Ngā Whakakitenga a Te Kura Roa: Whaihua | Te Kōrerotia o te reo Māori | Pūrongo 2

Rawinia Higgins, Poia Rewi and Vincent Olsen-Reeder

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This report is part of a series

Pūrongo 1: He Whenua Haumako – Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Ataarangi Pūrongo 2: Te Kōrerotia o te Reo Māori Pūrongo 3: Te Reo Māori me te Whānau Pūrongo 4: Te Reo Māori me te Hapori Pūrongo 5: Te Reo Māori me te Wāhi Mahi Pūrongo 6: Te Reo Māori me te Tuakiri ā-Motu Pūrongo 7: Te Reo Māori me ōna Ratonga

He Karanga

Tēnei ka noho, ka whakaaro ake ki ngā mumu reo. Nā rātou i pupuri ngā akoranga rangatira o Te Kōhanga Reo, o Te Ataarangi. I kapohia ngā tikanga tapu a ngā tīpuna. Ka whiua ki te ao, ka whiua ki te rangi, ka whakatipuria rā hei oranga mō te iwi Māori, hei manawataki mō taku reo e tōiriiri atu rā: 'Mā wai au e kawe ki ōku whenua haumako?' E hika mā, mā Te Kōhanga tonu, mā Te Ataarangi tonu: He marangai ki te whenua e!

Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Ataarangi, nei rā ō koutou whakaaro, ā koutou kōrero mai i te kaupapa rangahau o 'Whaihua' i tīmata i te tau 2010. Nā Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga tēnei rangahau i tautoko kia kite mai ai he aha te hua o te reo Māori. He wāhanga a Whaihua nō Te Kura Roa, he kaupapa rangahau i te hua o te reo Māori ki te motu. Ko tōna whāinga nui, ko te rapu i te hua o te reo Māori ki waenganui i ngā whānau o Te Kōhanga Reo, o Te Ataarangi.

Kei ngā pūrongo nei ngā kitenga o te rangahau, e whitu katoa. Ko te tuatahi tēnei, e hāngai ana ki te hua o Te Kōhanga Reo, o Te Ataarangi. Mā koutou ēnei pūrongo e wānanga, ā, me he kōrero, he pātai rānei, tēnā, tukuna mai ki Te Kura Roa: tekuraroa@vuw.ac.nz.

E mihi ana mātou ki a koutou katoa, ngā whānau, ngā purapura, ngā rohe, ngā poari, ngā whenua haumako o te reo Māori i takahia ai e mātou me tēnei kaupapa rangahau mō te reo Māori te take.

Te Kura Roa

Rawinia Higgins, Poia Rewi and Vincent Olsen-Reeder

Here I sit in reflection of silenced voices, Custodians of the vital lessons Of Te Kōhanga Reo, of Te Ataarangi Who grasped the sacred knowledge of the ancestors And cast it to the earth, charged it to the heavens, nurtured it as fruit for Māori people, a heartbeat for the echoes of my language: 'Who will carry me to my fertile lands?' Who else but Te Kōhanga Reo, and Te Ataarangi: A land awash, anew!

Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Ataarangi, we present to you the findings from 'Whaihua' a research project initiated in 2010. This research project was commissioned by Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga to gain insight into the value of the Māori language. Whaihua is a part of a wider investigation into the national value of the Māori language, called Te Kura Roa. The main objective is to investigate the community value of the Māori language among the whānau of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi.

These reports contain the results of the project. There are seven in total. This is the first, reporting on the value of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi. These are for you to share and discuss. If you have any queries please contact Te Kura Roa: tekuraroa@vuw.ac.nz.

We humbly thank you all, the whānau, the purapura, the communities and boards, vibrant locales through whom we were able to carry out this Māori language project.

Nā mātou, iti nei, nā,





He Mihi

Te Kura Roa: Whaihua acknowledges the whānau members and staff of Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Ataarangi, Te Kōhanga National Trust Board and Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi for their support with this project, from completing the survey to administering, collecting and advertising the kaupapa.

We are also grateful to the advisory panel who guided the project:

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Professor Emeritus Bernard Spolsky	Professor Michael O'Reilly
Professor Paul Tapsell	Dr Te Wharehuia Milroy
Dr Tīmoti Karetu	Te Ripowai Higgins
Professor Piri Sciascia	

Te Kura Roa: Whaihua also acknowledges Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, without whom this project would not have been possible.

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Te Kura Roa: Whaihua thanks the staff and students of Te Kawa a Māui, Victoria University and more specifically the students for their commitment to the project as summer interns. Their efforts in analysing the data are seen in these reports. They are:

Paul Edwards	Ani Eparaima
Hinemihiata Lardelli	Mikaia Leach
Anton O'Carroll	Meremoana Potiki
Te Wehi Wright	Jamie Yeates
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Whānau Members: A Snap Shot

The following table shows some key information about the whānau members that filled out the survey:

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	Whānau members (n)	Percentage of total
Total	775	
Gender:		
Males	128	16.5%
Females	634	81.8%
Missing	13	1.7%
Māori language initiatives:		
(Multiple response selection)		
Te Ataarangi	369	47.6%
Te Kōhanga Reo	516	66.6%
Kura Kaupapa Māori	187	24.1%
Wānanga	268	34.6%
Another initiative	87	11.2%
Missing	1	0.1%
Education:		
Tertiary – Degree	190	24.5%
Tertiary – Certificate / Diploma	262	33.8%
Te Tohu Whakapakari	64	8.3%
Secondary	202	26.1%
Primary	14	1.8%
Missing	43	5.5%
Proficiency:		
Native speakers	116	15%
High proficiency L2ers	155	20%
Good proficiency L2ers	225	29%
Basic proficiency L2ers	185	23.9%
Beginners	54	7%
Missing	40	5.2%



Whānau members are predominantly women. This reflects a trend observed within Māori language revitalisation generally. Most respondents noted participation in Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi, though this is not surprising given that data collection actively took place within these groups. Over half of the participating whānau members have a tertiary qualification – either a certificate, diploma, degree or Tohu Whakapakari certification.

They also have a good command of the language. Over half have an intermediate proficiency. 35% are either highly proficient speakers, or native speakers. This high proficiency is testament to the successes of both initiatives.

Te Reo Māori: General Language Use

The following outlines survey responses to questions pertaining to the general Māori language use of the participants. Questions covered here include:

- Who the Māori language is spoken to, and where
- From whom the Māori language is spoken, and where
- Key motivational factors that enable the use of te reo Māori
- Key challenges in maintaining use of te reo Māori, and
- The impact participation in te reo use has had on interaction with non-speakers.

Key findings include:

- Whānau hear the most Māori from their work colleagues and teachers
- They speak the most to their children/ grandchildren
- They hear and speak the most within their respective Māori language initiatives
- An intrinsic drawing to te reo Māori enables language use
- Intergenerational transmission is a key area for future development
- A lack of people to talk to, pressure of English and proficiency are key inhibitors for use, and
- Learning Māori has had a positive impact on non-speaking acquaintances.

Each question is analysed, many including responses from actual whānau members. Where responses were given in Māori, a translation is given in brackets. Single words are translated in brackets the first time they appear. Any attempts to change the responses given are minimal.

Who The Māori Language Is Heard From (In A Given Week)

In this question, some participants listed multiple whānau members, while others gave a single response (online survey users were limited to one choice). To maximise data use, analyses are included here separately, and tallied together to give a clearer picture. Readers may choose to focus on total responses.

Whānau members were asked from whom did they hear the most te reo Māori spoken in a given week. Teachers and work colleagues were the highest sources when limited to one choice. However, when multiple choices were given children, grandchildren and media presenters were equally as high. In total, work colleagues were the most often heard (34.6%), followed by teachers (31.9%). Children/ Grandchildren were heard most often by 27.9%, media presenters 22.4% and parents/ grandparents 19.7%. Overall, spouses and partners were the lowest source reported, most often heard just 9% of the time (Table 1, Figure 1, next page):





Who the Māori language is heard from (in a given week)							
	Parents /	Children /	Spouse /	Teacher	Media	Work	
	Grandparents	Grandchildren	Partner	Teacher	presenters	colleagues	
Single							
responses	13.4%	16.5%	7.5%	23.4%	12.6%	26.6%	
(n = 522)							
Multiple							
responses	35.0%	55.6%	12.6%	52.8%	46.3%	54.2%	
(n = 214)							
Total responses	19.7%	27.9%	9.0%	31.9%	22.4%	34.6%	
(n = 736)	17.770	27.370	2.070	51.7/0	22.4%	54.0%	

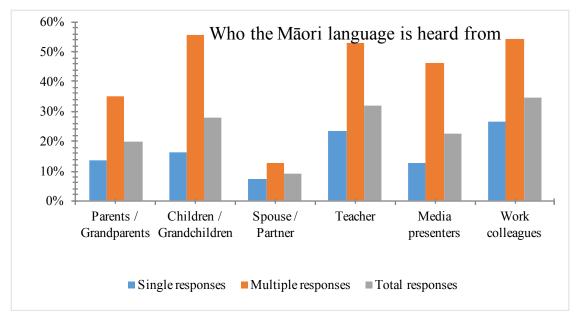


Figure 1. Who the Māori language is heard from (in a given week).

Because of the high representation of those external to the home, and the low representation of those who frequent the home (except children/ grandchildren), it would seem that people tend to hear the most Māori outside of the home, in their work and learning contexts. Inside the home, more is heard from media or from younger generations. Less is heard from people in the same or older generations. This has implications for intergenerational transmission (discussed below).²

Who The Māori Language Is Spoken To (In A Given Week)

In this question, some participants listed multiple whānau members, while others gave a single response (online survey users were limited to one choice). To maximise data use, analyses are included here separately, and tallied together to give a clearer picture. Readers may choose to focus on total responses.

Whānau members were asked who they spoke the most language to in any given week. Children and grandchildren are overwhelmingly the highest source reported for speaking the Māori language to overall (53.9%), followed by work colleagues

² See Pūrongo 1: He Whenua Haumako – Te Kōhanga Reo me Te Ataarangi for an explanation of intergenerational transmission, its relationship to Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi and how it is used in these reports.



(35.3%). Parents/ Grandparents (12.0%), spouses/ partners (12.3%), and teachers (21.5%) were less widely reported. A small but significant amount (4.7%) indicated that they spoke with media presenters (Table 2, Figure 2, below):

Who the Māori language is spoken to (in a given week)							
	Parents /	Children /	Spouse /	Teacher	Media	Work	
	Grandparents	Grandchildren	Partner		presenters	colleagues	
Single responses (n = 556)	5.2%	45.3%	6.7%	13.8%	1.4%	27.5%	
Multiple responses (n = 170)	34.1%	81.8%	30.6%	46.5%	15.3%	60.6%	
Total responses (n = 726)	12.0%	53.9%	12.3%	21.5%	4.7%	35.3%	

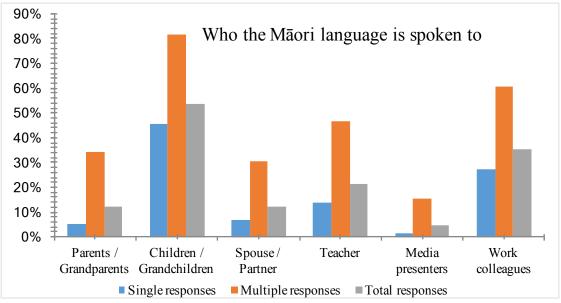


Figure 2. Who the Māori language is spoken to (in a given week).

Children and grandchildren may be so frequently spoken to because our whānau members are predominantly involved in Te Kōhanga Reo – speaking to children is thus part of everyday life. They are also easy people for learners to talk to, because children are potentially less likely to criticise errors. It is possibly unusual to imagine talking to media presenters on television and radio. However, talking to the television or radio may be a safe way to practice conversational language without the fear of making mistakes in front of 'real' people.

Where Māori Language Is Heard (In Any Given Week)

In this question, some people listed multiple whānau members, while others gave a single response (online survey users were limited to one choice). To maximise data use, analyses are included here separately, and tallied together to give a clearer picture. Readers may choose to focus on total responses.



Māori language initiatives are the location most highly reported for hearing the Māori language (57.3%), followed by work (29.7%) and the media (28.4%). Language is heard most at home for 16.3%, in marae hui by 14.1% and community initiatives for 3.3%. Other places were also noted (3.7%) (Table 3, Figure 3, below):

Where Māori language is heard (in any given week).								
	Māori media	Marae hui	Māori language initiatives	Work	Home	Community initiatives	Other	
Single responses (n = 540)	17.2%	3.3%	49.4%	20.0%	6.7%	1.3%	2.0%	
Multiple responses (n = 197)	58.9%	43.7%	78.7%	56.3%	42.6%	8.6%	8.1%	
Total responses (n = 737)	28.4%	14.1%	57.3%	29.7%	16.3%	3.3%	3.7%	

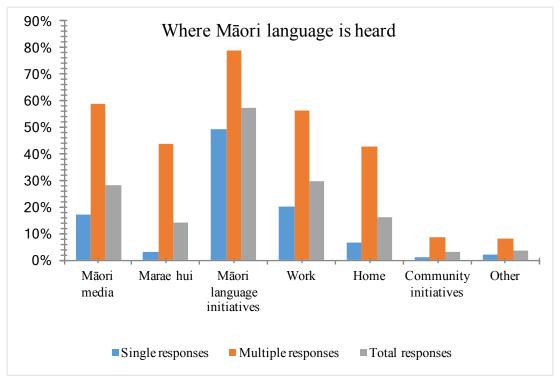


Figure 3. Where Māori language is heard (in any given week).

It is positive that the Māori language is heard most within Māori language initiatives. This is a testament to the success of kōhanga reo, Te Ataarangi classes, kura kaupapa and other language initiatives in providing places where Māori can be heard. It is interesting that the workplaces should feature so highly. This may be an indication that more access to the Māori language be available in the workplace. As Māori language initiatives and media are by definition spaces in which the language is used, it makes sense that participants have purposefully engaged in those spaces to hear it. However, it must be remembered that these avenues are likely passive, and one-way – they are not going to create great platforms for Māori language conversation.





Where Māori Language Is Spoken (In Any Given Week)

In this question, some participants listed multiple whānau members, while others gave a single response (online survey users were limited to one choice). To maximise data use, analyses are included here separately, and tallied together to give a clearer picture. Readers may choose to focus on total responses.

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Table 4 and Figure 4 (below) show Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi initiatives are by far the most frequent places in which Māori is spoken, with half (54.4%) of total responses identifying these places as key language spaces for speaking. The home context also features highly 34.4%), followed by the work context (29.9). Marae hui were noted by 9%. The phone (6.1%) and other media (0.8%) were also noted:

Where Māori language is spoken (in any given week)								
	Home	Marae hui	Māori language initiatives	Work	Phone	Other media	Other	
Single responses (n = 579)	25.4%	2.9%	47.2%	21.6%	0.9%	0.0%	2.1%	
Multiple responses (n = 153)	68.6%	32.0%	81.7%	61.4%	26.1%	3.9%	8.5%	
Total responses (n = 732)	34.4%	9.0%	54.4%	29.9%	6.1%	0.8%	3.4%	

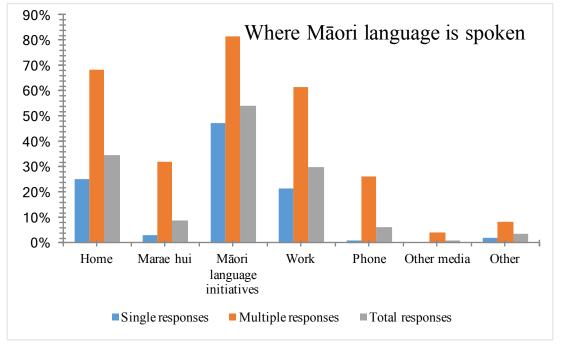


Figure 4. Where Māori language is spoken (in any given week).

Māori language initiatives are the location most highly reported for speaking the Māori language. This is again showing the strong success of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi. The home was a space where participants felt they spoke the most Māori, though it was not noted as frequently as the initiatives. The workplace was quite frequently noted, indicating a possible language context to target. Interestingly, marae hui are less frequently engaged in. This may be because it takes time and effort to attend rural marae when many Māori live in urban settings. Because the marae is often seen as the place where te reo Māori is preserved and maintained by the most proficient speakers, it may not be a space where large amounts of spontaneous conversation take place. Higher standards of language enforcement at the marae may also deter many from speaking, believing that they are not proficient enough to do so.

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Comparing Language Use Data

The four graphs presented above can be presented together to illustrate a little more about how the language is used. Figure 5 shows from whom Māori is heard and to whom it is spoken, and Figure 6 shows where Māori is heard and spoken. Both Figures are discussed together below:

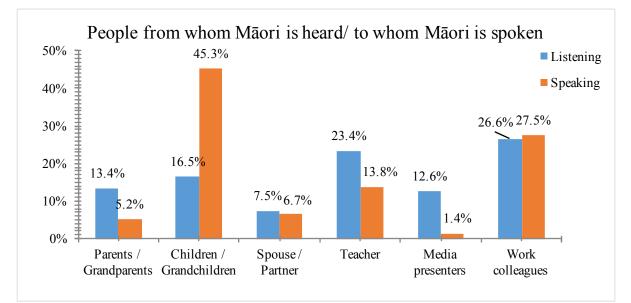


Figure 5. Main people for listening and speaking Māori.

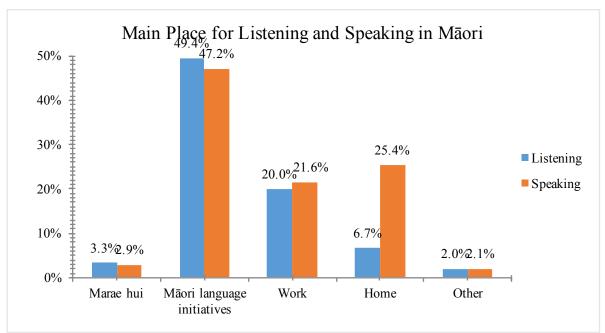


Figure 6. Main places for listening and speaking Māori.

The more equal the data grouping in Figures 5 and 6, the more potential there is for spontaneous conversation to happen in that place, with those participants. The more difference there is, the more likely it is that conversation is unbalanced and monodirectional.

It appears that Māori language initiatives, such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi, are the most fruitful space for language use. Communication between teachers and whānau who responded to this question is not so balanced (Figure 5) with more speaking by the teacher then listening. However, this makes sense given the nature of a teacher-learner relationship, so this is to be expected in these spaces. Participants also speak and hear the same amount (Figure 6). In this respect, they are participating equally in conversation. Overall then, the initiatives are key spaces in which whānau can engage in the most balanced Māori communication possible.

Work colleagues are involved in a fair amount of language use, around a quarter of total Māori language use in a week. Māori is also heard and spoken at work reasonably frequently, and in a balanced nature. Although many of our whānau members probably work in spaces such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi, it is true that the workplace remains an underutilised, fruitful context for language revitalisation. Given that many waking hour are spent in the workplace, it makes sense to focus on this domain in the future as a key area for Māori language development.

With regard to the home, Figure 5 (above) shows te reo Māori, overall, is spoken to children and grandchildren far more than it is heard from them. Speaking to children makes up almost half (45.3%) of our participants' weekly spoken Māori, yet it is seldom heard from them. Much te reo is spoken by the participants at home (Figure 6), but their children are rarely heard speaking Māori at home. It is also heard from parents and grandparents far more than it is spoken, although this could be explained by an absence of grandparents at home, or grandparents not knowing te reo Māori. This signals that intergenerational transmission is perhaps not occurring as much as it could be: the high amount of Māori language being spoken in the home is perhaps not being replied to in Māori. It is not necessarily transmitted in an intergenerational fashion from older to younger members and vice versa. Given too that spouses feature so little here, it is possible that they are influencing the power dynamic of language use at home away from te reo Māori towards English.

Key Motivational Factors That Motivate Language Use

Whānau members were asked about the key factors that motivated them to use te reo Māori (Figure 7, below):

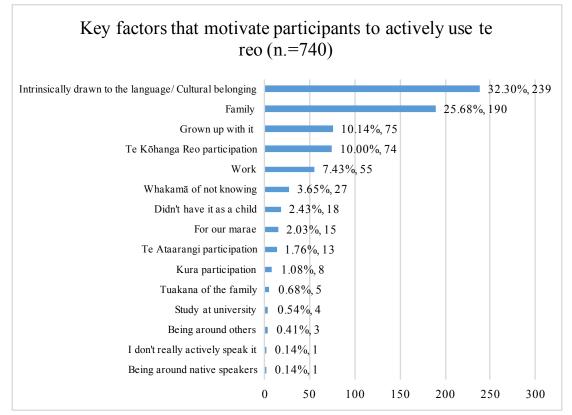


Figure 7. Key factors that motivate participants to actively use te reo.



For most whānau members (32.3%), the key factor that motivates use is being intrinsically drawn to the language. By pursuing te reo Māori through these initiatives, a sense of belonging is found. The following demonstrates the kind of identity statements from whānau:

- Strengthen my understanding of my heritage and culture / 2. It is my native language / 3. It is beautiful!! / 4. To be an active part of undoing history by restoring our language to us have to speak it for this to happen!
- A deeper sense of identity.
- A desire to learn the language my grandmother had first learnt, but lost. I went to learn full time as I could not get past a certain level learning only part time
- A need to connect something
- A sense of belonging. Identity. I'm not sure how to answer this question' But this is my answer for now
- A sense of identity and self. Having a link to my heritage and for my children to have the same.

For 25.68%, a family connection was made or strengthened through te reo Māori. By far the most frequent connection noted was children, though other members were also mentioned:

- Te hiahia no taku papa, no taku koroua... [My father and grandfather wanted it...]
- A muri te whanau mai i aku tamariki, ka hiahia au i te whakaako i te reo, hei tukuna ki aku tamariki, kia mau rāua [After my children were born I wanted to learn te reo, to pass it on to my children so they had it].
- Āku tamariki me te wawata ki te mōhio ko wai au. [my children and the need to know who I am]
- Aku tamariki, aku mokopuna, taku mahi. [my children, my grandchildren, my job]
- Āku tamariki, me taku kore mõhio ki toku ake ao Māori [my children, and my own ignorance of the Māori world]
- Aku tamariki, mokopuna [my children, grandchildren]
- Always had a supported parent behind me
- Because my baby is learning te reo Māori and I don't want the language to die.

10.14% had grown up with te reo Māori and thus didn't necessarily see a key factor of the initiatives that enabled them to use Māori. 10% noted specifically Te Kōhanga Reo participation as a key driver. For 7.43%, work was a key factor. For 3.65%, there was a sense of whakamā at not knowing the language that was quashed by participation. A range of other key factors were given, such as participation in Te Ataarangi, Kura Kaupapa and getting closer to other speakers of Māori. A few whānau members provided other kinds of answers indirectly related to Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi participation, such as being the eldest in their whānau or studying at university.



Key Challenges In Maintaining Active Māori Use

Aside from key factors that enable active use, there are challenges. Participants were asked about the challenges they had in maintaining an active use of te reo Māori (Figure 8, below):

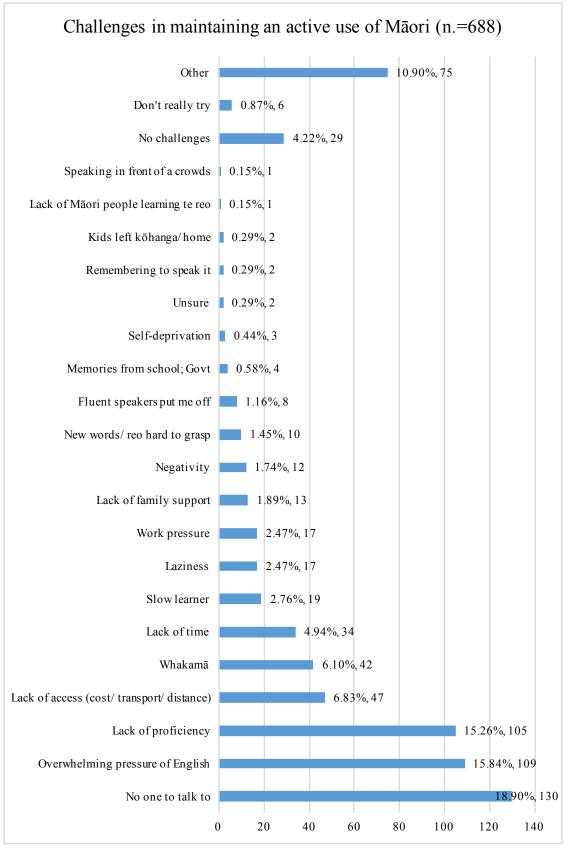


Figure 8. Challenges in maintaining an active use of Māori.

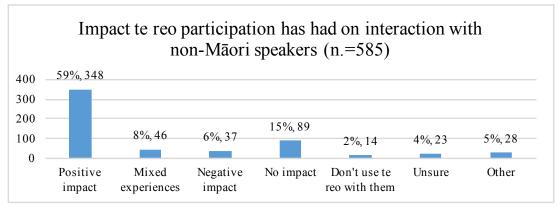




There are a wide variety of measures noted by whānau members that challenge their use of Māori. Most participants lack people to talk to (18.90%). It is known that Māori speakers often exist in isolation from other speakers, especially in the home.³ Other note the overwhelming pressure of English (15.84%). 15.25% say their lack of proficiency is the biggest challenge. These three factors are the most frequently noted. For a smaller cohort, (6.83%), a lack of access to te reo Māori exists. Others (6.10%) are inhibited by whakamā. 4.9% are challenged by a lack of time. A range of other challenges are also present. 4.22% are not affected by any challenges at all.

Without doubt, supporting positive motivation to use to reo Māori, and "... identifying and removing the barriers that exist to limit use of the language" are two critical aspects of language revival (Christensen 2001, 148). The responses show that key motivations for using te reo are a desire to move closer to the culture, and a wish to impart that cultural knowledge to children. It is also true that as one is motivated to learn more te reo Māori, their knowledge of the culture is also likely to increase (Te Huia, 2013). This might be particularly true for those who were not raised with te reo Māori from a young age, who have had to pursue language and cultural knowledge in later life.

Of course, this does not mean that our whānau members are without challenges. Many people exist in isolation for te reo Māori, in that they have no one to speak to or in that there is an overwhelming pressure to speak English. Others are affected by a more internal challenge of not knowing enough te reo Māori. Such challenges are documented on in more detail by others (see Olsen-Reeder, 2017). A key concept to consider here is the need for more domains and contexts that are not necessarily language orientated, but that are carried out with te reo Māori as the main mode of communication (Hond, 2014). Such activities will help to bring te reo Māori out of isolation and create pockets of community based activities, where te reo Māori can have an increased presence.



Impact Te Reo Participation Has Had On Interaction With Non-Speakers

Figure 9. Impact Māori participation has had on interaction with non-speakers.

Whānau members were asked if their participation in te reo Māori has had an effect on their interaction with non-Māori speakers. In general, te reo has had a positive impact on interaction with non-Māori speakers, with 59%, a clear majority, noting positive experiences. Just 8% have had mixed experiences and 6% have had negative experiences. For some (15%), no impact could be seen. This shows the positive outcome that comes from being bilingual, even on those who are non-speakers. Additionally, it suggests that despite a general feeling in New Zealand society that learning te reo divides the country, the opposite is actually true. In fact, the most recent Māori language attitude survey shows that more people are in favour of

³ See Pūrongo 3. Te reo Māori me te Whānau in this series for more on te reo Māori in the home.



compulsory te reo Māori in schools, than there are people in favour of compulsory te reo Māori for just Māori students (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). This serves to support the positive impact whānau members feel te reo has had on their interaction with non-Māori speakers. Higgins and Rewi (2014) suggest this is characteristic of right-shifting behaviour. When people attribute positive messages to te reo Māori and its use, they make other people, who may not speak Māori, feel better and more positive about the language. Engaging them in this way helps to kerb negative attitudes towards the language and further provide opportunities for its value and use in society. In this way, whānau members are contributing significantly to the overall health of te reo Māori.





Conclusion

This short report has outlined the responses whānau members have to questions relating to the general use of te reo Māori. It is hoped that it will go some way to showing empirically the reality of our most active Māori speakers, and provide a platform for improving language health in the future. Key findings illustrate:

- Whānau hear the most Māori from their work colleagues and teachers
- They speak the most to their children/ grandchildren
- They hear and speak the most within their respective Māori language initiatives
- They hear and speak the least at the marae
- Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi offer the most balanced spaces for communication
- An intrinsic drawing to te reo Māori enables language use
- Intergenerational transmission is a key area for future development
- A lack of people to talk to, pressure of English and proficiency are key inhibitors for use, and
- Learning Māori has had a positive impact on non-speaking acquaintances.

The report has indicated the necessity of both Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi as key areas that offer positive domains for language use. For whānau, they are the critical spaces in which te reo Māori is a natural language, and in which the opportunity to communicate in te reo Māori is largely equal. One key area to highlight is the need to create more activity-based domains where te reo Māori is the natural mode of communication. This will help our efforts to bring te reo Māori out into new domains and create more pockets of Māori language around the country. This will assist us in removing, or limiting, current barriers to communication, such as isolation.





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