingly, change in the HPP-tutored children's demeanour was observed by Paula's (HPP-based) own children and influenced them positively. Paula noted that her children's attitude to schooling:

> changed for the good because before I used to come down to the school they weren't doing their homework. They enjoyed actually doing their homework when I was teaching because they actually wanted to get in there and seeing, "Oh, why is that child happy?" ...With all of us that were on HPP and Porowhā, they had seen the slight attitude change of the children, reading, and just hard out...and the actual behaviour of the children. They go, "Oh!" (Interview 3)

Overall, these examples show benefits to children of more active support from parents, more positive interaction with parents, greater overall family harmony and a tangible contribution to school success through increased positive parental input stemming from literacy knowledge – both skills and social/relational aspects – in addition to the support in spirit that was already present. From a family wellbeing point of view, these changes reflect enhanced ability of families to respond to the educational support and parent-child relational needs of children (Nelson & Prilleltenksy, 2005); they demonstrate increased capacity of whānau to care for whānau (Durie, 2006b).

3.1.3. Extended family and community
The community's children's school success and wellbeing
The children tutored in HPP made significant improvements in their oral language such that they caught up to satisfactory levels across the school's language and reading assessments (see Appendix 22)[177,]. They also found the wider school programme easier and became much keener and more participatory learners in

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[177] Paula and Jen tutored children for two ten week blocks. When Paula moved to another town and Jen took up part-time employment these children continued with Kate as their tutor. For indicative 2007 results see Appendix 22.

their classrooms (Tutored children's teacher[178], Interview 1; Paula, Interview 2). In Kate's words, "They're more confident, they're harassing me more often, they're wanting to read, they're really coming out of their shells and you can see they're happier too" (Kate, Interview 2). The effect of these children's HPP learning thus lay beyond the literacy gains in themselves and in the broader and more holistic benefits to them as they grappled with the intertwined social and individual cognitive aspects of their schooling, reasons why HPP was chosen for use in the school by the Principal.

Contributions to powerful families and communities
Paula (HPP-based) took the learning about building relationships and including the conversational skills she had learned into her relationships with her nephews with whom she was staying when she first moved, then observed her brother and sister-in-law starting to do the same thing themselves. Referring to these family members, she explained that:

> I think they have benefited quite a lot, just spending time with them, their own children....reading with them, talking, listening, to sit down with the child and actually asking, "Oh, how was your day?"...'cause, especially with my nephews they'll come home, their parents will ask, "Oh, how was your day?" *"Good"*, and that's all they'll get and now they get a long conversation, lucky to be a half hour conversation, just talking about what they have [been doing], how was their day at school or work" (Paula, Interview 2).

The HPP tutors shared their tutored children's progress with the children's parents through portfolios or (from 2008) 'concertina' displays. These provided a focal point for talking with the parents about what they were doing with the child and what they were trying to achieve (Kate, Interview 3). Kate pointed out that she would never tell the parents what they should do, just explain what *she* was doing, thus, just as she was viewed from a strengths perspective as a learner, so too she took this approach with other parents, keeping open the way for continued dialogue of this kind (Interview 3). The tutors also talked to parents more generally about their roles at school, and were able to pass on information about what

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[178] These children's teacher was the school's Principal.

actually happens at school compared to what was sometimes assumed (Principal, Interview 1). This passing on of information about literacy, learning and schooling can be seen as contributing to a more knowledgeable community which, as seen in Chapter Seven, was actively sought by the Principal.

Participants also carried their new literacy skills and knowledge out into their communities, thereby contributing to their communities more and in new ways. Aveolela (Benley) showed some of the strategies she learned to support her children's school learning to a new member of her Church[179] so that, in turn, the new Church member could help her own children (Aveolela, Interview 2); Suni (Benley) used the strategies she learned with her grandchildren and when teaching Sunday School (Suni, Interview 2) and helped adults in her Samoan community interpret correspondence (Benley Programme Tutor, Interview 2); and Haki (Benley), who also helped his grandchildren, developed English versions of his sermons so that the youth in his congregation, who understood English better than Cook Islands Māori, could understand his message (Haki, Interview 2). In addition, he spoke at a community meeting, encouraging the Cook Islands parents present to get involved in the (free to participants) literacy course or the free local computer course so that they could support their children. Knowing that these parents wanted to help their children but that they often found it difficult to do so, he pointed out that this was something they *could* do (Haki, Interview 2). With her new knowledge and abilities and increased confidence, Selena (Ormond) fostered three children for a short period and by the end of the study had come to want to be a midwife in her home town. She gave as reasons that she loved helping people and wanted to help her home town somehow (Selena, Interview 3).

Broad community effects can be seen in these examples. In the HPP setting, the adult tutors contributed to strengthening their community's resources both in the new knowledge and skills they came to have themselves and which they used to improve the learning of children in the community *and* in their sharing of this new knowledge with others in the community such as these children's parents. These were ways in which needs of communities, and of individuals and families within

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[179] Like the study participant Suni, the new Church member had been a teacher in Samoa. It seemed that they both needed to add knowledge of local approaches to this foundation in order to be able to help their children or grandchildren.

communities, were met, through the additional resources available to those communities because some of their members had learned some new things. Such results were anticipated by both the Benley and the HPP-based programmes, in particular, and such sharing actively promoted.

3.2. Acquisition of new everyday living knowledge and skills

> "I wasn't giving Nicky as much attention as I was giving my own kids when she come to stay with me but like just making things here then going home and showing her like spending time with her making things that I made here at Literacy she just loved it eh...like we made a photo book together when I got home after I'd made one here. I went and bought some stuff and then yeah she made her own...made one together then she made her own and it was quite choice" (Selena, Ormond Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 2).

The second category of impacts refers to knowledge and skills learned that are relevant to everyday life that are not so obviously literacy (see Chapter Two) or are in addition to the literacy that is embedded in it. Wide-ranging examples of 'acquisition of new everyday living knowledge and skills' were found mainly, but not exclusively, among study participants in the Ormond and Preston programmes where content was drawn from across the broad array of everyday personal, family and community life and citizenship. Participants in the Benley and HPP-based programmes also gained knowledge and skills related to everyday living beyond schooling that were of interest or use to them in some way.

Across the programmes, participants acquired:

1. Knowledge of how society's institutions work *(e.g. Hahana, Ormond)*
2. Knowledge of work done in the community, services and resources available, and how to access these services and resources e.g. library, hospital, gym, veterinary services, women's refuge, home loan services *(e.g. Selena and Tess, Ormond; Anna, Carrie, Kalasia, Lose and La'a, Preston)*
3. Encouragement and know-how to be critical social participants *(e.g. Anna, Carrie and Kalasia, Preston)*

4. Encouragement to contribute to the community and ideas for ways to do so *(e.g. Aveolela and Haki, Benley)*

5. Parenting, home management and self-care strategies e.g. home-based skills of cooking, preserving, sewing, gardening, first aid, budgeting; tai chi, walking and gym work; activities to do with children; and encouragement and ideas to balance time with children and time for self *(e.g. Kate, HPP-based; Andrea, Hahana and Selena, Ormond)*

6. A range of other life management/work-related skills e.g. time management strategies, thanking people publicly, how to use office equipment such as a fax machine, photocopier and laminator *(e.g. Jen, Paula, HPP-based; Emma, Hahana, Sarah and Selena, Ormond; Anna, Carrie and Kalasia, Preston).*

7. Knowledge of tikanga and waiata *(Andrea and Tess, Ormond)*

8. Arts and crafts e.g. making cards, photo books, harakeke and clay modeling *(e.g. Selena and Hahana, Ormond; Anna, Carrie and Kalasia, Preston)*

9. Learners and restricted drivers licenses *(e.g. Hahana, Sarah and Selena, Ormond; Kalasia, Preston)*

10. Incidental ideas from the environment e.g. adapting the observed school planner for personal life management *(e.g. Paula, HPP-based)*

Managing life better/well and looking forward

In the boxed text, Selena (Ormond) is describing how she used a craft she learned at Literacy Ormond with her niece Nicky who had come to live with her as her own mother was unable to care for her at this time. Such interaction as making the photo book had helped to settle Nicky and her own children who were disrupted by Nicky's arrival into their home. Selena's involvement in the Ormond programme, an important source of ideas for activities to do at home such as this one, occurred part way along, and contributed to, her pathway to a more independent and settled family life than she had been experiencing and about which she felt positive both for herself and for the children. Selena's story illustrated a melding of specific literacy and other learning and various forms of social support she experienced through both participation in the programme and from her mother which, in an interwoven fashion, led to substantial positive

changes in her and her children's lives. Both relationships, and how they worked together, were critically important to the transformation.

Selena and her two preschool children had come to live with her parents after moving out of the home she shared with her partner. From her own, her mother's and the Programme Manager's accounts, it was clear that her parents helped her a good deal at this time, as they had always done (Selena, Interviews 1-3; Selena's mother, Interview 1; Programme Manager, Interview 2), and that Selena herself, in this period, did very little, not knowing how to do such things as cook a meal, manage household finances or "do for the kids" (Selena's mother, Interview 1). She stayed home most of the time where she saw only her parents and people who came to visit *them*, becoming even more isolated in the house when her father died (Selena's mother, Interview 1). Selena summed up this period as a time when she was "doing nothing", "going nowhere" and "didn't want to do anything" (Selena, Interview 3). Her mother was concerned about her and her children but her efforts to change her patterns only led to arguments (Selena's mother, Interview 1). When Selena began looking after Nicky, home life was very unsettled. Her own children were "playing up all the time, screaming, crying, trying to get my attention all the time, doing naughty things that they [had] never ever done [before]" (Selena, Interview 2).

Eventually the Ormond Programme Manager encouraged Selena to participate in the programme. She went initially to do the arts and crafts; she particularly wanted to make a photo book. However, through the enrolment process she also set goals of feeling more confident speaking publicly and being able to do long division (related to the difficulty she had dividing up the household bills) (Selena's Student Learning Plan, 2006; Selena, Interview 1). When I interviewed her four months into the Ormond programme it was clear that its influence, combined with that of her mother, had begun to bring about changes. For example, she was doing many home management tasks and, in the community, was coaching a junior rugby team (Selena, Interview 1[180]); she had obtained her driver's license through Literacy Ormond which, she said, gave her independence; and the Programme Manager had given her ideas for things to do with the children to give all of them sufficient

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[180] Also recorded in Selena's roles and tasks sheet.

positive attention, which she was using. Nine months into the programme she reported that the children, and the family as a whole, were very settled (Selena, Interview, 2).

Over two years on from when I first met her, Selena had continued her involvement with the programme[181]. By this time she had sufficient confidence to have fostered two teenagers and their young sibling for a short period (as observed in Chapter Seven). The role required her to write daily reports. She observed that she found this "easy" because she was used to documenting daily life in her journal, a practice she established at the Programme Manager's suggestion when she first attended the programme (Selena, Interview 3). Her basic literacy had always been quite good but through the numerous literacy activities and specific teaching she was experiencing at Literacy Ormond and the habit of journal writing, she was getting a lot of practice. She also learned specific skills such as how to follow a recipe (which led to *successful* cooking!) and how to make a child's track suit which were directly useful. At home she thus became much more independent in managing daily life to the point where her mother commented that, "It's more or less Selena's house now and I fit in...they've fallen into a neat little routine" (Selena's mother, Interview 1). Selena's transformation was such that she now felt comfortable about the possibility of her mother moving away even though she was currently dealing with the stress of an attempt by her former partner to gain custody of the children (Selena, Interview 3). Whereas earlier she was considering continuing her management training at Burger King, she was now investigating, with the Ormond Programme Manager's help, how she could undertake midwifery training, whilst continuing to build her literacy skills and doing such useful things (for future training or employment) as creating a CV. Significantly, and as noted in Chapter Seven, she wanted to be a midwife in her own community. About her hopes for the future at this point in her life Selena commented, "Just to be the best Mum I can I think, and I'd love to help [my home town] somehow, that's why midwifery would be good" (Interview 3).

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[181] Total participation up to the end of research period was at least 242½ hours (and could have been up to 293½ hours) over at least 111 weeks. This included time in the programme before the research began. This was calculated at, on average, 2 hours-2 hours 40 minutes per week with the most intensity in 2006 and 2008 (4-4½ hours per week).

Both her mother and the Programme Manager were seen by Selena as important in the positive changes in her life (Selena, Interviews 2 and 3). It was clear that both influences played an important role and were overlapping, complementary and synergistic. Selena credited both her mother and the Programme Manager with helping her gain confidence, and participation in the programme as "the beginning of it" (Interview 3). Speaking about her programme group she observed that:

> We used to say we couldn't do heaps of things and we went to Literacy and [the Programme Manager] would make us do it...craft things like making ketes and stuff...[We'd say] "Oh I'd never be able to do that" and then she'd [sit with us] and we d[id] it (Interview 3).

Exploring if she took this self-realisation into other aspects of life she said, "Yeah. Just knowing that you can do things when you thought you couldn't and just try new things out I think" (Interview 3). She saw that the programme had provided useful learning and that without the Programme Manager's encouragement, including sometimes taking her to other activities, she would not have participated and often not even known that the opportunities existed. The Programme Manager's accessibility and the ease with which Selena could talk to her was helpful (Selena, Interviews 2 and 3).

She also recognised and valued the way her mother, who was very involved in extended family and community activities, had taught her how to do many things and encouraged her involvement in family and community activities. For example she had built confidence in her abilities through doing such things as minute-taking for her family's Trust meetings (for which Literacy Ormond helped her develop a template). Her mother was very grateful to the Programme Manager, seeing her as offering the same advice to Selena as she herself had offered but which Selena would *listen* to (Selena's mother, Interview 1). She thought Selena now had a better-balanced life which she was relieved about. Andrea also credited Literacy Ormond with the start of important and positive changes in her life even

though she had a much shorter, though higher intensity, encounter with the programme[182] (Andrea, Interviews 1-3).

In wellbeing terms, Selena had a good deal of practical and informational support at home, but it seemed that the programme provided a new source of support that helped her take up the mantle of responsibility for herself and her children (as appropriate for an adult and a parent in a culture which values interdependence as well as independence (Durie, 1998) and to step out into the community. Selena's social network widened and enabled all kinds of learning and social activity to fill her life. She gained friends her own age, opportunities to share problems and ideas with other young mothers, and the chance to learn new things which she loved (Ormond Programme Manager, Interview 1; Selena's mother, Interview 1; Selena, Interview 2). 'Flow on' to family and extended family was evident in the settling of the children, the improved family relationships and being able to help her extended family. 'Flow on' to the community was evident through Selena's increasing involvement and desire to do more, not least of which was her fostering of three children in need. Again, increased independence and capacity to help at multiple levels were evident.

This example showed how deliberate strategies built into the programme, such as getting young mothers together as a group whereby they could support each other as well as learn together and creating opportunities where their existing and new abilities became apparent to them, contributed to positive results for individuals, families and communities. This is not withstanding the contribution of other important experiences and learning that occurred outside the programme.

Other examples

The usefulness to people of perhaps seemingly very basic information such as budgeting tips cannot be overlooked. Hahana (Ormond) was able to save at least fifty dollars a week using an idea she gained from a budget advisor while participating in the shared part of the Ormond programme. This meant she then had more than just change left over each week for discretionary spending after bills were paid and food and essential household items were purchased. It meant, for

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[182] Total participation was approximately 70 hours. This was approximately 5 hours per week for 14 weeks.

example, that she could "buy my boys something", which clearly meant a lot to her, and had "really kinda got things" (Hahana, Interview 3). Anna and Kalasia (Preston) gave many examples of government agencies, community organisations and community sites they had visited, and representatives of such organisations who had come to speak to the group, becoming aware of services and resources available to them in their community (Interview 1). Such knowledge sometimes led to them contributing to the community; for example a participant in the Ormond programme (who was not in the study) did voluntary work at a community charity shop for awhile after a women's group visit (Programme Tutors, Interview 1). This hope of tutors in the Preston programme rarely eventuated however. They felt it was because most of the participants had had many years of *receiving* institutional assistance.

Participants also sometimes picked up other useful ideas from the programme setting that were not directly connected to the programme that they used in their own ways for their own purposes. Such incidental learning was evident in Paula's (HPP-based) adoption of the school's yearly planner, which was displayed in the staffroom, for managing her life. She explained that:

> Every day I walk into the staffroom and they have their yearly planner
> ..."Oh, okay, what's happening this week?" And that's what I do for my
> house. "Right, what am I doing today?"...that's where I got the idea from,
> seeing it here in the school (Interview 3).

Such opportunities for incidental learning occurred because the Principal encouraged the reading tutors to come into the staffroom, to read what was there and to participate in conversations with teaching and other staff.

Culture-specific activity such as learning waiata and incidental experiencing of tikanga associated with tangi, which occurred through participation in the programme, was appreciated by Andrea who went to several tangi after she finished the programme (though she wished she had written the waiata down!) (Interview 3). Tess also appreciated the Māori cultural knowledge; she wanted to know more to help her connect with her Māori side (Tess, Interview 1).

3.3. Acquisition of new wider contextual knowledge and skills

> "I think I learned a lot of what school's all about; it wasn't only the learning and the teaching, it was also getting on with the people you work with, and dropping your personal boundaries, not mixing it in with the professional, you know? You have to be professional about things, even though you're having problems with a colleague or whatever; still sticking to the professional boundaries...There was a time to be professional and a time to be personal. Working in the school and being a mother at the same time I had to understand what was parent and what was librarian..." (Paula, HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 3).

'Acquisition of new wider contextual knowledge and skills' refers to examples where participants gained knowledge about the wider context in which the programme was set or learned new skills and related social aspects associated with the setting that were beyond the formal programme content. Such experiences were found among participants in the Benley and HPP-based programmes because of their location in the specific, relatively bounded context of the school. In the other two programmes (Ormond and Preston) the content was already directly connected to wider community life, rendering a distinction between programme and wider context largely meaningless. This group of effects includes but is not limited to knowledge and practices of a literacy nature. Participants in these programmes gained knowledge about learning and education more generally and about 'ways to be' in the school setting connected to the roles they and others held, and gained some broader education-related skills.

The range of this kind of knowledge and skills that was acquired included:

1. Knowledge and appreciation of what teachers do *(e.g. Paula, HPP-based)*
2. Roles and responsibilities of different kinds of staff members within a school *(e.g. Kate and Paula, HPP-based)*
3. Appropriate 'ways to be' in the school within particular roles *(e.g. Paula, HPP-based)*

4. Knowledge of teachers' educational aims for students, the assessments that are carried out and how to do some of this testing *(Aveolela, Haki, Penina and Suni, Benley; Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based)*

5. Knowledge of additional school-based supports available for children who are struggling with the curriculum *(e.g. Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based)*

6. Ways in which English and te reo Māori can be incorporated within the state school system *(e.g. Paula, HPP-based)*

7. Ways culturally-important practices and 'ways of being' can be included in learning *(Jen, Kate, Paula, HPP-based)*

8. Schools' expectation of active parental support of children's learning *(Aveolela, Haki, Penina and Suni, Benley; Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based)*

Understanding the world and helping at multiple levels

The boxed text example features Paula (HPP) who was aware that she learned about 'ways to be' (in Gee's (2008) terms) within particular roles in the school setting. Her comments in this extract relate to her employment as a teacher aide within the school which encompassed both her librarian role (to which she refers at the end of the extract) and her HPP role. These roles sat alongside that of being a parent of two children attending the school. Paula's learning referred to above spanned the characteristics of relationships within particular roles in the same setting, in this case the professionalism required as an employee in the school as compared to the personal nature of the relationships she had with the adults and the children with whom she worked, and with her own children in and out of school.

One example of Paula learning about, and working out, personal-professional boundaries concerned her relationship with her children, as signaled above. Paula found she and her children needed to clarify how they would relate to each other in school and outside of school once she was working there (Paula, Interview 2). Paula had wanted to discipline one of her children at school when she had witnessed misbehaviour but her children wanted to continue to feel they could be themselves in the school. Paula and the children agreed that she would leave them

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be at school but that "when we're at home Mum makes the rules, Mum says something, you do it" (Paula, Interview 2). The behaviour of parents in the school mattered a good deal to the Principal as she strived to create an environment that was safe for everyone; she appreciated the HPP tutors' understanding of what was appropriate and what was not.

Distinguishing between personal and professional behaviours was also discussed in the National Certificate in Iwi Māori Social Services which Paula (and Jen and Kate) were studying; both sources appeared to be mutually reinforcing. She applied this knowledge later in a different kind of setting connected to her study where it melded with other knowledge and experiences from both sources. The setting was a new community to which Paula had moved and where she was working as a client advocate for a government agency[183]. In a case where a child had been accused of a serious misdemeanour at school, Paula drew on her knowledge of the role of appearance in establishing relationships, getting out of her "black and whites" and into jeans, a jersey and a cap to meet with her client and his family once she knew her client's age (early teens) (Interview 3). The quest for this knowledge had arisen through her study; the information was gathered via the school and town libraries ("I'm a librarian, I can research this") (Interview 3). She drew on her understanding of the importance of relationship-building and how to go about it acquired through her HPP tutoring to establish rapport with the family, taking time to talk with them including sharing her whakapapa and background: "that was how it was set up, talking, to get the trust" (Paula, Interview 3, p. 6). She was then able to give the family information that helped them make sense of the process in which they found themselves enmeshed and so that the *parents* knew their rights and their child's rights, and the *child* knew his rights, in relation to the authorities involved. Her relational knowledge and her legal/rights knowledge came together in this advocacy work[184]. She was able to affirm as within their rights actions they had already taken instinctively. She was also able to find out fundamentally-important information, for example that the child was clear that he

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[183] A three month work placement was required for completion of the National *Diploma* in Iwi Māori Social Services, the next level of the qualification Paula was, at this point in time, hoping to study for.
[184] Paula seemed to have an accurate knowledge of parents', children's, school and police rights where an offence is thought to have occurred (Interview 3). She also mentioned being able to help the adults decipher the correspondence they had received, linking this role to the concept of comprehension she was familiar with from her HPP work (Interview 3).

did not do that of which he had been accused, which neither his case manager nor the family knew, and to provide self-care strategies to the child.

Paula also influenced the case manager who was a friend of the case family. She felt, and told him, that he had not understood his personal and professional boundaries; she felt he did not behave as a friend when friendship was needed and saw this as why he did not have their trust and had not been able to give them vital information (or gain vital information), his professional role (Interview 3). The relational 'way of being' that she modeled in this professional context, and the principles she discussed with him, were likely, if adopted, to bode well for his future work in the community.

Links to wellbeing are evident in these examples of experience and learning associated with personal and professional boundaries, which is just one area of learning that came from the programme's physical location rather than the programme itself. In the first example, Paula and her children resolved the discord between them and averted further tensions over Paula's presence in the school as together they worked out a way to meet their needs as individuals with their own interests and concerns and as family members; as a parent and as children in relation to one another (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005).

In the agency setting, social support of varying kinds became available to the case child and his family through the knowledge and skills Paula gained from both her school involvement and her study that she brought together in this context where she had a clear understanding of her role. Building rapport and trust with the child and his family meant the parents were able to be affirmed and to access information that could empower and enable them to act further in the best interests of their child and the child to act in his own best interests. Potentially, a miscarriage of justice was prevented and the likelihood of having a more secure young person was enhanced. This was an instance where a family needed to be nurtured so that an individual member, the child, could be appropriately supported (Durie, 2000). Paula was able to do this through the interconnected learning from HPP, the wider school setting in which the programme was located

and from her study. She was able to help at multiple levels (Bronfenbrenner, 1983; Nelson and Prilleltensky, 2005): individual child, family and community worker.

Other examples

In other examples, Kate (HPP-based), as noted earlier, was able to undertake some of the literacy and numeracy testing of children at the school, such was the level of knowledge she acquired. Further, she was able to make sense of, and therefore enter on the computer with a high degree of accuracy, textual testing data from the teachers which they then checked, saving them time (HPP-based Principal, Interview 3). Kate loved the involvement in the school: the opportunity to build on her skills and to learn knew things and to apply them in the community as well as being able to be closer, and more directly helpful, to her own children at this stage in their lives (Kate, Interviews 2 and 3). Because of their knowledge of the wider context of how schools work, the Principal saw Jen, Kate and Paula as potential school trustees (Interview 2). Eighteen months after I first met them, Paula (as noted earlier) and Jen had been elected as Chairperson and secretary, respectively, of the school's Parent Teachers Association, enabling them to further contribute, and to contribute in different ways, to their community. Study participants in the Benley programme increased their active support of their children or grandchildren including, in Aveolela's case as I showed in Chapter Seven, talking more with their teachers and seeking explanations from them[185]. Criticality, knowledge and confidence in her knowledge and rights came together enabling Aveolela to act independently in the best interests of her children.

Links to wellbeing in ways which mark the culturally-located emphasis on collectivity and integration can be seen in these examples involving Māori and Pacific participants (Durie, 1998; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). These participants used their increasing knowledge and skills to encourage and support their own children, other family members and people in their wider communities in a family-like way (whanaungatanga). Participants were using their knowledge and skills for individual and collective good, and in such a way that harmonious relationships between everyone were fostered and discomfort or discord avoided. Within this collective, integrative work and in the cultural way, the individual adult

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[185] Staff at Haki's (Benley) grandchildren's school observed no change in Haki in this regard, observing that he had always participated in parent-teacher meetings (Interview 1).

programme participant found personal benefits; working with children was very satisfying to them, and the skills were personally useful for their futures whether in their home communties or beyond. These highly-valued qualities are discussed further in Section 3.5.

3.4. Positive social and relational events and changes

> "...it was nice to be able to talk to [the Programme Manager] about things that were going on at school or, you know, to Fiona [another student], she was really good, she was having problems with her oldest daughter and she was here at the same time so yeah, she couldn't get her daughter to do homework and I couldn't get Marcus [Sue's son] [to do his homework] so we swapped. Instead of me trying to work with Marcus because it just wasn't working...she would take Marcus and I would take her daughter and we'd sort of come out going, 'Yay, its all done, no stress!' It was great..." (Sue, Preston Family Literacy Programme, Interview 1).

'Positive social and relational events and changes' refer to social and relational dimensions of participation in the programme beyond those connected to the taught literacy content that seemed to have positive impacts on participants, their families or their communities. It includes experiences of support such as receiving practical help and advice on personal issues, warm and respectful relationships with tutors, being included in all aspects of learning and positive social aspects of the learning process[186].

All study participants experienced social and relational dimensions of the programmes which affected them in positive ways. In some cases, these dimensions were experienced directly by other family members. As shown in Chapter Seven, and underpinned by values discussed in the next section, these experiences were consistent with the practices taught in relation to literacy learning and family interactions. The effects found in this category, like those in the 'affirmation and strengthening of values' and the 'affirmation and building of positive identity' which follow, are directly and obviously connected to wellbeing.

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[186] Social and relational effects directly connected to literacy knowledge and skills are discussed in the 'literacy knowledge and skills' category.

Across the programmes, the range of positive experiences and effects spanned:

1. Providing participants with something to do that took them out of the house *(e.g. Aveolela, Benley; Jen and Kate, HPP-based; Hahana and Selena, Ormond)*
2. Company, in particular the company of other adults (or specifically other women in the case of the Preston women's group) *(e.g. Selena, Ormond; Anna, Carrie and Kalasia, Preston)*
3. Opportunity to share aspects of their lives with other adults and to talk together about adult interests and concerns *(e.g. Suni, Benley; Selena, Ormond)*
4. A caring, mutually supportive and respectful forum where personal and family problems could be shared and ideas for solutions offered, and rapport and trust was established *(e.g. Suni, Benley)*
5. A forum in which there was much hilarity and laughter as learning was enjoyed and funny stories were told *(e.g. Aveolela, Haki and Suni, Benley)*
6. Knowledge of community happenings and what known community members were doing – local news *(e.g. Hahana and Selena, Ormond)*
7. Links to other sources of help or new opportunities (bridging) *(e.g. Andrea, Ormond; Sue, Preston)*
8. Social contact with people of different ethnicities which was valued in some way (including, in two cases, members of participant's own ethnic heritage with whom they had had little to do previously) *(e.g. Andrea and Tess, Ormond)*
9. Individualised private support, even counselling, and practical help with personal or family issues *(e.g. Haki and Penina, Benley; Anna, Preston)*
10. More general but personalised help with parenting, home management and/or self-care *(e.g. Kate, HPP-based; Hahana and Selena, Ormond)*

Social interaction and inclusion

In many of the participants' stories, including the part of Sue's (Preston) referred to in the boxed text, it was clear that contact with other people was, for them, a valued aspect that participation in the programmes enabled. In answer to my question, "What did you enjoy about the women's group?" Sue replied, "Company,

adult company" (Interview 1). Anna commented that it was, "talking to other people, doesn't really worry me what we do each week it's just talking to others in the group. And if you see them down town then you can talk to them" (Preston, Interview 1). Carrie said, "I think it's just the fact that being with the women is company for me because I live alone and its been good to have the company" (Interview 1) and Kalasia, a new settler from Tonga, said, "For me its like a second family coming here to the women's group because I know that I can talk to them and have fun with them" (Interview 1). As for Paula (HPP-based), reducing isolation was important in achieving a sense of having a better quality of life. This strategy and its outcomes were intentional (Preston Programme Manager, Field notes, May 9-11, 2007).

Acceptance and positive regard

Suni (Benley) appreciated the openness and honesty among the programme group members and the tutor which had built up over time through practices of talking and sharing, to the extent that people wished, that the tutor had established. She valued the opportunity to get to know one another, to share stories and to help each other, noting that "everyone has problems, not just in education" (Interview 1). My notes of my first interview with her, which she has validated, say:

> Suni explained that when they all come into class [the Programme Tutor] will ask them how they are or if they had a nice weekend and everyone in the group will share their story. She will encourage people to share if they look unhappy…Suni said [that] everyone in the group has some skills to solve the problem [and that] sometimes people have thoughts that help the person feel better or ideas that can solve the problem (Interview 1).

She noted that the tutor shared problems in her family as well, a practice that seemed akin to being "with the people" in the way a staff member described the Ormond programme staff (Programme staff, Interview 1). In this example, the presumption of people's abilities and that they can be resources for one another (a strengths-based view of people that I described in Chaper Seven), as well as acknowledgment that they may have problems, is clear.

Accommodation of people's personal circumstances (such as Haki's (Benley) need to attend diabetes checks) within the bounds of the programme was also noticed and appreciated by participants. Jen (HPP-based) and Selena (Ormond) both found the child-friendliness of their respective programmes welcoming and helpful to them as young mothers, easing their isolation and increasing their participation in their communities.

This sense of safety spilled over into the learning. My notes record that:

> The other thing Suni says the group likes to do is to go up in front of the class and be the teacher. She said, "We think it is very funny". They have a lot of fun as well as practice with the skill they are learning. [She says] this is sharing too because everyone helps each other (Suni, Interview 1).

In such an environment Haki (Benley), for example, felt comfortable when the Programme Tutor corrected his spoken English (Haki, Benley, Interview 2), and Hahana (Ormond) was comfortable that the tutor recognised her relatively low English proficiency (Hahana, Ormond, Interview 2). As per the standpoint of the HPP-based programme, Paula understood that it was "okay to make a mistake" and that this is how people learn (Paula, Interview 2). As will be discussed further in Section 3.5., these were important experiences for developing a positive identity as well as learning a constructive way of working with others including their own children.

Collectivity
Working together to help each other learn as occurred in the Preston programme was valued by Kalasia who noted, "We can work as a team, helping each other and [I] enjoy myself working together with them" (Kalasia, Interview 1). Teamwork was encouraged in the wider school context that HPP-based programme participants found themselves in within the school, for instance in organising kapa haka uniforms. 'Flow on' was seen when Paula (HPP-based) applied the concept of TEAM ("Together Each Achieves More") which she had learned from the Principal when settling her son into his new school when they moved (Interview 2). Taking this idea, she believed that she and the school staff should work together in the

best interests of her son's learning and so spoke up about what classroom she thought her son should be in.

Multilevel and bidirectional social support

The boxed text reflects one example of how social and relational dimensions were experienced within programmes that were beyond those directly connected to the formally-taught literacy aspects of the programme[187]. Sue (Preston) and her two sons had moved to the town where her mother lived but where she did not know anyone else. Sue did some voluntary community work, then was attracted to the Preston programme to learn the 'new' school mathematics so that she could help her son with his homework which he was reluctant to do (Sue, Interview 1). Programme staff taught her the 'new maths' but she gained more than a discreet set of new skills from her participation. It was clear she found being able to talk about her problems with others emotionally supportive ("It was nice to be able to talk"). The practical help she received extended beyond the mathematics skills, helpful though these were, to a mechanism for addressing the bigger problem of her son's general reluctance to do homework in a way that worked for her in her situation (swapping the children). Thus, significantly, help came not only from programme staff but also from another programme participant (multilevel social support). This example also demonstrates how support was experienced reciprocally within the programme. In the circumstances of coming together in the programme and the serendipity of the similarity and timing of their need, two people who had not previously met were able to help each other and each other's children: bidirectional social support in Nelson & Prilleltensky's (2005) terms and interdependence in Durie's (1998, 2000).

Positive social effects 'flowed on', seen in the more settled home environments, more positive and more interactive family relationships, more settled children and resolution of specific issues within families already described. Beyond social relations, the school curriculum (new maths) and organisational knowledge (conversations about schools) that Sue gained was useful to her in other ways over time. When she later completed adult literacy tutor training and had worked in schools as a teacher aide, she was employed as both an adult literacy tutor with

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[187] An example is Anna (Preston) being encouraged to come into the women's group quietly and to observe what is happening before speaking, as described in Section 3.1.1.

Literacy Preston and as a teacher aide supporting a senior high school accountancy student. Along with her student, she sat and passed the accountancy achievement standard. In this is another example of interconnectedness of programme experiences and learning and those external to the programme coming together as people's lives follow personalised pathways along which learning 'flows on' from experience to experience.

3.5. Affirmation and strengthening of values

"So her [the Programme tutor] recognition of how important it was for the group to say a prayer at the beginning and end, did that matter to you?" (Researcher) "Well, to me we should because we should say a prayer [at] the beginning and at the end...because its not just going to a course in a school...we are going to school, so if we forget a prayer from home...that prayer is going to, you know, its really important, well to me, I don't know about others but to me its really important to start anything with a prayer and end with a prayer" (Aveolela, Benley Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 3).

By 'affirmation and strengthening of values' I mean examples where participants experienced in a tangible way the expression of tutor and programme values and beliefs which were relevant, beneficial and affirming for them. Participants in the study described and/or I observed many instances where values, beliefs and 'ways of being' held as important by them or that honoured them, their families and communities were evident.

Chapter Seven showed the value-laden nature of the programmes; participants were therefore surrounded by values which, through being strengths-based, individually and culturally respectful, holistic and caring, were inherently beneficial. Some examples of how these values played out in people's experiences of the programmes have already been seen in stories told in previous sections where meanings of effects were traced. In the list below I draw together what has already been signaled, then highlight, as in other sections, the major overarching themes.

Across the programmes participants experienced:

1. Valuing of people generally *(e.g. Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based)*

2. Valuing of differences between people *(e.g. Aveolela, Suni, Benley)*

3. Valuing of inclusiveness *(e.g. Suni, Benley)*

4. Valuing of children and families *(e.g. Aveolela, Haki and Penina, Benley; Jen, HPP-based; Selena, Ormond)*

5. Valuing of parents as adults in their own right *(Aveolela, Haki and Penina, Benley; Kate and Paula, HPP-based; Sarah, Ormond; La'a and Lose, Preston)*

6. Valuing of people's right to know, to participate and to have a say *(e.g. Aveolela, Haki and Penina, Benley; Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based[188]; Sue, Preston)*

7. Valuing of education and learning *(e.g. Paula, HPP-based; Selena, Ormond)*

Cultural expression

The boxed text features Aveolela (Benley) for whom saying a prayer at the commencement and closure of activities was an important part of her religious beliefs and practices and those of her family and Pacific community. While she was accustomed to dealing with this facet of her life independently and privately in situations where cultural practices of other groups dominated or when she thought that they might dominate[189], she clearly appreciated being able to do this as an assumed part of how things were done. This seemed to me to represent a situation where cultural expression was facilitated which, in my interpretation, significantly reduced the possibility of cultural disjuncture. Cultural expression is an important contributor to the wellbeing of individuals and communities, signaling a valuing of people's differing 'ways of being' and of diversity itself (Durie, 1998; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). It seems to me to be akin to proclaiming that differences between people are recognised, welcomed and valued in the communities in which such expression is made possible.

Inclusiveness/whanaungatanga

The saying of a prayer before starting and when ending programme sessions was an example of one way that was valued by participants that programmes

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[188] From Observations 1-3.

[189] For example, Aveolela (Benley) said a prayer before I arrived for our interviews to accommodate the possibility that I might not know about or think to ensure these practices of hers were included. She took up the opportunity when I suggested it, but had already dealt with it before I arrived (Interview 3).

demonstrated inclusiveness of all people. Other ways concerned people's status as parents. For example Jen (HPP-based) and Selena (Ormond) appreciated how welcome their children were (Interviews 2 and 3). The inclusion of extended family members and carers in these programmes signaled the valuing of 'family' broadly defined and the welcoming of all 'families' and their members; for Māori, this is whanaungatanga. Family seemed to be regarded as people's 'primary community' (Sonn & Fisher, 1999, as cited in Brodsky et al., 2002, p. 330) (see Chapter Five) with the definition of 'family' open. Another way in which inclusiveness was evident was in the way in which people were not admonished for perceived inadequacies but rather alternatives were taught or modeled and at the same time people's existing abilities and the important ways they already contributed were pointed out to them, a strengths-based approach (see, for example, sample Portfolio page, Chapter Seven). People were not left out because of some arbitrary judgment of their worthiness. Inclusiveness was also evident when the Benley programme tutor asked questions of people who were not participating, or used a turn-taking strategy (Observations 1-4). This seemed to me to signal that, despite their problems, they *could* participate in this learning for themselves and they *could* do so successfully; that this was a safe place for them in which they could achieve goals and gain power in their lives.

Independence and interdependence – rights and obligations
Participants were also seen to experience a balancing of the valuing of independence and interdependence and a parallel balancing of rights and obligations. In all these aspects we can see Durie's (1998) concept of *integration* at work. Culture is at the centre.

3.6. Affirmation and building of positive identity

"At this course it's my first time to stand up, open myself to say [a] prayer in English, only at this course. When I stand up in the Pākehā world I don't say a prayer right now, but at this course I can say, 'Why shy?'" (Haki, Benley Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 2)

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Aligned to values, 'affirmation and building of positive identity' refers to participants' experiences in the programme which affirmed them in positive ways such that their self-view, including the cultural aspects, was strengthened, they were more aware of and confident in their abilities and saw themselves as capable citizens and valuable contributors to their families, communities and society. All participants experienced such effects and some examples have already been given in previous sections. I now focus particularly on this group of effects which spanned:

1. Enhanced sense of self-hood *(e.g. Kate, HPP-based; Tess, Ormond)*
2. More positive general self-evaluation and confidence *(e.g. Haki, Benley; Jen, Kate, and Paula, HPP-based; Sue Preston)*
3. More positive self-evaluation about their literacy *(e.g. Aveolela and Haki, Benley; Hahana, Ormond; Anna and Carrie, Preston)*
4. New or strengthened self-awareness of existing abilities *(e.g. Kate and Paula, HPP-based)*
5. New or strengthened self-awareness of capacity to learn *(e.g. Aveolela and Haki, Benley; Andrea and Selena, Ormond; Anna and Carrie, Preston)*
6. New or strengthened self-awareness of capacity to contribute (in ways important to them) *(e.g. Aveolela, Haki, Penina and Suni, Benley; Jen, Kate and Paula, HPP-based; Selena, Ormond)*
7. Increased participation and criticality including but not limited to supporting children's school learning *(e.g. Aveolela, Haki, Penina and Suni, Benley; Jen, HPP-based; Sue, Preston)*
8. Confidence to be able to help their children or grandchildren with their school learning, and take an active and critical stance *(e.g. Aveolela, Haki, Penina and Suni, Benley; Jen, HPP-based; Sue, Preston)*

Positive self-evaluation, self-esteem

That, repeatedly, participants were able to make positive statements about themselves in the context of how they had changed since their involvement in the programme, that they could link these changes to the programme, and that others also noticed these changes and could link them to the programme, constituted strong evidence of the positive effects participation in these programmes had on

building a positive identity, an important aspect of wellbeing. I gave two examples of positive self-evaluation in Section 3.1.1. (Jen and Kate, HPP-based). Others include Sue's (Preston) comment that, "I was being useful and helpful" in relation to her work when she was employed by Literacy Preston and, specifically, her acknowledgment to herself that, "Oh, I did that!" in relation to the learner workbook she put together at that time (Sue, Interview 1). Carrie (Preston, Interview 1) observed that "for me it's the writing and what I've written and I've been able to do copies and send to others and I felt, wow! this is something good". Seen in the boxed text, Haki (Benley) came to be comfortable about himself as an English literacy learner.

For Tess, connecting with Māori people through the programme was very important to her. Of Māori heritage, she had lost touch with her Māori side. Participating in the programme was an opportunity to re-evaluate her feelings and perspectives concerning this part of her identity.

Recognising and naming their skills and observing their usefulness
Becoming aware of their existing skills and contributions and having a clear picture of their emerging ones was important in the adults' building more fulsome identities for themselves and ones that better matched what others appreciated in them. Giving and receiving feedback, and learning to critically and constructively reflect on theirs and others' practices and learning, important components of the HPP-based and Preston programmes for example, were important in achieving this. Further, it was important that the skills were useful, not just that they had them. For example Sue (Preston) commented that "I could take a skill I had here and actually use it…" (Interview 1). Ongoing value was seen over time and space.

Being self-efficacious in all of life
There were many examples of adult participants demonstrating much more self-sufficiency and self-efficaciousness than they had felt or others had observed in them before their involvement in the programme. I have given examples where participants showed they were more able to give their opinions, to ask questions, to access resources, to be resourceful and to get things done. Enhanced capacity for independence when independence is good to have and for interdependence

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when interdependence is good to have (A. Durie, 1997), mediated culturally, was evident. In these experiences can be seen integration of self and community.

4. Summary of effects on individuals, families and communities

In summary, participation in the programmes meant for the adults

- acquisition of new literacy knowledge and skills
- acquisition of new everyday living knowledge and skills
- acquisition of high levels of specific contextual knowledge and skills
- increased independence
- increased autonomy
- increased capacity to contribute
- numerically larger and more diverse social network
- more interaction with their children
- more positive interaction with their children
- increased social interaction (and reduced isolation)
- increased positive social relations
- increased access to social support
- increased access to learning opportunities
- a safe (but still challenging) learning environment
- increased access to opportunities to contribute
- increased access to resources
- increased awareness of and confidence in their abilities
- increased awareness of and confidence in their capacity to learn
- increased awareness of and confidence in their capacity to contribute
- affirmation of cultural identity
- a more positive identity
- increased self-efficacy
- enjoyment and satisfaction

For their families, the adults' participation in the programmes meant

- adults in the family with more information and skills to help and support family members and to get things done (home management)
- children getting more learning help, support and encouragement

- children having more positive experiences around books and learning
- children getting better general support and care
- more harmonious family relationships
- access to new literacy and other knowledge and skills for their own purposes
- increased access to resources
- models in the family of adults as text users
- models in the family of adults as learners
- models in the family of adults as contributors
- models of confident, efficacious adults

For their communities, the adults' participation in the programmes meant
- people in the community with increased knowledge and skills (increased resources available in the community)
- more people in the community able to help others
- more support of adults in the community
- more support of community's children
- support of community structures
- models in the community of adults as text users
- models in the community of adults as learners
- models in the community of adults as contributors
- models of confident, efficacious adults

5. Chapter summary: From literacy to wellbeing

This chapter presented the adults' experiences of participation in the family literacy programmes and the 'flow on' effects to family and community. It showed that wide-ranging literacy knowledge and skills were acquired by the adults as a result of their participation in these programmes. In general, a very high level of knowledge and skills related to English-language text-based school literacy was evident among participants in programmes where this knowledge and these skills were taught. A broad array of literacy knowledge and skills was evident where the content taught was wide-ranging. Where skills to support children's school learning were taught, participants came to use them with their children or grandchildren or children in their community as the programmes intended. This is

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unsurprising. As I demonstrated in Chapter Two, we know from sociocultural studies of literacy acquisition that, generally speaking, people learn what they are taught (Purcell-Gates, 2000; Scribner & Cole, 1981). It is nevertheless useful to know that the intended literacy knowledge and skills learning was occurring within these family literacy programmes which differed from each other in various ways and none of which were replicas of the Kenan model, and to appreciate them for the extent to which they achieved literacy goals.

Sociocultural studies of literacy have also shown us, as I described in Chapter Two, that the significance of literacy knowledge and skills acquisition is to be found in the meanings such acquisition has for people. The current chapter has shown that what mattered to the participants was what their new knowledge and skills enabled them to do that was useful or meaningful in some way to them or to their families or communities, and how it enabled them to view themselves in relation to what was important to them. What was especially striking in this study was how deeply and personally-important purpose and relevance was to participants, linked to their culture, values, histories, current circumstances and aspirations. The extent of significant meaning found in the many other opportunities for learning that occurred within programmes was also striking. These opportunities were found in the other, often unofficial, content and in the social and relational aspects of the literacy and other content and in the social and relational aspects of the programmes as wholes.

Effects, of all kinds, were experienced not only by the immediate participants but also by other individual family members and others in their social networks, and by families and communities as whole entities, as effects 'flowed on' over space and time. The broad and inclusive view of literacy and strengths-based view of families brought to the study, the dialogical research methods used, and the broad and holistic lens applied in the analysis, illuminated the multifaceted, interconnected and layered outcomes in which lie, this thesis argues, the full meaning of participation in these programmes.

Finally, participation in the programmes was powerfully connected to wellbeing via both literacy and social aspects of participation. The adults in the study

followed pathways to enhanced wellbeing via transactional and synergistic processes in which literacy was more or less involved. As the participants' stories made clear, these pathways were highly personalised and idiosyncratic, being subject to the interconnection and synergy of the adults' personal circumstances and sociocultural histories, the programme principles and practices and the adults' experiences and learning external to the programme. These elements and their interconnections created unique bundles of effects for individuals, families and communities, which nevertheless had in common contribution to the quality of life of these adults, their families and their communities. In other words, participation in these programmes contributed to individual and collective good.

Chapter 9

Conclusions and implications

"...doing it [feedback and feed-forward] like a letter, orally first then like a letter, their reactions told me that that was a preferred strategy for them...and when you link it back to the cultural ways that Māori in particular like to interrelate then it makes sense because that type of communication takes into consideration their wairua, their spirituality, their health and wellbeing as adults..." (Project Director, HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme, Interview 1)

1. Introduction

Located in Aotearoa New Zealand, this study investigated the contribution that participation in family-focused literacy education programmes makes to the wellbeing of adult participants, their families and communities. This aim was positioned within a broader goal of opening up the discussion in New Zealand about how we might conceptualise family literacy that would best suit our local context/s and that has people's wellbeing, as well as their literacy achievements, in mind. Concern for people's wellbeing in the context of family literacy programmes comes from the view that government ought to work in the best interests of all citizens. As work done for citizens, these programmes are therefore, ultimately, most meaningfully judged on their contribution to this fundamental goal. The findings from the study and the process of the study itself have a number of implications of both local and international relevance which are outlined in this concluding chapter.

Social constructionist ontological and epistemological lenses (Crotty, 1998; Tuffin, 2005) illuminated the central arguments in this study: the 'primary debate' between 'skills' and 'social practice' views of literacy and how they are reflected in family literacy programmes; the 'moral debate' between individualistic and collectivist orientations; how adults and children (and families as whole entities) are viewed in the family literacy field in general and in programmes; and how theory is connected to programme practice. After examining meanings of literacy, family, family literacy and wellbeing, I took a broad view of literacy, a strengths-based and inclusive view of families and a holistic and ecological view of wellbeing

into the research which had adults as its starting point for exploring the effects of family literacy programmes on individuals, families and communities.

A critical interpretive social constructionist methodology (Denzin & Giardina, 2009; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005), which anticipated multiple meanings of phenomena and facilitated critique of dominant, often taken-for-granted, perspectives, shaped the processes and the meaning-making in my close look at nineteen participants' experiences of four family-focused literacy programmes. Data collected for latent theoretical thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) involved interviews over 18 months with participants and people who knew them well and with programme staff (79), observations of programme sessions (12), and documents such as participants' programme progress information and their children's school progress information.

The study revealed, first, that the value of the family-focused literacy programmes to participants lay in the range of effects and their meanings that their varied learning and experiences had for them. Identifiable new literacy skills were valued gains, but so were other skills and knowledge that were deliberately taught or that became accessible to them through their involvement in the programme. Valued learning encompassed social, relational and contextual understanding connected to or independent of literacy skills, and also non-literacy knowledge and skills and their social-contextual aspects. Valued experiences encompassed positive social and relational events and changes, affirmation and strengthening of values and affirmation and building of positive identity. The new knowledge and skills and the experiences were meaningful to the participants because they were personally useful to them in their everyday lives or to their families and communities, were connected to what mattered to them in their lives (associated with their values and beliefs, personal circumstances and histories, and their aspirations for themselves and their families and communities), and/or because they enhanced their sense of self-worth and belonging and their sense of, and actual, agency and efficacy in life. Amidst these social-psychological changes the affirmation and/or growing sense of themselves as capable contributors was especially relevant to many of them.

Second, and relatedly, the study showed that much more was occurring in programmes than might appear from a 'surface look' (Braun & Clarke, 2006) or if only literacy skills were observed. All these aspects were associated with identifiable values and beliefs about literacy and about people held by programme designers and tutors and were intentional on their part. Linked to a socially-located view of literacy and an holistic, and strengths and rights-based, view of people, staff taught the social/relational aspects of literacy practices alongside the skills aspects, showed the adults other useful knowledge and skills relevant to their lives and contexts, highlighted the importance of positive relationships in all interactions and showed them 'how to be' to facilitate positive relationships, and emphasised people's right to knowledge and to criticality, inviting participants to ask questions, to express their point of view and to try out their own ideas. All the while, participants were trusted, respected, valued and included in all programme activities. The important meanings people derived from their participation in the programmes occurred mainly through the specific and holistic wellbeing-focused intentions of the programme staff which included, built around and went beyond the teaching of literacy as skills. Much of it could be described as literacy as social practice broadly defined.

Third, the study showed that participants took their strengthening awareness of their existing and new literacy and other abilities, their actual growing knowledge and skills (literacy-related, other, social and relational) and their growing sense of themselves as capable contributors into their personal lives beyond the programme and into their family and community relationships and contexts including and beyond that which was intended. In these other spaces, as in the programmes, the learning and experiences intermingled with those from elsewhere in 'hybrid' ways (Barton & Hamilton, 1998), yielding many positive interactions with others and very often identifiable positive effects for them. Effects spread out over time to other people in the participants' lives and to their communities in ways which formed a discernible process; although variable and unpredictable in the specifics, results of participation were not random or arbitrary. This was so in the range of styles of programmes in the study.

Overall, the study indicated family-focused literacy programmes can and do make major contributions to literacy objectives at the same time as they contribute to personal, relational and collective wellbeing. Programme approaches that have in mind people's holistic wellbeing put literacy skills in their appropriate place: they are seen as useful tools alongside other useful tools for improving quality of life, rather than being seen as *the* essential requirement above any others. Attention is paid simultaneously to the social aspects of literacy and to other important knowledge, skills and 'ways of being' (Gee, 2008) that are available in the setting, or can be made available, for learning and for positive social and relational experiences as part of the learning. Such approaches result in wide-ranging meaningful positive outcomes for individuals, families and communities. The study indicates valuable contributions to society occur when programmes are localised responses to communities' needs, wishes and aspirations.

Most importantly, the study showed that these valued outcomes did not occur because of literacy enhancement in and of itself (nor indeed because of any *inherent* quality of literacy) but rather they occurred through the synergistic coming together of a number of aspects within and outside the programmes: many or all of the programme principles and practices (which included literacy-related ones but was not limited to them), participants' histories and circumstances and their external learning and experiences, all of which encompassed values and beliefs people held about themselves and others and what was important in life. The study showed that the importance of literacy from participants' and programme staff perspectives was located within a holistic and multifaceted, and ultimately wellbeing-oriented, view of people and what mattered in life rather than a narrower, more simplistic view of people as in need of more literacy abilities because they are essential in themselves for making one's way in the world; that they are essential and sufficient for social and economic progress (Graff & Duffy, 2008). Literacy was seen as valuable in terms of how it contributed to quality of life broadly speaking, and it sat alongside many other valued contributors to this important goal (such as warm, positive family time together, personal efficacy, other kinds of knowledge and skills, and so on). The study showed that programme staff understood that this comprehensive, multilayered and interwoven process was going on.

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The next section of this chapter describes the specific contributions the study makes to family literacy theory and programme practice, both locally and internationally. Section Three describes the implications of the study's findings. Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research conclude the chapter in Section Four.

2. Contributions to knowledge

The study builds on and extends aspects of previous local and international work in the field of family literacy and makes new contributions. It adds to local understanding of people who choose to attend these kinds of programmes, the realities of their lives and what matters to them, and how some programmes have responded to these realities. It adds knowledge of the structure, content and achievement of local programmes beyond those we already know about. It extends knowledge of what occurs on family-focused programmes, and of what happens over space and time as a consequence. It contributes a theoretical model of these processes that clarifies the role of literacy within them.

2.1. Understanding people and their lives

Few studies internationally have followed people's experiences of family literacy programmes through their various, and hard-to-predict, trajectories over any length of time, although both international and local studies have shown some evidence of 'flow on' or 'ripple' effects and effects appearing temporally (Benseman & Sutton, 2005; Brooks et al., 2008; May et al., 2004). Through the present study, I have been able to affirm such findings and increase certainty regarding these particular characteristics of family literacy programme effects. The effects of such programmes *are* seen over time and *do* flow on to others. I return to this point later in Section 2.4.

Here I want to emphasise that observing the interplay between programme participation and the evolution of people's lives over time and space (along with *extensive* interviewing, data gathered from multiple sources, and a collaborative research approach) permitted issues and strengths in people's lives to come into

view that might otherwise have remained hidden. For example, when newly-acquired knowledge or skills were found helpful in new settings months after the learning occurred, discussion provided insight into the problems that the new learning helped address that had not surfaced at all or in such specificity up to that point (see Paula's story in Chapter Eight, Section 3.3.).

Further, the way in which the programmes were run also meant that many aspects of people's lives became part of the milieu of the programme, or more difficult aspects were known privately by staff. The nature and extent of openness and sharing of lives varied across programmes but the interest of all staff in people's whole selves and the time spent getting to know the participants (*because* staff believed that good relationships between people were very important in all human endeavour) meant that a more holistic view of the participants was available to me as a researcher. Access to such detail in these various ways enabled me to draw a richer picture of the everyday personal, family and community lives of participants in such programmes as these than has been available to date, at least locally, and has added to the international store. Uniquely, it has followed people participating in programmes to tease out the interconnectedness and the points of interconnection of programme participation with other facets of people's lives and their everyday living.

I have shown that, in Aotearoa New Zealand, the lives of many people who come to these kinds of programmes are complex and fraught, the lives of others are more straightforward but still challenging, many have very busy lives, most are already doing important things for their families and communities, and all want to improve the quality of aspects of their lives and/or those of their families or communities. Among the participants and their families I showed that they dealt with, singly or in combination: financial struggles, poverty, single parenthood, isolation, physical abuse, alcohol abuse, alcoholism, mental and physical health problems, seriously ill children, custody disagreements, lack of transport, language barriers and difficulties with the dominant literacy/ies particularly as used by institutions. At the same time the adults cared for their children, extended family and community members; coached sports teams; supported kapa haka; were literacy learners, tertiary students, committee members, teacher aides and school

librarians; taught Sunday school and helped on marae, for just some examples. We are reminded of Leichter's (1997) point that the whole gamut of human behaviour and experience is to be found within families. We are also reminded of Taylor's (1997, p. 3) view that "each family is an original"; each family in the study experienced their own particular mix of circumstances. Amid these highly-personalised situations we saw that the adults in these programmes all wanted to be active participants in life and to be doing useful things despite the complexities and difficulties they faced.

Furthermore, it is clear that participants in these kinds of programmes very often see as the important things to be doing those that are connected to their own children, extended families or communities and to the wellbeing of these groups in a general sense. Pākehā in the study who focused beyond their personal everyday living paid attention to their immediate family or community. However, focus on a wider group of people was most strongly evident among the Māori and Pacific participants, demonstrated in their strong desire and obligation to support their wider family group. In addition, Pacific participants also showed a strong desire and obligation to support their Church and island-based groups, perhaps especially because they live away from many of their extended family. These actions showed that there was little separation between individual, family and community for these participants as Arohia Durie (1997) has described in relation to Māori and as Mulitalo-Lauta (2001) has signaled in relation to Pacific peoples, generally speaking. My study has borne out May et al.'s (2004) view that family-focused programmes are especially attractive to Māori and Pacific people. To this I add the important clarification that, for them, involvement in programmes grounded in family and community wellbeing more generally seemed for the participants in the study, for cultural and historic reasons, the 'right' 'way to be' and therefore fundamental to their identity and therefore their personal wellbeing.

When not linked to family, what is useful to learn and experience from participants' perspectives is still social in nature, having to do with connecting with others or managing life in their communities and society. Thus we see people more generally as social beings, despite personally-differing circumstances, with historically and culturally-located variations in how their social selves are manifest.

Understanding people as social beings has clearly shaped family literacy programme practices historically. For example, the idea of parents as children's first teachers which underpins many family literacy programmes aimed at supporting children's literacy development is grounded in the understanding of the role of families in the socialisation of children into family and community cultural ways (Heath, 1983; Taylor, 1983; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). The study showed however, that there are wide-ranging aspects of adult daily personal, family and community life that interest them and around which family-focused literacy programmes can be built with equal logic.

We have seen that the dominance of the Western/European individualistic perspective has been problematic in family literacy. For example it has underpinned deficit framing of families whereby families are compared to an idealised representation of the normalised dominant cultural practices and values and found wanting. Arguments for culturally-located strengths-based approaches now abound although they are not necessarily practiced as well as they might be (Auerbach, 1989). In this study I have extended the argument for such approaches by referencing the most fundamental expectation in a modern democratic society: that of a reasonable level of wellbeing for *all* citizens within the nation's capacity to support it.

In the local detail of the real lives of some participants and their families – their actual everyday contexts – and in the detail of what meaningful family-focused literacy education constituted for them, I have shown that people have wide-ranging and often holistic and integrated interests and concerns in which literacy is more or less involved rather than having literacy interests and concerns independent of these other things. It was clear that meaningful literacy learning lay in people's lived realities and was therefore also often wide-ranging and holistic. This is a far cry from literacy learning being an unconnected activity, an economic one, or even a social one only; that is, without the *cultural* elements which so strongly shape us. These programmes accommodated this reality and yet were successful in achieving positive changes of both a literacy *and* a more encompassing nature.

The study showed that the value and success of the programmes for participants and their families and communities (which included enhanced literacy abilities *and* social and relational benefits) derived from these programmes which were, I found, holistic, culturally-located and strengths-based in their approach. Such success is explainable in terms of the programmes' contributions to meeting unmet or inadequately met human needs evident in the multilayered realities of people's lives. We saw in Chapter Five that these needs, which *all* human beings have, must be met at least to some extent for reasonable levels of wellbeing[190] to be experienced, but that there is significant culturally-based variation in how these needs are meaningfully met. The study revealed the significance of the worldview orientation of the programme in achieving outcomes that were good for the people participating in them in terms of their overall wellbeing.

Overall the study added important insight into people's lives and orientations and how having this knowledge critically influences programmes and their outcomes. Within this, it showed that the practical manageability of the programmes in the participants' overall contexts was critical to their ability to take the steps on offer to enrich their lives and the lives of those who mattered to them.

2.2. The importance of relevance and meaning

Internationally, family literacy programmes predominantly focus on school literacy and children's school learning (Auerbach, 1995; Brooks et al., 2008; Street, 1984). Nevertheless, there are also many family literacy programmes which focus as well or instead on adults' other interests and concerns related to a broader range of aspects of everyday life (Brooks et al., 1995; Morrow et al., 1995; St Pierre et al., 1995). In New Zealand, the most well-known family literacy programme involves helping parents and carers to support young children's school-type learning (Houlker et al., 2006) but is also concerned with adults' achievements that they value for themselves. Indeed, many adult programmes here have varying degrees of family focus within them (Furness, 2006a). Chapter Five of this study established

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[190] I remind the reader that these are mastery, control, self-efficacy, voice, choice, skills, growth, autonomy, love, attachment, acceptance, positive regard, emotional and physical health, identity, dignity, self-respect, self-esteem, participation, involvement, mutual responsibility, sense of community, cohesion and formal support, economic security, shelter, clothing, nutrition and access to vital health and social services (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 57).

that there is nothing inherent in the term 'family literacy programme' that should limit its meaning to school-focused literacy learning or to parents' support of children's learning. Further, the hegemonic tendency to focus on school literacy was described as problematic in numerous ways, particularly for members of non-dominant societal groups (Auerbach, 1989, 1995; Gadsden, 2002).

This study confirmed the fundamental importance of programmes offering meaningful and purposeful content in order that people want to participate and that outcomes they value can be achieved. It clarified what some of this content is in the New Zealand context. Enhancing the depth or scope of their abilities and/or their confidence in using the dominant literacy was important to all of the adults in the study. The dominant literacy was recognised as a strongly-present feature of many aspects of contemporary life in which they wished to participate. It is useful to know this was the case, particularly as government is often criticised for its narrow definition of literacy in its adult literacy work. Reasons for seeking to improve their dominant literacy abilities included wanting to (1) interact and/or participate more or more easily in their communities where English text-based literacy predominated; (2) help their children with their school learning, to know what was happening at school and/or to 'keep up' with their children in their learning (including their use of technology); (3) manage their family and home lives better; and/or (4) help in their communities. In many instances building a wide range of knowledge and skills in which literacy played only a minor role – which fit within a broad definition of literacy – was as highly valued as high-level technical skills in enabling them to do things that were important to them (see Section 2.3.).

Purposes were always both individual and social; it mattered to the adults personally that they enhanced their abilities to help themselves in their lives (for example, that they were more independent, better organised or more confident about future employment) and/or it mattered to them personally that they could help their children, families or others in their networks or communities. There were no instances where the sum total of personal meanings was completely devoid of connection to others, highlighting the social quality of literacy. Being valued in a general sense as an adult with adult roles and responsibilities seemed

to be fundamental to their sense of the content being relevant along with what was personally pertinent in the current context of their lives. For some this was strongly centred round helping their children or helping other people; for some it was centred round being more independent or less isolated.

The study showed five clear meaningful content areas in the New Zealand context to be (1) managing life better (including individual, relational and organisational aspects); (2) topics of personal interest (such as personal health issues), (3) helping children in their schooling; (4) contributing in and helping the community; and (5) the school setting generally (as a site of wide-ranging learning). Schools did act as a catalytic setting for adult literacy learning that had individual adult, family and community benefits. The strongly school-linked programmes in the study helped address wider family and community issues and strengthen families and communities. It was clear too that schools provided the possibility of whole streams of learning and community involvement and contribution. That this is not automatic though was demonstrated in the two different school-based examples.

The programmes were also very important to participants for other personal reasons that were not promoted as part of the programmes but were integral to them. One of these was the direct help, support or suggestions of coping strategies or solutions for problems in their lives (their reality) that became available to them through their participation in the programme, either from other participants, programme staff or via referrals to other agencies or services. These forms of social support were highly valued as was the opportunity for social interaction with other adults for its own sake, another form of social support. Third was the opportunity for reflection which built awareness of abilities, positive self-view and capacity to learn. The fourth was the 'opportunity for opportunity'; that is, access to new roles and new learning opportunities that become available because of involvement in the programme. These benefits are aligned to their adult status not just their role as parents.

Thus the study demonstrated that programme staff responded to participants' real contexts and interests. The realities of the participants' everyday lives and contexts shaped what occurred in the programmes alongside formalised pre-planned

content. This connection to people's real lives meant the relevancy of programmes remained high for participants, generally speaking. This shows us that the full gamut of what occurs on programmes is important to consider as contributing to the results, literacy-related and other. Irrespective of the core focus of the programme, staff incorporated wider content that they knew was relevant because of their close-enough relationships with the participants. In this sense, all programme staff upheld a broad definition of literacy, a holistic view of people and an overarching wellbeing goal in which literacy skills goals were subsumed. Offering relevant and meaningful content, inviting community members to help their own communities, recognising them as adults in their own right as well as parents, recognising them as people with existing abilities and capacities, and providing high quality teaching, are all respectful acts.

Overall, these are adults who have adult interests and concerns and who want to live well as adults. Their lives sometimes, but not always and not necessarily exclusively, involve children or family as well as other interests. As adults they want to have independence *and* to belong, to participate in and enjoy life, to learn and grow, and to be contributing members of society in ways which *make sense to them* in terms of their personally-held and culturally-based values and beliefs, the extent of their awareness of their existing abilities and capacities, the current circumstances of their everyday lives and/or their aspirations. The study highlighted that there are many ways to engage people in literacy learning that have individual, family and community benefits and that the critical factor for positive outcomes is respectful relevance; that is, the respectful act of offering programme content and contexts that are relevant for the people for whom they are intended.

2.3. The place of literacy

'Grand' claims for literacy's capacity in and of itself to transform societies have been discredited (Graff & Duffy, 2008). It is now well understood that consequences of literacy do not come from some inherent quality of literacy itself (Scribner & Cole, 1981). Extensive work in the ilk of the New Literacy Studies has built our understanding of literacy as social practice, as more than 'skills residing in people's heads' (Gee, 2008), and that it is through this broader practice that is

both social *and* technical/cognitive that change occurs. This study showed that literacy abilities (both existing and new) worked with other programme elements and with elements external to the programme to make positive differences in people's lives. Furthermore it highlighted that it was as much the social aspects of the literacy practices as the skills themselves, and often especially the cultural ones, that were critical when enhanced literacy abilities helped in such improvements. Thus it foregrounded literacy as an interrelated phenomenon. Yet literacy can help with wider issues. I showed that literacy played an important role in changes in people's lives but not by itself; the role it played was within the equally important and relevant social and relational dimensions in which it was embedded and was often interwoven with other influential phenomena (see Chapter Eight and Section 2.4. in this chapter).

Barton and Hamilton (1998) have alerted us to the problem of the placing of high value on dominant literacies at the exclusion of vernacular literacies, and placing highest value on literacies of institutions, and on the literacies of some 'domains' over others. The programmes in the study all focused on the dominant literacy and it was valued by programme staff and participants alike. However, that this was so did not diminish the importance of other literacies to either programme staff or participants and these were part of the wider context in which the dominant literacy learning occurred. There was no tension over them, no sweeping away or ignoring of these other literacies, leaving people's identities intact in so far as they were linked to their other personal/home/family/ community literacy practices. Furthermore, encouraging criticality as these programmes did mediated against this possibility. This highlighted for us that it is possible to teach the dominant literacy without devaluing other literacies (and therefore aspects of people's lives that are critical components of their identity).

Is there confounding of literacy and schooling in family literacy? I consider this to be the case in the sense that most family literacy programmes focus on supporting children's school learning and to the extent that this happens in an unquestioning way. However, the dominant literacy as it is taught and used in schools, and school-like literacies as they are used outside of school, are a feature of contemporary life. In this situation, the dominant literacy/school literacy is useful

to have and it would be wrong not to support the enhancement of these abilities. It seems important though, to understand and be clear and transparent about what is going on and to equally support other contexts for family literacy learning.

2.4. Making sense of complexity

The final major contribution to knowledge was the illumination of how people's whole selves and many facets of their lives come together with programme content and pedagogy and have reciprocal and multifaceted influence that plays out over time and space. How this plays out is a different experience for everybody and yet the process overall that I saw and modeled in Figure 3 in Chapter Eight was tangible and discernable, rendering coherence from complexity.

The importance of this model lies in its organising and explanatory power. It does not deny the complexity but orders it and shows how it works. This helps us see more precisely the role that literacy plays in the effects the programmes have. The effects are wide-ranging and far-reaching. They include literacy knowledge and skills gains, application of these new abilities, and new applications of existing literacy abilities. They include other knowledge and skills gains and their application. The various gains and other things that happened on the programme and outside the programme influenced the literacy and the other effects. The model affirms literacy's character as an interrelated phenomenon and literacy learning's cognitive, social and cultural complexity, but gives these shape with which we can work to create, and celebrate, the full power of these programmes. The model shows that these programmes are more powerful in affecting people's lives in positive ways and those of their families and communities than can be realised if we only concentrate on the literacy skills components and measuring literacy skills gains alone.

In this localised understanding, the fuller picture of the power of these family-focused programmes as I observed them to bring about change in people's lives and how this occurred was clear. There is an interweaving of people's existing abilities with the new ones they acquired, the good things in their material, social and relational lives, and the daily challenges, all mediated through culture. The

breadth and extensiveness of the reach, even within the variety that has been documented, is significant in the value to society it offers.

3. Implications of the findings

3.1. Local implications

The findings of this study suggest that family is an appropriate, relevant and meaningful context for literacy education. We can, indeed, regard family-focused approaches as promising ways to engage people in literacy learning. They can achieve literacy gains and also many other benefits for adults, their families and communities, at least when they are run with people's holistic wellbeing in mind as in the programmes I examined. The findings suggest that prioritising of wellbeing, building approaches from within the community, and system-wide inclusiveness and respect, warrant consideration as ways forward in developing family approaches in Aotearoa New Zealand. In particular they may help to prevent or circumvent some of the current difficulties in provision and additional potential constraints that loom ahead. In contrast they may enable the full promise of these approaches to be realised.

3.1.1. Prioritising wellbeing

The study suggests that people's participation in programmes such as those examined, which were intended to enhance people's literacy abilities, is inevitably and inextricably connected to their wellbeing more generally. Via the 'flow on' of effects we saw, participation by an adult in a family was linked also to the wellbeing of their families and their communities regardless of how directly or indirectly others were involved in the programme in their own right. The findings suggest that attention to people's overall wellbeing is critical to valuable and valued learning taking place and an important contributor in achieving positive outcomes overall. Wellbeing is therefore a critical framework with which to consider how literacy education is done and what value it serves for society. People's wellbeing will be affected anyway and paying attention to it may mean better overall results for them as individuals, for their families and communities and for society generally.

A clear mandate for paying close attention to wellbeing in this general sense exists already in this country in such documents as the *April Report* (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). As a nation, we have expressed our collective view that a reasonable quality of life for everyone is the 'right' 'way to be' as a nation. We have substantial knowledge about cultural differences in what constitutes wellbeing for people and how this is best achieved (for example M.Durie, 1998; Mulitalo-Lauta, 2001; Pere, 1997). We have an expressed (for example in the Treaty of Waitangi) and a moral obligation to recognize these differences tangibly, and we have a moral if not legal obligation to properly support those we welcome into the country from other places such as the Pacific Island nations (as well as immigrants and refugees from other places). Finally, the uneven wellbeing that exists across identifiable groups in our society, even though significant improvements have been made over the decades in some aspects, confirms the need to always consider the contribution to wellbeing in all that is done on behalf of citizens (for example Ministry of Social Development, 2008). In combination, these things suggest a need to prioritise wellbeing effects in the policy, implementation and evaluation of literacy programmes, as should be done in any government undertaking on behalf of its constituency.

The findings of the study suggest that approaches that take into account holistic wellbeing whilst enhancing literacy abilities achieve both literacy and wellbeing gains. They suggest, though, that wellbeing itself must be viewed as a culturally-located phenomenon so that the values, beliefs and ways of being of the people involved are upheld in all aspects of the programme; that without this, harm rather than good may be done because these elements are fundamental to people's identity and therefore their wellbeing. The significant cultural differences between the more individualistic Western orientation and the collectivism of Māori and Pacific peoples seemed to be at the core of the pull between literacy gains and caring for people. Herein lies what I called in Chapter One the overarching moral debate.

The more collective orientation of Māori and Pacific people, which is strongly family-centred, means that family approaches can readily address their interests, concerns and obligations. They want benefit from their involvement to extend to

others in their families and communities and locate benefits to themselves primarily in these extended relationships. Yet, as Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) have pointed out, and as our overview of wellbeing and Nelson and Prilleltensky's framework suggests, *all people* need *some* collectivism. Relational and collective wellbeing are necessary for personal wellbeing for all people.

This raises questions about how well these approaches are supported and how they might be better supported and what the blocks to them being used are. Practitioners seem to have to work around restrictive policy to implement what they believe to be effective, respectful and 'right' approaches.

3.1.2. Building from within community

The findings of this study suggest that the determination of what is desired or required and how to achieve it, and the process itself, may be best driven from within the community. This does not mean that all help has to come from within the community but external help needs to operate in ways which respect the indigeneity of the community the outside helpers have entered.

We saw that programme designers and staff viewed the literacy needs of individuals they were addressing within an interest in their whole selves and concern for their holistic wellbeing. Relatedly, they also saw these individuals as located within, and connected to, wider family and community contexts and located their work with individuals within these contexts. They saw their work as connected and contributing to wider family and community strengthening and development. In various ways all saw the communities the participants belonged to as having community-wide problems or challenges (as well as strengths) that the literacy work was helping address. This was exemplified in the school which ran the HPP-based programme where the Principal used the relational parts of HPP as a model for social behaviour in the whole school and in school-community interactions. The programme staff did not see literacy-as-skills as the singular solution to individual, family or community problems. Rather they saw it as a very important but insufficient contributor (by itself) and, as such, as part of a multifaceted approach in which *social* aspects of literacy also played a role as did other knowledge, skills and social and relational ways that could be learned or

strengthened within the programme. Staff were able to see the interconnections because they knew the community well enough or were themselves part of the community. The primary need for relevance was attainable because of this systemic view and strong local knowledge.

In this same location, the invitation by the Principal and the Project Director to people in the community to be involved in helping children in the school who were not their own was a strengths-based, respectful and empowering way to involve people in their own development and that of their families and communities. In comparison, if people outside the community offer their externally-designed ways without this respectful stance they may well appear to be suggesting, or may actually be suggesting, that the community members cannot help themselves and that they have nothing to offer each other. Such an approach – this latter one – is contrary to what we know is important for people's wellbeing.

Yet, the findings strongly suggested that a good deal of power rests with the programme staff and the participants themselves. People will not participate if the programme does not suit them for whatever reason or reasons they perceive to be the case. If they do not participate, government will not be able to substantially improve the low literacy levels it is hoping to. Providers know what is needed and do what is needed regardless of government priorities and as well as what they have undertaken to do contractually. This could almost be considered subversive – in the most positive sense – if it were not that it is at the same time essential for people's literacy, social and general wellbeing.

This suggests also that when there are difficulties in attracting people to programmes in communities where literacy levels are known to contribute to people's difficulties, or where there are other needs that would be helped by enhanced literacy, community leaders or representatives and potential participants themselves need to be fully involved in the shaping and driving of the help that is offered. Closeness to the communities – knowing their members well – seemed to be critical to offering relevant and doable programmes. The Benley programme had difficulties recruiting the number agreed in their Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) contract in following years and eventually ceased as a consequence; not because it was not successful in helping those it worked with but

because it was not helping enough people at one time. This strengthens my sense of the need for community members and leaders to drive programmes, suggesting even further building from the ground is required and consequently, quite possibly, a longer-term strategy that builds a self-sustaining localised infrastructure of locally relevant (and still nationally important) multi-, inter- and intragenerational learning.

3.1.3. Systemic respect

The fundamental importance of relationships in all endeavours was abundantly clear in this study. How things occur is bound up in what occurs so both are equally important. The underpinning values in this family literacy work were trust, respect and belief in people's rights to participation, all combined with genuine care and almost always high quality teaching. These values and beliefs were apparent through every aspect of the programme as designed and delivered by the providers. However, developments in the last months of this study timeframe are concerning. Many broader programmes such as those in the study are no longer funded, a formal pre- and post-programme assessment is now expected and funding is based on an average of 100 hours participation per learner with a maximum of 200 hours allowable for any one person. Many of the learners in the study would not have remained on their programme to achieve the benefits they did under these new 'duration' rules and therefore nor would their families or communities have benefited in the ways I observed. The impacts of these requirements need to be fully understood and considered against alternatives which may be more supportive of the approaches valued by the participants in the study and seen as rightful and necessary by them when holistic concern for people is paramount. Literacy was a strong feature within such approaches and literacy outcomes were achieved.

This situation suggests that there is a need for the same level of respect on the part of government towards learners, those who teach them and those who live and work in and for their communities, know them well and design programmes for them, as government expects providers to show towards learners. This is a systemic matter with the outer layer of the system – the policy and implementation policy layer – failing to have adequate positive effects on the inner

layers of social groups and communties of various kinds including families and ultimately on individuals. To do better will require the differences between people – their values, beliefs, what they hold as important and how they want to be – to be accepted and supported by policymakers (to be "legitimated" in Bond's (2005) terms) in *all* layers in the helping system.

3.1.4. Wellbeing of society

Considering now the implications for Aotearoa New Zealand society as a whole, I return to my notion of citizen-centred outcomes (see Chapter Five). The reader will recall this notion was strongly centred on Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) framework for wellbeing. Its individual, relational and collective dimensions accommodate well Māori and Pacific perspectives of wellbeing through the holistic, ecological and ideological principles which underpin it, thus it is useful and relevant framework for our context. Further, as research on equality and disparity shows that everyone in a society is affected by unsatisfactory levels of wellbeing among groups or individuals in our communities (Marmot & Wilkinson, 1999; Wilkinson & Picket, 2010), it is critical that we consider wellbeing effects as part of how we measure the success of literacy, and any other, programmes.

Speaking of supporting families as wholes and all members of families, the HPP-based programme Principal observed (Interview 2):

> We've really got to unpackage this. It's not a fairy tale with a lovely wand any more. We've all got to work together to make [the family] a really good unit, and for society. It's the social things we've got to really manage and get our head around otherwise we [as a society] are just going to be in a pickle, it's just too hard.

Speaking of children in the context of the school and that of society's future she added, "What we are trying to say to the children is that *we can't leave anyone out of the equation*." (my emphasis)

Taken beyond the school setting to the wider array of potential contexts for family literacy work, these thoughts reflect the synergy of the dimensions of Nelson and

Prilleltensky's (2005) framework whereby relational and collective wellbeing are necessary for personal wellbeing. We *all* need to consider *everyone* in our community; we need more of a collective focus and less of an individualistic one for both our society's sake and for the sake of every individual within our collectivity of the citizenry of New Zealand.

3.2. International implications

There may well be programme providers in countries beyond New Zealand who find the detail of what occurred in the study programmes and the impact of the programmes on people useful in considering their own approaches in their family literacy programmes. In particular, it may be that providers' respectful stance towards participants, their families and their communities, so clearly present in the study programmes, may cause their counterparts elsewhere to reflect on their own underlying attitudes, values and beliefs. They may, in turn, evaluate them on the basis of how respectful they actually are of those they serve, attempt to serve or would like to serve in much the same way as Auerbach (1989) called for. They may then go further and consider whether their practices are helpful for people's overall wellbeing even if they do raise their literacy skills. I hope this is the case. In countries like New Zealand, where indigenous people do less well on many wellbeing indicators in disproportionate numbers to the dominant majority population, this study offers some very important indicators of what needs to change. Further, as so many countries become increasingly multicultural, so it becomes increasingly urgent that differences between people are valued and respected at the same time as all people's right to function well within the dominant sphere is enabled.

The two models developed in this study (Figures 2 and 3, see Chapter Eight) may be helpful for theorising what is happening in programmes and what occurs as a result of participation and how it occurs over time. I hope it encourages programme providers and policymakers everywhere to put in place mechanisms through which they can understand, where they do not already, what really occurs on the programmes they offer and identify the critical parts for people's literacy *and* overall wellbeing so that these may be nurtured. The best interest of societies as whole entities cannot otherwise be served.

4. Limitations of the research and future directions

The 18 month period of data collection (and its intensity) was sufficient to support the idea that there are 'flow on' effects over time and space that had been suggested in other studies both local and international. The present study added considerable depth and richness to what was already known from such earlier studies. It suggests that research of even longer duration would enable even more understanding of the 'flow on' of effects and how far in time and space effects reach, the process of 'flow on' and the interweaving with other environmental elements that was seen in the present study and from which two models were constructed. Further analysis and presentation of individual case programmes, and some of the individual participants' stories as stand-alone cases, would further illuminate, test out and help to refine both of the models, as would even finer tracing of individual's pathways in a new study. There is a wealth of further examination of the data that remains to be done. For example, analysing the outcomes experienced by people in terms of a single specific construct such as efficacy following Benseman's (2006) suggestion of this as a useful construct for understanding the wider benefits of literacy programmes, the knowledge that it is strongly associated with wellbeing and the evidence in the present study of it strengthening through programme participation. Any of these possibilities would help to build on the models developed in the present study.

The study confirms the inseparability of literacy from its social aspects and the interconnectedness of literacy with other spheres of life. There can be no doubt that it is counterproductive to attempt to treat literacy as autonomous skills within government policy and funding processes. The Tertiary Commission does mandate embedded literacy (which is not an autonomous approach). However, curriculum driven though the Literacy and Numeracy Progressions (as evidenced in the Preston programme example of tutor review of student learning, see Preston Observation 1 in Appendix 21), and the somewhat autonomous evaluation through recontextualised and hypothetical test items that is now required, are somewhat oppositional or counterintuitive to the embedded approach that is mooted. The models I have developed may present a way forward from what seems currently to be a stalemate here whereby family approaches, given current policy, cannot easily

be actively supported. This is seemingly because (1) they involve a broader meaning of literacy than that which currently underpins government-funded adult literacy education and (2) because they achieve broad outcomes for which there is no satisfactory measure and thus they are not able to be valued, at least not to the extent that the study suggests they ought to be if we as a nation have more citizen-centred goals in mind for our investment in literacy education in the sense I have defined the term in this study. It has been suggested to me that if literacy gains are achieved the sought-after social gains will also be achieved. This study suggests that this may well be the case but clearly shows that this cannot be guaranteed as there were 12 clearly identifiable, very specific, principles and practices which contributed to the results the programmes achieved. The study has been quite clear in demonstrating that gains of either a literacy or a social nature do not happen 'magically' through simplistic transfer of literacy skills from teacher to learner but rather via intentional and genuine strengths and rights-based and holistic strategies that fundamentally are enactments of care for people as whole beings and respect for diversity.

This suggests two further studies as priorities. One of these is developing meaningful and manageable ways to record other gains that are useful for students, tutors, programme managers and government and are accepted by all those affected as legitimate and valuable. Many programmes record a good deal of such information already but there is no consistency across programmes by different providers and it does not seem to be able to be utilised, at least not formally or consistently, as a means of confirming programme quality. The second, and related, research priority is exploring, trialing and evaluating alternative funding models that start with an overarching wellbeing framework that is then quite likely to be based on a broad view of what literacy is, in which literacy skills gains assessment is then located.

Another much needed study which flows logically from the present one would investigate all (or at least a good-sized and representative sample) of the current adult literacy programmes and one-on-one provision for what is actually occurring from an inclusive and strengths-based view of families, a broad view of literacy and an overarching concern for holistic individual, family and community wellbeing to

determine how much of it is, in fact, already literacy broadly defined, how much of it could be classified as family literacy, ways in which it is linked to wellbeing, and what it means to the people involved or affected (individuals, families and communities) in terms of literacy development as well as, and in the context of, overall quality of life including family and community wellbeing. The role of literacy within this, teased out in the present study, needs even more examination. The next step would be to determine how best to put in place and/or strengthen existing support of this broader work, to put these strategies in place and to evaluate their effectiveness. A process evaluation would be a useful step. This would be a follow up to what was initiated in the typology development (Furness, 2006b) but based on actual practices rather than intended practices and with a clear wellbeing mandate. It is clear that we need to embrace literacy as a broad, social and interrelated phenomenon and fully support these qualities and their potential to enhance people's overall quality of life. Properly-supported application of the best of what is now known about family approaches to literacy education and putting in place a longer longitudinal study around a model programme with regular reporting to the sector would be useful at this point.

We need to know the results of the assessment of the impact of the use of the assessment tool currently underway by the TEC (Heinrich, J., & Barnes, H., personal communication, May 11, 2011). If it is found to serve some useful purpose, we need to be clear about what this purpose is and the circumstances in which this is so to enable us to ensure these circumstances are always present. As well, we need to assess the impact of the other rules around participation, and again, how this is affecting provision and access in the light of what the present study has shown us about what actually matters to people as they go about their everyday lives as adults, parents and family and community members in their diverse cultural ways. The New Zealand government's dilemma is palpable. However I suggest that a large measure of what is needed is enacted valuing and respect for different ways of being, true recognition of the realities of people's lives including their strengths and their struggles, and a genuine determination to work stridently towards a reasonable quality of life for everyone within literacy provision as in all that government does in the name of its citizens.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Initial letter to programme providers

School of Education
University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton

3 May 2006

Tena koe

Family literacy research

I am a community psychologist and have worked in the area of youth and adult education and training for ten years and in the field of adult literacy education for the last five of these years. I am particularly interested in literacy that families and communities use. I am currently teaching part time at the University of Waikato in community psychology, but my main focus at present is on my doctoral study in the area of **family and intergenerational literacy**. Such approaches have been found to be useful in literacy development and improving life chances for families but we do not know very much about the range of these programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

My research will involve developing case studies of several learners on a few programmes, which have a family/whanau focus. The aim of the study is to understand the broad effects of participation in family/whanau-focused literacy programmes on the adult participants, their families and their communities. The study aims to make accessible a much richer picture than currently exists of different ways programmes are family/whanau focused and how these approaches contribute to improving people's lives and the lives of whanau and communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand. There are therefore potential benefits for future literacy learners and their families/whanau. The study involves:

   1. Understanding the broad effects of participation in programmes which are focused on families or use family/whanau approaches, on the learners, their families and their communities;

2. Understanding the programme itself, and those elements which individually or in combination make a positive difference for participants and their families and communities.

I also anticipate developing a typology of programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand. I have begun by looking across all the programmes which received funding from the Foundation Learning Pool to begin to understand how family/whanau approaches are woven into adult literacy programmes. Developing a typology that reflects family/whanau literacy in Aotearoa/New Zealand will take some time and needs to involve providers and learners in discussions about what family literacy means to them. I intend to make some opportunities for such discussions over the coming months.

My initial impressions are that there are a number of programmes that have quite a strong family focus, though they may or may not be called a family literacy programme. Some examples of this focus are:
- adults *and* children or other whanau or other generations are directly involved in the programme;
- the programme includes activities which children, other whanau or different generations take part in;
- the programme includes teaching the adults how to support their children or other whanau in their literacy development or their learning generally;
- the programme is seen by the provider as having benefits for whanau and is delivered with this wider outcome in mind;
- the programme has a focus on everyday literacy that occurs between family members and extends out into the community.

I would like to involve three or four such programmes and 12-16 learners in my research.

With the learners, my aim is to explore with them the effects of their participation and literacy development as individuals and as family and community members. Thus, I am seeking to understand the effects of family approaches to literacy development beyond the improvements in literacy skills alone. I am interested in the broader effects on the adult's well-being and participation in their families and communities more generally, and in the positive effects that spill over to their whanau and communities. I anticipate a shared journey of exploration *with* the learners, involving 4-6 conversations or group discussions with them over 15-18 months (while they are on the programme and after they have left it, up until December 2007). We would initially develop together a map of their family and social networks, the literacy involved and some of the challenges. This would serve as a reference point in the conversations.

Regarding the programmes themselves, the aim of the research is to develop an in-depth understanding of the characteristics of some examples of programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand that are family/whanau focused, and to illuminate which characteristics contribute to beneficial effects for participants, their families and communities. Again, conversations will be important in arriving at this understanding. The role of programme providers who participate would be:

- key personnel engaging in an initial and end-of-programme interview/conversation with me about the programme (its aims, philosophy, content, teaching methods etc), and some informal conversations from time to time;
- allowing me to observe some classroom sessions and relevant programme documentation;
- enabling me access to learners to invite their participation in the research and for the conversations.

There are a number of safeguards for research participants that you may like to consider, in the event that you may be interested in participating in the research.

- Most interviews/conversations will take 45 – 60 minutes. They would take place at the programme site in a private situation.
- The information I collect will be confidential. The programme, provider organisation, staff and learners will not be personally identified in the research (pseudonyms or generic titles will be used).
- Payment could be made for a reliever when tutors are interviewed.
- If there are questions that any participant does not wish to answer, they do not need to answer them.
- During the first 3 months of the research you can withdraw from the research by notifying me or my supervisors (after this period the nature of withdrawal would need to be negotiated). You need to be happy for me to use some of the information already collected if you withdraw from the research after 6 months.
- Learner participants may withdraw at anytime (with their permission, data already collected may be used if they withdraw after 3 months participation).
- Copies of your interview/conversation transcripts will be sent to you to read and edit to check the information is correct.
- You need to be happy for me to use some of the information from this research for publishing, including my thesis. If this occurs, your identity will not be revealed at any time.
- If you wish, you can receive a copy of the draft of publications for comment prior to their publication.

This research will become my doctoral thesis, which I hope to complete early in 2009. The research will be published as a thesis, and may form the basis of some journal articles or conference presentations.

I am Pakeha of Scottish and English descent. I am aware that many of the people I may work with in this project will be Maori or Pasifika. I bring to the project an awareness of my responsibilities toward Maori as Tangata Whenua and a commitment to respectful research processes with all people with whom I may engage.

If you would like to discuss the proposed research, please contact me at email jaf3@waikato.ac.nz or phone (07) 856 2889, extension 8203. My full contact details and those of the research supervisors are attached.

Over the next two weeks I will contact you regarding the research and your likely interest in participating in it, or to arrange a time to come and talk to you about it. I look forward to talking with you.

Naku noa, na

Jane Furness

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Appendix 2: Progress letter (example)

21 November 2008

Tena Koe ████████

In 2005 I wrote to you about a study I was undertaking which was investigating the outcomes for adult participants, their families and communities of participation in family-focused literacy education programmes. I was wanting to work with a foundation learning programme run by Kathryn Atvars of Kia Maia Associates for which, at the time, your organisation held the contract with the Tertiary Education Commission. I was directed by your organisation to contact Kathryn Atvars directly which I duly did, and this programme has since been involved in the study. I am writing to you to ascertain your ongoing interest in this project and to offer to keep you informed of progress with it, as might be deemed appropriate. I can either meet with members of your organisation or send you a written update. Further, as the study progresses, there may be parts of the study you wish to see in draft form and comment on and arrangements can be made for this to occur if you wish.

I have enclosed a copy of the letter sent to you in May 2006 which outlined the project. In general terms, the data collection phase of the study has been completed and analysis is underway.

I look forward to hearing from you regarding your wishes.

Naku noa, na

Jane Furness

Appendix 3: Research information for programme staff

Family literacy research - Information for programme staff

Tena koe/hello

I am a community psychologist and have worked in the area of youth and adult education and training for the last ten years and in the field of adult literacy education for the last five years. I am particularly interested in literacy that families and communities use. I am currently teaching part time at the University of Waikato in community psychology, but my main focus at present is on my doctoral study in the area of family and intergenerational literacy.

My research proposal involves developing case studies of several learners on a few programmes which have a family/whanau focus. The aim of the study is to understand the broad effects of participation in family/whanau-focused literacy programmes on the adult participants, their families and their communities.

This will involve three parts, the first of which is already partially completed.

Part 1. Developing a typology of family and intergenerational programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand
This is a work in progress but has been started by drawing on information available to me as an approved researcher through the Tertiary Education Commission's database of 2006 programmes. The study itself will contribute to the evolution of a typology. The purpose of the typology is to develop a picture of the range of programmes in New Zealand which have a family/whanau focus, for example, their philosophy, aims and content, who is providing them and participating in them, and their community embeddedness. Providers of adult literacy programmes, especially those with a whanau/family focus, need to be involved in this development. To this end, I will seek opportunities to engage in conversation with you over the coming months.

Part 2. Understanding the programme and the elements of it that make a positive difference
In the April-May 2006 period I will contact some providers across the range on the typology to discuss your interest in being involved in the research. I will be seeking two to five programmes to participate. My aim is to develop an in-depth understanding of the nature of family literacy programmes in Aotearoa and to illuminate which components contribute to beneficial effects for participants, their families and communities. Your role in the research would be initial and end of programme interviews, some informal discussions, observation of some 'lessons', enabling access to learners for recruitment purposes, enabling access to learners for interviews (for which tutor relievers could be paid).

Part 3. Understanding the broad effects on learners, their families and their communities

Between May and August 2006 I aim to recruit up to 15 or 16 learners across the participating programmes to participate in the study. My aim is to explore with them the effects of their participation in the programme and their literacy development at a personal level, within their families and in their engagement in their communities. I am seeking to understand the effects of family approaches to literacy development on the well-being of the participating individuals, their families and their communities. I anticipate a shared journey of exploration. The learners will participate in a session with me in the first few weeks of the programme in which together we map their family and community networks and identify the related literacy tasks and challenges. They will have 2 or 3 other interviews/conversations with me over 15-18 months (while they are on the programme and after they have left it).

There are a number of safeguards for all study participants which you may like to consider, in the event that you may be interested in participating in the research.

- Most interviews will take 60 minutes
- The interviews will take place at the programme site in a private situation
- The information I collect will be confidential, and neither the programme, provider organisation, programme staff or learners will be personally identified in the research (pseudonyms or generic titles will be used). However, some providers may prefer their organisation and/or their programme to be named.
- If there are any questions that you do not wish to answer, you do not need to answer them
- During the first 3 months of the research you can withdraw from the research by notifying the researcher or the research supervisors. After this period the nature of withdrawal would need to be negotiated.
- Participant learners may withdraw at anytime; however, with their permission, data already collected may be used if they withdraw after 3 months participation.
- Once transcripts of the interviews are completed, copies of the transcripts or the tape recordings (whichever is preferred) will be sent to you to read and edit to check the information is correct
- You need to be happy for me to use some of the information from this research for publishing, including my thesis. If this occurs, your identity will not be revealed at any time.
- You need to be happy for me to use some of the information already collected if you withdraw from the research after 6 months. If this occurs, your identity will not be revealed at any time.
- If you wish, you can receive a copy of the draft of publications for comment prior to their publication.

This study will become my doctoral thesis, which I hope to complete early in 2009. The research will be published as a thesis, and may form the basis of some journal articles or conference presentations.

If you would like to discuss the proposed study, you may contact me at
Email: jaf3@waikato.ac.nz or
Phone: (07) 856 2889, extension 8203

Contact details

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Appendix 4: Research information for adult participants

Family literacy research – Information for adult learners

Tena koe/hello

My name is Jane Furness. I am a community psychologist and have worked in youth and adult education and training for the last ten years. I am very interested in reading, writing, speaking, listening and maths that families and communities use. I am interested in learning more by talking to some people who are taking part in programmes that help them with these skills to use in their everyday life and with their families.

This is an information sheet for you to read, or have someone read to you. It sets out some things for you to think about when deciding whether to take part in this study.

Explanation

This study will become my 'doctoral thesis', which I hope to finish by early in 2009. My aim is to understand the effects of programmes like this one by following some adults through the programme and after they finish the programme. I will do this by talking with them about what has changed for them and what those changes mean for them and for their family.

If you agree to take part in the study, you will need to agree to taking part in 3 or 4 recorded conversations with me. These would take place at the start of the programme, at the end of the programme and when 18 months have past since you began on the programme. We may need to have one more conversation either when you are on the programme or after you have finished it, depending how long you are on the programme for. In these conversations we will talk about
- your feelings about literacy and your hope to gain from the programme
- your progress on the programme, and the difference it makes to you in your daily life and your family and community life
- what the ideas of family, community and well-being mean to you
- any questions you think are important to answer in the study (if you wish)

You would also need to give permission for me to
- look at your records on your progress in the programme (and your children's school records on their progress if you have children at school)
- observe some programme activities in which everyone takes part and make notes about the programme

- talk about the programme as a whole with the tutor or other helpers

The study would be published as a 'thesis' and may form the basis of some journal articles and conference presentations.

If you agree to take part in this study, there would be a number of safeguards for you. These are
- most conversations will take 60 minutes
- the conversations will take place at the programme site in a private situation
- the things you tell me will be confidential, and you will not be personally identified in the study
- if there are any questions that you do not wish to answer, you do not need to answer them
- at any time during the study you (or your children) can withdraw from it by telling me, my supervisors or another adult we will agree on such as the tutor or, in the children's case, their teacher)
- a copy of the taped conversation or a written version (whichever you prefer) will be given to you so you can check what was said and that it is what you wanted to say. You can change or add to what you said or take some parts away if you wish.

You need to be happy for me to
- use some of the information from this study for publishing, including my thesis
- use some of the information already collected if you withdraw from the study after 3 months.

If you wish, you can receive a copy of the draft of publications for comment before they are published.

If you have any questions you would like to ask, you can contact me at
- Email: jaf3@waikato.ac.nz or
- Phone: (07) 856 2889, extension 8203, or
- you can ask your tutor to contact me

Contact details

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Appendix 5: Programme staff research consent form

Informed consent form – programme provider staff

I, _____ , consent to becoming a participant in the doctoral research being conducted by Jane Furness on the benefits of taking part in a family/whanau focused literacy programme.

I understand that the research will involve
- 2 recorded interviews (1 at the beginning and 1 at the end of the programme)
- occasional informal conversations (or by arrangement)
- access to descriptive programme documentation and teaching materials
- access to the learning records of research participants, with their permission
- observation of some activities on the programme in which notes will be taken discussion of the programme as a whole with key provider staff
- ongoing development and discussion of the data for a thesis, journal articles and conference presentations

I consent to a case study being negotiated about the programme. I understand that pseudonyms or generic titles will be used for all provider personnel. If pseudonyms are used, I will have an opportunity to choose the pseudonym I wish to be known by. Pseudonyms will also be used for the participating learners. My organisation will decide whether or not it is named as the provider of the programme and whether or not the programme is named or a pseudonym used. I understand that the use of a programme pseudonym may not prevent the programme being recognisable within the adult literacy community.

I consent to the programme case study being part of a doctoral thesis, conference papers and articles.

I understand I am free to withdraw from the research during the first 3 months of the project and that after this time period any withdrawal would need to be negotiated. I understand that some of the information already collected may be used if I withdraw after 3 months participation. I agree to seek to resolve any issues in the researcher's control before withdrawing, if these are the reason for wishing to withdraw.

I understand the research is undertaken in accordance with the University of Waikato's Human Research Ethics Regulations and that all data used for published research must be archived indefinitely. If I wish to seek redress for concerns I may contact the research supervisors at the University of Waikato.

Signed _____ Date _____

Contact details:

Preferred method of contact:

_____

Programme manager only:
Provider organisation may be named by researcher: Yes/No
Programme may be named by researcher: Yes/No

Appendix 6: Adult participant research consent form

Informed consent form – adult learners

I, _____ , agree to taking part in Jane Furness's doctoral study on the effects of taking part in a family/whanau focused literacy programme.

I understand that

a) I will have 3 or 4 conversations with Jane over a period of 15-18 months. The conversations will be recorded and transcribed and kept secure. I will be given a copy of the tape recording or a written version (whichever I prefer) so that I can check that it is what I wanted to say and change it if I wish. I can add some of my own questions if I wish.

b) Jane will look at my programme records, and my children's school progress records if I agree

c) Jane will observe some programme activities and take some notes

d) Jane will discuss the programme as a whole with the tutor and helpers

e) The information collected will be the basis of a thesis, and possibly some journal articles and conference presentations

I consent to my story about the effects of the programme being collected and developed with Jane. I understand that I will not be personally identified in any writing based on the information I share. All members of my family and social network who are part of my story will also not be personally identified (everyone will be given different names).

I consent to my children's school progress records being viewed by Jane and their use being discussed with me. I understand my children are free to withdraw from the study at anytime without my consent and that there will be no repercussions if they do so.

I consent to my story being part of a doctoral thesis, conference papers and articles.

I understand I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, and that some of the information already collected may be used if I withdraw after 3 months. I understand that withdrawing from the study will not affect my standing in the programme. I agree to try to solve any problems under Jane's control (such as when we have the recorded conversations) so that I can continue in the study should these arise.

I understand the study is carried out according to the University of Waikato's Human Research Ethics Regulations and that all the information used for published research must be kept in a secure place indefinitely.

I understand that if I am concerned about the study at anytime I may contact Jane's supervisors at the University of Waikato.

Signed _____ Date _____

Preferred method of contact: phone / letter / email / fax (circle as many as are preferred)

Preferred place of contact: home / programme (cross out one)

The pseudonym I wish to be known by in the study is _____
If I do not suggest one here, I agree to Jane choosing a pseudonym for me.

Appendix 7: Progress email to participant providers/ caretakers (example)

4.8.10

Kia ora Kathryn

How are you? Well I hope.

You must be thinking I have dropped off the planet!! I am wanting to update you on where I am up to with the family literacy research.

I spent last year focused on, and finalising, the conceptual material that constitutes such a large part of my thesis.This has been important preparation for the final analytic work which I commence next Monday, but it was a different order of things than I had thought I would do; and I had thought I would have something to share with you much sooner than this! I will work first of all on the chapter related to the programmes themselves, and then from late May on the chapter which describes and discusses the learners' outcomes and the flow on effects in relation to well-being. This means that in late May there will be a chapter for you to look at that contains the following
- description of programme goals, structure, content, measures, learning/teaching philosophy/approach, the learners the programme is aimed at, the learners in the study (as a group), who is expected to benefit, who does benefit (reference to the next chapter)
- programme and learners perspectives and my observations on what's thought or seems to be important for participation
- programme and learners perspectives of literacy, family, family literacy, community, citizenship and well-being (the concepts the study explores)
- programme links to families and community and learners links to each other and community and - this is the point of the chapter - how these 'realities' (e.g. programme content) and perspectives (e.g. what family means to people and how this meaning is reflected in programmes) relate to the well-being of the learners, their families and communities at the individual, relational and collective levels

The next chapter looks at what has happened to the learners through their participation in the programme. i.e. changes in their literacy usage and abilities and other changes in their lives and how these are connected to literacy, the flow on effects to others in their networks (family and community), how these changes are related to the programme and again (the point of the chapter) how these changes are connected to well-being for them, their families and communities. What is important about the programme in achieving these changes and contributions to well-being is part of the discussion in this chapter.

I will be showing these chapters to ███, as well and to ████, ██ and ██ if they want to see them, they did think that they would. This is part of the commitment I have made to represent people and programmes authentically and in ways which those concerned are comfortable are a fair representation. Note that this is not a programme evaluation, it is an argument for a broad and inclusive conceptualisation of family literacy focused on people's well-being and our societal responsibilities for the collective good so it is focused on the potential that family-focused approaches to literacy education has to offer. Participants, programme staff and project caretakers all have the opportunity to discuss the content of these chapters with me, and anything they feel they are not happy with should this situation arise.

Conceptually, the view of literacy which underpins the thesis is a view of literacy as social practice therefore a view of literacy as of multiliteracies and multiple modes of literacy, a strengths-based view of families, and an ideal of family approaches to literacy education programmes based on these perspectives which means having a variety of programmes relevant to different contexts and people thus a broad and inclusive approach to what literacy is and what it is for. It may be useful, if you so wish, to read the introduction to the thesis which sets out the context and the purposes at the same time as you look at the programme and learner chapters. Just a thought and you can let me know if you want to do this. You are most welcome to read the conceptual chapters as well if you so wish! I will be doing a summary version of the main points of the study for interested parties once I have finished it all.

I wondered too if I could catch up with you in the next few of months - as part of my ensuring I am current in my perception of the context at present, which has changed since I began this work in 2005! It could be at the time you give me any feedback/we discuss what's in the chapters, so as late as the August or September.

I have a new mokopuna - Connor William; he is one now and beautiful of course. Roger can't wait for me to finish this project and get a job so he can leave teaching and do something different! Our eldest daughter, Melanie, mother of Connor and nearly four year old Megan, is back teaching at Morrinsville college this year; so far no family meltdowns! Jessica is engaged and on her OE with fiance, currently both working in Whistler where the winter olympics were. They are back in September and getting married in March 2011.

I do hope all is well with you and your family. It will be good to catch up later in the year.

Arohanui
Jane

Appendix 8: Adult participant background information form

Adult learner background information

Name:

Age or birth date:

Gender: Male_____   Female _____   (tick one)

Ethnicity: Iwi (if applicable):

How many years did you attend school altogether (including secondary school)?

How many years did you attend secondary school?

What courses have you attended since leaving school?

What paid jobs have you had?

What unpaid work have you done?

What qualifications do you have from school or other places?

What is the main thing you do each day at the moment?

Programme start date: _____   Programme end date:_____

Appendix 9: Initial adult participant interview schedule

Adult learners – 1st Interview

Explore

- notion of family and who is in their family
- family and community networks and relationships (map)
- tasks and roles in these relationships
- literacy practices used within these relationships, tasks and roles
- feelings about literacy skills and challenges
- hopes for the gains from the programme
- notion of well-being and what it means for the participant
- current level of well-being
- questions the participant thinks are important to explore in the research

Questions

1. Family

    (a) What does "family" mean to you? Who do you think of as being your family? Who specifically are they? What is their relationship to you?
    (b) Who lives with you in your household? What is their relationship to you? Are they all "family" in the way you understand family?
    (c) What roles do you have in relation to the household members? Your wider family (specifically)? Do any of these roles take you out into the community? Which ones? In what way?
    (d) What tasks do you perform in these roles? What literacy is involved in these roles and tasks? What do you do well? What is difficult for you? What do you avoid doing? What would you like to be doing that you are not doing now?

2. Community

    (a) What does "community" mean to you?
    (b) What relationships, roles, tasks (interactions) do you have with/in the community? (Go back to the family related roles and tasks that take the learner into the community then on to others outside the family)
    (c) What literacy is involved in these roles and tasks? What do you do well? What is difficult for you? What do you avoid doing? What would you like to be doing that you are not doing now?

3. Citizenship

    (a) What does citizenship mean to you?
    (b) In what ways do you engage as a citizen?

(c) What do you do well? What is difficult for you? What do you avoid doing/being involved in? What would you like to be doing that you are not doing now?

4. Well-being

(a) What does well-being mean to you? What do you think is essential to achieve well-being, to be healthy physically, mentally and spiritually? What would you be like if you were in your best state of well-being, how would you like to be?

(b) How would you describe your current state of well-being?

5. Feelings about literacy and the programme

(a) How would you describe your literacy skills at the moment? How do you feel about your literacy skills at the moment and the challenges you face?

(b) Why did you decide to come to the programme? Why now and not some other time?

6. Hopes for the future

(a) What do you hope you will get from the programme? How would you like to feel about your literacy skills in the future? What would you like to be doing that you are not doing now? (explore relationships, family interaction, everyday living, community participation, citizenship)

(b) What do you hope for the/your children/your wider whanau because of your participation in the programme?

7. Questions the research should explore

(a) *Re-state the broad research questions and note these are questions I and other people who work in adult literacy feel are important, but the learners may have other questions they think are important.* What other questions should the study ask to ensure you and other adult students get programmes that meet your needs, hopes and goals for your future and the future of your families and communities?

Appendix 10: Second and final adult participant interview schedule

Adult learners – second and final interview

These will be conversations, exploring events and their effects, shaped by the following questions and covering the topic areas suggested by the questions. Each participant's network map will provide reference points for the conversations. The network map will become a mechanism through which change can be traced – in literacy use, in relationships, in network membership, in well-being and citizenship, in others. Other reflections sought will be around elements of the programme the learners thought were important in achieving beneficial effects. The questions below may be added to via participants' suggestions.

Explore

- improvements in adult learners' literacy skills
- changes in their use of literacy
- what these changes mean to the learner
- impacts of changes on everyday life, family relationships, community and society participation, well-being
- aspects of the programme the learners thought important in achieving positive effects

Questions

1. Literacy skills and usage (BIG PICTURE)

    (a) What changes (improvements), if any, are you aware of in your literacy skills? *(behaviours)*

    Alternative: What are you good/better at now than before?

    (b) What changes, if any, are you aware of in your use of literacy (e.g. reading more often, writing notes to teachers; refer to network map)? *(behaviours)*

    Alternative: What do you do/do more of now than before?

    (c) Do you *feel* differently now about your literacy skills than before the programme?

    (d) Do you feel or think differently now about yourself than before the programme?

    (e) Were there specific events or learning moments or aspects of the programme that led or contributed to these changes (*in behaviours, feelings, beliefs*)? What were these? (Explore for each change mentioned in a, b, c.)

2. Changes in FAMILIAR contexts (family, community)

    (a) What new relationships, roles, tasks are you engaging in (in familiar contexts)? (Refer to network map and roles/tasks sheet) *Alternative: Are you doing anything new or differently than before? Tell me about (each one mentioned).*

    i. What new literacy tasks are you undertaking (for each new relationship, role, task)? *i.e. unpack the literacy tasks within the relationships/roles/general tasks (the new or different things) mentioned above.*

    ii. What new literacy skills are you using (for each new relationship, role, task)? *i.e. unpack the literacy skills in the tasks mentioned above.*

      iii.   How did these changes come about? *Explore link to programme, other explanations.*

3. Changes in NEW CONTEXTS

   (a) Are there new relationships, roles, tasks to add to your network map? *Alternative: Are you doing anything new? Tell me about (each one mentioned).*

      i.   What new literacy tasks are you undertaking (for each new relationship, role, task)? *i.e. unpack the literacy tasks within the relationships/roles/general tasks (the new things) mentioned above*

      ii.   What new literacy skills are you using (for each new relationship, role, task)? *i.e. unpack the literacy skills in the tasks mentioned above*

      iii.   How did these changes come about? *Explore link to programme, other explanations.*

4. FAMILY changes - family in programme

   (a) What activities have you been engaging in with family/household who are in the programme?

   (b) What changes, if any, have you noticed in family/household who are in the programme? *(behaviours, attitudes, interrelationships)*

   (c) What impact are these changes in others having on you, on others in the family/household, on the family/household as a whole?

5. FAMILY changes – family not in programme

   (a) What activities have you been engaging in with family/household who are not in the programme?

   (b) What changes, if any, have you noticed in other family/household members who are not in the programme? *(behaviours, attitudes, interrelationships)*

   (c) What impact are these changes in others having on you, on others in the family/household, on the family/household as a whole?

6. WELL-BEING

   (a) Has your state of well-being changed? (Refer to earlier description of well-being? In what way?

   (b) Why do you think it has changed? *Explore link to programme, other explanations.*

7. Overall PROGRAMME effects

   (a) Has the programme **helped** i) you? ii) others in your family/household? In what ways? Cover
      – learning and literacy
      – relationships
      – family and community roles
      – well-being

   (b) Has the programme **hindered** i) you? ii) others in your family/household? In what ways?

(c) What **elements** of the programme if any (e.g. content, delivery, personal characteristics of staff or other learners) have been important in helping i) you? ii) others in your family/household?

(d) What **elements** of the programme if any (e.g. content, delivery, personal characteristics of staff or other learners) have been a problem? *Explain*

(e) Have you achieved your (portfolio) **goals**? *Explain*

8. Hopes for the FUTURE

(a) What are your hopes for the future for your tutored children, your family, yourself?

(b) Have your hopes, dreams, expectations, intentions changed since before/ when you first began the programme? In what way? Why?

Appendix 11: Initial programme staff interview schedule

Programme staff – 1st interview

Explore

- deep picture ("thick description") of the programme and its elements, building on what is already known from the typology, how the elements work and come together, where the points of tension are, focusing on understanding the underpinning philosophy, the goals and aims of the programme including the hoped for outcomes (for individuals, families, communities) and how they will be measured, the content and structure of the programme and the synergy of the elements
- includes review of programme documentation

Questions

1. Literacy definition and purpose
   (a) What do you think literacy is (refer to Freebody and Luke's 4 components – code breaker, meaning maker, text user, text analyst)?
      - for children
      - for adults
   (b) Who and what do you think literacy is for? (check if different for children and adults)

2. Programme structure
   (a) What are the different parts of the programme? (literacy content, supports, other) What do these parts entail and how are they done? In isolation or together? What has or does influence your choices of content, structure, teaching methods, ways of running the programme?
   (b) *Literacy Aotearoa programmes only.* Referring to Literacy Aotearoa's 4 component model (adult literacy, children's literacy, parent-child interaction, parenting), which parts of the programme address which component?
   (c) What is your organizations'/your role in the programme?

3. Learners, programme objectives and outcomes
   (a) How did the school come to have the programme? (Where applicable)
   (b) Who are the learners who are formally in this programme?
   (c) What is the purpose and goals of the programme? (What are you trying to achieve through the programme? What do you want (each group of) the learners to gain from it?)
   (d) Who else might benefit? (e.g. adults' own children, wider whanau, community) How?
   (e) What do you think will be important to achieving the objectives? (Which parts of the programme? Ways you do things?)

(f) How will you know if the programme has achieved its objectives? (for all groups for whom there are objectives)

4. Participation
   (a) Which adults are you hoping to attract to the programme? How do they get to hear about it? How do they get to come? Why do you think they come?
   (b) What are the things that you think make a difference to them coming or not coming in the first place? Continuing to come?

5. Philosophy and approach
   (a) What are your beliefs about how people (adults and children) learn best, your philosophy of learning and teaching?
   (b) What do you think 'family', 'community', 'citizenship' mean in this community? How might the programme benefit individuals, families and the community as a whole?
   (c) Are there formal or informal links to the community? Are these important? Why?
   (d) What do you think is important for people's wellbeing in this community?
   (e) How might the programme contribute to the well-being of the adult participants (their own wellbeing, parenting, wider family participation/contribution, community participation, citizens

6. Family connections – map connections to family within context or programme

Appendix 12: Second and final programme staff interview schedule

These are scopes, which were converted into questions as appropriate. The questions were prepared on a programme-by-programme basis as they were linked to information gained from the preceeding interview/s, participant interviews, observations and programme documentation.

Programme staff – final Interview

These are scopes, which will be converted into questions as appropriate.

Final interview (reflective)
- Exploring any changes made to the programme during its course (any aspect) and why, and perceptions of any difference the changes have made
- Exploring the perceived and evidence-based programme effects including reflections on effects on participants/families/communities
- Exploring perceptions and evidence-based links between programme elements and programme effects
- NB. Programme documentation and teaching materials also reviewed if changed

Appendix 13: Initial school partner interview schedule

School partner – 1st interview

1. How would you describe this community, its characteristics, strengths, challenges? What do you think is the role of the school in this community?

2. How would you describe the programme, what would you say it consists of? (content, structure, learning supports for adults, other) How is it presented to potential participants?

3. How did the (school) come to have the programme?

4. Who are you hoping to attract to the programme? What are things that make a difference to them coming along or not? Continuing or not?

5. From your perspective, what is the purpose and goals of the programme, what do you want it to achieve? Do you think or hope or specifically aim for outcomes beyond helping some children with their reading? (adults, whanau, the community) How do you know it is achieving what you want it to achieve? (school children, adults, whanau, community)

6. How is the programme linked to the community? Are these links important? Why? Is the programme supported by the community? How do you know?

7. Meanings of 'family', 'community, citizenship: What do these things mean in this community? Explore benefits of the programme for families in this community, and the community as a whole.

8. Explore benefits for adults: their own well-being, parenting, wider family participation/contribution, community participation, citizenship.

Appendix 14: Final school partner interview schedule

School partner – final interview

1. How many of the adults in the 2006 course have been formally involved in the school since their participation in the course? What is the nature of their involvement?

2. Are there any other ways these parents/grandparents have increased their involvement with
   a) the school?
   b) their own children's learning?

3. Is there anything else that has come to your notice that indicates benefits from participation for the
   a) parents?
   b) children?
   c) school?

4. What are your views on the value of these courses to
   a) the school generally?
   b) the participants?
   c) their children/grandchildren?
   d) the community?

5. What is the future of these courses in your school, in your view?

Appendix 15: Other key informant interview schedule

Key informant interviews

1. What is your relationship to (the participant)?

2. How long have you known (the participant)?

3. Have you noticed any changes in (the participant) since s/he has been involved in the programme? (personally, within family, in community?)

   Explore, seek specific examples and evidence, links to programme, alternative explanations

4. Have you noticed any changes in the participant's children/family?

   Explore, seek specific examples and evidence, links to programme, alternative explanations

Appendix 16: Additional consent form for information on children's school progress

Consent form for external feedback – family literacy research

I, _____ agree to Jane Furness -

Talking to my children/grandchildren about literacy at school and at home ☐

Talking to my children's/grandchildren's teachers about their learning progress ☐

Looking at my children's/grandchildren's school learning records ☐

Talking to other people I agree to about changes in my literacy ☐

I understand that this information is for Jane's research on family literacy only and subject to the same conditions of confidentiality.

Names of people Jane can talk to about changes in my literacy:

Names of children's/grandchildren's teachers:

Signed _____

Appendix 17: Request for children's school progress information

School of Education
University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton

17 November 2006

Dear ███

Request to access student learning data for family literacy research

I am writing to request access to achievement data for students who are the children or grandchildren of four participants in the recently completed ████████████ ████████ run at ██████████████████████ in partnership with ██████████████ ████████.

I am a community psychologist and have worked in the area of youth and adult education and training for ten years – most recently in the field of adult literacy education – within the government organisations of Skill New Zealand and the Tertiary Education Commission. Currently I am fully engaged in doctoral research to understand the effects of participation in family-focused literacy programmes on the adult participants, their families and their communities. There is limited experience and understanding of these approaches in New Zealand but they are of interest because, as naturally occurring sites of learning, families that engage in literacy learning have potential to enhance life outcomes across generations. The ethics committees of both the University of Waikato and ██████████████ ██████████████ have approved the research process.

The ████████████████████████ run at ██████████████████████ is one of three programmes involved in the study. Four of the nine participants in the course agreed to be interviewed by me about the effects of their participation in the course on their literacy development at a personal level, on learning and well-being within their families and on their engagement in their communities. The main source of data is three in-depth interviews with each of the four adult participants over eighteen months. However, relevant data from other sources will strengthen the validity of the research findings. To this end, data on the outcomes for the complete group of adults gathered by the ███ will also be analysed (agreed to by everyone). I am also seeking access to learning achievement data held by the school relating to the children or grandchildren of the four participants in the research. It would also be useful to talk to these children's teachers about the children's school performance and any changes observed since their parents or grandparents began the course.

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The parents or grandparents concerned have already given their permission for me to access school achievement data for their children/grandchildren. The consent form signed by them prior to the start of data collection contains specific reference to this request. However, as some weeks have passed since signing the consent form, I am currently checking with them again before proceeding and also seeking permission to speak to the teachers, a new request. To date I have agreement from two of the four adults concerned and expect to contact the remaining two shortly.

On the basis of consent being granted before I proceed, I seek agreement to work with the relevant staff, through their Principals, to access the data. As the School Principal responsible for the Course, I would be very appreciative of any assistance you can give to help make this possible. Ideally this could be achieved before the end of the year.

Findings from the study will be made available to the school and I am very happy to talk to staff at any time about the research. If you would like more information about the study, you may contact me at jaf3@waikato.ac.nz or phone (07) 856 2889, extension 8203. Alternatively, you may contact either of my supervisors at the University of Waikato. Their contact details are:

Professor Stephen May
smay@waikato.ac.nz
07 856 2889 ext. 7874

Dr Neville Robertson
scorpio@waikato.ac.nz
07 856 2889 ext. 3200

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely

Jane Furness
BEd., MsocSci., PGDipPsy(Com)., TTC

Appendix 18: Children's interview schedule

Children's interviews

1. What sort of reading, writing, talking, listening or maths do you do?
2. What sort of reading, writing, talking, listening or maths do you do at home?
3. What do you like doing?
4. Who do you do these (specific examples) with? Do you do any of these (specific examples) with Mum or Dad or your grandparents?
5. Have you noticed any changes in what reading, writing, talking, listening or maths you do at home/with Mum or Dad or your grandparents (since Mum/Dad/grandparents have been going to the programme)?
6. Have you noticed any other changes?

Appendix 19: Main data sources per study objective

Data item	Objectve				
	1. Effects	2. 'Flow on' effects	3. Wellbeing effects	4. Important programme elements	5. Programme styles
Programme descriptive documents					●
Programme staff interview transcripts/ notes	●	●	●	●	●
Programme partner interview transcripts/ notes	●	●	●	●	●
Adult participant interview transcripts/ notes	●	●	●	●	●
Key informant interview transcripts/ notes	●	●	●	●	
Adult participant programme progress information	●	●	●		
Children's school progress information (ncluding HPP)	●	●	●		●
Participant observation notes/transcripts					●
Field notes					●

Appendix 20: Data items per study participant

Adult Participants	Partici-pant interviews	Key informant interviews	Adult participant programme progress in-formation	Children's school progress in-formation	Tutored children's progress in-formation
1. Aveolela	3	3 *Programme tutor (2), children (1)*	Yes	Yes	N/A
2. Haki	3	3 *Programme tutor (2), grandchildren (1)*	Yes	Yes	
3. Penina	3	4 *Programme tutor, child*	Yes	Yes	
4. Suni	3	2 *Programme tutor*	Yes	N/A	
5. Jen	3	4 *Project director (2), Principal (2)*	Yes	N/A	Yes *HPP and school*
6. Kate	3	7 *Project director (2), Principal, 2, children (1), Aunt (2)*	Yes	Yes	Yes *HPP and school*
7. Paula	3	5 *Project director (2), Principal, 2, children (1)*	Yes	Yes	Yes *HPP and school*
8. Andrea	3	5 *Programme manager (2), other (3)*	*Shared programme only*	Yes	N/A
9. Emma	1	2 *Programme manager*	Yes	N/A	
10. Hahana	3	3 *Programme manager (2), Mother (1)*	Yes	Yes	

Adult Participants	Paticipant interviews	Key informant interviews	Adult participant programme progress in-formation	Children's school progress in-formation	Tutored children's progress in-formation
11. Sarah	1	2 *Programme manager*	Yes	No	N/A
12. Selena	3	3 *Programme manager (2), Mother (1)*	Yes	Yes	
13. Tess	1	1 *Partner*	*Shared programme only*	N/A	
14. Annie	2	3 *Programme manager (1), tutor (1), assistant co-ordinator (1)*	Yes	N/A	
15. Carrie	2	3 *Programme manager (1), tutor (1), assistant co-ordinator (1)*	Yes	N/A	
16. Kalaisa	2	3 *Programme manager (1), tutor (1), assistant co-ordinator (1)*	Yes	No	
17. La'a	1	1 *Programme manager*	*Home visits only*	N/A	
18. Lose	1	1 *Programme manager*	*Home visits only*	N/A	
19. Sue	1	1 *Programme manager*	Yes	N/A	

Programme key	Benley Whanau Literacy Programme	HPP-based Whanau Literacy Programme	Ormond Whanau Literacy Programme	Preston Family Literacy Programme

Appendix 21: Study programmes session observations (examples)

Benley Whānau Literacy Programme (Session Observation 1)

Recapping reading strategies (Week 14, 28.06.06)

The agenda was written on the white board when the students arrived. When several students were present the tutor talked through the agenda then ascertained whether or not others were likely to come soon. The class started formally at 9.30am with only one student missing who arrived later. A student gave the opening prayer, after which the tutor explained that today they would do a role play instead of their (usual) spelling test to bring all their learning [about reading] together. She noted it was the first time for doing this, explaining that, working in pairs, one adult would pretend they were the child and the other would play the role of the adult.

Next, the tutor recapped graphemes, phonemes and phonetically regular and irregular words which had been taught previously. She did this by first inviting the students to explain each concept, praising their knowledge. Referring to brief explanations of graphemes and phonemes already written on the board, she restated them then described examples of phonetically regular and irregular words also already written on the board. In all, explanations of these concepts were restated several times.

The tutor observed that children learn about these concepts at school. She encouraged the adults to teach their children or grandchildren the underlying rules or explanations, for example that 'g' is sometimes a soft sound and sometimes a hard sound. Three students asked questions; for example, why 'chemist' was a phonetically irregular word, giving the tutor further opportunity for explanation. She restated the need for the adults to "teach the underlying knowledge" and gave examples of activities, for example, inviting the child to give some other examples where 'ch' is a 'k' sound. If the child doesn't know any, then the adult can give some. She suggested they invite the child to use their own [school reading] book. Another idea was to ask the child for kitchen words to spell while cooking. She explained there was no need to use technical language with the children. She encouraged the adults to show the child differences in the spelling of the same sound, for example "weak"/ "week", and to get them to practice. She modelled how to talk to the children, saying, "Children, listen very carefully to the SOUND" in a positive, encouraging tone. She encouraged the adults not to "suppress" the children; to let them use their invented spelling and then give them the conventional spelling. She said there are more than 46 sounds in English, observing that it is a difficult language because it doesn't always follow rules and noting how [extra] challenging it is when English is not a person's first language. She reminded them they were giving the children alphabetic knowledge and phonemic knowledge. She used the word 'decipher' as an explanation of the task the adult was undertaking (between phonemically regular and irregular words). She commented that there is a lot to teach and that she appreciates this course for parents. She encouraged the adults to be positive with the child, observing that 20-30 minutes is enough time to spend with children on these kinds of activities. The tutor reminded everyone that part of reading is decoding.

Next she passed back to the adults some examples of activities they had been doing with the children which they had handed in to her. These included spelling tests which had been marked, retelling the story and the "scooping strategy". The adults had written notes of praise on the children's work. A student gave an example of his activities with his children,

observing that his 3 year old child wanted to participate along with the older children. He said they made about 10 sentences from drawing a circle. The tutor observed that, for the 3 year old, this was pre-literacy. Sinaumea said the children enjoy his interaction with them when he takes the teaching role as they have learned in the course. The tutor showed the adults some small Christian books, suggesting they could talk about the picture with their child or grandchild, ask questions and ask the child to answer in a sentence, then ask them to write a sentence, modelling, "Write me a sentence" in an encouraging voice. "With this", she said to them, "is spelling, the sounds are modelled, and the parents model a positive approach".

After morning tea, the adults chose partners, mixing males and females and accompanied by a lot of laughter. Then the tutor explained the task to the adults briefly and concisely. They were to take the role of either parent or child. She explained that the first part of the task was about giving alphabetic knowledge and phonemic knowledge. The 'parent' was to help the 'child' with decoding if needed. The second part was about comprehension. The 'parent' was to ask the 'child' a question about the picture. She reminded them that this strategy was using picture cues. Then they were to close the book and ask the 'child' to tell them about the story. The third part was about fluency, teaching the "scooping strategy" by modelling it. The fourth part was about spelling. She explained that the purpose of the role play was for them to learn from each other.

They role-played enthusiastically for 30 minutes swapping roles half way through. The tutor wandered around listening and answered a student's question. One pair were quite giggly but nevertheless got on with the task. The tutor spent awhile with them helping, for example modelling how to speak to a child, what to say to encourage a child without using technical language, using praise, and reminding them of what else they could do. She then wandered from pair to pair without stopping. Once the students were well settled into the task she listened with concentration to two of the four pairs. In another pair one student (Vika) highlighted the other's difficulty (Muaausa) with the teaching role. She had been good at it and said to the class that her partner needed help. They were both laughing a lot. When they were all finished, the tutor explained about the next task, noting the passage on the board and inviting someone to teach the group as if they were teaching a child. They were to ask the child/class to read the passage, then check comprehension by asking a question or questions e.g. What is this reading about? The Programme Tutor noted this was asking 'wh' questions and reminded them about 'wh' questions (who, where, when, what). Then they were to ask for retelling (hide text to do this) in their own words, checking the comprehension of the child also but is also 'global' comprehension.

She then restated the invitation, giving hints as to how to do it and modelling it herself. She reminded them that this was a chance for teaching all different aspects of language. Again she modelled how to do it, explaining what she was doing, for example that she was teaching new language by asking lots of questions and making sure that the child knows the language and understands each "bit" [of the language in the story]. She included meta-language, saying, "This will provide the child with schema so they will be able to retell [the story]". A further invitation still did not elicit a response. She then modelled how not to do it and someone volunteered.

The first 'teacher' was good at giving information, seeking responses from the 'children' and giving praise. The answers given showed comprehension. The tutor praised him for what he had taught her and everyone clapped. The next student to volunteer, a former school teacher in Samoa and currently a Sunday School teacher at her Church, began by inviting everyone to stand up and asking if anyone knew a Sunday School song we could all sing, after which everyone clapped at her instigation. She invited us to look at the board silently [read the passage] and said she would read the passage in two minutes time. After doing so, she asked some 'wh' questions. A wrong answer was given by a student to one question which the 'teacher' did not pick up on, but she gave the opportunity for other answers to be given. This happened repeatedly until she eventually praised an incorrect answer. Someone speculated about another answer. The tutor pointed out that in a classroom there will be lots of different thinking and the teacher will be

challenged and has to meet all these needs. Lastly, this student asked a maths question related to the story. Everyone clapped and the tutor thanked her for her teaching. Another person took the teacher role, wondering around while reading the passage. He asked a 'what' question then asked 'why' questions. The tutor praised this student for the expansion of thinking beyond the story.

The tutor stood up to bring the session to a close, saying she would give others a chance to 'teach' next time. She invited everyone to write in their journals about the session for the next 10-15 minutes. She asked one of the students if he needed to go early as he often did. She handed out some readings while the students were writing. They were all focused on their writing, some pausing at times, but only one stopped and looked at the readings. Most students appeared to read over what they had written then added some more. The tutor cleaned the white board then stood at the back of the room for awhile before wandering a little, looking at the writing. The amount written ranged from a bit less than ½ a page to ¾ of a page. Towards the end of the time the tutor read each person's writing and wrote beside it. She thanked the class. A student said a closing prayer.

HPP-based Whānau Literacy Progamme (Session Observation 2)

Portfolio review (24.10.06)

Today we sat at a table in the library, the usual meeting place for the adult tutors. As is her practice, the Project Director (the Director) brought kai for everyone (the HPP and the Porowhā tutors) which served for morning tea and lunch. We had a cup of tea and something to eat before we started work. I sat in as an observer.

Over our cups of tea, the Director had a conversation with the HPP and Porowhā tutors as a group. The discussion was about reflective practice in the context of 'short cuts' [not using full sentences]. The Director said reflective practice was where you go back and, "Oh, I wasn't as clear as I ought to have been, poor child, but now I will be". One of the Porowhā tutors said she had looked over her statements and had seen where she had not used full sentences. Next, arrangements were made for the day: the Director would work with Kate and Jen first. Then, we would all look at the conference power point presentation.

To start, the Director went over a handout she had given Kate and Jen about the research supporting HPP. The first bullet point in the paper was about environment (Pressley, 1988). The Director read the bullet point and talked a bit about it then asked Kate for comment. Kate talked about her older son. She said that both she and his Nanny take him for reading because he "gets serious". She uses PPP (Pause, Prompt, Praise) with him. The Director asked Jen what issues were evident in Kate's son getting "serious". Jen said, "Not being afraid to get things wrong is good" and talked about her own child. She said [the person listening to the child] could be saying [to the child], "It's good to make a mistake because we learn". The Director said she had learned that HPP children love having their sentences written down and then reading them; she had been doing this at another school. She said it is a new step [in HPP] and the children love it. The Director summed up some important aspects of environment for HPP: that it is safe and comfortable, and that there is *awhi* and attitude! Kate said that poems can be acted out. She said her child loves his poems. Other ideas were put forward for Kate to use with her son such as listening to Rainbow Reading stories on tape. The Director suggested talking to his teacher about this.

The 2nd bullet point was discussed next. This was about talking being a neglected area (Marie Clay). The Director explained this bullet point. The Principal came in at this point and the Director mentioned that she took her son for reading.

The Director carried on with the 3rd bullet point which was about phonemic awareness (letter sound relationships), inviting everyone to read and comment on what they thought. She gave the example of "pit, pat, what was that" (rhyming). She said that Adams and Bruck (1993) say this is one of the biggest things children need to know. She asked Kate what her understanding of phonemic awareness was. Kate said she didn't know so the Director went on to talk about it with her to support her knowledge (she knew it as rhyming) and restating it as phonemic awareness.

The next bullet point was about the frequency of language use being important (Ellis, 1994) so if children don't have these things (like letter sound awareness) they need to get them straight away (at school).

The Director talked about bullet point 5 eliciting comment from Kate and Jen that talking is important. Then she talked about bullet point 6 and referred back to what Kate and Jen had talked about previously, at the level of the children.

Kate then showed us her portfolio, starting from the beginning. She had family information and *pepeha* to start with then pages about what HPP is. The Director asked her about her understanding of HPP. She said she would get to that later. Next she had pages on her first book. Her tutored child had been on Level 2, she said, but now was just on Level 3. The Director picked up on her first sentence and asked her what she could tell her about the first sentence. Then she asked Jen. Kate said the sentences were long. The Director asked if she was okay with them. She said her learner was okay with them. The Director said Kate has a high level of language and the sentence included an explanation which is at a high level. She said it was a very good high level sentence. The child has also gone up in JOST, from 39-50/58 in long structure and 27-30/35 in phonological awareness. Kate observed that this child tends to 'short cut'. The Director advised restating the sentence back to the child with additional words so that it is a complete sentence. The Director referred to the levels and discussed them, then looked at another page: at the statements and the question. She asked Kate if she had shown her child where the story is set on a map and commented on how good this is to do.

Next Kate showed us her "my student' section of her portfolio, then "my talents". The Director read some of these and observed that there is nothing wrong in praising ourselves. Next was "my goals". The Director commented that these were great. Next was "my hobbies and interests", then "my favourite books to read". The Director read this latter section and there was some discussion about it being okay to be ambitious for our children. She gave her own example concerning her own son. Then, Kate shared the comments received from others. Jen and Paula had commented.

An example of her student's rhymes was included next. Then, it was on to another book, firstly the explanation of it, introducing the book. The Director said that she had met Tommy (the author). She checked out the statements and question. She noted the inference in one sentence and said this was good because it helped the student to understand inference. She said to Kate, "Your student must really get these." Kate said that she has to get the child in the morning, after lunch is not good, she gets too fidgety. The Director asked Kate when she might start embedding the answer in statement 2 or 3. Kate said at Level 3 or 4 (she knew the answer).

Next in Kate's portfolio was the introduction of a new student, with a photo. Kate explained that this child is a challenge and very different from her first student and explained to the Director that she thought about what she could do. She got some materials so that she could make a card and offered this to the child as something she could do when the book was finished; this tactic worked! Kate explained that she had figured out she was a hands on kid. The Director noted that this was through observing, and coming up with a strategy and applying it. She praised Kate and said she should think about being a psychologist!

Ormond Whānau Literacy Progamme (Session Observation 2)

Life Skills Programme (Week 2, 05.08.06)

I arrived before 9am, the time I had been told the programme started, so that I could ensure Trust staff knew I was here and were happy about it.

I talked to the Trust Manager about why I was here and to check that she was happy about it. She was, and we agreed on a time for me to interview her on her perspective of this specific programme. I reintroduced myself to the Trust staff member who ran the programme, Raewyn (pseudonym), and explained why I was here, also checking she was happy about it. She was, and went on to tell me that the programme was all very informal…

There were some students I recognized from Literacy and ones I had not seen before. The Literacy Ormond Programme Manager's mother-in-law was to take the waiata singing and tikanga Māori but had not arrived. When the Programme Manager arrived she explained that her mother-in-law's daughter's (the Programme Manager's sister-in-law) waters had broken and she was probably at home with her (she is staying with her). Raewyn called in her brother to fill her place.

At about ten the Raewyn asked her brother to open the session and this was followed by an opportunity to ask questions of him about tikanga Māori. Following one such question he talked very knowledgably about his understanding of the story of *Kamate, Kamate*. Interwoven within this was historical explanation about the status of wahine, the creation stories of Māoritanga. This was very powerful. He also talked about the British – Governor Gray and others, the British patriarchy and how the creation stories were retold to be more patriarchal which in his view has led to Māori males thinking they are superior to females and to [ultimately leading to] domestic violence. The students were absorbed listening to him.

Raewyn checked that everyone had filled in the attendance/registration form and passed it round those who hadn't…

Next, a fitness trainer arrived and Raewyn's daughter who works for SPARC. The trainer talked about his equipment and hopes to offer ongoing programmes in the town at low cost. The students were then invited to either go for a guided fitness walk with Raewyn's daughter or try out the gym equipment the trainer had bought with him. The two groups would then swap over so everyone got to do both activities. The walk with Raewyn's daughter (from SPARC) was excellent. She was constantly encouraging and very informative about how to make the best of walking for building fitness. She talked quite a bit about the difficulty Māori often have in focusing on their own needs and wishes and was encouraging of this being okay to do (she mentioned individual versus group demands, the need for balance, that it was okay to do something for yourself). She suggested strategies for building exercise in to your day, whilst still being able to do the other things needed. One of the young women asked lots of questions. One woman talked about her day being organized in the following way - doing her paid job from 10-12, having 12-3 as her own time and then home jobs, dinner etc. This was how she organized things instead of arguing with her partner about looking after the children to give her time. One woman who started with her child dropped off unnoticed by Raewyn's daughter. Raewyn's daughter had pedometers for everyone so we could see how many steps we had taken in our half hour walk and how many calories burned (she explained to us how to use them).

The trainer was also very encouraging of the participants to try the equipment. They were a little reluctant but most gave it a go. The trainer attempted to find out what sort of ongoing access they might like but no conclusion or agreement was reached.

We had a great lunch provided by the programme – healthy kai – shared by everyone including the children. People pitched in to help with the dishes and clean up afterwards. Some participants left after this, so there was a smaller group after lunch. After lunch a woman from Housing New Zealand came to talk about how to get a home loan without a deposit. There was a lot of interest and questions seeking understanding around specific points e.g. papakāinga (whānau houses) – how this could be done.

We finished the day around 3pm with a closing karakia.

Preston Family Literacy Progamme (Session Observation 1 and follow-up)

Women's group and staff debrief (10.05.07)

One of the tutors of the women's group (which was to start shortly) arrived, and the other one shortly afterwards. One of the tutors is a former teacher. While we were waiting for the women to arrive, one of them phoned in to say she couldn't come today. Her son had had a hip operation and was home a day earlier than expected and she needed to stay home and look after him. The two tutors and the Programme Manager talked a little about the group. They aim to keep the students' needs paramount and to get the group to say what they want. They said the latter aim was quite hard because as you get to know them you can see what the needs are but they might not see them. These needs might be to do with nutrition, children having two fathers or two sets of parents, issues with children, literacy issues to keep up with the children. They gave a profile of some of the group:

- One has some work cleaning motels, has an ill mother
- One is on ACC, has a chronic back injury, getting isolated socially, in terrible pain
- One, who is Thai, just needed contact to improve interactive communication
- One has just got married again, has a high needs son in care in Dunedin and one here. She had just rung to say she'd be late.
- One needs to develop language

They noted that four of the group have got to the stage where they will ring in if they can't come in – their ringing in is an outcome.

I sat in on the group as they prepared for a visit to the local gym. Everyone participated in reading aloud and talking about the information supplied by the gym about their services. One tutor asked each person in turn to read a bit, helping with words that they had trouble with. Everyone did this, including me and the tutors. They also asked everyone to think of a question to ask the person they were meeting with. This was harder but they all came up with something with some coaxing and clarifying. They left for their visit at around 10.30am after negotiating travel and an afternoon visit as well…

I sat in with the two tutors as they debriefed after the women's group, after they got back from the gym. Their practice is to keep a record of each session, stored in the computer. Each session has a group objective – this time it was "Using strategies to communicate information and ideas" from the Draft Foundation Learning Literacy Standards. The record explains what was done in the session and what was achieved in relation to the objective/s. The objectives are filled in under each individual – in their individual record. The two tutors sat together at the computer formulating the wording together, one doing the typing. There was skill development occuring at the same time – one tutor explaining to the other how to add a word to the computer's dictionary. They also try to have individual objectives and fill in each individual's record accordingly (as well as recording

for the group against the group objective). The individual objective in this case was "Communicates information and thoughts in familiar predictable contexts by using simple

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strategies". They said the Programme Manager encouraged specificity in the detail of the write up…

I had asked two of the women when they returned from the gym if they had enjoyed the session at the gym and they gave a positive response. Carrie is going back with one of the tutors this afternoon to do tai chi. The tutors discussed how to support Carrie going to the gym by herself. Carrie herself says she needs to get out of the house because she has a problem with depression…

One tutor talked about the importance of laughter in a group – "no laugh, no success". She also reflected back on my comments about wider benefits and gave examples. The tutors were very aware, I thought, of small but highly significant/important differences in individuals, noting, for example, that one learner smiled after the exercises when she seldom smiles.

Appendix 22: Tutored children's HPP results

The tables and graph below, produced by Kate, show the results for all children tutored in HPP in 2007 as part of the HPP-based Whānau Literacy Programme. The tables and graph summarise data from all testing undertaken as part of HPP. The children coded as HPP4, HPP6, HPP7 and HPP8 were tutored by Kate in 2007. The other children were tutored by adults not in the study. The child coded HPP4 was tutored by Paula for one ten-week block in 2006 before Paula left the area for awhile, at which point Kate continued to tutor this child.

HPP 2007

Survey 1 - May
Survey 2 - Aug
Survey 3 - Nov

Student	Survey 1 C.A. Yr.mth	Survey 1 R.A. Yr.mth		Survey 2 C.A. Yr.mth	Survey 2 R.A. Yr.mth	Survey 2 RA imprvmt		Survey 3 C.A. Yr.mth	Survey 3 R.A. Yr.mth	Survey 3 RA imprvmt
HPP 1	5.11	5.00		6.03	5.01	1 mth		6.06	5.06	5 mth
HPP 2	6.01	5.00		6.04	5.07	7 mth		6.07	6.02	7 mth
HPP 3	5.11	4.11		6.03	5.00	1 mth		6.05	5.02	2 mth
HPP 4	6.02	4.11		6.05	5.00	1 mth		6.08	5.06	6 mth
HPP 5	6.03	5.06		6.06	5.08	2 mth		6.09	6.03	7 mth
HPP 6	6.05	6.03		6.08	7.00	9 mth		6.11	7.06	6 mth
HPP 7	6.02	5.06		6.06	5.07	1 mth		6.08	6.04	9 mth
HPP 8	6.02	5.00		6.06	5.05	1 mth		6.08	6.03	10 mth

HPP 2007

Legend: May 2007, August 2007, November 2007

This graph looks at the chronological and reading ages of the literacy focus group (8 children). Surveys were carried out in May, again in August, and in November.
All students improved their reading ages.

Improvements ranged from 3 months (HPP3) to 14 months (HPP2) and 15 months (HPP6) from March to November.

	Phonetic Awareness (out of 35)			JOST (out of 58)			Language Rating Rating 1 to 8			Sound identification (out of 26)		
	Pre	Mid	Post	Pre	Mid	Post	Pre	Mid	Post	Pre	Mid	Post
HPP 1	30	35	35	43	48	51	2	3	3	18	24	24
HPP 2	26	27	34	51	52	54	2	2	3	18	20	26
HPP 3	4	14	15	29	39	44	1	2	2	2	3	5
HPP 4	20	32	35	45	55	58	1	2	3	10	13	24
HPP 5	34	35	35	48	54	57	3	4	4	25	26	26
HPP 6	27	33	35	45	54	56	2	2	3	26	26	26
HPP 7	29	31	34	50	58	58	1	3	4	22	25	26
HPP 8	29	35	35	46	47	51	1	2	3	25	26	26

Pre-Test in May   Mid Test in August   Post Test in November