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REO O TE KAINGA

A NGĀI TE RANGI TRIBAL RESPONSE TO ADVANCING MĀORI LANGUAGE IN THE HOME

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Ko Uenuku koe, Tāwhana i te rangi, ko Ngāi Te Rangi e.....

Acknowledgements

"Mā mātou, mā tātou e ora ai te reo o te iwi"

This report encompasses the efforts of many who need to be acknowledged. Firstly, to the whānau of Ngāi Te Rangi who were intimately involved in this project. Your willingness to embrace the kaupapa from the location of your homes and to embark on a year long journey as a part of an action whānau research project means that this work could be undertaken. The answers and solutions, which you helped to provide for te reo o te kainga are a testimony to your resilience and commitment to the Kaupapa.

Secondly, we would like to thank Ngā Pae o te Maramatanga for resourcing this project and also the senior management of both Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi who played a key role in advising and supporting this project. Your combined courage to undertake this research and the steps needed to get to the conclusion of this study is now reflected in the research findings outlined in this report.

We also like to acknowledge and thank Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga for funding the project, and Verbena Te Ranga for proof reading the final documents. Significantly, the research team wishes to acknowledge all our koroua and kuia, and our tamariki mokopuna who strive to acquire and retain our reo in the most simplest of ways – by just speaking to one another. *Mā koutou e ora ai te reo o te iwi....*

Executive Summary

This research report outlines the findings from a two and a half year project dedicated to identifying ways in which to advance Te Reo Māori within the homes of Ngāi Te Rangi whānau. There were a number of objectives that supported the primary aim that focused on strengthening Ngāi Te Rangi, for example working collaboratively as a research team; building research capacity through this project with the whānau and building conscientiousness through this community action research process. Those broader objectives were met within the timeframes allocated for this research.

Further activities aligned to this project included a literature review, undertaken to examine key literature relating to the historical factors influencing the status of Te Reo Māori within Aotearoa New Zealand today. The review also delved deeper into key issues associated with various approaches to language recovery identified in this report as education, broadcasting, government and iwi approaches. Key issues such as language loss, language decline and language regeneration within a context of second language acquisition and drawing on cultural imperatives, were also considered. The context of Te Reo within the community was a lens utilized to view and articulate the findings of this research. While the research confirmed that limited research existed about language regeneration within the home, the research also sought to contribute to filling that pressing research gap.

The project applied a communication action research methodology (drawn from principles of kaupapa Māori research). As a part of that process, engagement principles were designed to relate specifically to second language acquisition approaches by our research team with our Ngāi Te Rangi whānau. A language acquisition model called ***Aro, Reo, Tau*** was developed as a key learning component for this project.

The research findings are extensively laid out in *Chapter Five,* which focused on a number of key issues. For example, whānau identified time restraints as a major impediment to their learning Te Reo within the home: the dynamics of whānau and the interrelationships of parent-children, husband-wife, grandparent-grandchild all seemed to impact on the efficacy of Te Reo acquisition in the home, so much so that the more positive the relationship, the more likely it was

that Te Reo was acquired. It was also found that prior educational learning in Te Reo did not guarantee that those particular whānau members would act as motivators of Te Reo within the home or that they would necessarily be the most proactive Te Reo speakers either.

While the programme served as a starting point to a bigger goal of language acquisition, all whānau participants found value in the project and noted that a longer timeframe would have been beneficial for their learning te reo. All whānau members also noted that they benefitted from the guidance, encouragement and experience of the language mentor/community researcher and highlighted this aspect of the project as one of the most positive features. The whānau members also demonstrated a commitment to Te Reo by the simple exercise of participating in this project for more than a year.

A small number of recommendations were promoted from the research. Firstly, that further research of this type should continue. Secondly, this research is only starting to unveil the potential dire straits for te reo which iwi face and the combined efforts that include institutions responses (through dedicated learning programmes), with mentors and/or researchers to assist within language acquisition in the home and within the community is desperately needed. Thirdly, that one tribe alone cannot do this work. It is imperative that broader spheres or scoping are undertaken to ensure that multiple sites are progressed together. The strategy for te reo should be considered as one that actively and aggressively replaces English as the dominant language. That specific strategic and deliberate focus on targeted outcomes is in our opinion, what will deliver the results that are highlighted in this research to overcome impediments to learning and engaging in te reo o te kainga.

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Chapter One: Context of Research

The educational system that took [language] away cannot be depended upon to bring it back. We should not look for an answer in politics, policy or pedagogy alone. We must find the answer in practice and action. To reverse the damage, the language must be returned to the children and the home (Noori, 2009, p. 13).

1.1. Introduction

Iwi responses to language loss within their own rohe is beginning to make some headway to unraveling the complexities associated with answering questions as to why language loss exists and how it can be overcome. Iwi have focused much effort over the last three to four decades on these issues, including examining what the Government has done, (or not done) within a Treaty partnership dualism. Unfortunately, it is apparent that Iwi leaders are only now grappling with the dire situation that many tribes now face *– a complete loss of their tribal dialects and of their language.*

Scholars such as Timoti Kareti and Wharehuia Milroy, who have been working in this field all of their lives, have trumpeted their concerns in many and various ways – only to now concentrate what energy they have left upon a select dedicated team of future Te Reo warriors within Te Panekiretanga. Language recovery pioneers such as Kataraina Mataira – who have worked tirelessly for Te Ataarangi, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori and Te Aho Matua are asking deep disconcerting questions about the impacts about stickability and whether programmes such as these will survive and go that extra distance in the future.

The answers to these concerns about Te Reo are being articulated within a post-Treaty settlement context suggesting that now that many tribes have greater economic clout that those very resources might not be applied to make a difference in this area of 'cultural restoration.' The argument being asserted is that now that matters around *whenua tipu* are being, (or have been addressed through the Treaty settlements process), Iwi leadership can now get on with more pressing work of saving our language and knowledge base. This research project is therefore borne out of an understanding that Ngāi Te Rangi language is struggling to survive and that our people are not grasping on to language in a way that assures fluency into the future.

The purpose of the research project is to investigate different ways of how partnership arrangements with whānau members can facilitate improved *Te Reo usage and comprehension within the homes of Ngāi Te Rangi whānau.*

This report provides a detailed account of a two and half year project, which involved a specific twelve month community action research phase focused on the purpose outlined above. *It seeks to answer the question, how can our Te Reo o Ngāi Te Rangi be revitalised within the homes of Ngāi Te Rangi people?*

The research initiative was innovative in as much as the responsibility associated with conducting the tasks for the project in the community itself, while supported by a tertiary institution (in this case Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi), was led by a tribal institution (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi) working in partnership with nine Ngāi Te Rangi whānau. Resources for the project were provided through a research grant provided by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, the Māori Centre of Research Excellence hosted within the University of Auckland.

1.2.   Brief Background Context for the Research

This project delves into the invisible layers associated with our whānau and their efforts to re-kindle language use, growth and development in the home. The reality of this situation is that it is a difficult location within which to work and there are numerous reasons why this is the case. The most obvious being the usual research context which probes so intimately into the lives of whānau members that can deter potential participants. Unsurprisingly, the external societal references and queues that influence the domestic settings of whānau are also crucial to explaining the context of language regeneration efforts.

As a starting point, historically, social, economic and education policies of successive New Zealand governments have impacted on the state of Māori language, contributing to its decline. There have been a number of research reports and thesis that substantiate that claim (for example see Hohepa, 1990; Ka'ai, 2004; King, 2003; Lewis, 2007; Reedy, 2000; Robust, 2002; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998; Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori and Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003; Timutimu, 1995; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010).

Judith Simon (1990) in investigating the impact of colonial policies on Māori clearly outlined in her doctoral thesis that implicit in government policies was *"...the recognition that so long as Māori language survived, it would sustain Māori social organisation – which in turn would be a barrier to the establishment of British law..." (p.81).* Māori language was banned from being spoken in schools and posited as an inferior language, the view being that prohibition would facilitate the demise of the language (and culture) making it easier to supplant with English and British views of the world (Johnston, 1998). This position existed within the education system until the late 1970s.

One of first analysis of the condition of Māori language was undertaken by Richard Benton who examined different aspects of Māori language and highlighted some disturbing trends associated with it. Benton's 1979 report highlighted concerns by Māori kaumatua about the large numbers of young Māori who had little or no acquaintance with Māori language. The preservation and future of the language was linked to these younger generations and if they did not know te reo, how could the language survive (Johnston, 1998).

Benton's 1979 report further identified that the language was fast becoming *"the property of the aging minority of the Māori population (pp.1-2)"*. At one level, the language was not being spoken widely by the younger generations and at the other end, those who knew the language were dying off. Benton (1998) had also argued that the revival of Māori language could not be left up to schools alone, a position supported by Kathleen Jacques (1991) who argued that mainstream schools did not see their role as one of being a revitalization site for Māori. The expectation that kura kaupapa (and by association kohanga reo) should then take up any slack not being addressed by mainstream schools, was also an ill founded panacea for this dire issue.

This means that revitalisation of Māori language needs to occur across different sites concurrently. Several strategies have developed nationally to address that need. The most well known was the establishment of Te Kohanga Reo (1981), the Waitangi Tribunal claim against the Crown (1985), Kura Kaupapa Māori (Primary schools) (1986), the establishment of the Māori Language Act (1987), the establishment of Whare Kura, the establishment of Whare Wānanga, the establishment of total immersion language programmes within mainstream tertiary institutions, the establishment of Māori radio stations and more recently the establishment of

Māori television (M. Hohepa, 1990; Ka'a, 2004; King, 2003; Lewis, 2007; Reedy, 2000; Robust, 2002; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998; Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori and Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003; Timutimu, 1995; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010).

What this research report outlines however, is that revitalization of te reo sits well within community and iwi based strategies that are about addressing specifically (as opposed to generically by the above initiatives), the decline of te reo in rohe through marae and within homes, as a means to nurture, immerse, develop and grow te reo.

1.3 Ngāi Te Rangi Project

Ngāi Te Rangi is a tribe (iwi) of more than 12,000 people who are based in Tauranga, an area located on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand. Over the past 20 years concerns about the decline of the traditional language of the tribe have continued to increase. Obvious indicators such as decreasing numbers of fluent speakers on the paepae tapu and decreasing numbers of kuia conducting formal karakia, highlighted the growing challenge facing the tribe. In 1995, Ngareta Timutimu conducted her master's thesis on the topic of language decline within her hapū Ngāti Tapu. She identified an alarming trend towards decreasing language capability and capacity amongst her people (Timutimu, 1995). Ten years on in 2006, when the opportunity to be part of a committee looking into this issue arose, she was eager to make a contribution. The committee was established to appraise the state of the language within the tribe and to set out a plan to respond to what was perceived to be a serious situation.

Through the discussions of the committee (which included experienced iwi planners and language teachers), it was concluded that despite the plethora of language learning activities many tribal members had undertaken over the previous twenty years, the language still appeared to be in decline. In fact, it seemed as if the language was almost non-existent as an everyday language of spoken communication.

This perception was gauged in many ways - the language was not being regularly spoken within the community, on marae, at tangihanga, at land meetings, at school activities and least of all in homes. As well, the writing of Māori language by our own Ngāi Te Rangi people was near on non-existent.

Of major concern also was the passing of elders, the native speakers whose language was critical to the health of the local dialect. Despite the operation of several kohanga reo within the Tauranga area over the past twenty years and the establishment of a Māori radio station along with the many local language learning opportunities, the conclusion was that the language of Ngāi Te Rangi was in a critical state.

For the first time, the revitalisation of Ngāi Te Rangi reo became a priority in iwi (tribal) development in general. Prior to this time the focus of the tribe had been firmly on whenua and fish![1] Lifting the speaking of reo became a priority. A strong argument was being developed that reflected the following narrative – if the theorizing around Te Reo which had happened in the past twenty years could be transformed into a language of everyday conversation then the investment made by many Māori language learners in night classes, wānanga and other language learning activities, at tertiary level could be capitalised on and the language could be strengthened.

The home became the focus with the hypothesis being that it was the most stable and consistent environment in which to strengthen everyday language use. Surprisingly, the research literature relating to the home as a site for language regeneration was sparse at a local and international level which meant that at the start of this project, the research available to assist with guiding the project was also sparse.

Apart from Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa which provided Māori immersion opportunities for younger people to acquire reo, language interventions had thus far focused on formal language learning for adults and the introduction of Māori radio and television (see Chapter Three for further details). Unfortunately these developments did not appear to be making the critical difference required to halt language decline.

The intergenerational transmission of reo as described by Joshua Fishman (1991, 2000) became a key impetus to strengthen the speaking of language in the home. The research outcomes it was

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[1] The focus on whenua and fisheries related to the Treaty of Waitangi Treaty claims process. Like several tribes around the country; these areas of concern became priorities.

argued however would need to identify some of the key concerns in regards to how and in what ways, intergenerational transmission of Te Reo could occur.

The project this report attests to is a community research action project (guided by kaupapa Māori principles) undertaken collaboratively within the rohe of Tauranga Moana with Ngāi Te Rangi whānau. The strengthening of Te Reo amongst Ngāi Te Rangi has consisted mainly of individuals learning language in schools and at night classes. This has also included attendance at waiata/whakapapa classes held on local marae.

This project however, focuses on language regeneration in the home and as such is interested in the dynamics of whānau learning/teaching of Te Reo Māori including collaborative and collective learning strategies for reo creation and enhancement which generate increased use.

The objectives of the research are to:

1. *Strengthen Ngāi Te Rangi through the process of community action research in Te Reo and tikanga.*

It is envisaged that the findings of this research will contribute to an overall community action research project for the regeneration of Te Reo within Ngāi Te Rangi. The outcomes from this phase will provide greater insight into language acquisition in general and the regeneration of spoken language particularly within the home and whānau. With very few native speakers remaining in its rohe, Ngāi Te Rangi considers its reo to be in a critical state and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi has prioritized reo regeneration in its strategic planning and development.

2. *Work collaboratively alongside marae whānau to enhance the development of te reo and tikanga in the kainga and the community.*

The project ensured that kuia and kaumatua, whānau and hapū chairpersons were involved in identifying potential participants from their hapū to participate in the project. It was also considered imperative that representatives were identified from all of the Ngāi Te Rangi hapū and marae ensuring that broad representation was achieved as a result.

3. ***Build capacity with the whānau involved in this project to engage with creative means of reo and tikanga use e.g. whānau story telling, research and knowledge building.***

As identified in the literature review (see Chapter Three), past pedagogies for strengthening Māori language have not been effective in halting its decline especially in its spoken form. This research allowed for an investigation of the home and the whānau as a critical site for the retention and the regeneration of Te Reo korero, findings of which are also outlined in this report. Opportunities were also found for whānau to initiate their own solutions to language revitalization.

4. ***Work collaboratively alongside whānau to instil a greater desire within their respective hapū and marae to work at re-energising reo and tikanga.***

The research team, particularly the community researcher was equipped with strategies and tasks to assist the whānau to work upon their reo aspirations in a more deliberate way. As that work progressed the relationship of these whānau to their hapū and how that relationship could foster into a more community based initiative was something that required further consideration, the opportunity to discuss those matters was provided within the scope of the project.

5. ***Collaboratively 'conscientise' (Freire, 1970) whānau to learn more about their Ngāi Te Rangitanga and the importance of language loss within the context of whānau, hapū and iwi.***

As is identified in the purpose of this project, individually our efforts are not as great as the efforts of our all working collectively together. Therefore, the context within which this project is nestled is tribal, knowing that each of these whānau as their confidence and commitment to language use develops and grows, so too does tribe grow through their efforts. At each of the hui held with the whānau, opportunities to learn more about the different marae and hapū of Ngāi Te Rangi was offered as a means for learning.

1.4. Report Layout

The report is outlined in the following way:

Chapter One – Introduction – provides an overview to the project and its key purpose.

Chapter Two – Ngāi Te Rangi – reviews who Ngāi Te Rangi is, and what some of the key tasks that are being undertaken by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi, and that key Rūnanga vision in regards to Te Reo.

Chapter Three – Literature Review – provides an account of literature related to this area of work; particularly language decline, language loss, language regeneration and language acquisition. The chapter also refers to some of the work being undertaken by two iwi groups involved with Te Reo regeneration.

Chapter Four – Methodology and Methods – provides an overview of the key methodological framework adopted (kaupapa Māori and community action research) and methods aligned with that approach.

Chapter Five – Research Findings – provides an overview of the key findings from the whānau interaction related to advancing language regeneration in the home.

Chapter Six – Summary, Recommendation and Concluding Remarks.

1.5   Limitations

When this project began there was limited research available to review concerning some projects. The initial research findings were completed in early 2010, and any major research projects obtained after that time have not been considered. Those key pieces of work, which we acknowledge are:

- The kainga korerorero initiative by Te Ataairangi Trust and Te Puni Kōkiri is currently underway.
- Te Reo Mauriora – Te Arotakenga o te Rangi Reo Māori me te Rautaki Reo Māori (2011)
- Mai Review – Reo Acquisition Publications (2010-2011)

Chapter Two: Ngāi Te Rangi and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi.

"Ko Uenuku koe, tāwhana i te rangi, ko Ngāi Te Rangi e"

(Turirangi Te Kani, 1989)

2.1   Ngāi Te Rangi

In this chapter the origins of Ngāi Te Rangi are outlined, with the chapter culminating in the development of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi. The source of this information is noted as respected Ngāi Te Rangi koroua Hauata Palmer. As stated by Palmer:

Ngāi Te Rangi is an iwi of the Mataatua waka and its descendants can be traced from its earliest known ancestors such as Toi Te Huatahi and Toroa, captain of Mataatua. After the settlement of the Mataatua occupants at Whakatāne, a whānau group lived at Tawhitirahi near Opotiki. Tawhitirahi was attacked and the group fled toward the East Coast. Two generations later, under the leadership of Te Rangihouhiri, they migrated toward the Bay of Plenty, staying briefly at Torere, Whakatāne and Matata. They also fought for territory at Maketu. Te Rangihouhiri was killed in the battle and the iwi became known as Ngāti Te Rangihouhiri (later shortened to Ngāi Te Rangi) as a result of his death. In addition, his brother Tamapahore assumed the leadership of Ngāi Te Rangi.

Accordingly, the hapū and whānau of Ngāi Te Rangi principally trace their descent from Te Rangihouhiri and his younger brother Tamapahore. The hapū and marae of Ngāi Te Rangi include:

Ngā Hapū

- *Ngā Pōtiki*
- *Ngāi Tamawhariua*
- *Te Whānau a Tauwhao/Te Ngare*
- *Ngāti Tapu*
- *Ngāi Tukairangi/Ngāti Kuku*
- *Ngāti Hē*
- *Ngāi Tuwhiwhia*
- *Ngāti Tauaiti*

Ngā Marae

- *Waikari*
- *Whareroa*
- *Hungahungatoroa*
- *Maungatapu*
- *Tahuwhakatiki*
- *Tamapahore*
- *Rangiwaea*
- *Otawhiwhi*
- *Te Rereatukahia*
- *Te Rangihouhiri*
- *Opureora*

The journey of Ngāi Te Rangi to Tauranga is described as "Te Heke o Rangihouhiri". [2] *A shortened account of the heke is provided as follows.*
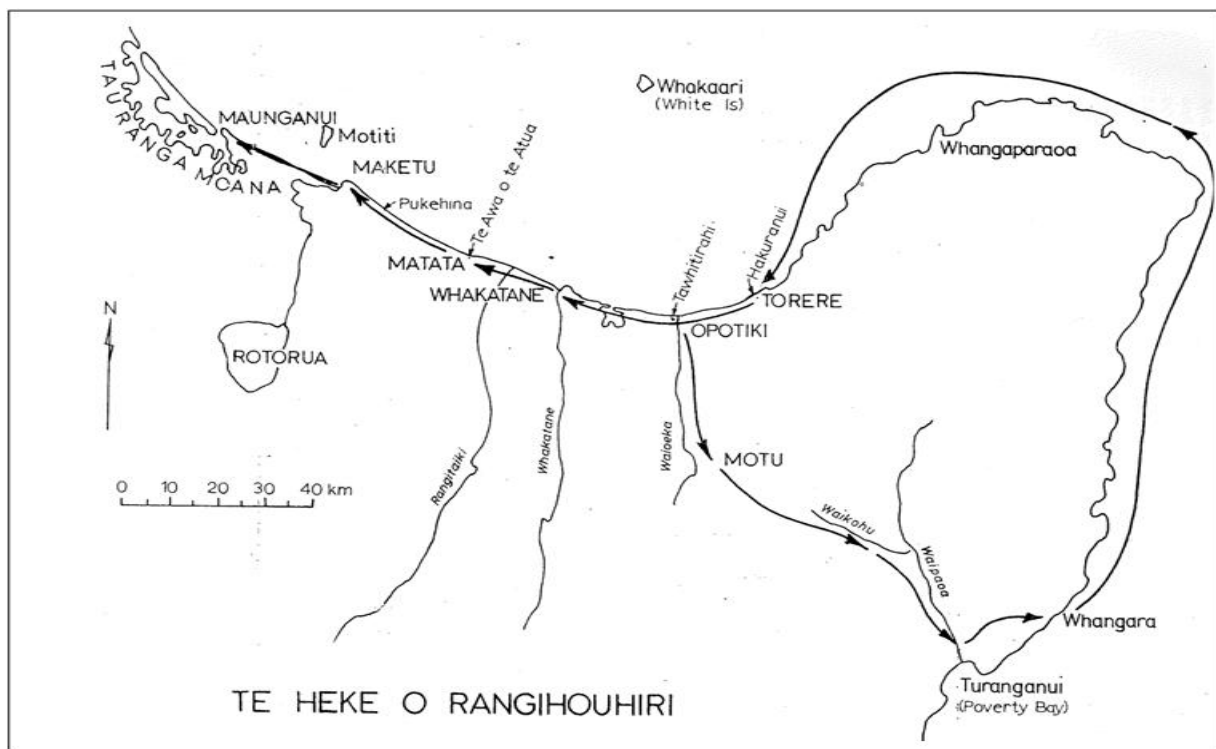

Figure 1: Te Heke o Rangihouhiri

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[2] *An account of the journey of our ancestors is provided by Gudgeon's publication, a*s provided by Cecil Watt in 1970.

The ancestors of Ngāi Te Rangi originally lived in the Opōtiki area. Their pā was Tāwhitirahi set above the stream, Kukumoa. One day the people of Tāwhitirahi received a visit from a neighbouring tribe, Ngāti Hā. After a disagreement over a pet Tui that Rōmainohorangi owned and the Ngāti Hā chief wanted for himself, a battle ensued resulting in the pā being ransacked and many of the inhabitants killed. The survivors fled inland leaving their home and thus began the travels of the ancestors of Ngāi Te Rangi.

The refugees from Tāwhitirahi trekked inland through the Waioeka Gorge, Waikohu Valley, Waimatā, Tūranganui in the Poverty Bay area and finally arrivied at Whāngārā on the East Coast. There they lived for many years under sufferance and under the protection of Te Waho o Te Rangi, a chief of Ngāti Rangihokaia, a hapū of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti of the Tairawhiti. As Te Waho o Te Rangi grew old he feared that these people might be taken over by another tribe after his death so he decided to kill them all. However they had become stronger and resisted Te Waho o Te Rangi's intention. By mutual agreement Te Rangihouhiri and his tribe were allowed to leave in peace thus began the trek of Te Rangihouhiri.

Travelling from Whāngārā around the East Coast and into the Bay of Plenty they landed at Tōrere. They settled there and built themselves a pa called Hakurānui. They did not feel totally comfortable living at Tōrere as there was always the threat of attack from the local tribes. After a small skirmish with locals, Te Rangihouhiri decided to move on westward. They passed their old pa at Tāwhitirahi, but decided against stopping there due to continued antagonism from Ngāti Ha and finally arrived at Whakatāne.

They were tolerated by Ngāti Awa at Whakatāne making their situation insecure so it was decided to move west again and to Matatā (Te Awa o Te Atua). While at Whakapaukōrero, they fought Te Arawa in the battle of Herekaki which resulted in the death of Tūtengaehe, the eldest son of Te Rangihouhiri. On hearing of his son's death he predicted his own death stating, "haere e tama mou tai ahiahi, moku tai awatea - Go my son, on the evening tide, I will follow on the morning tide." After Te Ranghouhiri's death, the tribe became known as Ngāti Te Rangihouhiri, and then shortly after Ngāi Te Rangi. Te Rangihouhiri's son Tūwhiwhia and grandson Tauaiti, were killed by a raiding party from Ngāti Ranginui and Waitaha, which resulted in the youngest son, Kotorerua, seeking revenge and planning the assault on Mauao which was occupied by

Kinonui, chief of Ngāti Ranginui. The result was the battle of Kokowai, in which Kinonui was killed and his pa destroyed. Subsequently, many Ngāi Te Rangi settled in Tauranga while others returned to Maketu. Until 1836, Ngāi Te Rangi held the mana on the coast from Nga Kuri a Wharei to Otamarakau. After 1836 Ngāi Te Rangi was located in the Tauranga region from Nga Kuri a Wharei to Te Tumu (see Palmer, 2009).

Today, the rohe of Ngāi Te Rangi is centered in and around Tauranga Moana in the Western Bay of Plenty including Te Awanui (Tauranga Harbour) and associated waterways and islands including (but not limited to) Matakana, Tuhua, Karewa, Motiti (shared with Ngāti Awa), Motuotau, Moturiki, Rangiwaea, Motuhoa and Motuopuhi.

The coastal extent of the rohe extends from Ngā Kuri a Wharei in the North West to Te Tumu in the east. Ngāi Te Rangi also has customary interests extending inland over the Kaimai ranges and beyond. Whilst these areas are regarded as primarily Ngāi Te Rangi domains, there are some areas within Tauranga which are shared with Ngāti Ranginui in the main and a small area shared with Ngāti Pukenga thereafter; within the Welcome Bay area.
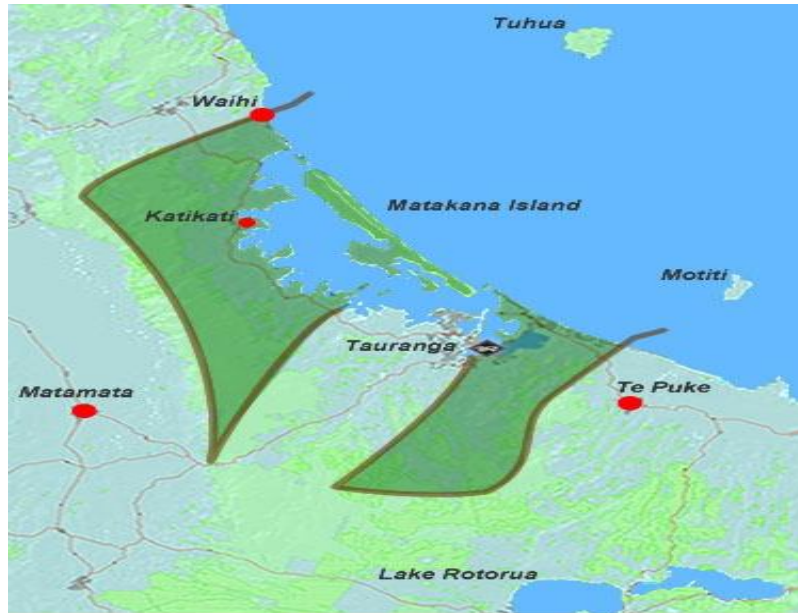

Figure 3 - Ngāi Te Rangi Rohe (from Te Puni Kōkiri www.tpk.govt.nzwebsite)

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2.2   Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi Iwi Trust

Ngāi Te Rangi is the largest of the three Iwi in Tauranga Moana with a population of over twelve thousand at the last census in 2006. Most of (not all of) the matters dealt with by Ngāi Te Rangi leaders was through tikanga based processes, with hapū leaders coming together to discuss matters of the day and marae being the physical emblem of the hapū . In any many cases, some of the marae had been established since the 1800s, and as a result, hapū territories were already well set in place. If not for the Tauranga Māori Council, and the establishment of the Tauranga Moana Trustboard in 1981, no such tribal or wider rohe based entity existed and even then both of these groups were established until specific rules and regulations which limited their overall authority.

It was not until early 1990, that the first Ngāi Te Rangi Rūnanga was established under the Rūnanga Iwi Bill and when that Act was repealed it was set up as an incorporated society. The constitution was created at the same time; and the entity became known as the Ngāi Te Rangi Iwi Incorporated Society. One of the main features on the (then) constitution was the fact that its constituent base was marae not hapū i.e. its representatives were elected by marae. The simple reason for that was that (in time); any benefits that were likely to follow on would be of value to more people than if it was hapū based.

The founding chairperson was Kihi Ngatai, and Hauata Palmer succeeded him in the role in 1997. During the time of its establishment, matters being dealt with by the Rūnanga included social services, health services, raupatu claims, marae assistance, education, resource management and so forth. In particular, from 1997 through to 2006 raupatu claims occupied a large part of the additional work being undertaken by the Rūnanga particularly given the registration of the Wai 540 by the Rūnanga Chairperson of that time Kihi Ngatai.

During 2007 and 2008 the Rūnanga underwent a transition from an incorporated society to a trust because of the requirements of Māori fisheries settlement that had been at play for over a decade. The entity was established, called Te Ohu Kaimoana who held pre-settlement assets on behalf of all iwi, and who was also responsible for enabling iwi to access the settlement assets.

Because of aspirations for the Rūnanga to become a charitable trust, this work took longer than had been anticipated.

As the transition from an incorporated society to a trust was concluded, a new Chairperson, Charlie Tawhiao was appointed along with a new group of trustees. Over a 21 year history, only three chairpersons have presided over the dealings of the Rūnanga, the tribal entity is now known as Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi Iwi Trust or TRONIT.

The Rūnanga began in two small offices in Willow St then moved to Hull Rd at Mt Maunganui. The next move was to Harris St next to Bayfair and when finances started improving a house at 4 Harris St was purchased. Whareroa Marae trustees kindly invited the Rūnanga to relocate to the Marae reserve. Some buildings were bought and, together with the Tauranga City Council and an access way was developed. The offices are there at present. After selling the Harris St property, the Rūnanga ended up almost debt-free accomodation wise.

(a). Social Development

The Rūnanga began by delivering devolved Government services in the areas of health, education, social services and budget advice. There was always the feeling present that we were providing social services at a lower cost than Government. We have expanded health and social services to include (for example) the fight against drugs, prison release rehabilitation and the acknowledgement of the achievements of young Māori. Partnerships with tertiary organisations-BOP Polytechnic and Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiārangi assist in the development of language and traditional practices. As our economy grows we are now able to make modest moves into scholarships and grants.

(b) Economic Development

Returns from fish quota leases began to flow in 1993 but it was not until 2002 that enough income was generated to make a distribution to each of our constituent marae. The first distribution was $5,000 to each marae and varying annual amounts have been made available since.

Fishing quota allocated by Te Ohu Kaimoana remains the main source of income for the Rūnanga. With the formation of TRONIT as a charitable trust came the creation of the Asset Holding Company (with TRONIT as the sole shareholder) to manage the fisheries income and investments of the Rūnanga.

From 1993 the Rūnanga was a shareholder in Mataatua Fish Quota Company together with the rest of Mataatua tribes but the company was disbanded in 2007 when some of the tribes withdrew and quota ownership was transferred directly to iwi. The Rūnanga is now part of a bigger iwi conglomerate which collectively negotiates commercial fishing matters.

(c) Other Developments

A few years ago the Rūnanga entered into partnership with Te Puni Kōkiri promoting promising young people to become members of the institute of directors. This proved to be very successful as some of the attendees are now part of the development of the Rūnanga.

Probably nine years ago a well known Tauranga identity, Michael O'Brien, proposed the setting up of a Rūnanganui which would have brought the three iwi and the Tauranga Moana Māori Trust Board under one umbrella. There was much support for the proposal as it would have made service delivery more efficient and more economic. Sadly Mike passed away and the Rūnanganui did not quite go in the direction that was envisaged.

(d) Resource Management

With the Rūnanga becoming more and more involved in hapū resource and environmental issues it was only logical that a unit be set up as a central resource for Rūnanga constituents. The value of such a move has become apparent in recent months with the hearing and subsequent appeal against the Tauranga Port Company's resource consent to widen and deepen some of the shipping channels to the port.

(e) Raupatu

Following the Second Stage (contemporary) Waitangi Tribunal hearings in 2006 the Rūnanga initiated moves to pursue Treaty settlements redress. This was begun in 2007 and has been a

long and difficult process. There were a number of phases involved, the first of which was to seek mandate for the work to begin then followed the formation of Te Hononga, a hapū forum which is the main driver of the whole process. Three negotiators were appointed and they are currently in negotiation with the Crown in setting up terms and conditions for redress.

During the early stages of consultation Nga Potiki hapū made the decision to pursue its own separate negotiations. This has delayed progress with the result that the Rūnanga has had to move its own deadline dates out. Discussions continue with the door always open for Nga Potiki to rejoin the collective.

Ngāi Te Rangi has encouraged an iwi collective approach to the settlement strategy where there is the possibility of the return of some Crown properties to joint iwi ownership. The Tauranga Moana Iwi Collective (TMIC) continues to progress those issues.

The hub of all this activity is the small team of people that do the work. Not only do they administer the running of groups involved but they also negotiate between groups to ensure everything runs as smoothly as possible.

(f) Mauao

The return of Mauao in 2009 was a highlight for the Rūnanga and was the culmination of two years of much debate and discussion. There remains some dissatisfaction with the final terms of the return so negotiations will continue with the current government.

(g) Te Heke o Te Rangihouhiri

The history of Ngāi Te Rangi involves settling at Tawhitirahi to being driven to live within Ngati Porou and then making the return journey to Whakatāne, Tōrere, Te Awa a te Atua and then Maketu before finally settling in Tauranga Moana. Most of that history tells of battles and alliances won and lost.

In 1989 Ngāi Te Rangi Iwi made the first journey to retrace the footprints of our tūpuna with another major one on the twentieth anniversary in 2009.

An historic outcome of Te Heke o Te Rangihouhiri was the gifting of Hākuranui, one of the ancient settlements at Tōrere, by its owner Alistair Hall, to the iwi of Ngāi Te Rangi in 2006. The Hākuranui Trust made up Ngāi Te Rangi representatives administers the land supported by the Rūnanga CEO. There is a small building on the land as a first step to future development.

(h) Staff

The success of any organisation depends on how good its staff is. There is no doubt about the quality and effectiveness of the staff of the Rūnanga from the Chief Executive to the most recently appointed member. The advice and support to the Executive Board and to the various committees attached to the Rūnanga is timely and accurate. As a measure of what progress has done for the Rūnanga, the staff numbers have risen from two in 1990 to 42 in 2010.

(i) The Future

The Executive Board of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi Iwi Trust has a very capable Chairperson and includes some members with skills that will take the Rūnanga confidently into the future. There will be many more challenges, great and small, confronting both staff and board members in the months and years ahead and if the past is a teacher for the future there are some principles that the Rūnanga has to retain to maintain its own integrity. The Rūnanga has shown that unity is its greatest strength in past 'engagements" so the people must continue to invest trust and belief in those who will make decisions on their behalf.

2.2 Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi Vision for Māori Language

The vision of the Rūnanga is to promote economic development but with Māori language and traditions at the same priority level. The Rūnanga staff members have taken up the language challenge as a part of their own development. In 2007 they were finalists in the national awards promoted by the Māori Language Commission and in 2008 they were joint overall winners with TV3.

There continues to be a real concern that English Language remains compulsory at all levels of the education system and yet Te Reo Māori, which is the original language of this land, is given the same status as any other foreign language – and this despite the fact that Māori Language is

still at high risk of being lost. However Māori also have a responsibility to ensure the language does not die. Those who have it should pass it on and those who do not have it should actively pursue it.

The research project being undertaken with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanauiārangi on Te Reo in the home is an invaluable set of work for our people. The findings from that research and the other work being done to ensure that our culture and traditions are foremost in our minds,is essential for building a strong tribe for the future.

Chapter Three: Language Regeneration in the Home - What the Literature Says….

"Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori
The language is the life force of Māori existence"
(Sir James Henare, 1986)

3.1   Introduction

Language regeneration is the part of language planning that has been established as a response to language decline. Its commentators have come to recognise that while institutional approaches to language development have achieved degrees of success, informal spaces for language use and the importance placed on nurturing these sites have sometimes been overlooked (Spolsky, 2003, p. 571). Fishman's (1991) assertion that the accomplishment of *intergenerational transmission of language* (stage six of the *Graded International Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages* (GIDS) scale) is the fundamental priority for language regeneration. Efforts have honed in on the 'home,' and other informal sites of language socialisation that surround families as a critical site for research about endangered languages (Benton, 1991). In the context of this research about language regeneration within the homes of our whānau, hapū and iwi, those scholarly views and others, requires attention and due consideration.

In this chapter, we examine literature relating to Aotearoa - New Zealand activities, programmes, projects and institutions that have influenced or are influencing Māori language use and comprehension within these crucial domains. We will see that the absence of Māori language usage in the home, its concomitant restriction to a few formal domains, such as education and formal processes of the marae, are critical impediments to restoring the usage of the language to self sustainable levels. Even more crucial, however, is that the contexts that surround the socialisation of children by families are precisely the location where this competence, as well as its associated values, is passed down to a new generation of speakers. The problem is that if people with the capability to speak Te Reo reserve their language for only formal occasions then the competence to communicate satisfactorily in these crucial contexts is reducing and our

language is still endangered. Put more simply, if there are no locations where informal language use is stable we certainly have a substantial problem ahead of us in our fight for language regeneration.

This review is organised as follows – firstly, historical events (which have impacted upon the current status of Māori language) are examined. Secondly, the impact of education, broadcasting and schooling upon Te Reo Māori is reviewed against a backdrop of language loss and decline. Thirdly, we examine what constitutes language and what the prevailing expression of *Māori language* is at this point in time. Fourth, policies and strategies to improve Māori language useage are considered and fifth, the literature relating to language in the home, and what some of the challenges associated with utilising this site as the bastion for language development is reviewed. In particular, the emerging trends associated with the socio-cultural environment influencing language use e.g. the language roles that whānau perform and the strategies adopted to bring about language development are reviewed.

3.2   Decline of the Status of Māori Language

(a) Historical Overview

Given that the history of the decline of the Māori language is documented in many sources (see, for example, Benton, 1981, 1991; Ka'ai, 2004; L. Smith, 1993; Spolsky, 2003; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998, 1999b, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2004a, 2004b; Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori and Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003) the intention here is to summarise the information in order to provide an overall context for a more detailed discussion about efforts to revive Te Reo in the home.

The review is organised into the following timeframes of post-Treaty to 1940, 1941 to1980 and 1981 to present day. In the context of this report, these periods are significant epochs; that is; after 1840 (post-Treaty) Te Reo went from being the dominant language in all domains to dominance only in private (Māori) domains; and in the forty years between 1940 and 1980 intensive language shift almost sent Te Reo Māori to extinction. During the period beginning from the 1980s, language revitalisation efforts emerged from within the Māori renaissance movement as a solution to stem language decline.

(b) Post-Treaty - 1940: Māori Language is the Dominant Medium of Communication

Māori was the dominant language of public communication in New Zealand both prior to the Treaty and arguably for some years thereafter. However, the ability to control the language of public domains was lost with the marginalisation of Māori economic, population, military and political power (L. Smith, 1989, pp. 3-4). Thus began, as Spolsky (2003, pp. 553, 571) describes, what was a long, often painful, "process of negotiation of accommodation" between Māori and non-Māori. English became the normal language for the public arena and institutions and activities that supported Te Reo Māori were forced "behind the closed doors of Te Ao Māori" (L. Smith, 1989, pp. 3-4).

The education system is an example of this slow extraction of Te Reo from an important domain. Although many schools were originally established by religious leaders who actively promoted Te Reo, the introduction of the Native Schools Act 1867 demoted the role of Te Reo. First, it became a mere "bridge to their later acquisition of English" and then later it was completely abolished and replaced by English as the sole medium of education (Benton, 1996, p.3). These policies drew criticism by Māori leaders concerned about their impact on the status of Te Reo Māori language. However, it was argued that Te Reo was still strong in homes, and as a result the small amount of time spent at school, and that Māori children could switch between Māori and English with relative ease at that time, it meant that the negative impact would not be great (Pihama, 1993; G. Smith, 1997). Unfortunately, the exposure to English and particularly the act of punishing children for speaking Te Reo at school, had a tremendous impact when these children grew up, and although they speak Māori to their parents, they would not speak to their own children, so that those children would avoid the punishment meted out to them in school (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004b; Timutimu, 1995; Williams, 2001).

Despite the more public demise of Te Reo, some arenas remained vibrant; for instance, with regards to the Māori newspaper sector, such as, Te Puke ki Hikurangi and Te Whetu Mārama were treated as a means of communication throughout Māori communities across the country, and a wide range of religious activities which were conducted in Te Reo. Benton (1981) for example states that:

Māori was the principal language of all Māori religious activities at this time. The two prominent 'Māori 'denominations of the day, Ratana and Ringatu, both promoted specific practices that were designed to encourage the use of the Māori language, and the mainstream denominations all had Māori missions, serviced by Māori speaking curates (cited in Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004b, p.13).

During the last few decades of this first phase, (1900-1940) was a period of co-existence, "when English and Māori language coexisted with complementary, albeit unequal, functions" (Benton, 1991, pp. 14-15). The Māori population was slowly increasing, Te Reo was still the language of communication for the rural Māori settlements, where the majority of Māori lived, and Te Reo was used in language domains outside the home, including the agricultural sector (2004a, 2004b).

However, between 1920 and 1940; a change in attitude by Māori began to surface regarding the relative status of Te Reo and English, the results of which would become apparent in the 1950s. English was seen as the only language suited for economic advancement and improved standards of living. Key Māori leaders such as Reweti Kohere and Apirana Ngata for example, were encouraging the largely bilingual cohort of Māori children to take up English-only education in order to capitalise on new economic opportunities (Benton, 1991; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004b). The addition of school policies aimed at deterring Māori language use and the economic climate of the time, thus contributed to the reduction in Māori children who spoke Te Reo plummeted from 90% in 1913 to a mere 26% in 1953 (Benton, 1981, 1991, 1996; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999b, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2004b; Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori and Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003).

(c) 1941 - 1980: Intensive Language Shift

The period between 1941 - 1980 saw extensive social, political and economic change occur that accelerated the decline in Te Reo (Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, 2000). Māori still lived in rural settlements where the medium of communication was almost exclusively in the Māori language, however the losses of young Māori leadership in World War II and the mass migration of many Māori families to towns and cities for employment undermined the key structures that supported Te Reo - the cohesive whānau units (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004b). By 1966, 62 percent of Māori were living in urban areas, a trend that would continue (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999a).

This social dislocation was compounded by assimilative policies, such as 'pepper potting' which reduced the chances of everyday conversations in Māori, as well as English-only education, which meant that, outside of contexts such as the marae or church, Māori children speakers had no public institution where they could extend their knowledge of Te Reo beyond a basic level (G. Smith, 1997). These policies were justified on the basis that gaining English and losing Māori was necessary to receive the benefits of modern society. Benton (1998, p. 31) recalls that a play centre had persuaded all the mothers in the Te Tii area to speak English to their kids so they would do better at school. He notes that he didn't think that there had been any great leap forward in their schoolwork, but there was much less Te Reo Māori spoken.

Given the almost complete dominance of English in urban domains (especially in the workplaces), the introduction of English television into family homes in the 1960s, contributed further to the negative attitudes of non-Māori towards Te Reo. Many Māori families were making a conscious decision to use English rather than Māori as the preferred means of communication to bring up their children (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003). Te Puni Kōkiri (2004b, p. 14) recounts that:

> The linguistic result of the urban migration, and policies of state agencies, was that language was not used in the majority of urban domains despite the fact that, in the first decade of urban migration, virtually all Māori adults and many Māori children could speak Māori.

For the first time in hundreds of years, *intergenerational language transmission* of Te Reo had been almost completely broken down and Māori children were being raised primarily as speakers of English (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001a). The percentage of Māori children speaking Māori language had plummeted from the 1953 figure of 26%, to a mere 5% in 1975 (Benton, 1985 cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2010), and while 64,000 fluent speakers of all ages remained, a further 30,000 Māori could understand Māori quite well but were not fluent. Benton (1991) illustrates the dilemma:

> …only two domains where Māori was still generally secure, the formal aspects of the marae procedures and (less markedly) certain religious observances… It was very clear that Māori was,

by the 1970s, playing only a very marginal role in the upbringing of Māori children, and that, if nature were left to take its course, Māori would be a language without native speakers with the passing of the present generation[s] of Māori speaking parents (p.12).

In the mid to late 1970s, the concern that Te Reo was in great danger of becoming extinct led to a groundswell of Māori action (Ka'ai, 2004). Various Māori groups and communities across the country, (notable among them, Ngā Tamatoa and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo), met to discuss what could be done to reclaim the importance of Te Reo within Māori society. The drive to reinstate the *mana* of Te Reo Māori was included within a broader activist movement which sought to address a number of outstanding Māori concerns, the agents of the movement, were inspired not only by a worldwide civil rights movement in the 1960s, but also by a key matter concerning the failure of Government to honour the Treaty of Waitangi; most notably the failure to recognise tribal tino rangatiratanga, and the protection of Māori taonga (Harris, 2004).

3.3   Language Revitalisation in New Zealand: Beyond the 1980s

The revitalisation work that started in the late 1970s continued in earnest during the 1980s. This does not mean that language decline ceased, nor did the growing number of activities for Te Reo development have an immediately impressionable imprint on Te Reo Māori status. Instead debates about effort, efficacy, context and focus became prevalent themes throughout this period. The scene had been set with the Māori renaissance movement getting underway; and the fruits of those efforts were now what occupied the attention of those advocates of Te Reo advancement.

(a) Education

The development of Māori education initiatives have made arguably the most significant contribution to language revitalisation to date. These initiatives such as Te Kohanga Reo, Te Ataarangi, Kura Kaupapa Māori, and Wānanga Māori were based on the principle that the most effective way of increasing the numbers of Māori language speakers is to focus on young learners (Ka'ai, 2004; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003). Ka'ai (2004) for example, states that:

…Kaupapa Māori educational initiatives such as Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wharekura have played a critical role over the last two decades in contributing to the

establishment of a platform to support a generation of growth and development of the Māori language for the next 25 years (p.213).

The Te Kōhanga Reo (TKR) movement opened its first centre in 1982. With grassroots energy and (after much lobbying) government support, the movement peaked 11 years later at 14,514 attending children, which was approximately half of all Māori children at the time (Ka'ai, 2004; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Advocates of the Te Kōhanga Reo movement aimed to restart intergenerational transmission of Te Reo by enabling grandparents who had retained Māori customs to pass them on to their grandchildren. Reedy (2000, p. 159) explains:

> Kōhanga Reo encapsulates what Māori perceive as the best theoretical foundations of learning for the child: a holistic approach, interwoven with cultural ethos, and the calling upon of the most important resource for cultural and language transmission, the surviving kaumātua (elders) whose knowledge is deemed essential in the learning environment of the Kōhanga Reo […] [Its] basic principles are: learning is empowering the mokopuna (grandchild); learning takes place through human interaction (the whānau [extended family]); learning occurs in a community; learning is holistic.

Unfortunately, by 2009 numbers had declined to 9,288, due in part to increasing competition in the childcare sector and also the philosophical tensions between Te Kōhanga Reo and the Ministry of Education regarding the role of the whānau, the pressure to adapt to the bureaucratisation of the early childhood sector as well the changing needs of an emergent Māori middle class (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2003; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). However, despite its decline, the success of this initiative has been such that other indigenous peoples around the world have used the Te Kōhanga Reo approach to language regeneration as the model for their own language revitalisation strategies (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004b).

The Kura Kaupapa Māori system also began in the 1980s at the same time as the Te Kōhanga Reo movement emerged, and the natural alignment between the two approaches to Te Reo advancement for Māori children but targeting different age groups was tantamount. Māori language, culture, and values thrive in these schools and despite the difficulty in gaining government approval between 1992 and 2008, the number of kura kaupapa and kura teina

increased from 13 to 72 (Statistics New Zealand, 2008).[3] Between 1997 and 2008, the number of students increased by 55 percent, from 3,926 to 6,104. The 1990s also saw kaupapa Māori education extended to the tertiary education sector, with the establishment of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999).

(b) Iwi

An increasing focus on iwi and community language planning has resulted in a number of reviews, documents and accounts produced within the local context (M. Hohepa, 1990; Ka'ai, 2004; King, 2003; Kowhai Consulting Ltd, 2003; Mataira, 2003; Mead, 1997; Te Pana, 2006). Two iwi groups have been selected as a means to consider their approaches and strategies utilised to assist with planning Te Reo regeneration, they are the ART confederation of tribes (Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa) and Kāi Tahu.

In 1975, Whakatupuranga Rua Mano - a 25 year iwi development plan and language revitalisation strategy that emerged from research showed that practically no young speakers possessed any significant knowledge of the Māori language. Whakatupuranga Rua Mano - unique for its time, was the first iwi developed and managed plan of its type to address language decline. It was large scale and spanned over a relatively long period of time. The four guiding principles of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano programme were:

- the principle that the Māori language is a taonga;
- the principle that people are our greatest resource;
- the principle that the marae is the principal home of the iwi; and
- the principle of rangatiratanga.

The programme included marae-based wānanga reo that focused on placing young people in total immersion reo environments and eventually resulted in one of the most significant developments in Te Reo revitalisation, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004b;

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[3] The first national bilingual curriculum was started in 1978, at Ruatoki School, and then in 1985, the first Kura Kaupapa Māori at the Hoani Waititi Marae with the first Wharekura being developed at the same site.

Winiata, 1996). Writing twenty one years into the plan, Winiata (1996) stated that there are approximately 700-800 Māori speakers under the age of 30 and 25 active marae (an increase from 19 marae in 1975). Critical success factors included good leadership and its ability to connect with the local context. Thus, for example, the *participation of several kaumatua* positively influenced the attitudes of people in the wider community towards the goals of the ART confederation. Furthermore, Winiata (1996) states that while the overall plan was centrally conceived, *whānau, hapū and iwi* were the main drivers and funders of activities, meaning control of the programmes remained in the hands of the local community.

Kotahi Mano Kaika (KMK) is another iwi language revitalisation initiative which has attracted recent attention. The KMK project aims to have a least 1000 Kai Tahu families speaking Te Reo Māori within their homes as the everyday language of communication (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2005). The rationale behind the project stems from the view that out of all iwi, it is Kai Tahu who has suffered the greatest loss of language. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu's recognition of this situation prompted the launch of the Kotahi Mano Kaika, Kotahi Mano Wawata – Māori Language Revitalisation Strategy in 2001. The main components of the strategy includes the development of Kai Tahu dialect language resources for the home; cluster initiatives involving weekly language lessons, kura reo, kapa haka, wananga, hikoi, fun nights for whānau, the establishment of a website with online resources, information about upcoming events and language tests were all part of the project. In addition to the use of new technology such as the internet, the KMK project incorporates a number of innovative strategies to language revitalisation at an iwi level.

One of the features of this project is the development of new language resources customised to meet the needs of the learners e.g. kaumatua resources and language cards for various settings within the home and social contexts. These language resources not only promote the use of the Kai Tahu dialect but also recognise the diverse learning styles of Māori by offering a range of formats and delivery options. Other unique components include the ability of whānau to register with the project and develop individual language plans for their household. KMK is still very much in the formative stages. This means that a robust evaluation of the impact on the language ability within the Kai Tahu region is still some years away. However, early reports on the KMK

website[4] suggest that Kai Tahu whānau are making use of the resources available through the project. More specifically, these reports show an increase from 500+ registrations with KMK in 2002 to more than 965 homes in 2005. More than 170 of these homes also developed language plans and were actively working toward becoming total immersion households.

(c) Broadcasting

After the demise of the Māori newspapers, a Māori presence in the mainstream broadcasting sector was fairly non-existent until the mid 1980s (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004a). As part of the wider efforts, it was asserted by Te Reo advocates that increasing the prominence of Te Reo required a presence in the public domain. Although the first Māori radio stations were started without government funding, pressure began to be placed on the Government, including through the 1985 Waitangi Tribunal Claim (WAI 11) for Te Reo Māori, and as well as court litigation (Broadcasting Assets Case and the Airwaves Case), to open up broadcasting channels and to support the broadcasting in Te Reo (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999b).

The Waitangi Tribunal claim brought about significant changes in the way that the Government view Te Reo Māori. In reference to the broadcasting sector, the Tribunal recommended that "broadcasting legislation and policy have regard to the Crown Treaty obligation to recognise and protect the Māori language (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004a)". This recommendation provided the impetus for the development of a range of government initiatives including a Royal Commission of Inquiry into broadcasting and related telecommunications and the establishment of the Aotearoa Māori Radio Board in 1987 (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999b, 2004a). The establishment of this Board enabled the first government-funded radio stations to begin broadcasting in both Māori and English.

Subsequently, radio frequencies were reserved for the use of Māori groups and by mid 1989 four Māori stations were in operation and in receipt of operating grants from Radio New Zealand. Recent statistics highlight the success of radio broadcasting, with twenty-one iwi radio stations currently funded by Te Māngai Pāho and broadcasting for a total of 61,000 hours in Māori (Te

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[4] www.kmk.māori.nz

Puni Kōkiri, 2004a). The 1998 Māori Language Survey, which showed that 73 percent of Māori listen to Māori radio, provides further evidence of the opportunities created through the broadcasting sector to increase Māori language knowledge and use (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004a). Ensuing developments included the full establishment of Te Mangāi Paho in the early 1990s (a government sponsored funding agency for Māori broadcasting) and a Māori Television Service, which began operations in March 2004 (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004a). These and other initiatives have seen the Māori language broadcasting sector consolidate its presence in the New Zealand broadcasting landscape, receiving a total of approximately $46 million of government funding during 2002 (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004a).

(d) Government

Throughout the 1980s there was sustained pressure on the Government to acknowledge their responsibilities to the Māori language including a Waitangi Tribunal Claim, which resulted in the passing of the Māori Language Act 1987 (The Waitangi Tribunal, 1987). This Act recognised Māori as an official language of New Zealand and established a dedicated language planning body for Te Reo called the Māori Language Commission. While the official status of Te Reo potentially provided a stronger platform for government support for language regeneration because it gave no direction as to what this new status meant, except for some use in courts, Te Reo speakers were in effect not afforded clear rights of use within various public domains despite the official status of Te Reo Māori.

The establishment of the Māori Language Commission was a direct outcome from the Waitangi Tribunal hearing on Te Reo. Its roles and responsibilities as set out in the Māori Language 1987 Act included:

- Initiating or developing policies and practices to give effect to Māori being an official language of New Zealand
- Promoting Te Reo Māori as a living language and
- Advising the Minister of Māori Affairs on matters relating to the Māori language

Although the Māori Language Commission has suffered from a chronic lack of resourcing and statutory powers, one would expect from the lead Māori language sector agency (Waitangi

Tribunal, 2010), it has initiated and supported many language projects. The commission initially focused on promotional activities and language standards, but more recent work has seen the organisation's focus shift to improving the status of Te Reo and community language planning e.g. preparation of iwi language development plans with Te Reo as a central focus, sponsorship of wānanga reo targeted at Māori parents, the kura reo ā motu for reo excellence and establishment of positions for community language planners (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004b).

In 2003, the Māori Language Commission, in conjunction with other government organisations with areas of responsibility for the Māori language, published the Māori Language Strategy which aimed to coordinate the sector within the following objectives:

- To increase the number of those who know the Māori language
- To improve proficiency levels in Māori
- To increase the number of situations in which Māori can be used
- To ensure the Māori language can be used for the full range of modern activities and
- To foster positive attitudes towards the language so that Māori-English bilingualism becomes a valued part of NZ society (Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori and Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003).

The vision stated that:

> By 2028, the Māori Language will be widely spoken by Māori. In particular, the Māori Language will be in common use within Māori whānau homes and communities. All New Zealanders will appreciate the value of the Māori language to New Zealand society (Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori and Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003, p. 5).

Unfortunately, the implementation of this strategy has been poorly attended to and the Controller and Auditor General's Report (Controller and Auditor General, 2007) noted that rather than genuinely engaging with the strategy, the "planning became a compliance exercise (p.23)." Furthermore, The Waitangi Tribunal Wai 262 Report *Chapter on Te Reo* outlined that the inadequate implementation of 2003 Māori Language Strategy was as the result of the lack of true partnership between Māori and the Crown, stating that:

> The 2003 Māori Language Strategy, we believe, is a well-meaning but essentially standard and pre-consulted Crown policy that does nothing to motivate Māori at the grassroots […] [It] is another failure of policy. It is too abstract and was constructed within the parameters of a

bureaucratic comfort zone. It is less a Māori language strategy than a Crown Māori language strategy (2010, p. 66).

(e) ***The Current Situation***

In 2006, 131, 613 Māori could hold a conversation about everyday things in Te Reo Māori. While this figure represents an increase of 1,128 people from 2001 it is a 1.5% reduction from the 2001 census figures (Statistics New Zealand, 2008).

Figure 15a
Proportion of Māori able to converse in te reo Māori
By census year

Source: Statistics New Zealand

Figure 15b
Number of Māori and total population able to converse in te reo Māori
By census year

Source: Statistics New Zealand
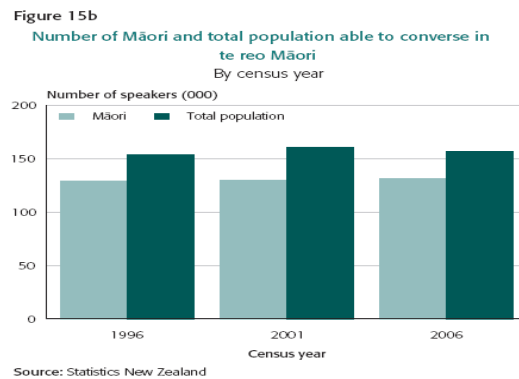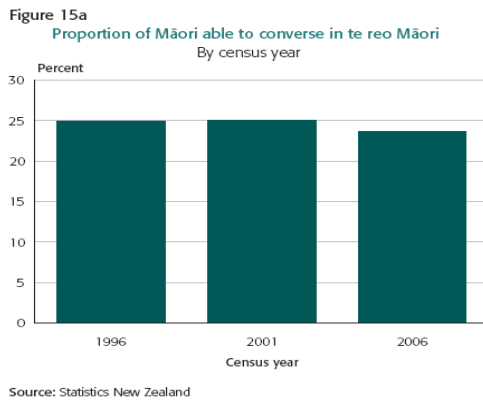
These tables, together with the table below demonstrate concern for the survival of Te Reo Māori. The older age groups, who are more likely to have high fluency and have a higher proportion of speakers are rapidly disappearing. The Waitangi Tribunal (2010) reflects this concern noting that many of these older native speakers spearheaded the revival movement, and that the supply of quality of language, especially that of teachers, is shrinking.

Māori Speakers of te Reo Māori as a Proportion of the Total Māori Population
2006 Census
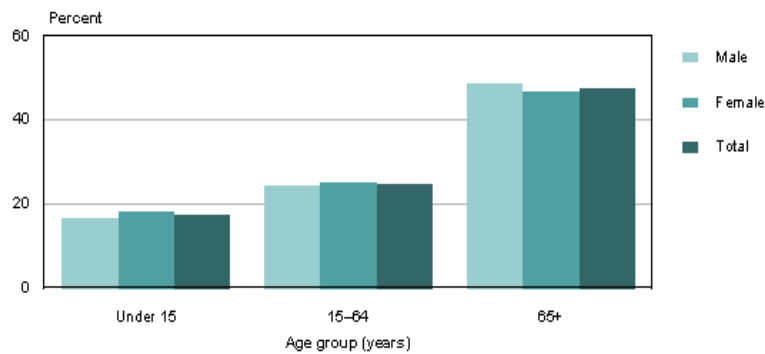
Although in 2006 there were larger numbers of Māori speakers in the younger age groups, the proportion of Māori speakers is much less, meaning that Te Reo use is not self-sustaining and continues to decline toward extinction. Children and youth who have been schooled and socialised in Te Reo are highly likely to have a large number of peers and relatives who do not understand Te Reo and because of the relatively high value of English, it is Te Reo Māori that suffers in contact situations. Benton (1998) notes that when English speaking families returned home to Māori areas like Ruatahuna and Te Kao, English quickly became the normal language for the younger generations.   This concern is evident in the Judge Williams address to the Minister of Māori Affairs concerning the Reo component of the Wai 262 deliberations, he stipulates:

> *Te Reo Māori* is approaching a crisis point. Diminishing proportions of younger speakers mean that older native speakers passing away are simply not being replaced. Since 1993, the proportion of Māori children in early childhood education […] has dropped from just under half to under a quarter. At school the proportion of Māori children participating in Māori medium education has dropped from a high point of 18.6 percent in 1999 to 15.2 percent in 2009. The total number of school children in Māori medium learning has dropped each successive year since 2004. […] At the 2006 Census there were 8,000 fewer conversational speakers of Te Reo [i.e. the Māori language] than there would have been had the 2001 proportion been maintained (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. x).

3.4   **Language Shift and** *Revitalisation* **Literature**

Having now laid out some of the broader trends that have occurred in relation to Te Reo Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand since 1840, this literature review now turns to consider some of the literature that relates to language shift, as well as tools for language maintenance including, in particular, second language acquisition.

(a)   A General Understanding of Language

> *Is the struggle worth it? I'm sure it is. The Māori language is the mauri of Aotearoa. It is our only unbroken link with the country's history.   Without it, we're just bleached driftwood abandoned on the shore (Benton, 1998, p.31)".*

As a foundation to this section we briefly consider literature relating to the conceptual nature of language. This is important because a thorough understanding of planning necessitates an understanding of the nature of the *'activity'* to be subjected to that planning. In other words, different conceptions of language will naturally produce quite different conceptions of the best methods to address language regeneration.

It is asserted that language is much more than an abstract set of rules or complex system of knowledge used to communicate an idea, message or purpose, and therefore while acquisition involves the learning of these rules, language planners must be aware of the community, identity and power functions of language (Chomsky, 1968; 2004). Clearly, a living language must be actively communicated by its community members. This has a number of implications. First, that language is not an object which can be "handed down" to future generations (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 211). Second, language is "not a clearly bounded system but one that is in active interchange with all linguistic and non-linguistic factors that affects it" (ibid, p. 291); and thirdly, that language is not independent of its community of speakers, and therefore their identity, history, values, beliefs, and cultural practices.

Van Troyer (1994) outlines the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that, "language is a code that all members of a specific language group learn and share, and through which a significant amount of what is known about the world is learned" (p.5). Fishman (2007) also argues that:

> The most important relationship between language and culture that gets to the heart of what is lost when you lose a language is that most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language. Take it away from the culture, and you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers. The culture could not be expressed and handed on in any other way. What would be left? When you are talking about the language, most of what you are talking about is the culture. That is, you are losing all those things that essentially are the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing, and the human reality that you are talking about (p.72).

Furthermore, because of the symbiotic relationship of language, when *normal language* is removed, adjusted or tampered with, the corresponding culture, history and identity are radically altered. This relationship is reflected by Margaret Noori (2009) who says:

Our words are an epistemology; our grammar is a map. Our stories are our history. Learning is infinite and communal. Diversity is the ability to benefit from multiple perspectives. These are the reasons we speak *Anishinaabemowin* at our house (p.21)

It is this closeness to, and with our inner humanity through a cultural lens which gives us *our* sense of why language is so personal to us, and why it is a political act to plan for *language*. This is because to plan for language is contentious in that it is social change that has the potential to disrupt the sacred and inner personal spaces of people; and by advancing social change, you are by association imparting *knowledge* and *consciousness* and creating value. Shohamy (2006, p. 167) states that:

A unique trait of language is that it is so personal; it is so much a part of us, of our bodies, of our souls, of our mouths, of our brains, of our hearts. Controlling language is a way of controlling us. For people though the power of language is also the power to reshape, to protest, to denounce oppression and resist its domination.

(b)   The Value of Te Reo Māori

It is therefore reasonable to articulate that an individual's language has a high personal value to them, and is not given away or relinquished easily. However, given the level of language decline in Aotearoa New Zealand and around the world, clearly, there is a tension between the conditions within which someone assigns value to language; and who gets to decide. Fishman in Nettle and Romaine (2000) suggests that:

we should not be embarrassed about the fact that support of language maintenance is basically a value position, because of the position of its opponents is also a value position. They assume it would be better if small cultures and languages were simply to die out. Just because people can evidently survive without their languages and traditional cultures does not necessarily mean that enforced uniformity is a good thing; or that nothing of consequence is lost when a people loses a language (p.23).

Who decides how and where language should be positioned is therefore about valuing language. To illustrate, native speakers from previous generations generally ascribed a significant role to Te Reo Māori within Māori society. Reweti Kōhere stated it would be a great calamity (*he mate*

nui) if English replaced the main stay (*pou tokomanawa*) of Māori culture and then later that it is through their knowledge of Te Reo that a Māori person is known as a Māori (*"Mā te mōhio o te Māori ki tōna reo ake e kiia ai ia he Māori"*) (Kaa & Kaa, 1994, pp. 49-51). Sir James Henare, during the Waitangi Tribunal (1986) hearing outlined a similar perspective of the personal affection and importance of Te Reo Māori, he stated:

> The language is the core of our Māori culture and mana. Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori (The language is the life force of the mana Māori). If the language dies, as some predict, what do we have left to us? Then, I ask our own people who are we? I, and certainly we, don't want to be like the American negro who has lost his culture and has nothing. 'Language' according to Oliver Wendell Holmes, is a solemn thing, it grows out of life, out of its agonies and its ecstasies, its wants and its weariness. Every language is a temple in which the soul of those who speak it is enshrined.' Therefore the taonga, our Māori language, as far as our people are concerned, is the very soul of the Māori people. What does it profit a man to gain the whole world but suffer the loss of his own soul? What profit to the Māori if we lose our language and lose our soul? Even if we gain the world. To be monolingual; a Japanese once said, is to know only one universe.

During the Waitangi tribunal hearings for example, Te Reo Māori was articulated as a taonga (The Waitangi Tribunal, 1987). Although the reason for this, in part, was to align Crown action or non-action that led to the decline of Te Reo with the argument that it was a breach of Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi, the concept of a treasured possession that has been lost or rather was taken away resonated with Māori. Puke (2000) agreed with the term stating that "Māori people referred to the Māori language as a *'taonga'* 'treasure' because it was the means of vocal expression used to traditionally transmit knowledge' (p.4). That this knowledge conveyed often 'tapu' ideas and words from the distant past into the future made it all the more valuable (Puke, 2000; Shirres, 1997). This perspective of Te Reo has been encapsulated in a well known proverbial saying,

Tōku reo, tōku ohohoho	My language, my awakening treasure
Tōku reo, tōku māpihi maurea	My language, my object of affection
Tōku reo, tōku whakakai mārihi	My language, my prized adornment

Evidence given in Ngāi Te Rangi's second stage of Waitangi Tribunal post-raupatu hearings in 2006 indicated that this view was shared by kaumatua in the past decades. A brief comment in the hearings reads, "I strongly believe that the reo and tikanga go hand in hand together…As long as the reo and tikanga remain together it will complete everything because people will come together again and unite as one to move forward into the future" (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi, 2006). More recently, the Ministry of Social Development (2003, p.37) stated that,

> Language is a tool for communication of common cultural meanings. For many New Zealanders, the Māori language is fundamental to Māori identity, and underpins Māori social and economic development. It also has symbolic value, in that it nurtures a sense of belonging in New Zealand. It provides a road of continuity to the past.

Nevertheless, given the reality of continuing language decline it is arguable, that the truest indication of the appreciation of its language by a community is not in statements by individuals, but in its *practice*. Thus when a language is considered more valuable by a community, individuals will be more willing to put in the time, effort and money to acquire that language (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Kaplan and Baldauf also discuss the heavy influence of external influences on a minority language such as Te Reo, stating that:

> When a community of minority language speakers is embedded within a larger community using another language; if both languages can serve the same functions and domains, then the minority speakers are often drawn to the majority language because it offers greater access to material rewards, employment, economic opportunities, and status perhaps. Over time as the majority language becomes more dominant – minorities are required to learn and use the majority language. Over time the young have no incentive or opportunity to learn the language, consequently within three or four generations there may be no native speakers, and even the native speakers can only speak in a restricted set of registers (1997, p. 62).

Furthermore, as a result of the majority of Māori having little more than a basic knowledge of Te Reo Māori, there seems to have been a shift in the relationship between Māori identity and language. In a revealing study, Arapera Ngaha (2007) found that less than 30% of respondents considered the Māori language essential to Māori identity. In fact language came last in a list of 7 elements, the highest being whakapapa at 82%, followed by upbringing, customs, connection to marae, relationships, and connection to land.

Lewis (2007) integrates the personal assessment of value into a process of language choice in his thesis about language planning. Language planning in his view is essentially about influencing or choice. Thus, success depends on both internal and external influences on choice being dealt with or not. In the context of this discussion, choice places value upon Te Reo by way of the tensions that exist between the different choices being made available and the degree of investment one needs to make in order to be able to make a choice. Making a choice in this context is problematic, if one is not well equipped to make a choice; or if the choice is impeded by lack of skill, lack of understanding or lack of knowledge. When this principle is applied to language, it is the language that already holds the value position, or position of dominance that is more likely to be chosen. Choice, in this regard is already pre-empted by the value position made where the least effort is required.

Language in the context of *value*, is influenced by concepts such as choice, but a number of writers also argue that language is more than a set of rules. It is instead something that is part of individuals' and groups' identity and cultural beliefs and values. From a literary perspective, there is ample evidence to articulate a well founded argument for Te Reo Māori to be prioritised throughout all walks of life but there is a more sinister view of the efforts required to regenerate Te Reo Māori; and that those efforts are too far reaching for many community people. Even though improvements in knowledge of culture and identity may be some of the benefits associated with language regeneration, the degree to which that is enough of a motivating factor is unclear.

(d)   Language Endangerment and Death

Literature relating to language regeneration also alludes to the looming crisis associated with language endangerment and death (Harrison, 2010; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). A report pertaining to language endangerment has been published by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in association with the Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages (AIATSIS and FATSIL, 2005). The report provides a grading system for determining degrees of endangerment (p.33) which is outlined below; based on a rating of 0-5.

Degree of endangerment	Grade	Speaker population	Age Groups
Strong or safe	5	The language is used by all age groups, including children.	All
Unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.	Used by between 30% and 70% of the <20 age group
Definitely endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and upwards.	Used only by > 20 years old
Severely endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and upwards.	>40 years old
Critically endangered	1	The language is known to very few speakers, of great-grandparental generation.	>60 years old
Extinct	0	There is no speaker left.	None.

As is expected the presence of *Intergenerational Language Transmission* is the highest criteria. The criteria are as follows:

1. Intergenerational Language Transmission;
2. Numbers of Speakers;
3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population;
4. Domains and Functions of a Language;
5. Response to New Domains and Media;
6. Materials for Language Education and Literacy;
7. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, including Official Status and Use;
8. Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language;
9. Type and Quality of Documentation.

Lewis (2007, pp.8-9) view of language endangerment is that it only takes three generations for a language to *die.* He noted that the stages to death are as follows:

1. The community is made up of monolingual speakers of a traditional language;

2. There is immense competition and pressure for speakers and speaking space by a dominant language such as English. This can either be 'top down', in the form of incentives, recommendations or laws, or 'bottom up' in the form of peer group pressures. If the subordinate group has less power, status and influence, and if their language is not a strong identity marker, the process of decline is likely to intensify;

3. Emerging bilingualism - where people become efficient in a new language while still retaining competence in their original language. If these people begin to identify more with the new language (finding the first language less relevant to their new needs) and if this is accompanied by negative attitudes by the dominant group towards the minority language, the process of decline is, once again, likely to intensify;

4. Parents use the original language less and less to communicate with their children and thus the original language is no longer the first language of the children. Many people no longer acquire fluency, perhaps becoming self conscious semi-lingual speakers. Those families which do continue to use the language find there are fewer other families to talk to. The most significant loss occurs at this stage. Often, in order to attain a stronger economic and social position for their children, the original language is discarded as the primary one for socialising children;

5. Then, often quite quickly, bilingualism declines dramatically, with the original language giving way to the new language in terms of speaker numbers and supporting infrastructure. Children are more likely to be monolingual than passively bilingual. For most languages, it is too late at this stage to stave off extinction;

6. There are two possibilities here. Either (a) the language dies, as it ceases to be transmitted from one person to another, having no practical use for normal communication purposes (Chrystal, 2000, p. 22), or (b) the children and grandchildren of the generations who did not pass on the language, now secure in the new language and in a much better socio-economic position, begin to reflect on the heritage they have lost and to wish that things had been otherwise. The original language, formerly seen as useless and irrelevant, comes to be seen as a source of identity and pride. This is the beginning of regeneration.

In his analysis about language death, Chrystal (2002) states:

> There have been hundreds of cases where one generation who are still struggling to establish their new social position and new language are not concerned that they have failed to pass their language on. It is their children, secure in the new language and in a much better socio-economic position, with battles over land-claims and civil rights behind them, who begin to reflect on the heritage they have lost, and to wish that things had been otherwise. The old language, formerly a source of shame, comes to be seen as a source of identity and pride. But by then, it is often too late (p.107).

Gaining more insight into the impacts that language loss has had upon individuals, groups and the tribe is warranted and necessary as gaining insight into what language loss may mean, and what factors are able to inform strategies to address and *regenerate* language in order to improve the situation is imperative.

(e) *Language Regeneration*

Understanding language loss provides a context within which to articulate language regeneration. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) states that successful language regeneration depends on the following factors:

- there must be a large, vibrant and expanding pool of speakers
- the willingness of the speakers to pass the language inter-generationally
- the opportunities to use the language in a large number of registers and functions
- the language must serve key communicative functions in the community
- the availability of economic benefits in the language.
- conditions that caused the dominant language to be imposed on to the minority language must be eliminated
- functional registers must not only be retained but new ones for new domains created and used (pp.273, 308)

For instance, if someone is learning to understand Te Reo Māori, one of the most strikingly obvious observations is that every word, sentence and expression helps fill a void amongst many people that is currently not filled. Every time, a koroua or kuia speaks the language, he or she is filling a cultural void that is not able to be filled by others. Every statistic or fact or point or act that is spoken in Te Reo Māori is therefore able to be translated into an opportunity to gain from the expression of building's one language.

Positioning language as something to be developed and grown requires a framework within which language regeneration unfolds. In some cases, language is viewed as a *second language imperative* in that second language acquisition is the lens through which Te Reo Māori is viewed; or language is seen as an essential component of one's cultural makeup and from that

perspective people learn the language and culture together as a means to shifting power back; therefore reclaiming something that has a wider cultural component. These two viewpoints will be considered momentarily.

(*f*)   *Second Language Acquisition*

Second language acquisition theory "attempts to explain the phenomena involved when a person acquires a second language (Jordan, 2004, p.5)." Schumann argues that there are two separate processes for second language acquisition, which highlights the divide between native speakers and non-native speakers (or second language learners) in this context.

Schumann (2004) proposes that some individuals may be 'innately equipped' with applied pedagogy (for want of a better term) – therefore the learning is an inevitable, part of everyday life, or a natural way of acquiring language as a means to make sense of the environment around them. Such was the existence of our ancestors and their ability to 'be' one with their environment and language. He further draws our attention to 'sustained deep learning' which outlines the more explicit methods of acquiring a language – a 'taught' methodology that is dependant largely on the process occurring neurologically. Sustained deep learning requires "a great deal of individual variation….some individuals may become highly proficient, others may acquire less proficiency, and still others may acquire no knowledge or skill in the area at all" (Schumann, 2004). Such descriptions are obvious in modern Māori society through formal language learning programmes, tertiary education and courses. Therefore, a significant percentage of language revitalisation programmes provided have thus far, been done so from a second language learning perspective.

Hohepa (1999) is critical of second language acquisition as a paradigm for Māori language, primarily on the basis that the intimate interconnections between language use and cultural protocols are not present. In her view:

> while there is a deal of attention given to second language and literacy development, linguistic, attitudinal and cognitive functioning at the individual level tend to be the focuses. I have yet to find extended discussions of second language learning that consider it in the wider context of maintaining and regenerating an indigenous language and culture (p.46)

Although the second language acquisition literature does not tell a story that directly relates to the situation associated with Māori learning Te Reo Māori, it is nonetheless confirmed that Māori adults wishing to acquire Te Reo, are largely identified as *second language learners* and in that context theories associated with second language acquisition apply. Despite that statement, it is asserted that language and culture are intertwined and that one does not occur without the other; therefore second language acquisition theory, in the context of Māori learners must be able to address this learning aspiration.

Clearly, if an institution of learning, is not to become merely *a teacher of threatened language as a second language* (ThLSL) institution, it must be preceded by (or at least accompanied by) adult language learning of the threatened language as a second language, furthermore, by instruction in parenting via ThLSL, and then by substantial child acquisition of the threatened language as a *first language* (ThLFiL) even before the pupils-to-be, show up at school. If the latter scenario is ready to obtain, then a revitalised home-family-neighbourhood community function must become rewarding and satisfying, even before parents have children and much before those children are sent off to school.

At the same time however, post and out-of-school functions for a threatened language must also be increasingly assured for adolescents and young adults (e. g. clubs, sports teams, study groups, hobby groups, etc.), otherwise these young post-schoolers will have no further use for their threatened language until their own pre-parental period, by which time they may well have to relearn it. It is infinitely easier to socialise children into an environmentally utilised language (no matter how small that environment may be in relative terms) than into one that remains unutilised outside of the easily compartmentalised school-experience. Thus, optimally, even efforts to achieve school functions for a threatened language need to be conceptualised and activated or implemented in a linkage system that starts with those adult functions and institutions that are prior to and preparatory for schooling for children. This linkage system must be one that continues on to adolescent and young adult functions after and following upon schooling for children (Fishman, 2000).

3.5   Whānau, Kainga, Community and Language Regeneration

In reference to connecting language acquisition to whānau, kainga and community, the AIATSIS and FATSIL report (2005) recommended *Intergenerational Language Transmission (ILT)* as the first criteria of assessing language endangerment, this is because it,

> is the most reliable and accurate measure of the vitality of languages… This is because if there is no uptake of languages by the younger generations, the language will be lost. If the process of language shift occurs abruptly and throughout the community, the language will disappear within two to three generations (50 years roughly from the first onset of language shift (p.68).

The report writers also noted that the relationship between 'knowledge' and 'use' is also a key to transmission, because if a language is not used, it will not be transmitted (ibid).   Second language learners who are scattered in different communities are more likely to forget and not pass on their language, and the effect of attrition gets worse when there are only very few speakers left as they may not be in a position to speak much to each other (ibid). Furthermore, while fast decline involves children and teenagers knowing nothing of the language, slow decline involves a much more gradual loss where the younger people speak a mixed code (both languages), with a limited range. A clearer understanding that "the home is the key domain where Te Reo Māori needs to be re-established as the main language of communication" (Te Matahauariki o Tauranga Moana, 2006, p. 19) is now imperative. The urgency with which language regeneration must focus its efforts upon whānau, the home and the community is prevalent in the following statement:

> The community, and only the community, can preserve a living language. If the community surrenders its responsibility to outsiders, or even to a few persons within the community (such as school teachers), the language will die (Crystal, 2002).

The role of the whānau and in particular whānau members is therefore central to the progression of *ILT*; and by association language recovery and growth. Fishman (1991) argues that the revitalisation of the target language is severely restricted without the transmission of language from parents to children. However, the literature fails to adequately recognise the often complex

relationships that exist between those living within the home, as well as the impact of those living outside the home but still very much connected with daily whānau activities.

Researchers at Massey University are working on a longitudinal project called 'Te Hoe Nuku Roa' to investigate issues, characteristics and parameters around whānau in Aotearoa New Zealand. That project recognises that the traditional notion of whānau is markedly morphing into a new contemporary notion of whānau. The researchers have adopted the following definition for their purposes, that whānau is:

> a diffuse unit based on a common whakapapa, descent from a shared ancestor or ancestors, and within which certain responsibilities and obligations are maintained (Cunningham, Stevenson, & Tassell, 2005, p. 15).

Smith (1995) defined whānau as:

> a collective concept which embraces all the descendents of a significant marriage, usually over three or more generations. However, it also refers to the more recent notion derived from its usage in describing a group of Māori who may share an association based on some common interests such as locality, an urban marae, a workplace and so on (cited in (cited in Cunningham et al., 2005, p. 14).

Family members, both immediate and extended, are central to the notion of whānau from the Māori world view (Marsden, 1992). Whānau essentially forms the backbone of Māori communities, and thefore Māori society. Bishop (2001) defines whānau as a 'primary concept (a cultural preference) that contains both values (cultural aspirations) and social processes (cultural practices). While this definition is conceptual, scope is permitted for the natural impacts that occur within whānau dynamics. These dynamics include the fact that the majority of whānau engaged in learning Te Reo Māori are doing so as a second language. This situation diverts from the ideas proposed by ILT in that it is does not necessarily facilitate the transmission of Te Reo Māori from the older to the younger generation (e.g. parent to child), particularly where the child's fluency is far greater than that of the parent.

This situation also highlights the importance of understanding the different roles that people play within the whānau, some of which might not conform with the traditional roles implied in ILT

literature e.g. parent as teacher. For some families, it is the child who provides the initial language platform for the whānau. In other cases, extended whānau members such as koroua and kuia assume the role of language facilitator for the whānau. It is also possible that for some families the main catalyst for increasing the level of Te Reo Māori spoken in the home does not possess the greatest language ability or even reside in the home. The work undertaken by Margaret Hohepa (1999) as part of her doctoral research findings is particularly insightful, referring to literacy tools as a means to improving language capability within the home, she identified numerous indicators of stress developing within the language renaissance movement that served to enable further prodding into the very notion of 'language in the home'. For instance, she relays Keegan's view that:

> There is evidence that children are developing Māori language, however it is less certain that other whānau members, including parents, are also developing higher levels of fluency (cited in Hohepa, 1999, p. 42).

While accepting that the aim of ILT is to return to a position where members of the older generation facilitate language learning for the younger generation, this model is unlikely to be the norm for some years. Therefore, any attempts to put ILT into action need to acknowledge the different dynamics associated with whānau of varying language abilities, roles and the value systems that exist. For instance:

> In our home, we have one parent who is fluent and literate as a second-language speaker, one parent who is a proficient third language learner and a ten year old and five year old who are novice level speakers working on literacy. I view our progress as an evolution from walking to one day dancing, from the basic beginnings to participating in the shaping of a living modern language (Noori, 2009, pp. 13-14)

The questions associated with who are speaking reo Māori, where it is spoken and what roles are performed are therefore crucial indicators of how, why and where language regeneration efforts should be targeted within the home. Reflecting upon the statistics to date, only eight percent of the largely kaumatua cohort of Aotearoa are fluent Māori speakers, with a 'rapidly diminishing' rate of our elders among Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004b). Therefore, with the majority of Māori wielding English - *the colonisers native tongue* - the focus for revitalisation efforts has centred

on the notion of *second language acquisition* within the home setting. Reyhner, Cantoni, St Clair and Yazzie (1999) promotes an approach to this described as the 'primary discourse' which is *associated with face to face conversational interaction among members of a speech community*. In the context of this research, Māori would need to create a Māori immersed speech community either within the wider community, and/or within the home. Geneese (1992) supports the push of second language learners to immerse themselves within the language to be acquired. He states:

> I believe that maintenance and development of the home language and culture are pedagocially sound and essential components of any effective...programme...It is now generally recognised that languages are acquired more effectively when they are learned in conjunction with meaningful content and purposive communication. Meaningful content provides a motivation for language learning that goes beyond language itself (p.9).

Within this whānau social context, or community social context, the *kainga*, or location for language regeneration becomes a prevalent issue. The kainga has been identified as the key location in this research project. It is effectively that physical location from which a whānau identifies as their base or their bearing in terms of the physical and tangible resemblance of who they are, and where they are within the context of whānau, and more so within the context of whānau, hapū and iwi. Kainga can also have a broader understanding if interpreted as the papakainga and or community (Pere, 1984). In this respect kainga is the physical embodiment of the whānau and the community.

Kainga also has a secondary meaning associated with the more informal exchange of language; in that it resembles the social context within which language regenerates; and contests the institutional status of language; promoted as such through pedagogical means to learning Te Reo; reserved for schools, tertiary learning institutions and other more formal establishments tasked with the formal role of promoting Te Reo acquisition. The symbolic nuance assigned to the term kainga also represents this new conceptual tension which encourages 'less rigorous' forms of language construction; given that in the informal setting; the impetus is placed on the fact that one is practicing to kōrero; as opposed to being the exemplar of *language constructed accurately*. Put in this way; all efforts made to progress reo, in different domains is valued; and

those efforts should they indicate that language revival is underway, must therefore occur from within the kainga, the whānau and the community.

3.6   Summary

In this chapter, a review of literature pertaining to the broad concepts of Māori language efforts historically, politically, educationally, socially, and within the community have been undertaken. Secondly, the concept of language loss has been examined. Thirdly, a review of language acquisition within the framework of kainga, whānau and community has occurred. All of these threads have been considered as a lens through which to examine Ngāi Te Rangi's efforts to advance Te Reo in the home.

What has been found is disconcerting. Firstly, the political influence of institutional approaches to language regrowth appears to have not resulted in extensive and broad evidence of success. We have also found scholarship that unbundles the contribution of national educational policies, educationalist and schooling has had prior to the turn of the 1970s, when the Māori renaissance movement was in progress. What remained prior to that time was a pathway of obliteration where language use by our own people was negatively reinforced by societal queues operating outside of the tribal confines both virtual and physical. The establishment of, and implementation of the Māori Language Act 1987 therefore served as a pillar of retribution for an action onslaught of language genocide that we had unwittingly participated in as a people; without our knowledge or our consent. This is notwithstanding the fact that at the same time the Māori language movement through kohanga reo and kura kaupapa was beginning to establish a stronghold for positive language growth (Hohepa, 1999). The review has therefore enabled us to explore some of the more positive events; the change in kaupapa Māori approaches to language development through schooling and broadcasting and the new emerging complexity associated within our people tasked with the next stage of language regeneration.

Secondly, with regards to the conceptualisation of language loss we have found that not only a communicative tool but moreso as a taonga and a construct of culture, identity and heritage that is connected traditionally, in the present and the future. In that examination of the literature we have concluded that language is not simply a collection of words and utterances, it is much more

– and when it is lost, what is lost with it is almost always unrecoverable nuances intertwined with the culture of a people (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). We therefore note and acknowledge that culture and language are interconnected and when one is lost, potentially so is the other.

The international research available for consideration within the context of the review is instrumental in assisting the language revitalization efforts (e.g. Fishman, Spolsky and Reyhner). But, despite the ever increasing building blocks that help language revitalization efforts, there is still cause for concern. The literature is telling us that language, particularly minority languages continue to die at an ever alarming pace; in fact there are 5000-6000 and half of them will die within the next century (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Language communities which form from socially sound communities are marred by the growing popularization of the language of economics as they pertain to their own countries; and with employment needs for families being a priority issue; the acquisition of the 'mother tongue' is relegated as less of a priority, eventually days go by months and then years until there are limited human teachers available to naturally assist with the transmission of language amongst and within generations of family members. Equally concerning is where language boosts stem from a basis of limited fluency; where family members grapple with even basic conversational reo; and that these same people should be required to save the language of a community becomes nonsensical. Decades of resources made available through tertiary learning opportunities has resulted at best in a strong prerequisite platform for initiating the next stage of language development and growth (Lewis, 2007).

Thirdly, a review of language theories pertaining to whānau social structures and language acquisition methods and theories has been considered again from a broad perspective. The fact clearly remains that at the time of this research, there were no studies, or reports that had been undertaken to explore language revitalization in the home; institutional mechanisms e.g. schooling was a well known approach to language adoption and use; but the question of whether those efforts were being transmitted into the home was a matter not well understood. On that basis alone, and as a consequence of this review of the literature; this research report serves as a bridge to finding out more about how language can be re-developed within the social constructs of the whānau, the kainga and the community.

Chapter Four: Methodology and Methods

"Māori research is grounded in the lives and experiences of Māori and thus requires an application of certain investigative protocols and rules that underpin a 'uniquely valid Māori way'"

(Mataira, 2003, p. 4)

4.1   Introduction

This research report is divided into two stages reflecting the two phases of the research: an in-depth review of literature pertaining to community action initiatives with reo re-generation within homes and communities and; the involvement of whānau over a twelve month period of reo re-generation strategising and the initiation of those strategies through agreed approaches with whānau.

In this chapter we explore the methodological lens through which this research has been conducted and the research methods adopted to undertake this research project on the whole. We employed a kaupapa Māori research methodology as well as community action research approaches that aimed to guide and influence the language acquisition approach employed with those whānau participating in this project. The research methods adopted in this research project included a number of standard approaches that stem from a kaupapa Māori research methodology. For example, whānau hui, conversations, discussions and agreements around the role and positioning of researchers engaged in the research, conversations, discussions and agreements around the research approach and so on. Drawing on kaupapa Māori as an approach that weaves in an out of western and indigenous ways of knowing and being (after Smith, 1999), the research project also undertook what might be considered more 'traditional' research processes, such as literature reviews and interviews. Finally, a model of interaction with whānau called '**Aro, Tau, Reo'** is also applied as a tool for practice within this chapter.

(a)   What is a Methodology?

A methodology is a set of principles that guides the approaches to research. The methodological approaches adopted to guide the advancement of this project are based on Kaupapa Māori research methodology and community action research. These two main research methodologies

provide an overarching set of research principles for this project. The project, given that it is grounded in Ngāi Te Rangi – a community that is both located within and informed by cultural traditions and practices – also asserts the development of a Ngāi Te Rangi approach to undertaking and conducting research. This is an evolving methodology, informed by but also extending upon our understandings of kaupapa Māori.

4.2 Kaupapa Māori Methodology

Bishop (1996) provides a series of questions to guide kaupapa māori approaches to research. He asks:

- Who has helped define the research questions?
- Who has input in deciding whether the research is worthy and relevant?
- How does this research contribute to new knowledge and which cultural group will benefit?
- Who is the researcher accountable to?
- Who will benefit most from this study?
- What processes are important to the research community?

These questions help ensure that issues related to power and control before, during and after the research relationships with whānau are addressed and aligned to whānau aspirations for transforming their own environments in the interests of revitalising Te Reo. For example, historical experiences of Māori where Māori were unable to and actively discouraged through physical punishment for speaking Te Reo, contributed greatly to its decline. These experiences served to reinforce the negative positioning of Māori language as well as asserting the power and control exerted upon Māori communities by non-Māori (Bishop, 1996; Simon & Smith, 2001; L. Smith, 1999). Understanding or having cognisance of these issues of power and control are important, not so as to reinforce the state or sense of helplessness in which Māori have or are able to exert over their aspirations for Te Reo Māori , but more for understanding that this forms an important part of the aspirational and thus transformational journey that whānau within Ngāi Te Rangi are undertaking through this project. Linda Smith (2007) writes, "research is a site of contestation not simply at the level of epistemology or methodology but also in its broadest sense as an organized scholarly activity that is deeply connected to power" (p. 116). Bishop's (1996) view of power and control in a research context further enables and provides for whānau

aspirations because the research agenda have come from whānau, are driven by whānau and will directly benefit and continue to benefit whānau long after the research itself is finished.

This approach enables whānau who have engaged in this project to 'speak back' (Smith, 1999) to the dominant agenda, to assert greater control upon the research agenda, and to have a greater understanding of why and what the research is about and for. Therefore, themes that relate to kaupapa Māori research principles include the examination of research initiation, legitimacy, accountability, research benefits and representation (Bishop, 1996). Smith (1997) identifies seven key Māori research principles or characteristics associated with conducting research. They are:

- Aroha ki te tangata (respect for people);
- Kanohi kitea (the seen face is a requirement – to present yourself face to face);
- Titiro, whakarongo…korero (look, listen…then speak);
- Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous);
- Kia tūpato (be cautious);
- Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample on the mana of people);
- Kaua e whakaputa mōhio (do not flaunt your knowledge).

In this project, the research team was guided by these concepts in the way that we engage with whānau members. Kaupapa Māori research methodology is utilised with an emphasis placed upon incorporating principles attuned to community action research and action research on the whole. In this regard, the philosophies of indigenous ontologies and theories are combined with an ethos of community advancement and action research as well.

Indigenous scholar Winona Wheeler (2001) for example, acknowledges that "while we borrow research methodologies and theory from other disciplines…they have to be used critically, keeping in mind the holism of Indigenous knowledge and the unique intellectual concerns we face in Indian country" (p. 100). Wheeler states that it is important to understand this particularly when considering community based research because history has shown that the provision of external solutions to the "problem" has provided little in the way of positive development for

Indian country. As Wheeler notes, "we are the only ones with the insight and capabilities to identify our "problems" and come up with our own answers" (p. 101).

From here, kaupapa Māori is well positioned in that the approach employs "quite consciously a set of arguments, principles, and frameworks that relate to the purpose, ethics, analyses, and outcomes of research" (Smith, 2007, p. 120). Smith also sees kaupapa Māori as an approach which is active in building capacity and research infrastructure in order to sustain a sovereign research agenda that supports community aspirations and development" (p. 120).

However, these methodological approaches must acknowledge tikanga Māori and community must also take into consideration the context in which these whānau learn, acquire and begin to advance their own Te Reo. Te Reo Māori is the contextual space within which this project is located.

4.3 Community Action Research Approaches

Research that is responsive to and reflective of whānau aspirations located within tribal contexts is an evolving extension of kaupapa Māori research. Cram and Kennedy (2010) suggest that action research conducted within whānau contexts using tools that are appropriate to the whānau context enables the gathering of information that are "more responsive to whānau needs and aspirations; that is, more responsive to the 'lived realities' of whānau" (p. 3). Thus it was viewed by the research team that learnings gained from community action research imperatives would be intertwined within this project as key guiding principles.

Considerations around theories of second language acquisition relevant to the indigenous language of Aotearoa needed to take into account the range of "identities" which constitute "being Māori " and the range of contexts within which language might be acquired. Context is a critical factor – urban or rural, large family or small, formal or informal learning situations, home or work or marae – all of these and others influence how and when language is acquired or learnt. Tribal origins, urban or rural location, wāhine or tāne, rangatahi or pakeke, full time worker or unemployed, education status, fluent speaker or beginner, economic status - these variables influence when and how language is acquired or learnt. Smith (2007) writes that indigenous approaches to research have not "simply appeared overnight, nor do they exist—as

with other critical research approaches - without a politics of support around them or a history of ideas (pp. 115-116)". Smith suggests that a common mistake made by non-indigenous researchers is the assumption that indigenous communities are all the same:

> Native communities are not homogeneous, do not agree on the same issues, and do not live in splendid isolation from the world. There are internal relations of power, as in any society, that exclude, marginalise, and silence some while empowering others. Issues of gender, economic class, age, language, and religion are also struggled over in contemporary indigenous communities…There are, however, still many native and indigenous families and communities who possess the ancient memories of another way of knowing that informs many of their contemporary practices. When the foundations of those memories are disturbed, space sometimes is created for alternative imaginings to be voiced, to be sung, and to be heard (again) (p. 116).

Context in indigenous communities also shapes and influences how and for whom research is undertaken. Smith (1999) talks about the importance of engaging in research that is decolonising in its agenda, while other Māori scholars talk about research as being transformative, where it seeks to make an active contribution to change across a range of contexts – institutional, cultural and societal (see for example, Bishop, 1998; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 2001). In relation to language revitalization, Smith (2007) asserts that "research like schooling, once the tool of colonisation and oppression, is very gradually coming to be seen as a potential means to reclaim languages, histories, and knowledge, to find solutions to the negative impacts of colonialism and to give voice to an alternative way of knowing and of being (p. 120)".

The importance of this agenda can further be seen in Durie's (2007) analysis of indigenous resilience. Durie identified a number of determinants which contribute to indigenous resilience, of which language and cultural affirmation was one. In particular, Durie states that indigenous resilience cannot be measured solely by indigenous participation in broader society. Rather, he suggests that it should also be how indigenous philosophies, practices and ways of thinking and doing are incorporated noting, "a resilient language is one that is used in both contemporary and customary contexts" (p. 14). Furthermore, Durie (2007) suggests that the complexities of addressing language loss and revitalization particularly where communities have encountered the movement of tribal members away from traditional boundaries as a reason for creating

opportunities or priorities around language and cultural revitalization. Durie notes that this is in contrast to the view that such movements away from tribal territories are often seen as signs of weakening tribal identity. In this project, the research team and the Ngāi Te Rangi community have identified the importance of maintaining tribal identity and have seen language as the vehicle through which this can be achieved. In a way, this aligns with the challenge to mainstream views that the indigenous scholar Wheeler posited that being that we know, can and are willing to provide the solutions to the issues and challenges facing our own communities.

With Wheeler's view in mind, we found that following a participatory community based approach to the research would enable us the opportunity to trial a whānau centred language revitalisation approach suitable for Ngāi Te Rangi. Eruera (2010) suggests that a participatory action research approach requires "active research participation and ownership by people in communities who are motivated to identify and address issues that concern them" and who are thus able to ensure that "research is co-constructed and informed at all stages *by* the identified community *for* that community. This is a departure from research being conducted by experts who extract information from a community and use it for purposes which may not directly benefit that community (p.1)". Additionally, by engaging in this project and constructing the approach to the research in a way that positions Ngāi Te Rangi whānau aspirations at the outset, the research team sought to extend our understandings of kaupapa Māori and begin to consider a way of doing research that was more reflective of Ngāi Te Rangitanga.

Research that is responsive to and reflective of whānau aspirations located within tribal contexts is an evolving extension of kaupapa Māori research. Indeed, Smith's (1999) decolonising agenda of kaupapa Māori provides the platform against which such extensions are able to exist and thrive. In recent years, this research agenda has been reflected at both tribal levels through the establishment of iwi partnerships with government agencies from which tribal specific curricula and programs have emerged, as well as at more local and focused levels where researchers grapple with how research located in tribal contexts are reflective of tribal nuances, and ways of knowing and doing research (Henwood, Pirini, & Harris, 2010; Jahnke, 2007; Tiakiwai, 2001). Henwood et al (2010) suggest that these tribal approaches to conducting research are familiar to the approaches espoused by kaupapa Māori research, allowing these thoughts and

understandings to be "implicitly understood and appreciated" and then "be allowed to recede into the background" (p.5). Reflecting on their experience of undertaking research within the Te Rarawa context, Henwood, Pirini and Harris suggest that this recession into the background allows for:

> …a fundamental respect, therefore, for the contributions that whānau make to iwi research and an appreciation that research interrupts their lives. Stepping off into the research from such a platform is one of the ways of developing research approaches that invite and engage whānau (p.5).

The ability to engage whānau in a project of this nature was imperative, as it not only underpinned the focus of the project, but also underpinned reasons for the support from Ngāi Te Rangi in realising whānau aspirations for language revitalisation.

4.4 Principles of Kaupapa Māori Informed Community Action Research

The following principles were developed as a way of understanding how the research team might go about engaging the whānau, as well as working alongside them to ensure that the project and the protocols and approaches developed for the project were both appropriate, both in terms of meeting the needs of the research project and its outcomes, as well as meeting whānau aspirations for Te Reo Māori revitalisation. They are:

(a). The Principle of Whakapono: Kia u ki te kaupapa
(b). The Principle of Kōrero: Mā te kōrero ka piki ake te kaha ki te kōrero
(c). The Principle of Tino Rangatiratanga
(d). The Principle of Mana Motuhake
(e). The Principle of Inclusiveness: Mā tō rourou, mā toku rourou ka ora te manuhiri
(f). The Principle of Āhuatanga Māori: Kia hohou te wairua a te tangata

These principles draw from both kaupapa Māori approaches to undertaking research as well as working through the challenges with whānau of the commitment and expectations whānau had in realising their aspirations towards the revitalisation of Te Reo Māori. They are discussed as follows.

(a)   *The Principle of Whakapono: Kia ū ki te kaupapa*

From the beginning of this project a strong commitment was required from whānau in terms of regular and ongoing time. A critical success factor for the project was determined as being the maximum participation of whānau in the kaupapa and on an ongoing basis for twelve months. The expectation that whānau make the kaupapa a priority for this length of time meant that a commitment had to be made by all members of the whānau, not just some. These were identified as being important components that would contribute to the critical success of the project.

This was a huge commitment for whānau to make as the time required was specifically focused on activities and processes that would support increasing the speaking of Māori in the home for twelve months. Additionally, whānau were also asked to make time to have hui with the community researcher who visited a minimum of once per month for twelve months in line with the timeframe of the research aspect of the project itself.

Kia u ki te kaupapa under the principle of *whakapono* was seen as a way of ensuring that whānau commitment was understood at the outset. It was also seen as a reminder as to the aims and objectives of the project itself. It was hoped that this principle of *whakapono* was a gentle reminder to both the research team and the whānau participants as to the kaupapa of the project – and that ultimately the commitment required in terms of time as well as a real commitment to the project kaupapa itself would help sustain and keep the whānau and the research team focused.

(b)   *The Principle of Kōrero: Mā te kōrero ka piki ake te kaha ki te kōrero*

If one wishes to increase ones ability to speak then one must speak as often as one can. Taken for granted in this research is the tenet that speaking a language is inherently necessary to improving the speaking of that language. The same applies to any of the other language skills – writing more improves writing, reading more improves reading. The understanding that using whatever language you had to communicate orally would increase your ability to speak Māori has underpinned the thrust of this research.

This principle was seen as a way of being explicit to whānau in a pragmatic and simple way as to how language revitalisation in a whānau context could occur. While there is much literature and theoretical musings as to how to understand and promote second language acquisition and/or

language revitalisation (as noted earlier in this report), the intent of this principle was to allow whānau to understand how the project was to be focused.

(c) The Principle of Tino Rangatiratanga

This project recognizes the principle of tino rangatiratanga as a means to focusing on the *home* as a site for increasing Te Reo korero. Intrinsic to the research task was the understanding that the whānau as a collective who lived in the home must themselves play a key role in setting the project objectives and how these were to be achieved from the start to the finish.

Language is personal, language is private; language is a vehicle for conveying emotions. Whānau group goal setting, discussion and evaluation on an ongoing basis recognised these understandings about language and tino rangatiratanga – the right to decide, the right to have some control over what were very key personal issues.

(d) The Principle of Mana Motuhake

The uniqueness of every individual participant was taken into account in this project and every participant had a unique position and role in contributing to the collective whānau focus to speak Te Reo Māori in the home. In any oral language engagement there is a minimum requirement to have a producer and a receiver who in turn responds, a person who speaks and a person who receives the communication and then responds.

Both people are engaged if communication is to take place. Both have the mana to determine the nature and quality of the communication. A producer determines who is engaged with and a receiver decides whether or not to respond and how to respond. These basic tenets of communication provide the basis for fully understanding the nature and quality of speaking in the homes that participated in this project.

How one feels, what one is thinking, the relationships, the activities – all of these affected the amount and quality of oral language that occurred in the home and therefore how effective such communications were in increasing the everyday use of Māori. If individuals chose not to engage positively, or if individuals were excluded from engaging at all for a range of reasons – and this occurred – communications did not occur and therefore speaking did not improve.

(e)   ***The Principle of Inclusiveness: Ma to rourou, ma toku rourou ka ora te manuhiri***

The principle of inclusiveness, acknowledging all members of the whānau - rangatahi or pakeke, taane or wahine, school student or worker – all individuals whatever their language capability or capacity were inherently important to progressing the project objectives with the key aim of increasing spoken language within the home.

This principle of inclusiveness extended beyond the physical site of one home to, in one situation, a papakainga of homes – 3 nuclear households combining as an extended Whānau to participate in the project. This principle also meant that at times Whānau members in the one kainga increased through relations coming to stay or whānau members living externally from the kainga but related, became part of the participant whānau in the project, participating in hui when they were there.

It was important that rangatahi understand their importance to the research and this was addressed through discussion, specific activities focusing on rangatahi and allocating specific responsibilities for participation of rangatahi in whānau hui.

The principle of inclusiveness also influenced the makeup of the research team – all members of the team were Ngāi Te Rangi and the various key personnel at Awanuiārangi and at Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga were also Ngāi Te Rangi.

(f)   ***The Principle of Āhuatanga Māori: Kia hohou te wairua a te tangata***

Manaakitanga, awhi, tautoko - practising these values and others were central to any success in encouraging the speaking of Māori. Continually addressing the wairua of some of the participants and the concern of some participants with using correct grammar, for example, were key factors which needed to be addressed continually. On the other hand some participants showed unique strength and dedication as a result of their positive wairua in regard to the project.

The principle of ahuatanga Māori as it applied to this project recognised that each participant and each whānau had their own reasons for participating in the project. As a result, the project team needed to ensure that the individual and collective needs of individual and whānau participants

and their ability to practice ahuatanga Māori in ways that made sense or were relevant to them were validated. This ensured that the research team acknowledged that while all the whānau were Ngāi Te Rangi, each had their own understanding of what this meant as well as their own way of practicing their Ngāi Te Rangitanga. As noted above, some required quite substantive support during the project while others did not. All however were noted as being important contributors to the project and its success.

4.5   Research Methods

In this section of the chapter, the research methods utilised in this research project are outlined. They stem from an understanding and appreciation of interconnectedness to, and with the methodological principles of research referred to in the earlier section of the chapter.   The methods used in this project include literature review, hui and wānanga, interviews, evaluations, audio and video recording and language interventions.   A model for whānau language engagement to enable language acquisition within the home was applied called whānau reo action model or else **'Aro, Reo, Tau'** (Timutimu, Ormsby-Teki, & Ellis, 2009), discussed in greater detail in this section.

(a) Research Partnership Based on Tribal Imperative

In this project, a research partnership was formed between Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi ("Awanuirangi") and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi ("Rūnanga"). As outlined in chapter one, background pertaining to these two organisations is covered.   In the context of research, acknowledging this partnership, through research contracts was a formal way in which to conduct *research business*; however to present the illusion that the relationship between these groups was just based on formalities around contracts is erroneous as a deeper more traditional relationship over many long generations has formed based on interactions through common narratives, history, whakapapa, gestures of generosity of spirit and decades of interaction between our rangatira, mokopuna and rangatahi has and still persists. Principles founded upon *whānaungatanga* and common Mataatua *whakapapa* with this relationship ensures that a united sense of purpose exists and extends to representatives of these formal institutions; that goes well beyond contractual terms.

The establishment of a tribal research team that stems from these connections was therefore a natural extension of the existing relationship. The research team's membership and roles were formed naturally and align with expectations about professional competency, experience and credentials as well as aligning with and to *tribal imperatives*. This tribal imperative transforms conventional research relationships into a tribal research team – who are cognisant of, and fully committed to an examination of power relations between institutions and learners, who are aware of the barriers and challenges associated with language acquisition, who are required to ensure that the interests of the community are elevated to the forefront of the discussions within the context of this research.

Therefore, the ability of researchers to form research relationships is based not only on the research methodology applied to this research project, but also the people who were engaged to assist with the delivery of the research outcomes. The overall research intent to build and grow a collaborative model of research that flows through every aspect of the project was imperative. Harmsworth (2001) describes this model as a collaborative one, he says:

> … to build a collaborative model it is important to listen carefully to iwi and individuals and to synthesise information without misinterpretation. It is also important to demonstrate a willingness to help and learn. Issues will be much wider than just research issues, and will involve understanding economic, cultural, political, environmental, social and historical issues. It is often useful to discuss iwi issues in a suitable environment where these issues have meaning, such as in the field, on a marae, or at an iwi or hapū designated office. Issues need to be characterised and carefully defined from a Māori and scientific perspective. It is recommended at this stage that reciprocal visits be made between an iwi/hapū and other organisations intending to work with iwi. It is important from a Māori point of view to 'see' and 'feel' the work place of, and be hosted by, potential collaborators (p.13).

While the context of this example was between a government research agency and an Iwi group; the intent is not lost and can be appreciated. If anything, the intimacy formed through whānaungatanga as expressed in this reference; goes even further when researchers are working with their whānau, hapū and iwi (L. Smith, 1999).

(b) **The Ngāi Te Rangi Research Team**

The primary research team consisted of three people and from time to time, additional team members were added to undertake quite specific roles and responsibilities. Within the primary research team, the project leader was a senior lecturer of Ngāi Te Rangi whakapapa drawn from Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, who had Māori language and tikanga teaching experience and a Masters Degree in education.

A two member research team was drawn directly from Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi. The first Ngāi Te Rangi member, (the project liaison person) had a doctoral qualification from the field of management and Māori resource management, and the second team member, (the community researcher) is an experienced Māori language teacher and a Masters degree candidate. Most of the community research processes were conducted by the community researcher and all community hui were facilitated by all members of the research team.

In terms of administration, the research project was overseen by the Head of School Indigenous Graduate Studies at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (also Ngāi Te Rangi), whose overall responsibility was to manage the relationship between the Wānanga and the Rūnanga and to act in an advisory capacity for the research project. In turn, the wānanga was responsible for reporting to the funding body (Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga based at the University of Auckland), with the project manager also being Ngāi Te Rangi.

The involvement of Ngāi Te Rangi at every stage of the research project was an intricate weaving of relationships and commitments, which saw dynamics unfolding throughout the research, especially as the research was being undertaken in the rohe of Ngāi Te Rangi. However, the commitment to the kaupapa by the whole team meant that for the benefit of the Kaupapa, solutions were sourced and difficulties worked through and resolved, regardless.

The last member of the research team was the previous Ngāi Te Rangi Rūnanga Chairperson Hauata Palmer, who provided advice and direction, as only those who are older and wise can do. All those listed on the front of this report, contributed to writing it.

While the research team is Ngāi Te Rangi, the lives of the researchers both professional and personal, are filled with multiple tasks and activities consistent with the tribulations of organic intellectuals (G. Smith, 1997). These same people are heavily involved with their whānau, their hapū , other people's hapū and with other matters related to the tribe. Therefore, attempting to advance Te Reo as a specific tribe, with hapū and whānau is difficult. Language loss is a major tribal priority, but so too are issues about our loss of land, our loss of water ways, our loss of tribal leadership, our loss of ways of knowing and being and our loss of knowledge. The other multiple tasks make the responsibility of being tribal researchers so much more demanding; and the results so much more imperative.

Research partnerships between institutions and researchers must therefore negotiate this terrain and manage input from tribal experts/researchers and also negotiate expectations for specific community related research outcomes. Therefore, this research project is a collaborative effort between formal institutions, researchers and also whānau members of Ngāi Te Rangi. The ethos of collaboration helps inform the types of research methods adopted within this research project. A discussion concerning the research methods directly is outlined as follows.

(c)   *Ethical Approval*

Ethical approval to conduct this research is an expectation for all research projects. It is a means of ensuring that processes related to conducting research do not in any way undermine the integrity of the research participants or the research institutions (Cram, 1995; Ellis, 2006; Tiakiwai, 2001). In a kaupapa Māori frame however, while it is important to ensure that ethical processes are in line with institutional requirements, it is more important to ensure that the research process – that is how the research will be conducted, who the research is for and how the research agenda is being developed and delivered – is responsive to those who are most impacted by the research – that being the research community themselves. Consideration for power and control issues which were discussed earlier in this chapter have also become relevant here. At a pragmatic level, approval was sought and provided through Awanuiārangi.

(d)   Literature Review

In the context of this project, the research undertaken is informed by the extent to which prior research exists and how, comparative research findings inform research results. With that, a literature review is a useful research tool as it informs researchers as to whether a research initiative has or has not been addressed already, and what some of the challenges have been for existing researchers. Davidson and Tolich (1999, p.88) claim that research is always "placed in the context of existing theory and existing theory provides a framework for new ideas about what to research." This research project therefore reviews literature pertaining to a series of topics including Māori language decline, strategies for Māori language regeneration in Aotearoa New Zealand, educational approaches to language regeneration, tribal language regeneration initiatives and language revitalisation within the home.

A review of literature is also a means to "unravel the extent to which a research interest and a related research topic have been attended to by academics and researchers" (Ellis, 2006, p. 241). It also provides readers with evidence that the research team has become conversant in this field of study through the research and that they are cognisant of the different debates occurring within the field of study. In this research project, an initial literature review was undertaken in February 2007. Besides reviewing general themes outlined above, the review also sought to explore prior studies or research relating to language regeneration more generally throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, and more specifically within the various context within which language regeneration can be applied; for instance, in broadcasting, schooling and within the context of tribal language development throughout the motu, within Tauranga and directly within the whānau at home. Language regeneration within the home is the primary focus of this research report and the literature review sought to assist with gaining more insight into the issues associated with this purpose. The literature review is outlined in chapter two.

4.6   Whānau Engagement

This research project was premised on the notion that tribal researchers with collective prior knowledge and experience in Te Ao Māori and Te Ao hurihuri are best suited to ensure that engagement with their own people is conducted in appropriate and accepted ways (Jahnke, 2007; Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999). As a result, existing protocols and systems with regards to engaging

with our community leaders, marae custodians and hapū koroua and kuia were used. Letters inviting up to one hundred people to a community hui about our project were forwarded out on an existing Iwi database of key tribal people and follow up phone calls were made to key koroua and kuia to attend the community hui. Hui, or gatherings are becoming more readily accepted as a method of sharing information as part of community enagement processes. Ideas, like these are canvassed by Fisher and Bell (2003) in a framework they call tribal oversight. It refers to three components including:

- The first component which is a formal resolution of endorsement from tribal council (or from another community authority at the outset of the collaborative process;
- The second component involves committees that are appointed by tribal council or another controlling authority once the project is underway and;
- The third component involves the development and implementation of a tribal research code, which legally regulates the research process and specifies the tribes expectations for researchers, funding agencies and other governments (pp.210-211)

These protocols are adhered to, as a part of an expectation associated with researchers and research institutions conducting research for the benefit of tribal people, in this case Ngāi Te Rangi.

At the first community hui arranged for this project, participants were provided with all the background information necessary to be informed of some of the potential reasons why whānau members may wish to be involved in this research study[5]. Whānau participants were recruited through this hui and by letter and interested people were asked to complete a registration of interest form (see Appendix One: Registration of Interest). This registration of interest was followed through with a phone call to the whānau members. A further follow up interview was required to demonstrate commitment to the overall project and what was required. All potential whānau were invited to attend whānau interviews and their inclusion in the project was based on their ability to meet criteria for whānau recruitment.

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[5] The community hui was held at Fahy's Motor Inn, Tauranga on 8 February 2007.

(a) Whānau Recruitment Criteria

The criteria for including whānau in the project were based on a number of key characteristics premised on the following:

- All members of the whānau are committed to advancing their reo capability as a whānau and as individuals;
- Members of the whānau attend an interview;
- At least one member of the whānau has an indepth comprehension of Te Reo;
- At least two members are involved as whānau members and living within the kainga;
- The whānau is Ngāi Te Rangi;
- The interview panelists support the inclusion of the whānau.

These issues were considered as a guide only and discussions amongst the interviewers took place following the interview. At the conclusion of the panel meeting an assessment of the individual reo capability of each whānau member was made, as was an assessment of the whānau collective reo capability. It was difficult to determine a position for the whānau reo capability as no guide or tool exists upon which to assess whānau reo. However, an average of the individual reo competencies was attempted by way of completing what was described in this project as the whānau reo continuum. A total of eleven whānau interviews were completed with the whānau members. It was necessary to conduct the whānau interviews in order to gauge suitability of individual members and the collective whānau for the project. As a tool,

> Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. The interviewer can pursue in-depth information around the topic. Interviews may be useful as follow-up to certain respondents to questionnaires, e.g., to further investigate their responses (McNamara, 1999 cited in Valenzuela & Shrivastava, 2002).

(b)   Reo Continuum

One of the initial tasks of the research team was to assess the levels of reo of individual whānau members and the whānau as a whole. Exemplars of language continuums (for the sake of measuring proficiency and competency) were not readily available when the literature was conducted. Language programs such as "kōtahi mano kāika, kōtahi mano wawata (KMK)" lead

by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, have utilized a simple and practical self-assessment model, in their *He Arataki* language resource, whereby whānau measure their own language proficiency from:

1. Kua timata
2. Kua piki ake
3. Kua pai kē atu
4. Kua eke

(Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2005, p.21).

After reviewing a number of reo continuum descriptors, the following model was adopted for this project:

Timatatanga	Pakari Ana	Āhua Mōhio	Mōhio	Matatau
1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10

This continuum was used by the interview panel to assess Te Reo kōrero in the selection of whānau for the project and reo experience and potential was a critical factor in terms of selection. Knowing the reo levels of the participants at the beginning of the project was important for the researcher and whānau in terms of setting objectives to advance Te Reo kōrero at home.

(c)   Whānau Participants

Nine whānau were invited to be involved in this project. Their skills were reflected on through the various levels of Te Reo capability, according to a pre-determined reo continuum. In some cases, some whānau were either two or three member compositions; whilst one whānau consisted of up to fifteen members, living between three homes on the same papakainga block.   Following the assessment hui, and the panel recommendations, whānau were selected for the project drawn from the rohe o Ngāi Te Rangi (3 tangata whenua areas indicated at the beginning of this report). Some members were beginning their journey to learn Te Reo, whilst others were semi fluent speakers. The depth and breadth of Te Reo ability was fairly evenly spread amongst the whānau selected for the project.

(d)   *Project Launch*

A formal project launch was held at Waikari Marae and hosted by Ngati Tapu hapū . Whānau were provided with the opportunity to discuss how they felt about Te Reo, and what some of the issues were for them regarding Te Reo. Once that process was completed, whānau were individually invited to collect a kete taonga for the program (which included a diary (writing journal), reo resources and a reo dictionary. Once those whānau received the taonga, a karakia whakatau was completed for all of the whānau by two of our koroua, Kihi Ngatai and Hauata Palmer. The launch ended with a kai and everyone was encouraged to korero Te Reo. The following week, the first monthly visits by the community researcher began.

4.7   Whānau Reo Action Model (Aro, Reo, Tau)

To further understand the various methods adapted for Reo o te Kāinga, a 'mentor-akonga' approach was initiated. Essentially, the 'akonga' position was changed to incorporate all the members of the family (e.g. immediate and extended), living at home or transient between homes. The research team met monthly and sometimes fortnightly during the first six months of the project to discuss planning, strategy and how language acquisition could be developed. As a result of those meetings, a tool which structured the research work into a specific pedagogy was created and is referred to as a model called **Aro, Reo, Tau**.

The three components - **Aro, Reo and Tau** - were instilled as organizing criteria through hui held with whānau and are based on the abbreviations of words, and concepts in learning language with which the whanau members were engaged. For instance, **aro**take (evaluation) was shortened to **Aro**, **reo** (language) remained as **Reo** and **tau**toko (support) was shortened to **Tau**. Each concept enabled the focus of researchers efforts (within the context of each whānau hui) to organize and analyse reo learning activities and discussions, and became specific aspects of the hui or in some cases the single purpose for the entire hui. This model is a *Whānau Reo Action Model* and each of its concepts are pou, (which the data and findings in chapter five are organized against accordingly). The following diagram explores those ideas further:
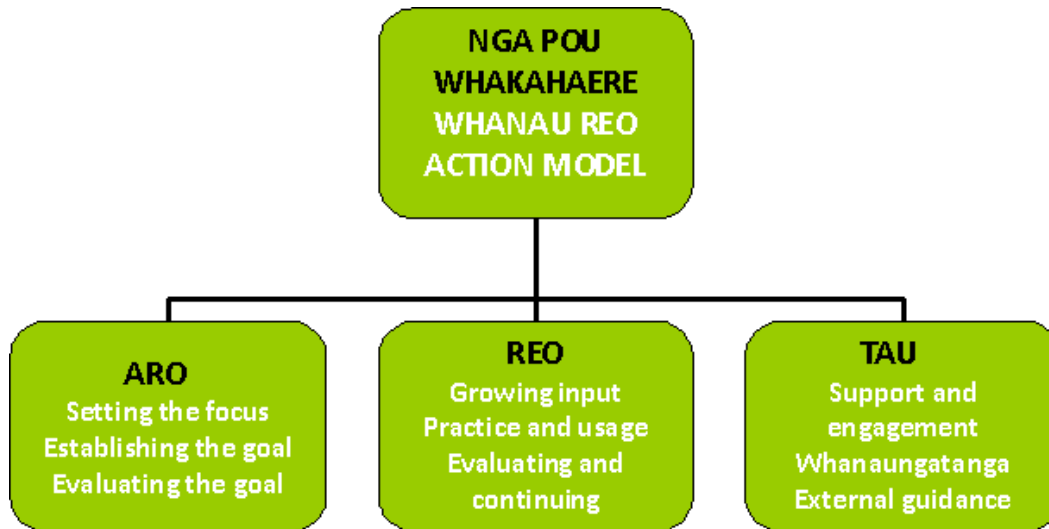
Figure 1: Aro, Reo, Tau - Whānau Reo Action Model

The focus of the **Aro** pou set objectives for Te Reo, within the context of the whānau and the home. The principles associated with **Aro** are based on structuring Te Reo through feedback, goal setting, evaluations and observations. Utilising informal methods of evaluation such as sharing past and current experiences, challenges and reflections is required to identify the motivation informing people to pursue language acquisition or in some cases, to identify the factors that impede them from pursuing Te Reo. In many cases, once the information is shared, and a relationship developed between the researcher and the participants, progress begins to occur. This is reiterated by Mataira (2003, p. 4) who argues that "an informed Māori community takes much cognisance in the "message" (evaluation findings) as they do the integrity of the "messenger" (researchers)."

The key focus of the **Reo** pou is based on language competency and development. For example, language patterns or structures, language context and language vocabulary are required for language development to occur. As part of the whānau hui, reo kupu, grammar and use were most prevalent.

The principle of **Tau** focuses on external factors such as resources and other external exercises as a form of support to address barriers that need to be overcome in an effort to enhance speaking Māori at home. This may include bringing in additional whānau members for support, attendance

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at marae reo classes, kura reo attendance, wānanga reo and/or arranging other activities e.g. radio sessions. The cyclical delivery of the **Aro, Reo, Tau** model was delivered fortnightly and monthly.

(e)   Monthly/Fortnightly Whānau Reo Action in Process

The main research method utilised with regards to whānau interactions was whānau hui. A whānau hui is described as an unstructured meeting held at the home of the whānau, with various whānau members in attendance. The hui is structured around examining the process made in terms of Te Reo advancement, and how whānau have preformed from the last month to the current month. Exercises around Te Reo are encouraged and Te Reo conversations are often recorded. All whānau members are encouraged to actively participate and notes are scribed about the issues that have arisen for the whānau that month as a running record of observation.

A key aspect of the project is the collection of utterances, observations, data, narratives and kōrero about the experiences, practices and activities associated with Te Reo activities in the home by the whānau. The methods adopted for these collection methods are highlighted below. The community researcher was responsible for ensuring that the interactions with whānau were undertaken in a way that is consistent with the project objectives, timeframes and research methods adopted.

(f)   Whānau or Kainga Observations in the Home

Kainga observations or whānau observations are seen as isolated opportunities within the whānau hui to observe the activities taking place within the home, noting in particular the interactions between whānau in regards to the use of Te Reo. During these observations, the community researcher becomes the observer, often acting as an active participant in the operations of the home. Observations were recorded as formative on-going narratives.

Hui attendants were largely the immediate whānau members of those living in the kainga. However, in some cases kuia and koroua had their mokopuna in the home, cousins and relations were also present and there were also instances in which kids and other relations were staying over at the homes at times as well. This flexibility more adequately reflected the circumstances of those in the home. In this project, applying a degree of flexibility to include additional

whānau members in this process is something that is consistent with tikanga Māori and kaupapa Māori approaches to research.

(g)   Aro – Planning and Evaluations – Recording Interactions

The **Aro, Reo, Tau** model is applied in this section to organise the protocols around data collection. Planning was undertaken through discussions with whānau members and with the research team.   Those plans were implemented across all of the whānau and customised specifically to whānau levels of learning. Evaluations are also integrated into this project as a means to obtain a sense of monitoring of the project. An evaluation can be a survey, or series of questions that serves as a way to gauge input into the project from whānau and their members. There are a number of different types of evaluations that may be utilized in this project such as:

- Whānau evaluations – these evaluations are conducted as a group and their views are collated together.
- Reo evaluations – relate specifically to Te Reo.
- Wānanga reo evaluations - relate specifically to Te Reo intervention.
- Periodic evaluations – relative to a specific timeframe e.g. first three months.
- Process Evaluations – relative to the timing and stages of a program.

There are other forms of evaluations such as formative evaluations (before the project is initiated), process evaluations (relates to a specific process e.g. wānanga reo) or outcome evaluations (relates to the outcome or the event e.g. the project) which may also be utilised as well.

Open forum discussions were also utilised as a valid method of gauging information from people about their views with respect to an event, hui, or process. In these types of forums, notes are taken and integrated into the project as field notes.

(h)   Reo – Kōrero, Wānanga Reo, Hui ā Whānau – Recording Interactions

This project actively supports the use of multiple forms of Te Reo interventions. For instance, some whānau were enrolled in university courses relating to Te Reo, others were in other courses for Te Reo e.g. marae classes. One of the activities that were provided by the project team was

wānanga reo. There were two wānanga reo held specifically for the whānau. Other events such as attendance at kura reo were provided. These events proved to be very important for the advancement of the project as well.

The recording of conversations held with whānau for periods of approximately five minutes were undertaken during the whānau hui, as a way in which to observe Te Reo grammar and growing levels of language competency. The collection of reo recordings (hopu reo) was something that was seen as essential for validating Te Reo advancement. The results of these hopu reo were also transcribed and then included only as examples for consideration. As this project centred on language acquisition, speaking Māori and hearing the phonetics and grammar structure was an essential part of the project.

(i) *Tau – Support and Running Records – Journals – Recording Interactions*

Journals were provided for whānau to complete as part of a method of expressing issues about the reo activities within the home. This was a passive form of reflection provided for any, or all members of the whānau. The method was used as a non-invasive way of enabling commentary on developments of the whānau with regards to Te Reo development. In some cases, it was also used as a means of policing Te Reo kōrero as well.

(j) *Whānau Evaluations and Transcripts*

As the project came to an end the final evaluations were undertaken to gauge input into the overall project and its efficacy by whānau members. Each whānau was interviewed for approximately an hour and a half. The interviews were undertaken by the research team, but the transcribing was undertaken by people external to the research team; but who were Ngāi Te Rangi people. The interviews were recorded by video, and the audio was transcribed. The whānau transcripts were used as one of the main forms of research to be analysed.

4.7   Thematic Research Analysis

All of the information obtained throughout the research project was considered as part of the information available for analysis. The first form of analysis involved thematic analysis of all of the narratives, observations and comments gained from the data collection methods employed

(Howitt & Cramer, 2007). In thematic analysis, the priority was to identify generic themes which reflected the textual data obtained in this research project through the whānau evaluations and interviews. The themes were collated together to isolate the key issues being raised by whānau members throughout the project. Those themes were then wrapped within or guided by the **Aro, Reo, Tau** structure to give some conformity as to how the information was framed and reported in the following chapter.

The second part of the analysis involved a critical examination of the information considered against the core principles of kaupapa Māori research. For instance, power relations with regards to language acquisition on the whole; and how the experience of language regeneration within the home is a transformative process were reviewed as a means to gaining greater insight into Te Ao Māori. The benefits achieved through the application of these processes are a way of regaining cultural knowledge; history and identity through the process of learning Te Reo.

The findings from this research report will be delivered through the whānau hui network already established for this research project.

Chapter Five: Research Findings

"...language develops in the natural messiness of everyday life, whatever that might look like in a given culture" (Beal 1997 cited in Hohepa, 1999, p. 287).

5.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the results from the research and includes information gained from fieldwork involving nine whānau participants, kainga observer notes, evaluations, transcripts and hui.

The backgrounds of the whānau involved in this research are profiled as follows:

- single parent whānau with one child;
- two parent whānau with a young teenager at home and other grown children who had since left;
- two parent whānau with two young children;
- whānau with three connecting homes; including four generations;
- whānau with one parent, one adult child and grandparents living at two homes close;
- two parent whānau with adult children, grandchildren and one grandparent.

As outlined in the previous chapter, the framework for organising the research has been guided by the Aro-Reo-Tau Whānau Reo Action Model and in particular, drew on specific themes which helped to focus researchers across those pou. Aro (Arotake) for example, examined the way that whānau planned, assessed and evaluated their language learning; Reo (*Reo Kōrero)* examined the learning and use of Māori language in the home (and extended to include other potential learning environments) and; Tau (*Tautoko*) focused on providing information relating to the internal and external support systems in place for whānau language learners.

The three pou - **Aro, Reo, Tau** are also used in this chapter to organize the information from the data gathering fields, with the objective being to answer the primary question – *in what ways can reo be advanced within the homes of Ngāi Te Rangi whānau?*

5.2 *Aro*-take: Reflections about Planning, Assessments and Evaluations

This section provides insight into some of the reflective thinking that has been occurring within whānau as a result of participation in this project. *Aro*-take examined the way that whānau planned, assessed and evaluated their language learning and those evaluations etc., are reported in the following sections under the generic themes of

     (a) Attitudes, Feelings and Thoughts;
     (b) Key Drivers and Whānau Dynamics;
     (c) Reflecting Upon Impediments to Learning Te Reo;
     (d) Prior Education in Te Reo.

(a) Attitudes, Feelings and Thoughts

Whānau participants in this project demonstrated a range of feelings, emotions, thoughts, knowledge and skills in relation to Te Reo. The initial whānau hui served as a way to 'break the ice', to create a bond between the community researcher and the individual whānau participants. Some of the issues that were expressed were about whānau prioritising language and all the necessary steps associated with that task in terms of the research project.

Also considered in these initial hui were discussions about the role of language as an everyday means of communication. Communication in this respect requires at least one other person to engage so that a conversation is taking place. Therefore, the nature and quality of communication is influenced by the purpose of the conversation, the relationship between those involved in the conversation and the roles or positions of power held by those in the conversation. Before Te Reo can even be negotiated as a priority, exploring attitudes, norms and protocols around language (whether English or Māori) was needed in order to establish the priority for te reo. From there, questions about the capacity and capability of whānau participants to engage in te reo could ensue.

What became discernible was that particular behaviors and attitudes of individuals in the whānau influenced preferences in the way that communicative interactions with others occurred. How whānau members were feeling and what else was going on in their lives affected the extent to

which Te Reo was spoken in the home. Multiple factors influenced whether a whānau member would actively korero Te Reo Māori, and some of these factors are outlined below.

(b) ***Key Drivers and Whānau Dynamics***

It was evident that learning Te Reo is influenced by two major factors, either an individual is highly self motivated to learn Te Reo (e.g. an internal aspiration to learn), to individuals being forced or encouraged to learn Te Reo by others or external influences (like being asked to do karakia). An encouraging factor in this research was the establishment of a mentor or key driver within each whānau who performed a specific role as a whānau leader, facilitating or motivating Te Reo. They were responsible for prompting opportunities for language use and usually had already been learning Te Reo Māori.

However, the efficacy of the whānau mentors role was hampered or advanced by internal whānau relationships and dynamics, with their enthusiasm being greatly impacted upon by the whānau dynamics. These internal whānau relationships and their implications for learning te reo was a major factor not anticipated at the beginning of this research project. The desire to speak Māori in the home for example, was often accompanied with some form of evidence of past investment in learning or acquiring Te Reo. Passion and prior investment in learning Te Reo seemed to give whānau the confidence needed to take action. One participant commented about her whānau's commitment to the project:

> *Regardless of if I forget to do the things I was supposed to or not, it's still the same. We're a hundred percent. We've got this passion to kōrero to each other, not only here but when we go to Australia or overseas, we can kōrero te reo Māori and that's not only a passion to do that but also to do that in the community (Whānau 4 Transcript, p.2).*

(d) ***Reflecting Upon Impediments to Learning Te Reo***

As conversations between whānau participants and the community researcher/mentor occurred, a number of factors became pressingly evident during this reflective process as to why some whānau were able to progress Te Reo advancement and others were not. One of the key issues identified was around time, or rather lack of it, as a common impediment to learning Te Reo,

articulated by some whānau as being lazy, lacking motivation, frustration and work realities. One working parent commented:

> *Other initiatives that are happening out there, whether they be after work, it can get stressful (on) the parents to try and be at home to do that...'ako te reo' as well as trying to do the housework, cause we're at work during the day, we're out of the house, get home and gotta keep on working cleaning up and preparing the kai and kaore he time to do this kind of stuff (Whānau 1 Transcript, p.2).*

And again, the realities of *working parents,* particularly from a father's perspective were highlighted as impeding learning, for instance:

> A: *I work 12 hour shifts, it wears me down.*
>
> Q: *Does that have an effect?*
>
> A: *Yeah it does, mentally it does (Whānau 3 Transcript, p.6).*

The *pressures and demands of everyday life* made sustaining a consistent focus on speaking reo in the home very difficult. Despite the strong intentions of every whānau at the beginning of the project and the deep desire to have Māori speaking homes, commitment and focus was often challenged. As one whānau journal entry was noted:

> *the whānau members are sick, tired and frustrated…whānau snowed under (Whānau 2 Observation Log, September).*

The hectic pace of life for whānau in this project was apparent. As another whānau journal entry outlined:

> *He maha nga Kaupapa – new baby, trip to Oz, Kura Reo……….. (Whānau 2 Observation Log, September).*

Many whānau participants were also involved in a range of activities like raranga, waka ama, sports, and language learning on marae, which all took place after work. These activities often affected ones energy to focus on improving reo as noted by the following participant as recorded in their whānau journal:

When (He) arrived he said the reo bond between him and his mother had disappeared. He said he was too busy and his interest was waning, we don't see each other enough (Whānau 9 Observation Log, December).

Visits to the home were not just *researcher observation times*. Whānau visits provided important opportunities for all individual participants to provide feedback and to evaluate progress together with other whānau members. This included a means to evaluate what was happening in the home around te reo since the last kainga visit had taken place. Issues such as planning, goal setting, and activities planning were all undertaken in preparation for the next visit providing a consistent approach with action learning as aligned to kaupapa Māori research methodology as outlined in the previous chapter.

The whānau observation journals recorded key aspects of the outcomes of these hui in the kainga. The community researcher was therefore provided with valuable commentary about language development as a whānau group member. The following dialogue describe some views from participants towards the influence of the community researcher (or *in-home mentor*) for this project and the positive impact that person had on the whānau:

Ko taku tino hiahia ka haere mai tetahi tangata ki te tautoko i nga tangata e hiahia ana ki te eke ki te taumata korero, ki te ako i te mahi o te kaikōrero. Koina te tino mea e ngaro ana (Whānau 7 Transcript, p. 8).

I'd like to carry on cause if it stops, I don't want to stop. If we have no motivation like her (the community researcher), who else is out there to motivate us? (Whānau 4 Transcript, p.9)

(e)   Prior Education in Te Reo

Many whānau participating in this project had previously enrolled in and/or completed Te Reo qualifications. In most cases, whānau had explored opportunities to enhance their learning opportunities through institutional programmes. One whānau participant noted:

He tino pai Te Whare Wānanga, ēngari he tino pai Te Ataarangi ki Kirikiriroa, me ōna tikanga me āna kaiako. Nā Te Ataarangi i whakaoho tōku reo. Koira te tino kaupapa - te mātāpuna o tōku reo. Te Ataarangi te kura pai ake ki a au (Whānau 8 Transcript, p.5)

Of the nine whānau, four whānau had experienced tertiary level Māori Language courses, two were enrolled with Te Ataarangi and all whānau had been involved in Kōhanga Reo and Bi-lingual education for their own immediate children. Prior Te Reo learning had a positive impact on Te Reo acquisition within the home.

Conversely, those who had undertaken prior study appeared readily equipped to take on the next major step in their lives, which was to make Te Reo a more conversational experience within their homes. For example, some participants saw their involvement in this project as the next step in their Te Reo journey, or as an advancement on their next stage in Te Reo. Some commented:

> (With) all the study, I don't think I've gotten as far as I should...For years I've been doing this and for years, I'm still in the same spot. I'm sick of doing courses. I'm just frustrated now (Whānau 8 Transcript, p.4).

> Ka mutu te mahi o te reo i te kainga, kei te haere (au) ki Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa, te hui rūmaki. So that's one component that's part of my tohu (Whānau 1 Transcript, p.10).

Prior education and learning influenced the motivation of participants to do more. Many whānau were actively learning Te Reo during the day, and then sought to explore Te Reo through conversation at home during the evening. Without this type of environment for learning in the day, it was noted by some whānau that they would struggle to create a similar setting within the home. However, some whānau found it very difficult to draw on the inspiration to speak Te Reo at home:

> (Like) Te Ataarangi. It's the things that we are doing...Ka hoki mai tēna mahi i roto i te kāinga. Cause without that inspiration, te reo i te kāinga, he tino pai mō te korero katoa. Ka mutu te reo i te kainga...karekau he inspiration to kōrero. So pai that they're (the rest of the whānau) are on Te Ataarangi so they're bringing things home for us to kōrero about (Whānau 2 Transcript, p.21).

This section focused on learning te reo in the home. The comments highlight some emerging challenges that can impede progress for reo learners. Where some encouraging factors are noted (e.g. mentorship or prior educational learning), those factors did not always appear to be

sufficient enough to markedly advance learning and language competency. The next section delves more specifically into challenges related to learning Te Reo in the kainga.

5.3   Reo: Speaking and Engaging in Te Reo Māori in the Kainga

This section examines Reo (*Reo Kōrero)* which is the learning and use of Māori language in the home (including discussions around other potential learning environments). It is interesting to note that not one of the whānau members participating in this project was a native speaker of Te Reo. The result is that Te Reo Māori was not spoken all the time within the kainga because of lack of competency, although some members still attempted to speak as much as practical.

Although a small number of older participants remembered or could speak short and simple phrases acquired in their childhood, this was not consistent enough to be deemed as fluent (see chapter four for competency assessment). However, some comments were recorded when these older participants retraced their childhood experiences:

> *Ka tipu ake au i te reo nō konei...i tērā wā ka kōrero ngā tangata (Whānau 8 Transcript, p.8).*

What is important is that the above statement portrays that even though some koroua or kuia may possess Te Reo, that does not guarantee that whānau will benefit in any deliberate way from elders reo competency, capability or knowledge base.

(a)   The Influence of the Environment

A common theme among whānau related to their potential teaching/learning environment. Participants identified that having fluent or more capable speakers of Te Reo, in and around the kāinga or the wider whānau for participants to engage with was important. Learning Te Reo requires an active engagement with those who have a higher language capacity than the person learning. Here are two examples of whānau responding to the impact of fluent elders:

> *For me, it's been back by our roots. Whether it is being backed by our marae and hapū and iwi. Because there are a lot of fluent (speakers) and a lot of our whānau there can awhi and support kōrero (Whānau 1 Transcript, p.14)*

And also:

I wish my father would make an effort to kōrero. He retains a lot. He wrote our karanga a couple of years ago and we came together in a game and just sat together...and the reo is still there. I can't wait till I can just jab along with (him) (Whānau 2 Transcript, p. 5).

In relating to the importance of language, one participant spoke of the language bond existing between herself and her elderly mother, and that the presence of her mother enhanced the environment for conversing in Te Reo Māori for her.

Q: *What has been the most rewarding time within the (project)?*

A: *Kōrero ki taku Whaea. Talking to Mum, because if I hadn't have done reo o te kāinga, I wouldn't of. You made us have some (Reo conversation) friends and the only one I had was Mum. Someone I felt comfortable with, someone that I could kōrero with and I knew that would have been a wero for me. When we go there and I'll kōrero with her and sometimes she'll answer me in English. Eventually she switches" (Whānau 3 Transcript, p.11).*

Some rangatahi also noted the influence of their peer-group on their language learning environment and whether it was conducive to Te Reo kōrero. Having peers who were able to converse back with them in Te Reo was paramount.

Q: *What were the main reasons you didn't speak te reo in your home?*

A: *So my friends would know what I'm talking about when they come over to my house. Kaore rātou i te mōhio te reo Māori, he iti noa te reo (Whānau 6 Transcript, p.2)*

And also:

Q: *Ka kōrero koe ki ō mātua? tō whānau?*

A: *E kao.*

Q: *Ka kōrero koe ki (tō hunaonga)?*

A: *Ae*

Q: *Ka kōrero tāua i te reo*

A: *Ae*

Q: *No reira...*

A: *Kāre he paku aha te kaupapa kōrero (ki a rātou) (Whānau 9 Audio).*

In every kainga whānau members had differing levels of competency (written, oral etc) and understanding of Te Reo. In some cases, an individual's oral competency did not always equal written competency (and vice versa). In other cases, the quality of Te Reo korero within the home was often seen as inconsistent. An excerpt from a journal entry outlines:

> *Key members are able to hold some conversation – four in total enrolled in Te Ataarangi and one member has only just started her journey in Te Reo. All members of the whānau are active in Te Kohanga Reo (Whānau 2 Observation Log, May).*

What this comment highlighted was that the process for language acquisition differed for individuals. While the vast majority of whānau members understood Māori when they heard it either from others, on the radio or telephone, or on the television, the level of comprehension depended largely on the pace of Te Reo and the clarity and the context of Te Reo being spoken at the time.

> Q: *What are your thoughts (about your progress in te reo) now?*
>
> A: *I think listening. I've probably learnt to listen harder. I've found that if you listen to things, we tend to understand as well. My listening has definitely improved over the year cause I can pick up things, even on Māori TV. I can understand. Even with you, I understand you a lot better now - but if your not listening...(and) you miss the odd thing, then that's it, I don't understand it (Whānau 2 Transcript, p. 5).*

In this project, whānau were provided with a number of *language inputs* necessary to begin engaging in the process, and were quite receptive to the simplicity of those inputs. For example:

> *Taku whare, korero ki taku pepe, I taku whare. And I do. I do speak alot of Māori in my house. Because that's who I'm talking to and she's understanding me, there's only the two of us in our house. We don't have any other influences coming in or coming out. And it's easy and it's an easy level. So it's repetitive, cause it's repetitive it's that basic you're always talking it (Whānau 2 Transcript, p.17).*

> *The (language inputs) were pretty good actually, structure was good. Instead of saying huge sentences, you can just chop them right down to say exactly what you want to say instead of going around the merry-go-round (Whānau 3 Transcript, p.4).*

Although there is evidence to confirm that some whānau weren't inhibited by speaking Te Reo, it was evident that some of those people were not adherents to strict language rules, and often Te Reo could be described as gobbledygook. Some whānau expressed a need to get it right and achieved that ends by having shorter phrases to reduce the potential for mistakes.

> Q: *In your view how has your reo improved? Or has it improved?*
>
> A: *Yes I think yes, it has improved from when we first started till now. (We) learnt how to cut the long way around to straight into what you really want to say...All those long sentences, all those Māori sentences cut short!*
>
> Q: *Have you put them into your school work?*
>
> A: *For Māori yeah...*
>
> Q: *How?*
>
> A: *Your way was easier (to understand and speak) (Whānau 3 Transcript, p.4).*

The various Aro-Reo approaches to this project by way of language strategies worked well and improvements in language adoption were evident during whānau home visits: the promotion of speaking Māori was the desired outcome for all. Without language inputs however, the whānau would have been placed in an unfair situation, where whānau participants were expected to kōrero, without having enough tools to do so. As a result, opportunities were provided for whānau to learn new kupu: kupu lists were provided as were language exercises (tailored activities); and whānau were encouraged to participate in as many opportunities as was possible.

(b)   Language Competency

Assessing oral competency was one of the priorities of the interview process. As a starting point, a language continuum was used to gauge language competency and proficiency, but as the project progressed, it became clear that different forms of competency were applied when Te Reo was strong. In some cases whānau flourished if they were all at the same point, or at the same level of understanding. Where a whānau member did not have good support, the opposite was the case.

Oral competency did not necessarily translate into speaking Māori consistently in everyday contexts. In fact, one of the themes that emerged from the research is that high oral competency of individuals does not automatically mean that conversations between whānau members would

be sustained or that individual whānau members would maintain a high level of conversation within their own homes. Participants who had a high level of oral proficiency were not necessarily the key whānau motivators in terms of encouraging Te Reo kōrero in the kainga, with some actively not engaging.

As two whānau respondents (who were quite capable of sustaining te reo korero) noted:

> Q: E tautoko ana koe i ō mātua ki te kōrero Māori? (Kōrero) Māori i te kāinga?

> A: Um...not really...te nuinga o te wā, ah well, ko te mea nui, kore paku aha te kōrero..ētahi wā kōrero pākeha...it's not the norm, it's just not...normal...Ko te reo pākeha te reo tuatahi, me kōrero te reo pākeha (Whānau 9, Audio)

> Nā te mea ka tarai tōku whānau ki te kōrero...i te wā ka haere mai (koe) ki roto i tēnei whare, ka tarai ki te kōrero Māori ahakoa i te wā i heke atu (i te kaupapa) ka huri ake ki te reo pākeha. Ko ētahi o tōku whānau he tino uaua ētahi o ngā kupu, mō ētahi ki te 'explain' tā rātou kōrero. So just..ka huri ake ki te reo pākeha (Whānau 5 Transcript, p. 1).

In contrast, many of the whānau participants with less reo proficiency were instrumental in increasing the amount of reo spoken in their kainga.

One participant highlights the *stages* of speaking Te Reo among the more advanced speakers in the home, and illustrates how *trust* plays an important part in maintaining confidence to keep speaking, regardless of grammatical error.

> I don't care if I'm wrong or right, cause at least I'm speaking it, least I'm trying" (Whānau 5 Transcript, p.8)

> This kuia at the club was like - you're speaking wrong! You've got bad reo! - And I was like (at) least I'm speaking, where's yours? (In time) I'll pick my right teacher (Whānau 5 Transcript, p.9)

(We should) support them where they need it and vice versa. We can't be putting anyone down when it's not right. Where as I don't mind if mum corrects me because we're on a different level and because we need to be corrected, because the self esteem is there. If the self esteems there we'll trust (her) (Whānau 2 Transcript, p.14).

Some individual participants were extremely self conscious about whether or not what they were saying was grammatically correct. This self consciousness greatly impeded participants speaking Te Reo in "a natural way" that in turn also affected the flow of reo throughout the home. Some changes were observed over a period of time.

One daughter commented about her mother's efforts:

Mum seems more confident. She doesn't care if she gets it wrong or not. She used to be hung up about that (Whānau 9 Observation Log, September).

Some fluent speakers, mostly rangatahi, were prone to correcting the errors of other whānau members which in turn negatively affected whānau members confidence, and the flow of Te Reo. In contrast, some participants spoke Te Reo irrespective of whether it seemed correct or not, mainly as the overall impact from this *natural way* was viewed positively and therefore helped Te Reo flow freely through the whole whānau. Here is the comment from one whānau journal entry:

The participant spoke no English regardless of broken reo..... feeling of wairua in the home (Whānau 4 Observation Log, September).

Another whānau respondent reflected on how she felt being corrected and the implications of being corrected during the process of learning Te Reo.

I never understood how important (being corrected) was. But it is those rules that made a big difference to me...I try never to correct someone because I don't like it being done to me and I'd pick it up after a while - I know some of the vibes! When you say something and you correct someone suddenly they're shy and they're scared to say something else (Whānau 2 Transcript, p.14).

(c)   ***Making Sense: Verbal Communication***

Whānau communication whether it is in English or Māori as a purpose for Te Reo use, was not really considered in this project given its community action approach. How people interact and what factors – social, cultural, gender, generational, and cognitive - affect the nature of those interactions and therefore the language that goes with those contexts all contribute to *increasing language use in the home*.

The use of language is a very personal process when linked to emotions – or where language is casual and informal. Whereas in some of the whānau there was unconditional open communication and interaction with other whānau members, in other cases – *silence* dominated the atmosphere within the kainga.

During these visits, the more expressive and intimate the information was (through whānau discussions), the more likely it was that individuals interacted more expressively. Sometimes, the responses shared were expressions which appeared to be a lack of cohesion and purpose amongst multiple characters within the whānau attempting to speak Te Reo in the home. The following two interview excerpts illustrate that point:

> *Ahua ngoikore kē te whānau. Ngoikore kē ngā uwha nei. Kāre au e mōhio te take mō tērā, te māngere, te ngēngē, te ruha te aha, te aha. Nui te wā ko rāua kē te tere huri ki te reo hoko paraoa. Ahakoa te āhua mōhio au i tō tātou reo, kīhai rāua i tuku pātai mai he aha te kupu mō tērā, he aha te kupu mō tērā. Kōtahi noa iho te wā i tono au ki a rāua kia paku awhi mai i tō tātou reo (Whānau 6 Transcript, p.3)*

> *"I was brought up in Auckland and being youngest of the ten and my father being an apotoro, (he had) beautiful reo. He tried many times with the oldest but they all moved away and the by the time I was born he was old. I wasn't really in the picture. I never learnt the reo. I know there will be a day when I have to...but that might come too late. I watch the Māori channel everyday, the news. I don't know what they're going on about, but I listen" (Whānau 5 Transcript, p.5).*

Information from the interviews suggested that what one is conversing is what matters during a conversation - not 'how' you communicate. This was also evident in the home visits, where at

times whānau would switch back into English towards the end of a visit. Individual comments from rangatahi of one whānau in particular, offer an in-sight as to why that is the case:

> *Going to school and then speaking Māori then coming home. Only cause the different levels of reo that we're on. Between me, her, mum and dad, it gets me frustrated! It's just easier to say it in English (Whānau 3 Transcript, p.6).*

In one family the recognition of koro's house as a Māori speaking whare inspired and increased korero despite the fact that in the parents' house (a few feet away where the mokopuna actually lived), Te Reo was not spoken even though the parents were very competent reo speakers. Another whānau journal entry records one of the kuia saying:

> *The only way I can get ahead with Te Reo is to speak it all the time (Whānau 2 Observation Log, September).*

One whānau journal recorded the following comment on a lack of the use of Te Reo during a holiday period:

> *The girls didn't have te reo on their minds because hardly any of their aunties and uncles speaks Māori (Whānau 3 Observation Log, October).*

In contrast, another whānau journal record outlines:

> *The kids don't identify the home as being a korero Māori place! (Whānau 9 Observation Log, August).*

The establishment and recognition of Māori only speaking areas enhanced the objectives of speaking Māori without it having to be stated. This type of strategy needs to be maintained in any language revitalisation initiatives.

(d).   Reo in the Workplace

The workplace was not specifically focused on as a site for speaking Māori in this study however, there were workplace related issues which are outlined. For one of the participants who

had gained employment in a Māori medium learning environment, the project provided her with the opportunity to lift her Te Reo korero.

> *The participant felt stink about her class, hard to cater for her students in the bi-lingual class due to some being more advanced than others and her limited reo may be hindering her advanced reo students (Whānau 6 Observation Log, October).*

Several weeks later the following is recorded about the same participant,

> *(Name)school kids noticed changes and were asking a lot of questions……… (Whānau 6 Observation Log, December).*

One participant did not see that Te Reo had a relevant part to play in his workplace because there was no one else to speak to although he was the first point of call for Māori events (Whānau 7 Observation Log, August). This was not necessarily a shared view as for one whānau member (in Te Kohanga Reo) her workplace had a huge impact on the quality and frequency of reo spoken:

> *All members of the Whānau are active in Kohanga Reo, from kaiawhina to parent support. All members are passionate about increasing the amount of conversational reo in the home (Whānau 2 Observation Log, May).*

One participant with very little reo made the effort to use reo in the workplace:

> *(Name) is finding it difficult still in using greetings in the workplace. (Name) is – using "kia ora" and kei te pehea koe?" (Name) is Pakeha and he had no trouble using reo in a Pakeha context (Whānau 2 Observation Log, July).*

Further commentary from whānau transcripts described kaupapa Māori workplace environments and the dynamics associated with using Māori to carry out their formal roles,

> *Q: Kei hea te reo i tō mahi?*

> *A: The   reo's important for us in our mahi but it's not the key priority for our service...Up till now it hasn't been...I guess for us we focus on the clinical side cause we're in the hospital and pushing that aspect of things...it all takes time...Our core business is clinical services ensuring that they meet the needs of the people, along side of it the reo and*

tikanga support. That's why I started doing (this), and...the services, the courses to revitalize the reo and stuff" (Whānau 8 Transcript, p.7).

The workplace appears to be a deliberate space for Te Reo if people were not confident about speaking te reo.

5.4   Tautoko: Providing Assistance and Whānau Support

Tau is short for tautoko and in regards to this section of the findings provide commentary about some of the important influences associated with impediments to tautoko including evidence of how certain practices can be deemed as tautoko. What is focused on in this section is some of the more psychological factors that impact on notions of tautoko, which result in three main themes that emerge: whānau commitment, inter-whānau relationships and the role of karakia.

(a)   Whānau commitment

A positive factor that motivated individuals to participate more and therefore progress more in their Reo, came as a direct consequence of *personal determination and whānau commitment*. This was expressed by one mother in the following excerpt:

Ko te reo te oranga mo mātou. He tikanga, he kawe kei roto. He oranga mo te wairua me te hinengaro, he hohonu nga haerenga ki nga matua tipuna i roto i te reo - mena kei te mohio ki te korero reo, kaore he awangawanga mou/maku i tenei ao hurihuri (Survey 6 - Wānanga, Matapihi).

Or because of the positive interpersonal relationships that existed in the whānau,

The whānau were excited by the feedback. Success probably due to - being in comfortable familiar surroundings, having the support of each other, having learned their kupu hou since the last hui………. Making te reo a priority in their lives (Whānau 2 Observation Log, May).

In most of the kainga, women played a key role in supporting and inspiring the whānau to achieve the aim of speaking Māori at home.

Whānau outlined and acknowledged nanny's efforts. She has shown the most dedication to the kaupapa in the past month (Whānau 2 Observation Log, June).

The same Nanny expressed strong disappointment at one whānau hui that the whānau were not giving 100 % to the kaupapa (Whānau 2 Observation Log, June).

Like other whānau, they are being led by the mum! Evident in most recordings that she is the main speaker… (Whānau 3 Observation Log, November).

The notion of *commitment* in the context of this research project could be broken down into two main concepts – individual commitment - one person and whānau commitment or group committment. As a result of the initial interviews whānau demonstrated that they would require a key motivating driver and, that person would actively lead the rest of the whānau in their endeavours to learn Te Reo. What the data suggests however is that regardless of the impression associated with the key driver role within the whānau, in reality what appeared to be happening is that individual efforts rated more highly as a deciding factor in the extent to which Te Reo advanced, or in some cases, did not.

> Q: *Why is (there) no reo?*
> A2:   *I honestly don't know*
> Q: *Would you change your reo if it would mean that it would help (Mum)?*
> A1:   *Yeah, if she really wanted to do it*
> A2:   *Yeah, but (I) probably (would) not do much - (Whānau 9 Observation Log, September)*

Commitment as a concept is closely associated to *motivation,* which was represented in varying ways across the whānau. For example, some members were inherently driven about Kaupapa Māori in general; some by a desire to fulfill a 'gap' in their individual lives and others driven by a belief of inadequacy - namely the inability to engage in Māori conversations in formal contexts or intimately with other whānau members.

Not only was motivation a key issue for each whānau but so too was the extent to which motiativation influenced different whānau members in the roles they performed. For instance, the key whānau driver often relied on extra motivation themselves in order to stay committed to the Kaupapa and yet, they were also drawn upon to assist with motivating their own whānau members.   The influence of the whānau driver actually had a major bearing on the success for the whānau learning Te Reo. For instance:

I think that if it (the project) was done in six month modules, short, sharp and not carried out for too long (at once) it would have been good for me. In six months, we lost a bit of interest. Not that the commitment wasn't there to do it, it was the interest...Doing that then having a wānanga and that wānanga will be revitalizing again for the next six month (Whānau 8 Transcript, p.24).

The reason why I delayed on this (kaupapa) is because again, we had an arrangement and there was a structured timeframe, so again I know you've got a structured time and that you've appointed yourself to have that visit coming. That made it easy. Unfortunately there were times that we didn't meet because of the other circumstances. But I knew that was the allocated day (Whānau 1 Transcript, p.4).

(b)   Whānaungatanga – Relationships - Grandparents (Ngā tūpuna) and Parents (Ngā mātua)

Kuia and koroua (whether directly involved as participants in this project or as extended whānau living outside the participants homes) were inspirational in assisting with increasing Te Reo korero in the home. In one whānau, koro never initially insisted on te reo being spoken in the house, however since the project began, the following had occurred:

All the rangatahi turn up to hui, arriving at koro's house knowing that reo sessions are on and koro's house is a reo speaking house (Whānau 5 Observation Log, November).

One whānau record states,

...mother makes a point of calling her son on a weekly basis since they started. She makes valued comments on the type of reo the Whānau is speaking e.g. says that "ka kite" is incomplete and shouldn't be used on its own. It should be "ka kite ano or a tona wa ka kite ano tatou. Hope these calls continue – very positive (Whānau 4 Observation Log, May).

And with another whānau,

... keeps in daily contact with her mother by phone. Her mother fully supports her and the whānau in the project (Whānau 3 Observation Log, May)

In one or two whānau, older people were reluctant to participate in the project because in their minds, *"he Ao Pakeha tenei"* and saw Te Reo korero as a waste of time. The unwillingness of some participants to participate is noted in comments like:

> *Koro's lack of participation continues to be a stumbling block! (Whānau 4 Observation Log, July)*

Thankfully however, this was more the exception rather than the rule.

(c)   Youth (Ngā rangatahi) and Their Parents

Positive participation from rangatahi who demonstrated support, understanding and patience, was evident:

> *Q: What drove you to want to be involved?*

> *A: Hei āwhina i aku mātua, ki te ako i te reo... (Talking about her Dad). He'd only speak Māori just one word but then when you come in and he had all those little projects that's when I heard him speak the most, but little Māori is better then nothing" (Whānau 3 Transcript, p.4).*

> *(Our son), when we first started he sort of looked at us with that shame...But when we went (out of town) he didn't do that you know. I was really rapt with that because I could say something to him - he wouldn't respond in Māori but at least he didn't look at me as if to say: 'don't talk to me', 'what are you on about'! For me it's been a real buzz because I thank my son, not his lack of appreciation, but he knows we're trying. I know he doesn't give us that negative thing that he did when we first started (Whānau 7 Transcript, p.18).*

The opposite was also evident. Some rangatahi (many of whom had the highest level of proficiency in the whānau), did not participate positively in this project. Some teenagers exhibited passive behavior, silence, laziness, disinterest, or being insensitive to others feelings. The community researcher in her observations of two teenagers with a good standard of reo at one of the wānanga commented:

The most fluent in the family presents difficulties for others – do we have to be like him? Neither spoke much reo in fact they spoke English blatantly some times (Whānau 9 Observation Log, July).

Constant correction from rangatahi also had a negative impact on Te Reo korero in the kainga. While correction from the younger generation is becoming more of a commonality, the degree of 'how' one is corrected varies significantly from one whānau to the next. As one father proclaimed:

You gonna help anyway my son, you younger than me, you gonna help me but ah, that becomes a barrier when a young person(s) starts challenging (you)...then I ain't gonna speak again because I get whakama nē... because he's disciplining me and its like ohh...As I said, a potiki telling a tuakana to do this (do that). Who do you think you are? And the same thing, he's my son. (Son says) Kaore Dad! Get away I don't wanna talk to you (Whānau 1 Transcript, p.6).

We korero if we're in the mood (Whānau 2 Observation, September).

..... Tonight answering back, put downs and rudeness, the daughter has an attitude! (Whānau 9 Observation Log, December)

The reliance placed upon rangatahi to promote and be enthusiastic about Te Reo kōrero for the sake of the whānau (or in some cases their parents) poses certain challenges. For instance, the key drivers for some whānau are rangatahi and their rebellion against this premature role is understood. Rangatahi today are influenced by a multitude of contemporary paraphernalia, which can influence their un/willingness to assume an adult based role. This group of participants was extremely influential in the positivity (or lack of it) within the te reo korero environment of the home.

Negative comments created significant barriers to increasing Te Reo kōrero, because it served to heighten the feelings of inadequacy of whānau members, which in turn interrupted the flow of kōrero. As one participant noted:

I don't want to look like an idiot (Whānau 9 Observation Log, August).

Personal feelings of inadequacy and lack of confidence was an important aspect highlighted within the research and expressed by many of the participants during this project. One whānau journal entry states:

> *... has feelings of inadequacy and a lack of confidence, feels useless... (Whānau 6 Observation Log, June)*

For some individuals such feelings were deep seated and described as *whakama.* For instance:

> Q: *Whakamā? Whakamā from what?*
>
> A: *Ki te kōrero hē...And it's not because I've experienced people coming across and saying...'wāh! you're wrong!' it's not that, that's not the case for me, but... (Whānau 6 Transcript, p.5)*
>
> A: *Kaore au i te mōhio ngā kupu, so I used English i taku mahi whakamā.*
>
> Q: *Whakamā o te aha?*
>
> A: *Mataku ki te kōrero ētahi wā. Ki te kōrero kei waenganui i ngā kaumātua (Kei) hāparangi rātou!"*
>
> Q: *Whakamā kei whakaiti?"*
>
> A: *Etahi wā, I think that's the main barrier outside of the house (Whānau 3 Transcript, p.6).*

These feelings of inadequacy and embarrassment often led to individuals underestimating their level of proficiency. In response to a query about why a whānau participant did not speak Te Reo to, and with teenagers, she said:

> *I don't talk Māori at waka ama. Their standard of reo is too high, I didn't feel comfortable in case I made a mistake and I would feel embarrassed! (Whānau 9 Observation Log, October)*

Acknowledging individual weaknesses and turning the weaknesses into positive feelings has also benefitted some whānau members. These comments suggest that having challenges can act as a motivating factor, and with an increase in motivation ones commitment and drive to kōrero Māori in the home may also be positively impacted on. For instance:

For me, it would be easy to pull out...it wasn't that I didn't find it hard, it was almost that I had to turn that 'switch' on, that Māori switch. In a sense, I found that hard to turn that switch on. (When) I shouldn't have had to turn any switch on. And it was like defeat; I didn't want to be defeated (Whānau 6 Transcript, p.2).

Q: *If Reo Māori was the bus, a language bus - who's the driver, who's up front seat, where are you and where do you think your family are seated?*

A: *I'm definitely in the boot! The main driving force would be these two, the rangatahi...(Whānau 3 Transcript, p.2).*

I shouldn't use it as an excuse but we needed a challenge and being with others and seeing how well they were doing would have been (like), "well we're going to do the same" sort of thing. So I know that shouldn't be the reason why we should carry on, but some just need that little bit (of a challenge). That's why I think I've done what I've done over the years because I had others that I could see doing (it too) (Whānau 7 Transcript, p.12).

Other feelings of embarrassment appeared to be associated with perceptions of image and the relationship that speaking Te Reo has with being a rangatahi. In one instance, a rangatahi viewed the levels of Te Reo and whether they're 'up there' or not. The sense of being 'up there' seems to be an important factor for some whānau.

Q: *If us three went to the supermarket and ka kōrero Māori i roto i te supermarket, would you still feel shame to talk Māori with me in the supermarket?*

A: *Kao*

Q: *Why?*

A: *Cause (you're) up there...If you meet someone who continuously speaks Te Reo, then you know that's their thing they do. If we went to the supermarket with you, we probably would speak Māori.*

Q: *I want to come back to. (speaking in the supermarket) with Mum and Dad. So how can we make that better?*

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A: *They have to be on the same level as us. If they're up with us then it will feel normal for us to speak Māori to them. They need to be fluent in te reo so I'll be able to talk to them.*

A: *I wouldn't do it if the conversation won't keep flowing. If me and Mum were talking and she decided to walk away and come back and start talking English, that's it then, that's enough Māori (Whānau 3 Transcript, p.8).*

Positive and consistent communication between partners was also a consideration for the use of quality reo spoken in the kainga. As noted in a couple of homes,

In one extended Whānau grouping the non Māori partners was fully supportive to the extent that one of the groups who had no reo at the beginning became very competent in reo through his focused work on vocab. and the reo of instruction. The researcher commented about one visit….one of the highlights was listening to the husbands trying (Whānau 2 Observation Log, May).

My wife's always encouraging me...cause of all the enticement that I have been given by her and my family to be able to (do it) (Whānau 4 Transcript, p.4).

Unfortunately the opposite was also observed.

I feel useless compared to husband and son (Whānau 6 Observation Log, September)

I think the confidence thing is what did it for me...Because it was going really good then I got a negative thing happening...and then you get one person downing you about learning it all this time and getting it. and personally, (for me), that was enough. If you don't have the faith in me to do it, then I'm not gonna do it. And when I think back on it now, that's probably where I stopped...it was a knock back (Whānau 8 Transcript, p. 16).

Some wives felt unsupported and not confident in situations where their husbands had better Te Reo.

The way in which partners communicate (occasionally there was no communication at all) either positively or negatively impacted the feelings women already had and in some cases it was often more negative. This was in direct contrast to the support that wives gave, which was always fully supportive of their husbands or partners.

When we started this, we were all whakamā and all on different levels and didn't know what the program was going to dish out to us and whether we could cope. But it's been in such a way, I've felt that it's been on an on-going personal level. Then with (my husband), kei te pai! That's been the awesome part about it - I don't have to wait until he's ready (Whānau 4 Transcript, p. 4).

The relationship between parents and children was a further prime indicator of the efficacy of language use and advancement within the home. When all individuals within the whānau supported one another (to achieve the common goals set by the whānau), significant progress was made. Positive whānau interaction – meant that individuals in the whānau could engage easily with the strategies being implemented.

The parents continue to be role models for this whānau, the girls both pledged support for parents (Whānau 3 Observation Log, September).

Rana felt very positive about wānanga, felt supported by his son (Whānau 4 Observation Log July). `

The relationship between parents and children was not just an adult and child relationship. In some cases, the relationship was between adults. In those instances, a transformative approach was paramount and if positively nurtured, the language relationships that developed were empowering.

With my nanny, the more Māori she speaks the more she would talk about the days that have gone by...talking about her family...the old all the Māori that she has she wouldn't even speak. (But now) when I go and pick her up she only speaks Māori (Whānau 8 Transcript, p.19).

The most significant te reo korero relationships were those between kuia/koroua and their mokopuna. Talking with mokopuna was an important motivating factor for whānau to participate in the project as the importance of mokopuna as the future generation of speakers, was a point often expressed explicitly by parents and grandparents. Barriers that might otherwise have been present in other relationships dissipated in the relationship between grandparents and mokopuna. The understanding of intergenerational roles in maintaining and regenerating reo to enable mokopuna to become reo speakers was evident and actively nurtured. The power relations

(between parents, parents and siblings and between siblings) did not operate with grandparents and grandchildren. As one koroua said:

..... he expresses joy about his moko attending kohanga. ......he is confident in speaking to his moko and sharing the bond of te reo (Whānau 4 Observation Log, December).

Q: How did that make you feel - te reo tuatahi ka rangona e to mokopuna ko te reo Māori?"

A: Ooh, it makes me feel good because from the day he was born te reo Māori. I've spoken more Māori to him than English. It's only been little bits here and there but those little bits mean a lot to me – (Whānau 4 Transcript, p.2).

Much of the data reflects significant relationships between grandparents, grandchildren and how a connection through Te Reo korero is a profound one full of aroha and nurturing.

I'll have to get my moko to come and live with me (Whānau 8 Transcript, p.13).

We speak more Māori because of our moko (Whānau 9 Audio)

I found that I've always needed someone to hiki me along and I found that my moko, he's gonna do it for me cause I'm just blown away by him... and he's gonna be that one that keeps me going (Whānau 8 Transcript, p.8).

The thing that's inspired me the most (is that) I want my mokopuna to know where they're from, know their reo. I want them to hear their koro have karakia. My daughter is in Kōhanga Reo now and when she comes home she's still i te reo Māori (Whānau 4 Transcript, p.4).

The boundaries of what constituted whānau extended beyond the kainga in 1 or 2 instances. Sometimes not all participants were at the whānau hui or, sometimes other whānau members were staying in the kainga making it difficult to focus on the aim of the reo kaupapa.

It is noted that those whānau members living in different areas sometimes had an impact on the ability of the whānau to retain its cohesiveness:

There were personal issues of rangatahi, living in different places which is not helping the reo project (Whānau 8 Transcript, p.3).

In one kainga extended family arrived to stay temporarily which really affected the reo progress of the participants.

> *Whānau still has a positive attitude in the household but clear difference with the addition of extended family to stay. These members do not speak Māori (Whānau 3 Transcript, p.7)*

Interruptions to daily routine activities diverted the attention of the whānau participants from speaking reo. One whānau journal recorded the effect of holidays on the whānau reo kaupapa:

> *Holidays have proved tough for this whānau as they were staying with extended whānau across the Bay of Plenty. Although they stayed with kuia most of time little or no reo spoken (Whānau 3 Observation Log, February).*

5.5   Other Emerging Themes

Three other aspects that did not sit directly within the themes of ***Aro, Reo and Tau*** were also prevalent te reo korero factors in the research, which are mentioned here: the role of karakia, laughter and humour, and of 'wanting more'.

Ahuatanga and tikanga Māori were strongly practiced by whānau involved in the research project. In particular, all whānau were motivated by learning more about themselves as tribal people, and how Te Reo korero could be utilised to assist in their everyday activities. All whānau practiced karakia: regular hui with whānau began with karakia and in one instance karakia as a tikanga was focused on to alleviate some heavy personal pressures that were being experienced by one whānau at a participant time.

> *Karakia for this whānau has been a great success in this stressful time (Whānau 4 Observation Log, October)*

> *Most whānau know karakia mo te kai (Whānau 2 Observation Log, June)*

Support for one whānau extended to the researcher seeking the use of an expert in Māori rongoa to help with health issues. While this advice may not have been part of the brief of the researcher, the efforts were made knowing full well that the concept of tautoko within the parameters of ngā āhuatanga required some flexibility with how, and when these types of

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activities were considered. The project team fully endorsed this act of tautoko given the circumstances. In response the whānau participant commented:

> *I would like to say that karakia has been the thing that has kept me going, and being able to say it without (using) the piece of paper…it gives me a lot of encouragement (Whānau 3 Transcript, p.1).*

For Māori researchers working in Māori communities this type of extension in the research relationship is not unusual given the tribal imperative upon which this research project is premised. Exhibiting wider knowledge of these factors gave confidence from the whānau that the research team were well versed in their knowledge and therefore were able to apply thinking, when needed to issues as they arose. This commitment by the researchers was consistent with one of the objectives of the project which was to advance Ngāi Te Rangitanga through the project.

The role of the community researcher through face to face interaction was expected and is a kaupapa Māori research principle that is now commonly acted upon by any experienced researcher. Referred to as manaaki tangata or kanohi ki te kanohi, it is an underlying principle of the whānau action reo model espoused in this project.

Creating fun and enjoyment became a key strategy within the whānau especially to engage younger whānau members. Laughter relaxed whānau members creating an environment that was conductive to learning Te Reo. The introduction of competitive games and activities with rewards was another strategy used within the kainga - again at wānanga reo these were very successful in motivating participants to korero. These activities generated korero no matter what the level of proficiency of each participant. Self consciousness disappeared and concerns about saying things correctly were all but forgotten in the laughter of the moment as outlined in this excerpt:

> *Evident in their interaction at game time. whole game in Māori with enjoyable activity! (Whānau 5 Observation Log, November).*

> *Laughter and fun inspires the whānau to speak Māori" (Whānau 5 Observation Log, December)*

The evaluations indicated that all nine whānau were highly motivated by the opportunity to advance Te Reo korero within their kainga and as a result, all of them outlined an appreciation in being involved. One of the whānau commented on the positive effects of the research project:

> *It was our inspiration. It was something for us to do. To do together and to do Māori. Te Kaupapa is a 10/10 - whatever pushes this kaupapa is a 10/10 (Whānau 2 Transcript, p.21)*

Another whānau wished the project had been longer:

> *Another half a year would have been awesome, again we are just getting into it and we still need to have our hands held, you know, (we're) crawling, and how we are starting to walk abit. We still need that manaaki, awhi, support, we are still working, until I can stand and don't need that support hand there (Whānau 1 Transcript, p.13).*

Finally, the whānau found that having a mentor in the home one of the features of the project that was excellent.

> *I'd like to carry on cause if it stops, I don't want to stop. If we have no motivation like her (the community researcher), who else is out there to motivate us? (Whānau 4 Transcript, p.9)*

Whilst this is not the only key feature of the project, it outlines that learning Te Reo today, is not as simple as *wishing* for it to happen. Strategies need to be laid out in a cohesive and definitive way to make language regeneration thrive and grow through *action*. The research findings outlined in this chapter only touch the surface with what is impeding progress and equally what needs to occur to make *language thrive* once again in the homes of Ngāi Te Rangi people.

Chapter Six: Summary, Recommendations and Concluding Remarks

"For initiatives aimed at regenerating Māori language through socializing and educating children as speakers of Māori to be effective, those who have intimate contact with these children, in the personal domains of home and whānau, also need to be learning and speaking the language (Hohepa, 1999, p.42)"

6.1   Summary

This research has outlined a number of key factors that either impeded or encouraged te reo kōrero within the kainga of Ngāi Te Rangi whānau. One the most prevalent impediment was the lack of time, the time to make space and the time to engage in te reo kōrero. All whānau were working families and involved with tamariki and mokopuna on a daily basis. Everyday life influenced the progress for Te Reo advancement. The inability of whānau to 'make time', to put 'time aside' or to 'assign time' for learning Te Reo was an impediment. Te Reo activities were not necessarily a priority in the home and was secondary to ensuring that day to day tasks were still managed (work, schooling etc), tending to whānau obligations at marae (tangihanga, unveilings, hui etc) and then establishing te reo Māori as a normal method of communication in the home. Te Reo Māori and its use in the home was therefore not naturalized by many of the whānau participating in this study.

What was also surprising was that although there were some who had undertaken prior study of Te Reo, this did not guarantee a strong basis for the whānau to strive forward in their Te Reo aspirations. In some cases, it was actually a deterrent. Those who had te reo (or some reo) did not always actively become Te Reo supporters in their home. The reo capability of an individual was therefore not the determining factor of whether individuals spoke reo at home or whether they participated positively in the project. The person who motivated everyone to korero was not necessarily the most capable Te Reo speaker within the home.

What was prevalent was that a positive 'wairua' and commitment was an incredible influencing factor in generating a positive environment for learning Te Reo and, important for the experience of Te Reo for both learners and supporters. The influence of a positive environment also assisted whānau members when they occupied different language competencies; in that their progress was not impeded if the environment was positive.

The research results indicate that increasing language in the home depends on more inter-whānau relationships, inter-whānau dynamics, and intra-personal dynamics then it does on language course history, language inputs or even the process of language acquisition itself. We initially held the view that such an investment in formal education should be a pre-requisite to being involved in this research study. Contrarily however, we later found no real evidence to support that view, and that those particular whānau who had such experience had no clear advantage in raising the level of spoken language in the home, in comparison to the whānau who had no experience in Te Reo Māori at all.

The only exception to this finding has been when both parents in the home are attending a course together and they have a mutual enthusiasm for language revitalization and they had aspired to their goals out of a love for their children and their mokopuna. This situation stems into the interrelationships between parent and child, grandparent and grandchild and husband and wife. It is argued that if the relationship is positive; and encouraging, it is likely that Te Reo acquisition will thrive. The opposite is also true, that when relationships are less positive, the impact upon Te Reo acquisition is detrimental. When the relationship is overpowering, or fear, guilt, whakama and whakaiti is present, the possibility of Te Reo acquisition is decreased.

The research findings also illustrate that karakia is the most common and evident form of tikanga practice noted among the whānau, which has also brought one whānau through waves of health and personal issues during the research project. Karakia was noted as a positive form of engaging in te reo above anything else. Evidence shows that those whānau who have a positive loving inter-member relationship are more likely to use karakia and be received well in doing so. Some members may also not be able to assume the roles of the paepae or taumata kōrero just yet, but find the role of giving a karakia to be a comfortable and motivating responsibility to fulfill.

Having an immersion environment is the ultimate desire for most Whānau, however in reality, this was not the case in our largely mainstream context of Tauranga, despite the fact that all whānau aspired to find a Māori language space. Defining reo only 'speaking spaces', physical and social for individuals and groups was critical in the regeneration of Te Reo, as well as the attitudes and behavior associated with it.

A major finding of the research was that having a language mentor was a crucial component of the project. Without a mentor as an exemplar for whānau to aspire to, the goal of increasing spoken language in the home and amongst whānau becomes difficult. Most whānau spoke positively of the project and wished its duration had been longer. Some whānau also felt they had not progressed as much as they should have in the twelve month research period, and indicated that they would have benefitted from a longer timeframe.

Overall, whānau held a strong belief that Te Reo was valued and showed this through their willingness to be involved in the project and to adhere to the principles of the project for over a year. Their willingness to share their experiences was testament to their commitment for te reo o te kainga.

6.2. Recommendations

"Māori self determination and positive Māori development [amount] to little if, in the establishment of a strong economic base, no room [is] left for the strengthening of a Māori identify and the continuing expression of Māori culture – the advancement of Māori peoples as Māori (Durie, 1998, p. 52)"

There are three key recommendations that come from this research project for the Ngāi Te Rangi leadership.

Recommendation 1 – Ngāi Te Rangi to Prioritise Te Reo Recovery

As a tribe, Ngāi Te Rangi must deliberately prioritise language recovery as a mantra for our people. This is not something that can be motivated or generated by external parties. If the tribe and its leaders do not make a deliberate move forward to stem the decline of te reo, our language will continue to decline. In the next ten years the language capability of those few remaining

koroua and kuia will be gone; and the most fluent cohort amongst our people will be children. Ngāi Te Rangi must therefore prioritise Te Reo recovery.

Recommendation 2 – Language Penetration Strategy – Further Research

Ngāi Te Rangi should embark on further research that extends upon the work undertaken in this first phase of the work. Already Ngāi Tahu have been operating Kotahi Mano Kaikā (see chapter three) for near on ten years; and the ART confederation of tribes (Te Ati Awa, Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa – see also chapter three) has a twenty five year timeframe for their initiative. Language recovery requires adequate resourcing that is cohesively structured and targeted across the core communities within which Ngāi Te Rangi people live.

Recommendation 3 - Tribal Collaboration in Future Reo Efforts Based on Penetration Strategy and Community Research

It is recommended that further research of this type should continue. Research is only starting to unveil the potential dire straits within which iwi are faced; and combined efforts that include institutions responses (dedicated learning programmes), with mentors and/or researchers to assist within language acquisition in the home; and within the community is needed. No one iwi is an island!!! It is imperative that broader spheres or scoping is undertaken to ensure that multiple sites in different iwi are progressed together, at the same time, and that a community response is made in a way that is akin to penetration of a new product or service in the marketplace. That specific strategic and deliberate focus on targeted outcomes is what will deliver the results that are sought by tribal leaders throughout the country. Being indecisive about these types of approaches will not deliver the results needed to save our language, our culture and our way of life.

It is therefore imperative that a multi-tribal response to language recovery and language regeneration is advanced. In that context of Te Reo o Ngāi Te Rangi, that would mean advancing language growth through the Mataatua Waka confederation or through a multi-tribal agreement with other tribes throughout the country.

6.3   Concluding Remarks

"Most people these days don't need informing about the endangered state of the worlds fauna and flora. But, few are aware of the even more perilous state of the world's languages"
(Crystal, 2002).

This research has helped articulate that language revitalisation is so much more than just making a commitment to dialogue between two or more people. Imbedded within the language; is a series of codes, rules, rituals, knowledge and cultural way of life that is inherently interconnected. What started out as a project to advance Te Reo has since been contextualized as a project that sought to embrace Te Reo, as a window to a cultural way of life, a cultural way of life that is slowly being lost with every day that goes by where our whānau, hapū and iwi are not actively re-invigorating our Reo.

This research project has therefore not been a concluding point but instead is a starting reference point for te reo regeneration in Ngāi Te Rangi. Participants in this study are only in the formative stages of reclaiming and regenerating Te Reo within their whānau. That analysis through this research concludes that despite the challenges associated with bringing Te Reo back to life within the social context of the home there is so much more to do and none of the homes could be labeled as thriving Te Reo speaking homes.

It is therefore concluded that the next stage of *language development* for Ngāi Te Rangi, as part of a tribal stance on language recovery, might entail a few key points.

Firstly, that language survival is premised on the belief that ***language is valued*** and that ***language must be used within the home or a similar type social context***. For this to happen, language must become and remain a social language.

 Secondly, ***all whānau members must participate in speaking Te Reo within the home***; as language needs many actors to use it.

Thirdly, *the establishment of language communities that are whānau based, community based, or/and hapū based are essential to ensuring that language use is located within a place for it to thrive.*

Fourthly, *those people that can speak Te Reo within the whānau, hapū and iwi, must speak* for without their leadership and commitment, language regeneration cannot occur.

Fifthly*, community language mentors/teachers or researchers are needed to assist with implementing any language regeneration strategy*.

These threads are needed for language recovery as it is highly unlikely that a community without language skills can do this themselves. Therefore, language settings, language domains and language communities, be they kin based or kaupapa based form the imperative building blocks needed for any form of language regeneration work to occur. This research has helped make that relationship much clearer for any future work that will ensue and it will form the basis for the next steps for Ngāi Te Rangi as it pursues Te Reo advancement on the whole.

As this report comes to completion, it acknowledged and noted that on Friday 17th June, *Te Mahere Rautaki Matauranga o Ngāi te Rangi* (Education Strategy for Ngāi Te Rangi 2011-2033) was launched at Maungatapu Marae, Tauranga with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi, the Ministry of Education, Marae representatives, whānau, interested manuhiri and included representatives from institutions like Bay of Plenty Polytechnic and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

Significantly, the outcomes of this research were cited as instrumental in driving some of the thinking that went into that strategy. More significantly te reo, is a focus and priority within the Ngāi Te Rangi Education Strategy.

Appendix One: Registration of Interest

Who are the principal researchers of the project.

Ngareta Timutimu
Project Leader, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

Teraania Ormsby-Teki
Pouarahi Reo, Te Runanga o Ngaiterangi Iwi

Dr Riri Ellis
Project Liason, Te Runanga o Ngaiterangi Iwi

How can my whanau participate in the project?

Complete the **Expression of Interest Form** and send it to -

Teraania Ormsby-Teki
Te Awa o Tukorako Lane
Off Taiaho Place
Mt Maunganui

Tel. 07 575 3765 extn: 216
Or email to:
teraania@ngaiterangi.org.nz

Ngaiterangi Iwi Reo Project

WHANAU EXPRESSION OF INTEREST

Name:

....

Address: ....

....

....

Phone No ....

Mobile ....

Email Address ....

Our whanau is interested in participating in this project. Please contact us as soon as possible.

Signed:

....

Te Runanga o Ngaiterangi Iwi

Toitu Te Kupu
Toitu Te Whenua
Toitu Te Mana o Ngaiterangi Iwi

AWANUIĀRANGI

Reo o Te Kainga
Hei Whakapakari i te Reo o Te Kainga!
Encourage Te Reo Māori at Home

2007

Reo o Te Kainga

He Kaupapa Rangahau Research Project

Te Runanga o Ngaiterangi Iwi

Toitu Te Kupu
Toitu Te Whenua
Toitu Te Mana o Ngaiterangi Iwi

AWANUIĀRANGI

PM/0767

Ngaiterangi Iwi Reo Project
Hei Whakapakari i te Reo o Te Kainga
Encourage Te Reo Māori at Home

REO O TE KAINGA

He Kaupapa Rangahau Research Project

Ki ngā whanau e hiahia ana te whakapakari ake i te reo kōrero kei te whakamahia i te kainga kia mataara mai!

NAU MAI HAERE MAI
KI ROTO I TE KAUPAPA

We are looking for families who want to increase speaking Māori at home!

WAEA MAI KI TE RUNANGA!

He aha tenei kaupapa?

This kaupapa is about finding out ways to encourage Te Reo Māori as the spoken language in the home. Ngaiterangi recognizes that many of our whanau in Tauranga Moana have been committed to learning Te Reo over the years, but more support is required to ensure that the reo becomes the main language of communication within the home.

How long will this kaupapa take to complete?

The whole project will take 18 months but whanau participation will be over a period of 12 months.

Why has this kaupapa been established?

National reports and our own experience show that the current strategies to save Māori Language need to be supported by increasing the degree of spoken language in the home.

Te Runanga o Ngaiterangi Iwi in conjunction with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, have been successful in gaining funding through Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga, to carry out this research project to strengthen Māori language revitalization in the home.

What are the specific goals for this kaupapa?

This is a community action research project

Nine to eleven whanua will be selected to participate in this project. They will have a key role in setting the ongoing goals in fulfilling the aspirations of the project. Some key goals are:
  • to indentify strartegies which make it easier to speak Te Reo Māori at home

  • to identify the barriers to speaking Te Reo Māori at home

  • to work collaboratively with the Pouarahi Reo

  • to steadily increase the degree of spoken reo in the home over 12 months

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