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"Mā te kōrero ka ora te reo"

"It is by speaking Māori that the language will live"

Wharehoka Craig Wano

*A thesis submitted in the fulfillment of the requirements of
the degree of Masters of Education Administration Massey
University 1999.*

Ngā Mihi

Whakataka te hau ki te uru whakataka te hau ki te tonga
Kia mākinakina ki uta kia mātaratara ki tai
Kia hī ake ana te atakura he tio he huka he hauhu
Tihei mauriora.

Nā taku whaene

Taranaki te maunga
Tokomaru, Kurahaupō, Aotea ngā waka
Taranaki, Te Atiawa ngā iwi
Ngāti Moeahu, Ngāti Haupoto, Puketapu,
Ngāti Te Whiti ngā hapū
Parihaka, Muru Raupatu ngā marae

Nā taku matua

Pūtauaki te maunga
Mataatua te waka
Ngāti Awa te iwi
Taewhakea, Ngāti Rangihouhiri
Ngāti Pūkeko ngā hapū
Taewhakea te marae

Me mihi tōtika ki te hunga kua huri ki tua. Nā koutou ēnei taonga whēnei i tō
tātou reo rangatira i tuku iho, ka tangi ka poroporoaki haere, haere, haere
koutou.

Ki ngā tamariki tokowha, me ngā mātua, ngā pouako o Te Pihipihingā Kākano
mai i Rangiatea Kura Kaupapa ka nui te mihi kua whakaaro nui nei koutou mō
tēnei rangahau. Ki a koutou te hunga i awhina, i tiaki, i akiaki, kia tūtuki tēnei
tuhinga roa kore he mutunga i ngā mihi. Arohaina au ki taku whānau ki taku
hoa rangatira me tō rātou kaha tautoko mai. Ki taku mahanga anō hoki ki a Te
Kauhoe kua awhina māua i a māua i roto i ngā tuhinga roa. Tae noa ki te kai
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Wharehoka Wano
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This thesis has been about improving the status of speaking Māori within the home and the wider community. We all have a part to play.

Abstract

This thesis concentrates on the domain of the home of four students at Te Pihipihingā Kākano mai i Rangiātea Kura Kaupapa Māori based in New Plymouth, and what opportunities they have to access and speak Māori. The collecting of data is based on methodology that suits a Māori kaupapa. This approach is of a qualitative nature, that includes case study, action research and grounded theory that allow us to collect and analyse data without intruding or trampling on Māori cultural values. The kaupapa Māori nature of this thesis is maintained through the inclusiveness of these values throughout the research process.

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Chapter One : An Introduction

1.1 The Beginning

Tēnā koutou katoa

As I sit down to begin what is initially a very daunting task a number of events are happening in the Māori world that give me the inspiration and drive to make this thesis a worthwhile exercise.

The first is an event in Levin that has culminated in a shop keeper being fined \$1500 and made to apologise for not allowing two customers to speak Māori to each other in his shop. In part, this research topic is about the access that we as Māori have to our language within the community and this ruling, therefore, is of significance. The dairy owner, a former policeman, had told the two Māori speaking customers that this is an English speaking country and they should speak English in his presence. He found it rude, ill mannered and insulting for people to speak other languages in front of him.

More recently Hinewehi Mohi on the World stage at the England versus New Zealand World Cup pool game opts to sing the Māori version of the national anthem. This creates a wave of protest throughout Aotearoa. A Paul Holmes programme immediately after the game runs a telephone poll where nearly 8000 people respond. Of that number only 4% agree with the national anthem being sung in Māori.

It is this common attitude amongst a significant number of the population of Aotearoa, that underlines the difficulties that are faced by speakers of Māori. This, in turn, has a significant effect on pupils attending Kura Kaupapa Māori who become acutely aware of where and when they can and should speak their language, and this reflects on the status it has in the wider community. These barriers and prejudices are affecting the opportunities to maintain this important treasure.

Earlier in the year Tame Iti is back on the land occupation campaign and has helped set up a number of occupations in the Eastern Bay of Plenty that are highlighting the many injustices with regards to land confiscation and loss.

During the year of 1999 the Waitangi Tribunal has made at least two important recommendations to the Government in support of Māori. One concerns the Wanganui tribes having 'mana' rights over their sacred river. The second concerns the issue of broadcasting and the continued discrimination against and marginalisation of Māori language broadcasting. These issues highlight the injustices we feel at the loss of our land and our language, and reflect the renaissance of Māori understanding of why we are in the position we are, within society in Aotearoa.

Finally I must mention a close relation who passed away in October of this year. Hana Te Hemara Jackson was known as a Māori activist when New Zealanders thought they only plied their trade overseas. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, she and members of Ngā Tamatoa, a Māori University movement, opened the eyes of both Māori and Pākehā to the state of the many issues that were affecting Māori; issues that we discuss openly and freely today. One of those issues was the plight of the Māori language.

'Haere koe e te tuahine e te whanaunga o Puketapu nāu anō ngā kaupapa Māori i whakamaranga ake.'

We farewell you Hana and acknowledge the groundbreaking work in which you and your colleagues were involved.

I view all these events positively in terms of Māori advancement, and this thesis represents an opportunity to contribute to the advancement in an academic arena.

1.2 Rationale

This research focuses on the home base where it has long been considered by those involved in the Kura Kaupapa total immersion Māori movement, that unless the language is strong in the home, the linguistic and cognitive development of the children in the Kura will be hindered. This research is an opportunity to gather data that will consider how development of the language in the home can be encouraged.

The Māori language, like indigenous languages the world over, has been in decline through the effects of colonisation. While we have become more aware of why the language is in this state, it is now more important than ever to ensure that we look for ways to ensure the language survives into the new millenium. This will become one of the major outcomes of this research.

By researching the Māori language opportunities that children from Kura Kaupapa Māori have access to, within their wider community, recommendations will be made that can hopefully improve that access.

I consider this to be an important research opportunity as we look to improve on the Māori language development that has occurred since the early 1980s.

1.3 Stages of Research

This research is a combination of elements of action research, case study and grounded research methodologies that will be used to study four participant students in their homes.

Te Pihipihingā Kākano mai i Rangiātea Kura Kaupapa is based in New Plymouth. The seeds of this study began three years ago when, as a whānau member, I was involved in the enrolment procedure of new students into the Kura. Part of this procedure involved assessing the Māori language proficiency of these new students. In one particular instance, this resulted in declining an enrolment of a child because of their limited ability in the language. We were challenged by some whānau members.

What developed was a debate on the limited opportunities our children have to develop proficiency in the language in the home environment, and what responsibility the Kura might have in this area. The whānau then identified the need to upskill the parents, of whom a high percentage, had little proficiency in Māori language. This was the beginning of the project.

In 1998, as part of a Research Methods paper undertaken at Massey University, the thesis took its initial shape. The wider whānau were approached as well as possible participant whānau. According to Māori values, this was most appropriate as whānau had the opportunity to debate the issues and consider the benefits for both the Kura and the language. This was also the beginning of seeking ethical approval and mandate for this research (See Chapter Three).

1.4 Aims

Research Objectives:

- *To identify the access students have to the language out of the Kura.*

Research Questions:

- *How much Māori is being spoken in the home?*
- *What type of Māori language is being spoken?*
- *Who is Māori being spoken to and who with?*
- *What Māori language opportunities have students got within their wider community?*
- *What are the barriers to accessing Māori language?*

The objective and research questions will act as reference points throughout the course of this research.

It is appropriate to define 'access to Māori language' as used in this thesis. This refers to the Māori language opportunities that the participant students have available to them. That could be through a range of opportunities either passive or active. Examples of passive opportunities can include responding to questions using body language or having the Māori radio station going in the background. Active examples include natural conversational language and interaction with others.

While it is appropriate that this thesis be written in Māori, in order to help maintain the language as a living language within an academic arena, it is also recognised that writing in English will make it more accessible to those parents of Kura Kaupapa pupils who have limited Māori language.

Māori will be maintained throughout this study in the form of familiar words, proverbs and other idioms, which are explained in the glossary.

1.5 Māori Language and Culture

"Ko te reo me ōna tikanga"

"The language and associated culture"

(This is a cliché within Māori oratory that reflects the understanding Māori have of the connection between our language and culture.)

It is important to establish early that when we discuss the survival of the Māori language we are also discussing the survival of our culture. Our language goes hand in hand with what it is to be Māori. Without the language we are unable to be party to the depth of our culture, a culture that has traditionally transmitted knowledge orally. Embedded in the language is the essence of our Māoriness, our life force, our spirit, our pride, our soul. Without these our well being is greatly affected.

Māoridom as we will discover has been savaged by the colonial past. Our language and culture has been compromised at all levels and has had to adapt from pre European times. It is this adaptation that has meant both the language and culture are a scant reflection of what it was in the time of our old people.

However, although the language and culture have struggled to survive during this period, they have survived to some degree, and they have survived together. It is then important to understand that the language cannot be separated from the culture. In reclaiming our language we must too reclaim the values and beliefs of our culture.

This is an important issue, as many who are learning the language as a second language, are removed from their ancestral marae, and are often learning the language in isolation from our values and beliefs. As we learn our language we must too learn those things that are sacred and important to us.

*"Ko te reo maene te pūtaka o te Māoritanga
Our sweet sounding language is the essence of our Māoriness"
(Wano: Action Song: 1995)*

1.6 My Background

My upbringing was typical of small town South Taranaki in the 1960s and 1970s. I did not attend a pre-school of any kind, spending my early years close to home with my mother who, at that time, was not working full-time. My primary school years were spent at a Catholic School until I went off to the local High School. It was a very mainstream education where I achieved considerable success academically. My memories of Māori lessons at primary school are not positive. We were told we were a savage race and practiced cannibalism.

Later on, at High School, apart from the compulsory six month third form Māori lesson option where we sang the same waiata week after week, I had little formal opportunity to learn the language. It was not until I later joined the school culture club that I realised how important the language was in terms of my own identity as a Māori.

Like many Māori of that time, we lived an almost dual existence where, during the weekends we would attend to our extended whānau commitments. As Catholic Māori we were very involved in the local Māori Catholic community. It was here that we prayed and sang hymns in Māori and, though I was not fluent by any means, this was really my only consistent access to

Māori language. As a child I remember attending many major Catholic hui both locally and nationally.

My mother who was brought up just down the road from Parihaka made famous by the prophets Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi, also took us back to Parihaka on occasions such as family reunions and funerals and I remember those times fondly. I remember Māori being spoken but I had no interest to learn or speak the language.

Upon leaving school in the early 1980s, I realised that while I had achieved some academic success, I needed to balance that with the knowledge of my ancestors. Learning the language was an important part of this process. The Māori studies of Waikato University at that time had a good reputation as a place to learn Māori. After five years at Waikato, I graduated with a double degree and a secondary teaching diploma, I also received a strong formal grounding in Māori language.

While I have since realised the disadvantages of learning a language in such a formal academic way (discussed in Chapter 2), it was nevertheless an avenue to learn the language. Upon graduating I headed to the Eastern Bay of Plenty, teaching at Whakatāne High for seven years. My grandfather, a native speaker of Māori who had passed on while I was young, was from here and so I have strong tribal connections. More importantly, I moved in with an Auntie who was a native speaker and stumbled through my university learnt Māori language in my attempts to communicate with her. These were effective language learning experiences.

My personal philosophy is based on these experiences as I have realised that the language and culture have helped me understand who I am and from where I came. My self esteem and confidence has grown and helped me in anything that I put my mind to, whether it is in the Māori or Pākehā world. It is this that I want to share with others who have not had opportunities to access their language and their identity.

On a whānau level I am married with three children. Each of our children are fluent in Māori and we are committed to maintaining Māori in the home though at times we have periods of laziness! My wife like myself is a second language learner, though she has a native speaking mother who chose not to

pass the language on to her children. My mother-in-law who is from a small rural town called Ōmaio in the tribal region of Whānau-ā-Apanui has assumed a mentorship type role within our whānau in terms of the language. Though she is based in Whakatāne we see her regularly and feel fortunate that we have access to her, particularly for my children to whom she only speaks Māori.

My work as a Māori education advisor, and facilitator over the last five years, has taken me regularly into bi-lingual and total immersion units throughout Taranaki and Wanganui. The main focus of my work has been to upskill teachers. I have also had the opportunity to observe the development of our language amongst the whānau of each of these schools.

The undertaking of a research study on kaupapa Maori within the parameters required for a University Masters degree provides a road fraught with difficulties, requiring an understanding of two differing worlds and philosophies, that must somehow be shaped together so that there is no compromise of either. This project provides the chance to delve into an area for which I have much passion, and an area that I am heavily involved with, as a way of life.

1.7 Rangiātea Campus

Much of my study for the Master of Educational Administration degree has centered on my work in our total immersion campus of Rangiātea. The campus is based on the south western outskirts of New Plymouth, within the tribal nation of Te Atiawa and nestled under the sacred mountain of Taranaki. This campus has been built on a philosophy of reclaiming the language and culture, particularly that pertaining to Taranaki.

Within this campus, we have five main user groups. 'Te Wānanga Maori,' the Māori department of Taranaki Polytechnic is the first of these. This department has a focus of providing Māori language classes that cater for those adults who did not have the opportunity to learn Māori as children. The Māori language programme has a high success rate. Te Wānanga Māori also provides other courses in office administration, catering and performing arts that have a strong Māori language component. I taught the Māori language degree course for two years.

'Te Korimako,' our Māori iwi radio station, gives us the opportunity to broadcast the Māori language into our homes. This has been an important local initiative and vehicle for promoting ourselves and our language. I am part of the management committee that focuses on both the managerial side but more importantly, the philosophy of the radio station which is about reclaiming the language.

'Te Huatahi' is the campus kapa haka group. It was initially set up as another vehicle for learning the language, as tutorship is mainly in Māori. The group is focused on learning traditional Taranaki songs and chants where so much of our history is contained. I have been a tutor of this group since its establishment in 1993.

'Te Kopae Tamariki Kia Ū Te Reo' is our total immersion Kōhanga Reo that is also the main feeder of the Kura Kaupapa Māori. The students who move from this Kōhanga to the Kura do so relatively easily as they receive a strong grounding in the language. I was chairperson of this Kōhanga for three years.

Te Pihipihingā Kākano mai i Rangiātea Kura Kaupapa,' on which this project is focused, is the last of the five components of the Rangiātea campus. I have held the position of Chairperson of the Board of Trustees for the last eighteen months.

Each of these user groups is focused on further enhancing and developing the language and culture, particularly that pertaining to Taranaki. Rangiātea has become a focus for much of the development of kaupapa Māori within Taranaki, particularly pertaining to education and broadcasting. The development of Rangiātea has identified a number of ongoing issues with which we are continuously dealing, including concepts such as decolonisation, self-determination, reclaiming of Māori knowledge and identity and self-esteem as a people. The reclaiming of the language is a large part of this process. For many of us involved in Rangiātea, the lack of opportunities to hear and speak the language as a normal part of our daily lives is of great concern and is particularly problematic for those of us who are learning Māori as a second language. It is with this situation in mind that this research study has been developed.

Chapter Two : Background

2.1 History of Māori Language Decline

2.1.1 Early Māori Society

Traditional Māori life prior to the arrival of the Pākehā was centered on a communal lifestyle strong on kinship ties and shared values. Our ancestors had a close relationship with the environment and their tribal lands which they protected fiercely. They lived in a structured tribal or sub tribal society that was based on whanaungatanga or the extended whānau. The marae was the center of their settlement where they met and discussed any issues of concern.

"From the earliest times to the present, therefore, the marae and its gatherings have played a central role in Māori policy-making, often with powerful historical effects" (Salmond:1975:29)

The lore of 'tapu,' or sacred laws ensured that there was some sort of order to the Māori lifestyle. Tapu is inclusive of our spiritual values and beliefs and ensured that people do not transgress against the environment in which they lived, or against other individuals or tribes.

"First and foremost, tapu is the power and influence of the gods. Everything has inherent tapu because everything was created by Io (Supreme God), each after its kind or species. The land has tapu as well as the oceans, rivers and forests, and all living things that are upon the earth.

Likewise, mankind has tapu. In the first instance, man is tapu because he is created by the gods. Secondly, he becomes tapu in accordance with his desire to remain under the influence and protective powers of the gods." (Barlow:1991:128)

A transgression of tapu carried severe consequences. The lore of tapu is still observed today, though not as closely as in those times.

Sacred Māori lore ensured there were rules and regulations to abide by that safe guarded the community. This structured system was based around the extended family groupings that laid claim to land through conquest and settlement. This society had its own education, health and justice systems that can be best described as holistic. Māori were also a very spiritual people where ritual based on the ancient gods were used in all sorts of situations from planting, to hunting, to warfare, to childbirth, to travel.

At the base of this society was the language where knowledge, histories and prayer were passed through the generations through different forms of chants and song. This was the formal aspect of our language. Māori also had a more informal everyday conversational aspect that we will discover is the language that is less likely to be heard today.

Learning genealogy, prayer, song and the many tribal histories by memory as well as having highly developed skills of oratory, were considered important in maintaining the 'mana' or status of a particular tribal grouping. Māori traditionally had a high regard for the power of the spoken word. It was considered sacred. So too was the language itself that is referred in oratory as "Te Reo Rangatira." Our chiefly language.

"According to the Māori, their language is sacred because it was given to their ancestors by the gods and it is by language that the Māori are able to know the will and mind and power of the gods. Language has a life-force, a power and a living vitality. Language has a spirit and also a mauri (that gives it its unique structure and function)."
(Barlow:1991:114)

By the time of the arrival of Pākehā in Aotearoa, Māori had settled the length of the two islands. They had a highly developed society and the Māori language was alive and flourishing.

2.1.2 Pākehā Arrival (1769 - 1852)

On the arrival of Pākehā in Aotearoa in 1769, Māori were quick to adapt to new ideas and technologies. Our ancestors immediately saw the benefits these strangers brought with them to Aotearoa. Practical items such as

metal tools were of great interest to our people who were still part of the stone age culture. Rope and clothing were quickly adopted as well as the blanket which became a sought after item. Being a warrior race, the gun also became a sought after technology as tribal regions saw them as a way to avenge the previous indiscretions of neighboring tribes.

Our ancestors also recognised early the benefits of learning to read and write. The missionaries in the early part of the 1800s, in their haste to capture Māori souls, were soon educating our people in these disciplines.

'The ability to read and write in Māori became common in tribal communities following the translation of the Bible by Māori and Pākehā missionaries early last century. By 1845, about half of all adult Māori could read or write a little in their own language. (Māori Language Survey:1996:14)

Māori had traditionally recorded their histories and stories orally through chants and other different forms of song or aesthetically through carvings and different forms of art. The opportunity to record these histories through written print was not lost on our ancestors. They also recognised the power of the written word in Pākehā society.

2.1.3 The Laws of the Settler Government (1852 - 1900)

Throughout the period from 1769 to the establishment of the first Settler Government in 1852, Māori remained largely in control of their lands and culture. Māori was the dominant language during this period. The 1835 Declaration of Independence and the more recognised 1840 Treaty of Waitangi were our founding documents, which established a formal and binding alliance between Māori and the British Crown. However, the establishment of a Settler Government in 1852 set in motion the creation of laws aimed at assimilating our people into a European culture, based on English law and philosophies. Many of these subsequent laws had a direct effect on the gradual decline of 'Mana Māori' or Māori control. This included the gradual demise of the language.

At the beginning of the 1840s, Māori still had control of their ancestral lands. During the period 1840 to 1860 there was a rapid increase in the

European population and the pressure for lands by the settlers escalated in war with Māori. In 1860, the first shots were fired in Taranaki. War continued throughout Aotearoa during the 1860s as the colonial government forced Māori in to warfare to protect their ancestral lands. While the initial land wars ended evenly it was the "pen that proved mightier than the sword."

In 1863 The New Zealand Settlers Act and the Suppression of Rebellion Act became the legal base for the confiscation of large tracts of land.

The New Zealand Settlements Act of 3 December 1863, which followed soon after, envisaged large scale confiscation of loyal and rebel land alike. (The Taranaki Report:1996:93)

Māori were punished for fighting for what was theirs, the land. They were treated as rebels and many were imprisoned without trial. By the mid 1860s, many Māori became refugees in their own lands. Though there was further resistance later in that decade, with a second series of wars, the damage had been done. The loss of 'Mana whenua' or land occupation (an important Māori concept) had a devastating effect.

2.1.4 The Education Laws.

By the 1870s the Settler Government began a new tact by focusing on education as a way of assimilating Māori. The Native Schools Act of 1867 was anything but subtle in insisting that English be the language of instruction in schools. While it was recognised Māori were not at this stage attending Pākehā schools in great numbers, the Education Act of 1877 set about rectifying this, by providing free compulsory education for all. In 1880, Native Schools were instructed to adopt a completely British syllabus.

There were a number of subsequent laws aimed at disestablishing the base of traditional Māori society during the later part of the 1800s. In 1907 the Tohunga Suppression Act had far reaching effects within Maori society. The Tohunga was the knowledge base, the storer of the ancient arts and traditions. They were ministers, teachers, historians, doctors and counsellors. In terms of the well being of Māori society, the Tohunga played an important role. The ancient Whare Wānanga, where the most sacred of knowledge was passed from generation to generation, was the domain of the

Tohunga. With the breakdown of this important Māori institution, Māori came to rely more on the European education system and were assimilated more quickly into a Pākehā culture.

It must also be stated that there were also some benefits for Māori, in disestablishing Tohungaism that will be explained later in this chapter.

2.1.5 A New Māori Leadership (1900 - 1945)

During this time, there was a conscious move by Māori leaders to pursue 'te matauranga ā te Pakeha;' (Pakeha knowledge). Nationally, the likes of Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir Turi Carroll, Sir Peter Buck and Sir Maui Pomare greatly encouraged our people to become educated. Pākehā knowledge and education were seen as the key to future success and advancement.

"Early this century prominent Māori actively encouraged Māori to receive 'te matauranga a te Pākehā (a Pākehā education), and all the modern attainments that this promised." (Oliver and Williams (eds):1981:171)

It was not considered possible during this period, to learn two languages at the same time. Ngata and his peers openly campaigned amongst Māori, advocating that Pākehā education and the English language was the way of the future. In later years of course they changed their stance greatly as they realised the effects this was having on traditional Māori society, including our language. Sending our people to Pākehā schools, where the only language of instruction was English helped effect a decline in the status of the Māori language within the community. Though Māori continued to be the main language in Māori homes, the status in the wider community was low.

Population numbers during the early part of the 20th Century were on the increase after the land wars and diseases of the 1800s that had led many to predict that Māori were a dying race.

"This era marked the dramatic recovery of the Māori population from its estimated low point of 42,113 in 1896 to 45,549 in 1901, 56,987 in 1921, and 115,676 in 1951." (Oliver and Williams (eds) 1981:280)

This was important, as it was felt by many Pākehā that Māori had no place in a modern Pākehā society. They were still regarded as a savage people and their only hope was to be fully assimilated into the Pākehā culture.

Māori leaders, such as Buck and Pomare, both trained doctors, in an effort to combat the quick spread of disease in the communal lifestyle of the marae, encouraged our people to move from their traditional base. However, our people remained dominantly rural based and so the language remained strong within these communities.

World Wars I and II came and went and many of our great male leaders were lost on the battlefields of Europe. This placed Māori leadership under a lot of pressure that has become more obvious today, where many of those men would have now been the respected elders and storers of knowledge on our marae. With them went a huge language resource.

'... - the men who went away to the war, who were prized deeply then, who exhibited such prowess in those battles - and came home to nothing. And then there were all those who didn't come home. Men, who may well have been our leaders in the 50s and 60s, just weren't here. They were dead in someone else's country.' (Fox:Mana Magazine:October November 1999:2)

2.1.6 The Urban Migration (1945 - 1999)

The post war period was a time of rapid urban migration. Māori moved away from their 'papakainga,' or home base, in search of work and better opportunities for their families, including education. In a forty-year period the movement was great.

"In 1936, only 6% of the Māori population were city dwellers, but in 1971 the figure had risen to 51%. (Salmond:1975:82)

As with many indigenous cultures the world over, this urban migration coincided with the rapid decline of the language in the home, as the dominant language was too strong in the workplace and wider community.

"As a generalisation, a minority language is more likely to be preserved in a rural than urban area. Once migration of rural people to urban areas occurs, there is an increased chance of the minority losing its work function. In the office and in the factory, the dominant language is likely to be the majority language and the minority language depreciated." (Baker:1997:54)

The status of the Māori language in these urban situations was not high, and more importantly, was not encouraged by Māori speaking parents in the home.

"Māori was the predominant language in the majority of Māori homes and communities until the 1940s when Māori began moving to the cities. In the 1950s and 1960s, Māori families started using more and more English in the home, and this was influenced by English language education, television and radio." (Using Māori in the Home Publication:1)

For many of those who left their traditional home base in search of work, their memories outside of the home, particularly at school, in terms of speaking Māori, were not good memories. During the early part of this century, they were consistently punished for speaking Māori within the boundaries of the schools they attended. Punishment included strapping. For many of our respected elders of today, these are still painful memories. It is also a reason why many of them chose not to pass the language on to their own children.

- They did not want their children to suffer the humiliation and punishment, as they themselves had, for speaking Māori when they went to school. Our Māori parents of this period, in not hearing the language regularly in the cities, did not see that the language continued to be relevant. My own grandparents were a part of this thinking. My mothers' parents, both native speakers, passed the language on to their elder children, including my mother, but the younger ones missed out. My fathers' father, also a native speaker who married a Pākehā woman, my grandmother, gave none of his children the language.

It is also appropriate to consider the effect of inter-marriage between Māori and Pākehā. This has been a common occurrence since Pākehā and Māori had first contact, but more so during this period of urban migration. It is clearly stated by theorists that usually the dominant language will have the best chance of survival. In terms of Māori this has proved so as English has always been the common and dominant language.

'The idea of demographic factors relates to mixed, inter-language marriages. In such marriages, the higher status language will usually have the best chance of survival as the home language'
(Baker:1997:54)

It was identified that once the language was taken out of the home, its decline was rapid. This became evident in the 1940s, 50s and 60s as, during the urban drift, families left situations where the language was a living language to a place where the main language was English.

"...there are many reasons why people decide (often against their will and despite their deepest feelings) to abandon the use of Māori in their homes. One major and ever-present factor in such decisions however has been the obvious lack of support for the language in the New Zealand community as a whole. In the 1950s when this process began, Māori was still the everyday language in dozens, probably hundreds of rural communities. Yet only a tiny minority of Māori speaking children were able to study their language, even at secondary school: some, like their parents and grandparents before them could not even speak Māori in the playground (let alone the classroom) without running the risk of being punished for transgressing school rules. It was very obvious that the only language that really counted in New Zealand was English..."
(Waitangi Report:1986:11)

During this whole period, the Māori language continued to have low status in the education system. From pre-school to secondary to tertiary, the language was heard in only token situations. School Certificate Māori was first offered in secondary schools in 1936 and the first Māori paper at University was offered at Auckland University in 1951. There were very few formal Māori language opportunities such as we see today and so the

language, outside of pockets of traditional Māori communities, was not heard. Māori parents themselves, during this whole period, ultimately made the decision not to pass the language on to their own children. They now had a belief that the way ahead was through Pākehā language and education.

The period of 1900 through to 1999 in terms of the loss of the language is best summed up in figures presented by Dr. Biggs to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985. The report gives a chronological look at how the language has declined rapidly during this century.

"Dr Biggs supplied us with some figures showing that in 1913 90% of Māori school children could speak Māori. Forty years later in 1953 this percentage had dropped to 26%. Twenty years after that the figure (in 1975) had fallen to less than 5%. These figures show how effective has been the educational policy that has operated in a social climate where children hear nothing but English on all sides - at the cinema, on the radio and television, and in their ordinary social and school life."
(Waitangi Tribunal:1986:11)

The effect of the assimilation laws of the early Settler Government on the Māori language was felt acutely during this period. It is from this climate that we find ourselves in the latter part of this century trying to resurrect ourselves from a past that has left our people devastated spiritually, physically and mentally. The loss of the language has been a large part of this process.

2.2 The Māori Language Today

2.2.1 The Present State

The present position of the Māori language indicates that the language is not spoken consistently in the home. The concern is that our language is concentrated in formal situations, as recently stated by a respected Taranaki kaumatua during a language class.

"We run the risk of our language becoming a language of ceremony such as the Latin language in the Catholic church."
(Kaumatua:1999:Language wānanga)

This was in reference to our language being used only in the formalities of prayer, the welcome and farewell ceremonies, song and chant. Once these ceremonies are over, we generally resort immediately to speaking English. This is further supported by Anne Salmond in her book 'Hui.'

"The linguistic conservatism of ritual situations is well-known, for example in the Church of Rome, where Latin continued to be used after it was a "dead" language and something of the same principle applies" (Salmond:1975:130)

As a conversational language in everyday day circumstances, even in Māori situations, including the marae, the language is seldom heard.

"The National Māori Language Survey support the New Zealand Council for Educational Research finding that the Māori Language is under threat of becoming a language of ritual and symbol only. (Māori Language Summary Report:1996:1)

Over the last 20 years, there has been a focused resurgence by Māori to pursue the language that has coincided with the Māori renaissance. However, the reality, as statistics suggest, is that this is not enough. The amount of Māori actually being spoken is minimal. It is against this climate that we consider our Kura Kaupapa Māori students and their ability to access their language.

The most recent of surveys are not encouraging. The National Māori Language Survey conducted by Te Taura Whiri in conjunction with Te Puni Kokiri, and Statistics New Zealand during the year of the Māori language in 1995, highlighted the fact that we have work to do.

2.2.2 1995 Māori Language Survey

The 1995 National Māori Language Survey was the last significant survey that concentrated solely on the state of the language. It is appropriate at this stage of the thesis to consider the findings of this survey in relationship to the research question in order to highlight the difficulties

we have in today's climate to access our language. This survey provides data that validates our worst fears.

A total of 2441 participants took part in the survey. As with any survey of this size there are difficulties that must be considered before we analyse these figures. It must be recognised that the participants were only Māori adults over the age of 16 years old. This is important as the observation group for this thesis, are students at Kura under the age of 16. However their parents are more the target group and they are certainly in the 16 years and older age group. It is also significant in that many of the Māori language revitalisation initiatives are focused at this early age.

The fact that only those who identified as Māori were surveyed means that many non-Māori who have a genuine desire to see the language survive are not considered.

Also when considering the fluency levels it became apparent that when questioned on their language ability, often people gave higher or lower opinions by comparing their language with someone who had limited language ability themselves.

"For instance respondents may have assessed their own ability not against highly proficient speakers but against those of average ability who are perceived to be highly proficient. (Māori Language Survey:1996:33)

These are important points when considering the following figures and the validity of the survey. However these figures do give us something to work off for this thesis.

2.2.3 Speakers of Māori.

The research initially shows that '93% of Māori have some comprehension of the Māori language.' (Maori Language Summary Report:1996:1). We can consider this figure positively as it shows clearly that a large majority of Māori have some proficiency in Māori language.

However as we break down the proficiency levels we find that approximately 30% are only familiar with basic greetings and another 35% understand only simple conversational language. We will develop these proficiency level figures further in the following section.

On a gender basis the survey showed that 64% of women spoke the language compared to 55% of men. In terms of age the language is clearly strongest amongst the older age group where almost a third of people over 60 years of age are highly fluent speakers. This trend continues at the 45 years and older level where 73% of those considered highly fluent are within this age group. It is this age group who were children when the language was still maintained to some degree in the home.

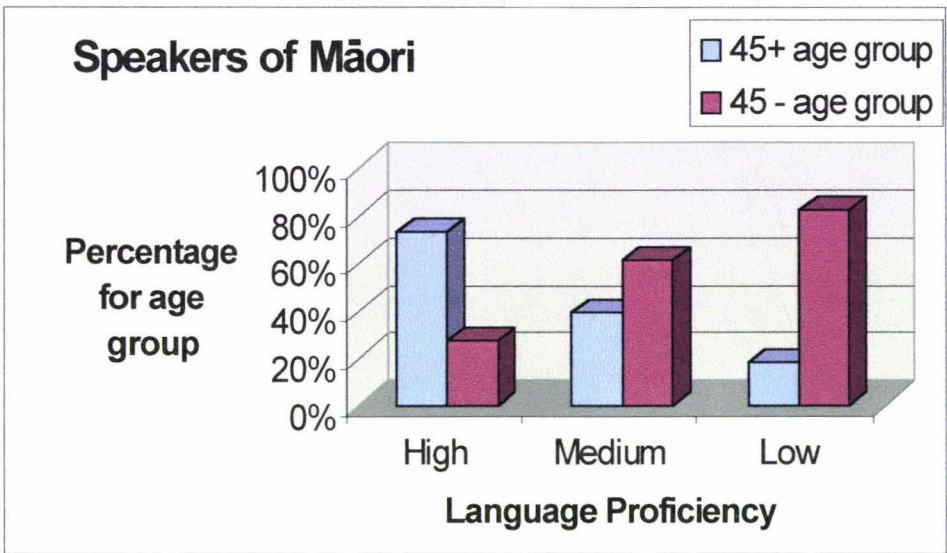
This older age group is significant in terms of the thesis as it is in the 60 years and over age group that we have so many of our eloquent native speakers. It is this age group of speakers that we as second language learners must gain more access to.

The below 45 years age group, are significantly less with only 27% considered to be highly fluent speakers. Those in this age group were least likely to speak Māori and this figure can be directly related to the 'lost generation' of the urban drift era, where during this period the language ceased being a living language in the home.

This trend continues through the medium and low fluency levels where 61% of medium fluent speakers are under 45 years of age compared with 39% who are over 45 years of age. And most significantly 82% of low level speakers are under 45 years of age compared with 18% who are over 45 years of age. It is this 82% low level fluency under 45 years of age category, that the majority of our Kura parents fall into.

The following bar graph gives a good indication of these age group trends.

Bar Graph 1 : Proficiency Levels of Māori Speakers by Age Group.



(Wano:1999)

Geographically there appeared to be little difference from region to region. Figures were somewhat misleading in that in the areas of high Māori population such as Waikato, Bay of Plenty and East Coast had both the highest percentage of non Māori speakers at 42% and the highest proportion of fluent speakers at 9%. This was because of the dense Māori population in these areas. As in the past the higher proportion of speakers were found in the rural areas at 68% compared to 58% in the cities though the closeness of these figures and the general Māori population distribution would suggest this could change in the new millenium.

2.2.4 Proficiency Levels

While the initial figure showed that 93% of Māori adults are able to speak Māori to varying degrees, and this gives us some cause for hope, the reality of where the language is at can best be seen through the different levels of fluency.

"Between them, those who didn't speak Māori and those with low or very low fluency made up 78 percent of Māori adults. Only 4 percent of Māori adults fell into the categories of high or very high fluency"
(Māori Language Survey:1996:34)

It is that 4% figure that is of most concern in terms of this thesis. That simply means that this 4% are our quality Māori speakers who are very few in numbers. Coupled with the fact that the majority of them are in the over 60 age group and so their life span is limited we then become aware of how critical the situation is.

The survey however also presented more comforting figures based on participants' perception of their own Māori language ability. These figures actually show 8% (See Pie Chart:31) fell into the high level fluency and again they are largely in the 60 and above age group and received the language naturally in the home.

Another 8% are considered medium fluent speakers and as we have discovered they are mainly under 45 years of age. The majority of these are second language learners who have acquired their language formally through various Māori language classes. Medium fluent speakers while able to hold a basic conversation in Māori were unable to think and respond quickly in Māori as one would expect of a highly fluent speaker.

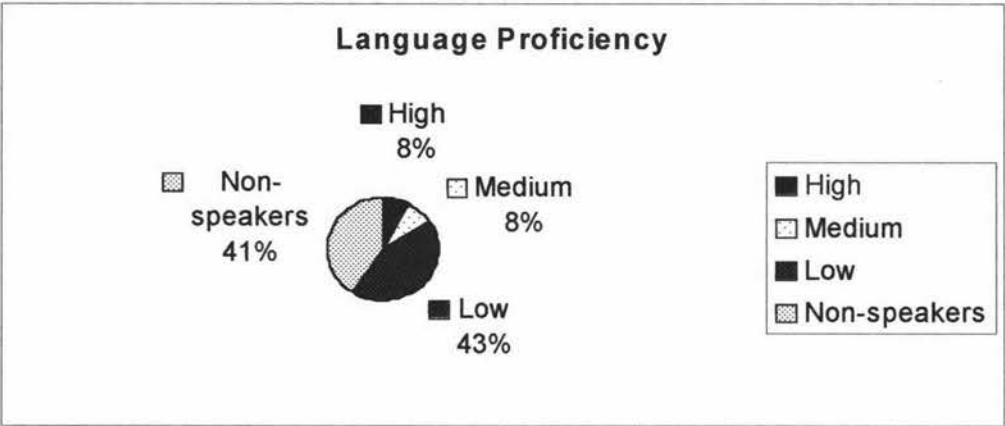
Te Hoe Nuku Roa research study, carried out by Te Pūtahi-a-Toi of Massey University in 1998 gathered information on Māori households covering all aspects of life, in order to plan for the future. A section of this was on the state of Māori language. In terms of Māori Language Proficiency levels their findings were similar to the National Māori Language Survey;

"Our baseline study showed results similar to those that emerged from the National Māori Language Survey conducted in 1995 by the Māori Language Commission. With regard to proficiency levels, these surveys tell us that only 16% of the Māori population have a medium to high fluency in the language" (Te Hoe Nuku Roa:1998:3)

The larger number of Māori adults who have some ability in Māori language were found in the low fluency level at 43% of those researched. At this level the language is very basic involving greetings and basic numbers and colors. Again the majority of this level are under 45 years of age.

When we combine this figure with the 41% researched who are considered non-speakers of Māori we then gain a clear picture of the proficiency levels of our language.

Pie Chart 1 : Proficiency Levels



(Māori Language Survey Summary Report:1996:1)

2.2.5 Use of Māori

In considering how often and in what situations speakers of Māori use their language the figures again give us little comfort. Nearly 50% of those who can speak Māori never have whole conversations in their homes. However the survey shows that 73% use a little Māori at home and it is probably this group that gives us some hope for the future.

The survey indicates that the marae is the prominent place that the language is heard, particularly during hui. However this language tends to be ceremonial, formal language occurring within such contexts as the pohiri. My personal experiences show this to be true, though when I am on my Eastern Bay marae the language is also commonly spoken as a conversational language. This is not so common on my local Taranaki marae.

Other social contexts include the school and pubs. Schools, particularly of the immersion nature have over the last 20 years seen a resurgence in the use of the language, although at times this language is not of a great quality as the majority of speakers are second language learners. Pubs and other

social type meeting places indicate that Māori is being spoken more often especially when we are socialising together.

However, at other meeting places such as at sporting events or at the shops or in workplaces the language is rarely heard. It is these areas that give us more of an indication within the community of just how often the language is not spoken or heard.

These are places we like to frequent particularly sporting events both as participants and spectators. Meeting socially while shopping in town is again a regular occurrence where as this research indicates we tend not to speak a lot of Māori.

In the work environment, where we spend so much of our time the language is seldom heard at all. Often in the working environment we are isolated from other Māori so the opportunity to speak in Māori is greatly limited. The dominant language English is never more dominant than in the workplace.

2.3 Māori Language Revitalisation

2.3.1 The Movement Begins

Since the injustices of the confiscation period, Māori have always had those within the ranks making a stand against the many grievances. However it was during the late 1960s and early 1970s that there was an organised stand that highlighted these grievances to mainstream New Zealand.

The renaissance of Māoridom had its beginnings in the late 1960s with pressure groups such as Ngā Tamatoa. This group was an Auckland University based group of Māori students who became the face of much of the Māori protest of the time. They modeled a lot of their protesting on the Black Power movement within America.

"..., and groups like Ngā Tamatoa, a student-based organisation, are using such techniques as television interviews, speeches to European organisations, conferences, and demonstrations to express their views of Māori grievances." (Salmond:1975:29)

Ngā Tamatoa brought issues to the fore at a time when Māori were seen but not heard. The land issues were their initial focus but eventually other issues such as the language were raised. For much of Pākehā New Zealand the Māori culture was unseen or trivialised, appearing occasionally in the form of the All Black haka.

Te Reo Māori Society based at Victoria University was also prominent at this time, profiling the plight of our language. Their work included the instigation of Māori Language day that became Māori language week. During the 1970s, this week maintained a high profile and helped greatly in promoting Māori language aspirations.

The first Māori language survey took place in 1973 to identify the status of Māori.

"The survey found that only 18 percent of Māori spoke the language fluently." (Maori Language Survey:1995:12)

By the late 1970s, the concerns became more vocal and, by the early 1980s, Māori began to turn these concerns into something tangible with the creation of language initiatives such as the Kōhanga Reo movement.

Groups like Ngā Tamatoa, and individuals such as Hana Te Hemara Jackson, were the instigators of much of what we have now. They will always be remembered for the work that they have done, and recognised as the ones who began the movement to reclaim our 'mana reo' (language status).

2.3.2 The Waitangi Tribunal Te Reo Māori Report

Reference to the Treaty of Waitangi, and the Māori Language claim that was brought to the Waitangi Tribunal allows an understanding of the issues surrounding the official status of the language, and how this was achieved. While the official status may not be as important as ensuring that the language survives within the home and community, it does highlight the obligation of the Government in respect of the language, and how the crown can and should support Māori efforts towards revitalisation.

In 1986, the 'Te Reo Māori Report' was released by The Waitangi Tribunal. This report was based on the Tribunal's finding that the Crown had failed to live up to its obligation, implicit in the treaty partnership, in ensuring the Māori language would survive.

- *"...the Crown has failed to protect the Māori language (te reo Māori) and that this is a breach of the promise made in the Treaty of Waitangi." (Waitangi Report:1986:1)*

The claimants identified article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi that stated "ō rātou taonga katoa" translated as "all their valued customs and possessions." The language, according to the claimants, was a treasure that was considered intangible and the crown had failed to honor the Treaty by not ensuring, through legislation and policy, that the language was maintained. This can be seen in education acts such as the 1867 Native Schools Act, that stated English would be the language of instruction. These were blatant attempts at assimilating Māori by alienating us from our language.

Testimony was given by elders, who were educated in the early part of this century. They described how the education system played a large part in the loss of the language. This included narratives on how they were punished at school for speaking Māori, and were consistent from area to area throughout the country.

It is none too surprising that the Crown disputed their failure to honor the Treaty and their obligations to ensure that the language survived. The Department of Education officials stated to the tribunal that there was no 'official policy' that directed schools of those times to punish our people for speaking Māori. They maintained this line throughout the report.

It was then left to Sir James Henare, a commanding kaumatua of that time who was a noted orator in both Māori and English, to suggest to the Department spokesmen,

*"The facts are incontrovertible. If there was no such policy there was certainly an extremely effective gentlemen's agreement!"
(Waitangi Report:1986:9)*

The Waitangi tribunal sittings, in 1986, resulted in five recommendations being made to the Minister of Māori Affairs of the time. The first recommendation was that 'Māori be recognised in all courts of law and in any dealings with Government departments, local authorities and other public bodies.' (Waitangi Tribunal Report:1986:51)

It now had equal status to English, which meant it could be used in courts, that government documentation was to be available in Māori, and letters could be addressed in Māori.

The second recommendation was 'that a supervising body be established to supervise and foster the use of the Māori language' (ibid). It was from this recommendation that the Māori Language Commission was set up, in 1987. We will discuss their progress in the following section.

The third recommendation was aimed at education; 'changes in current departmental policies which may be necessary to ensure that all children who wish to learn Māori should be able to do so from an early age' (ibid). Schools were now obligated to have a Māori language program of substance.

The fourth recommendation was aimed at broadcasting, and was directly related to the development of Māori radio stations, which will also be discussed later on in this chapter. The final recommendation was that being bi-lingual in English and Māori, be a pre-requisite for appointments in the State Service.

"When Māori has been made an official language for use in the courts, in dealing with all Government departments and all local bodies, it will be appropriate to require bilingual qualifications in many positions in the public service." (Waitangi Tribunal Report:1986:49)

This suddenly created a whole lot of opportunities for those with qualifications and ability in Māori language. The status of the language in this forum became valued and today is an asset. Historically, this was a momentous occasion for the Māori language. This was the first time since the settler government of 1852 that the language was officially recognised.

If we recall our Levin shopkeeper (See Chapter 1), this too became the base to prosecute those who discriminate against the use of Māori in a public place. When we consider the series of Government acts, that discouraged the use of Māori during this 135-year period since our founding colonial government, we then realise the enormity of this report.

2.3.3 Te Taura Whiri i te Reo

'Te Taura Whiri i te Reo,' or The Māori Language Commission was one of the most positive initial outcomes of the 1986 Te Reo Waitangi Report. We suddenly had a department whose sole purpose, was to ensure the survival of Māori as a living language. With this official recognition resources including fiscal resources, were being set aside for Māori language development. The commission was set up under the 1987 Māori Language Act. This act focused on three main areas;

- *'it declares the Māori language to be an official language of New Zealand;*
- *in courts of Law, Commissions of Inquiry and Tribunals, it confers the right to speak Māori upon any member of the Court, any party, witness or counsel;*
- *it establishes Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (Māori Language Commission)*
(Māori Language Commission Pamphlet)"

The main goals of The Māori Language Commission since its inception have been to increase the number of Māori language speakers, and opportunities to learn and access the language. These are important and relevant points in terms of this thesis.

The quality of written and spoken Māori has been a high priority of the Commission, and has been a special focus through high level immersion courses and the regular Taura Whiri publications. The immersion courses held three times a year are recognised amongst Māori speakers as effective and worthwhile. "He Muka" and other Commission publications too are recognised as being of a high quality.

A lot of the work of the Commission is spent translating government documents and policies, ensuring that they meet the requirements of those departments commitment to the Māori language, and is in line with the Treaty of Waitangi. While a lot of their time and energy is spent in this area and the motives and effectiveness can certainly be questioned, at least the language is gaining recognition.

The Commission has attempted to create more opportunities and situations where the language can be used. This has proven to be more difficult within our monolingual society. So too has been the attempt to increase the development of the language into modern contexts and the Commission has helped produce publications such as "Te Matatiki" a contemporary Māori words dictionary.

Recently Te Taura Whiri launched a book of Māori idioms here in Taranaki. Entitled "He Kohinga Kīwaha" this book lists colloquial type everyday Māori sayings, in an easy type text complete with illustrations. It is an appropriate publication in light of this research, as it is this everyday colloquial language that is being lost when the language is not being spoken in a natural context, such as the home.

They have also had a large input into the translating of the Māori curriculum statements, recently introduced by the Ministry of Education. These documents are legal requirements for teachers to use, when planning and assessing units of work in each of the seven main curriculum areas. These statements have developed a new set of educational Māori words based on Māori concepts.

The Commission has also attempted to promote a more positive attitude towards the language particularly amongst non-Māori. This, they have done by producing high quality posters and pamphlets that look at the positives of learning the indigenous language of this country and promoting the language and culture as unique to Aotearoa.

After 12 years and a review in 1998 the Commission has reassessed how well they have met these initial objectives. While there has been obvious

progress there has also been a need to reassess the direction of the Commission.

It is hoped that the Commission will now begin to focus more on the objectives of this research, that is strengthening the language in the home and community rather than focusing a lot on the higher status levels of translating government documents and formulating policies.

Recently the Commission has become closely linked to Te Puni Kokiri, the government department whose responsibility it is to formulate and analyse policies that impact on Māori development. This has meant that the Commission has become more strongly influenced by the political agendas of the day. While we recognise the advantages of this language recognition at the high status level, especially in terms of accessing resources, there needs to be a balance that sees those resources stretch back in to the homes.

On the other hand a recent regular newsletter, produced by the Commission is aptly entitled "Using Māori in The Home". This publication looks specifically at the language in the home, and sets out initiatives on how this can be achieved. It is hoped that more development is placed in this area in the near future.

It is finally encouraging to comment that the newly appointed Māori Language Chairperson Pat Hohepa, has made some early public statements that suggest he and the Commission are going to initiate some real change;

"The survival of the Māori Language was just as precarious as it was when the Commission, was set up 12 years ago, he said. The new millenium must see a new deal and a new place for the Māori Language. All New Zealanders, to be real New Zealanders, should speak Māori and English well....

.... The Government has a responsibility to ensure all Māori have access to the language throughout their life. 'This should be so for all New Zealanders going into the new millenium.'" (The Daily News: Nov 1999:4)

The Māori Language Commission has an important role to play in the future, in ensuring that the language is accessible and develops as a living language in flax roots Māoridom, and not only at the high status levels.

2.4 Māori Education Initiatives

2.4.1 Immersion Education

Māori Immersion education is simply about reclaiming a treasure, our language, and all that goes with it.

"The prime purpose of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, and Whare Kura Kaupapa Māori is revitalisation of language, culture and community" (Keegan:1996:11)

Immersion education has given Māori the opportunity to reclaim our language and culture in an education system that reflects our beliefs and what we value. It has also provided many Māori students with the confidence to perform well at school. This is a major benefit as many Māori students continue to underachieve within mainstream education.

Immersion education has provided our students with the opportunity to be educated in surroundings that are more conducive to their particular needs. This includes the whānau or extended 'family' nature of these initiatives that manifests itself in supporting each other in all situations, including their desire to achieve academically. Students are seen to be staying at school longer and being more interested in tertiary education. Absenteeism has also become less of an issue.

"Self-confidence blossomed, and more students continued their schooling, their academic performance improved, and absenteeism decreased -" (Keegan:1996:15)

Māori students are not alienated when working in a group of their own race as many Māori students have been, and still are, in mainstream education. I can recall my own schooling in the late 1960s and early 1970s, where as a Māori, I was a minority, particularly as I advanced through to the 6th and 7th

forms. To succeed, I learnt to act and to assimilate into a Pākehā lifestyle during my years of education and, then in the weekends I would return to a lifestyle based around home and at times the marae.

Total immersion education, over the last 20 years, has provided many Māori students with answers to questions of identity, students who may have been previously lost in mainstream education, and become another casualty of the system. It should also be recognised that Māori immersion education is one of the largest growth areas in New Zealand education in the last 20 years. It is expected that this growth pattern will increase well into the new millennium.

"The growth in Māori medium education has been the most striking enrolment trend throughout the 1980's." (Davies and Nicholl:1993:40)

2.4.2 Kōhanga Reo

One of the most significant language initiatives was the establishment of the Kōhanga Reo movement. The first Kōhanga Reo opened at Pukeatua Wainuiomata in 1982, and the subsequent growth was rapid.

"By 1989 there were 500 Kōhanga Reo with 9,000 pupils involved. By 1996 this had increased to 14,032 pupils nationally." (Māori Language Survey:1996:19).

This movement made available the opportunity to immerse our children in Māori at a young age. This is the period where they are able to pick up a language with relative ease and in a natural way, rather than having to be taught formally at a later stage in their life.

Kōhanga also involved parents and whānau in reclaiming the Māori language and in the education of their children. For Māori parents, this has been an empowering process, as many of them do not have fond memories of their education experiences. The most successful of Kōhanga have been those that have actively supported the involvement of parents by setting up whānau development courses including language initiatives, that work on empowering the whole whānau rather than just the individual child.

This has included ensuring that the language was ongoing in the home and did not begin and end at the gates of the Kōhanga Reo. Unfortunately this has been a difficult part of the process and an area in which many Kōhanga are still struggling, especially when neither parent is confident in Māori.

Kōhanga have generally been recognised as a great step in the revival of our language. It is now time after nearly twenty years, for our Kōhanga Reo to become more effective in terms of Māori language revitalisation and ensure that they maintain a total immersion Māori language environment at all times.

2.4.3 Bi-lingual Units

Bi-lingual or partial immersion education, as it has become known in recent times, had its origin a little earlier, in 1978, with the establishment of the Ruatoki bi-lingual unit. Since that time there has been a steady increase in the number of units throughout the country and these units have been recognised amongst Māori educators as a good stepping stone towards total immersion education.

"There has been a rapid rise in this form of Māori immersion education where in 1996 25,996 pupils were enrolled in 418 schools" (Māori Language Survey:1996:20).

While Māori language development within partial immersion units in mainstream schools has had limited success, the positives have been the pride students have shown in their Māoritanga. This is a major achievement for those who have had little access to their Māori world. The reclaiming of the language, an initial focus of bi-lingual classrooms has been minimal. This is because the dominant language remains English. While these students have become competent in the basics of Māori such as songs, greetings, colors and numbers there is little opportunity to develop any depth to the language.

Often these units work in isolation to the dominant mainstream philosophy of the school, and it is therefore difficult to create a strong Māori speaking environment, within a mainstream school.

The Māori language development, for many of these students, is further hindered by the fact that the majority of them do not have the advantage of having the language in their homes. Their time in these bi-lingual units amounts to only five hours a day in which they are taught in both languages. The Māori language development is minimised by the fact that their first, and dominant language remains English.

The majority of the teachers in these bi-lingual units are second language Māori speakers who have limitations in their ability to teach in any depth in Māori. Add to this the lack of a variety of teaching resources written in Māori, compared to those written in English, and the difficulties of Māori language development in bi-lingual units are further understood.

2.4.4 Kura Kaupapa Māori.

Total immersion or Kura Kaupapa education at primary school level was the next obvious step after the establishment of Kōhanga Reo. The first Kura Kaupapa, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi was established in 1985. This was another major step in Māori education, as in less than ten years Māori education had moved from token gestures of singing a Māori song at assembly in mainstream schools, to an immersion situation where a student could be taught in Māori for the whole day.

Kura were formally recognised by;

"The Ministry of Education under the Education Act of 1989 and since then have grown significantly. By 1996 there were 43 Kura Kaupapa catering for 3,222 students.... This equates to 1% of all Māori pupils which is a rather significant figure when we consider the state of te reo Māori." (Māori Language Survey:1996:20)

While the development of Kura has been rapid and continues to be, this 1% figure is of concern. If we are really serious about reclaiming our language then this statistic would indicate that more opportunities must be created for Kura Kaupapa Māori education, and this must be promoted as a viable form of education amongst Māori parents. It seems, while most Māori support the need to reclaim our language, as yet there is a relatively low

level of commitment being made to total immersion education by our Māori parents. This will be discussed later in this research.

Over the first decade of Kura Kaupapa Māori, energies have been spent in ensuring the survival of the kaupapa, and credibility amongst Māori people. This has been achieved through the commitment of those who have weathered the storm, and set about creating structures and systems that combine traditional Māori values and beliefs with aspirations for the future, and the requirements of the Ministry of Education. The combination of tikanga Māori and management structures has presented many difficulties, as at times the two philosophies have clashed. It has been left to the whānau of each Kura to attempt to find a system that caters for both philosophies without compromising either.

While most Kura Kaupapa Māori have been through rough periods as whānau have struggled to come to terms with the commitment, from this there has been empowerment for individuals and the whānau as a whole. More importantly, there has been a resurgence in the language. The commitment has at times, been difficult for Kura Kaupapa Māori parents, as for those who have not had access to the Māori world, it often requires a change of lifestyle. At times this sort of commitment can be daunting and may become a barrier.

Research is limited on how effective Kura Kaupapa (or level 1 immersion units as measured by Ministry of Education) have been, compared to bi-lingual units (or level 2, 3, and 4 immersion unit programmes). Māori language retention and development, it seems, has been the most successful at the level 1 Kura Kaupapa.

"There is some research (Reedy, 1990, 1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1991a, 1992) that indicates that level 1 immersion, i.e. kura kaupapa Māori, enhances Māori language skills learnt at Kōhanga Reo. However, there are no data on how effective the level 2, 3, and 4 immersion programs are in maintaining or enhancing the Māori language skills of Kōhanga Reo graduates. It is highly likely that many Māori students in such programmes will never acquire a high degree of Māori language proficiency. There is simply too little classroom time to provide an effective Māori language learning environment. (see R. Benton, 1993).

Māori students who have exposure to high-quality Māori language outside the classroom have much better chances of gaining competency in Māori language." (Keegan:1997:19)

While these initiatives have provided a significant contribution to the maintenance and revitalisation of the Māori language, in order to progress toward higher levels of proficiency and use, it is important that the language not be left inside the walls of the Kōhanga Reo, bi-lingual and Kura Kaupapa units. The majority of the students' time is spent in the home environment within the whānau and extended whānau unit. For a student to reach the heights of any language, they must have the opportunity to converse in this language within the home and community.

2.4.5 Wharekura and Whare Wānanga

Wharekura, the equivalent of mainstream secondary school for Kura Kaupapa has been a further development as have the Māori Whare Wānanga initiatives. Students and whānau can now choose to pursue education totally immersed in Māori from pre-school through to tertiary levels.

Wharekura has again been an initiative that Māori whānau and educators have initially driven. These are a natural progression, as it seems unproductive to put our students into mainstream high schools after they have been through total immersion Kōhanga and Kura Kaupapa. Again Hoani Waititi has led the way, along with Rakaumanga in Huntly. Rangiātea campus too, is set to begin their first Wharekura class in the year 2000.

Whare Wānanga have allowed students to enter into tertiary studies in a university environment that caters more appropriately for their needs. Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki has led the way establishing itself in 1981. Awanuiarangi in Whakatāne followed in 1992 and these are classic examples of tribal initiatives that cater for their particular tribal needs.

We now have the ability to educate our people in Māori from pre-school to tertiary if we choose that as an option. The point is, we now have an option. While these have all been initiated by Māori, and we have a right to be proud of these achievements, these initiatives are somewhat weakened if we

continue to move back in to our home and community environments and speak English.

This research aims to contribute to improved outcomes from the immersion education movement by identifying how the language might be better supported in home and community contexts.

2.5 Broadcasting

Over the last 10 years Māori broadcasting initiatives have provided a much increased opportunity for the Māori language to be broadcast into homes. This has been an exciting initiative that has seen Māori messages, song, dialect, histories and debates heard over the air waves and beamed in to our living rooms. Māori radio particularly has developed rapidly during the 1990s and has done a good job in positively promoting the language.

"The 1990s was a period of consolidation as both the Government and Māori recognised that broadcasting was a major domain for promoting the Māori Language." (Māori Language Survey:1996:18)

While this suggests that the Government, along with Māori, recognised the advantages of Māori broadcasting in language development, it was in fact through Māori initiative and protest that the Government provided funds to set up Māori radio stations and a small amount of television programming.

The period 1986 to 1993 saw the establishment of Te Māngai Pāho. Along with The New Zealand Māori Council and 'Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo' these organisations maintained pressure on the Government and the Crown to ensure that our broadcasting rights were maintained.

Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo an incorporated society was established to put pressure on the Crown over any language revitalisation issues, and also played a big role in the 1986 Te Reo Tribunal Report. We have identified the Waitangi Tribunal Report and recommendation four, that stated broadcasting had a role to play in Māori language revitalisation.

This was the period of Rogernomics and the Government was looking to privatise state owned assets. This included the 'proposed transfer of state

assets to two new State Owned Enterprises, Radio New Zealand and Television New Zealand' (Durie:1991:3.25). Māori concerns under the partnership guarantees of the Treaty were firstly of selling these assets without Māori consultation, and secondly losing our Treaty rights if they became privatised.

A period of appearances in The High Court and Court of Appeals followed, as initially The New Zealand Māori Council and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo claimed the Crown failed to recognise their obligations under the Treaty.

"Again they took a case to the Waitangi Tribunal, this time claiming that radio frequencies were a 'taonga', guaranteed within tino rangatiratanga. The Tribunal heard the claim in 1990 and found that broadcasting was a vehicle for the protection of Māori language and that Māori should have access to airwave spectrums" (Durie:1991:3.25)

Appeals and counter appeals taken to the High Court in 1991, the Court of Appeal in 1992, and the Privy Council in 1993 eventually saw the Privy Council finally recognise the language was in a 'perilous state!'

This resulted in the Broadcasting Act of 1993 that saw the establishment of "Te Māngai Pāho" whose prime purpose was the promotion of Māori language and culture by making funds available for broadcasting to private providers such as iwi radio stations.

Māori broadcasting during the 1990s, has made great strides from 5 minutes a day news bulletins of the early 1980s, to regular professional programmes in Māori and English such as 'Te Karere' on television and the 'Ruia Mai' news bulletin on the radio. Māori radio has developed its own style and the language opportunities seem endless.

The power of this medium as a language resource has meant we are able to hear consistently and regularly the Māori language being broadcast into the home and workplace.

"...Radio and television are the main instruments of mass communication and have the capacity to reach every living room,

common room, classroom, factory floor and motor car,... There is a moral obligation on New Zealanders to make certain that te reo Māori remains a part of the communication process..." (Durie:1997:3.24)

Broadcasting, in turn, has a huge influence, as our children are constantly subjected to mainstream films, videos and advertising. Magazines, newspapers, music tapes and CDs help to reinforce the mainstream images. And, of course cartoon characters, both in comics and on TV, that appeal to our children, continue this trend. There is great potential if this was all available in Māori.

The establishment of a Māori television station is eminent with the recent appointment of a Board of Control. While past initiatives in Māori language television have achieved limited success (largely due to under funding), it is now a matter of time before Māori television is established.

At present there are a number of high quality Māori language programmes broadcast on mainstream channels including Te Karere, Waka Huia, and programmes that appeal to children such as Tiketike, Marae Aerobics and Moko Toa. Other programs such as Marae and regular documentaries, also provide positive images of Māoridom. Kapa Haka programmes have helped showcase the performing arts and, in particular from a language point of view, the singing of waiata Māori is a powerful avenue for revitalisation.

The hope for the future is that we are able to go to the movies and view top rated movies in Māori or watch television that has continuous Māori language or radio that has only Māori being spoken or Māori waiata being sung. While barriers such as funding, and experienced television and radio technicians and presenters who can present in Māori remain issues, we are at the beginning of a movement that is on its way up.

Māori broadcasting gives us the opportunity to present these images in our language and in our own unique way. Those who have chosen Māori media as a career and are committed to Māori language revitalisation have created a new brand that epitomises Māori in Aotearoa in the 1990s. It is a brand that is new and exciting, and most importantly it is Māori.

2.6 Barriers to Speaking Māori in the Home

In the home, the modeling of a language and socialisation into Māori behavior occurs within the context of the many natural situations of human interaction. The relishing of the spoken language is developed as situations arise. Māori is an oral descriptive language, full of metaphor, where the embellishing of the language occurs within the context the language is required. If these contexts are not played out in a natural environment then it is difficult for that language to be acquired by children. This natural transfer begins in the home and community.

It then becomes a responsibility of the parents, many who do not speak Māori, to try and recreate a language environment within their homes. It is in this situation that many of our parents find themselves and while a number of these parents are actively pursuing Māori, there are many who do not have the confidence. It is this barrier that we must break down to ensure that the language is spoken in the home.

*"Parents have, as far as the language is concerned, a responsibility to create a Māori "atmosphere" outside Kōhanga hours. This support is vital to a child's language acquisition. Māori cannot and will not be learnt solely between the weekday hours of 8.00am and 5.00pm."
(Stephens:1984:30)*

A barrier that is becoming apparent is the misconception amongst Māori parents that the Māori language is now in a strong position because of the recent establishment of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. It is a common occurrence to hear parents of pupils at these institutions openly claim that they have missed out on learning Māori so they are leaving it in the hands of their children to reclaim the language on their behalf.

Since the urban migration the Māori language has struggled to remain the first language in Māori homes. In today's world, characterised in New Zealand with an overwhelming monolingual English speaking society, this has become more difficult and is a major barrier that must be overcome.

As part of the Māori communal lifestyle, we tend to be a people that do not like to stand out in a crowd. This 'tall poppy' syndrome means that often we

do not reach our potential as individuals, especially when peer pressure limits our progress. And so it is with speaking Māori. Because as Māori speakers we are often in a minority amongst our own, we do not want to be seen as being a show off. This can be a problem in the home when some members of the whānau do not speak or attempt to learn Māori.

This is also protection for those who do not speak Māori, and feel ashamed that they are unable to speak Māori. They already have low self-esteem and often Māori speakers or those who prefer to speak Māori choose not to around these people, out of sensitivity towards them.

Because of the monocultural nature of our society we are in the habit of speaking English in the home. We prominently hear English and for all of us it is frankly the 'norm'. It is a difficult habit to break in the home, unless the whole whānau work at speaking Māori together and this, in many of our whānau is a problem because of mixed marriage or different Māori language levels and opportunities to learn.

The fear of speaking 'incorrect Māori' is also a barrier particularly for those of us who are second language learners. In the beginning stages we are often self conscious about speaking Māori and it doesn't help to be openly criticised when we do make mistakes.

These all become issues that affect us, as we attempt to reclaim our language in our own homes, and by identifying these barriers we can look at options to overcome them, for the benefit of Māori language revitalisation.

It must be recognised that reclaiming the language is not an easy process but these barriers can be overcome, through common sense and perseverance. For example when speaking Māori amongst non-Māori speakers a humble attitude will help those who may be threatened by Māori being spoken, feel more at ease. Criticism should be constructive and well intentioned rather than degrading, so as to encourage those learning to speak Māori. It is then appropriate to consider the difficulties of being a second language learner.

2.7 Second Language Learners

For parents of immersion education students the challenge for the majority is to learn Māori as a second language. This has seen many of them returning to studies after not having very successful school careers. Many, however, have been unable to take up the challenge through other commitments such as work and financial constraints. Many of them are unskilled or do not have the confidence in their own abilities. They are considered in the lower socio-economic levels of New Zealand society and these become barriers and cycles that they have to break.

Māori speakers fall into two categories. Those who are considered native speakers are fortunate enough to have been immersed in a Māori language environment in their childhood. It is literally their mother tongue and they are well versed in the colloquial and metaphoric nature of the Māori language. The 1996 language survey places them at 8% of the Māori speaking population.

The second category are those who are second language learners. They have varying degrees of fluency from simple greetings to being able to hold complex and sustained conversations in Māori. It is this category that the majority of Kura Kaupapa Māori parents are in.

The difficulties of trying to learn any language as an adult, particularly their own native language, only confounds the problems for many of our parents. They are afraid to lose face, "patua e te whakamā" ('overcome with embarrassment'). For many having failed in the mainstream school system, to fail again in trying to reclaim their language and so their self-esteem, makes this process a difficult one.

Learning Māori in a formal situation also presents problems for many of our people who tend to be visual hands on learners where they learn by observation and then doing.

"Learning style is also an important aspect to consider. In the Māori community, many skills are learned by a form of apprenticeship. On the marae, for example the roles vary according to age. Those who are at the front on the marae are the elders, those skilled in oratory,

karanga and whakapapa. In the kitchens, responsible for planning and overseeing the catering, are the adults. In the dining room, waiting on tables, dishwashing, fetching and carrying, are the teenagers. No formal classes are held, no notes taken and yet knowledge and skills are learned, mostly by working alongside the teacher. The student first observes the teacher performing the task. Then the student attempts the task while the teacher watches and corrects." (McLaren:1995:15)

This highlights the need to incorporate teaching methods that use visual aids and learning through listening, watching and repetition. A successful example is the 'Ataarangi' method that is an oral and visual Māori language teaching program that uses the rakau or cuisiniere rods as a teaching tool.

Personally, I have found it very difficult to learn Māori as a second language. Often, courses do not focus on communicative language patterns and structures that are can be used in the home and in general conversation with others. Teaching methods, lack of available resources and, more importantly, lack of opportunities to practice outside of the classroom, all make this a difficult challenge for many of our Māori parents.

However, it is a challenge we must take up for the sake of our own cultural identity and the survival of our language.

2.8 Intergenerational Language Revitalisation

It is appropriate to change track and look further afield at indigenous language revitalisation on an international scale. The global village has meant that indigenous cultures throughout the world are meeting and finding that they have shared experiences of colonisation. Language and cultural revitalisation have become common themes.

Joshua Fishman, a Jewish American academic, is one who is concerned about indigenous communities whose native languages are threatened. 'Reversing language shift' or the reclaiming of the language in most countries where the indigenous language is being lost, is failing miserably.

"Intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users (speakers, readers, writers and even understanders) or uses every generation" (Fishman:1991:12)

He cites the many pressures of the modern world where governments the world over are spending time and money fighting crime, poverty, pollution, drugs and other trappings of the modern age. The saving of indigenous languages does not rate highly on the priority list.

Fishman argues that the destruction of a language is the destruction of a rooted identity. Though the world has become global, there is still a need for an identity through indigenous cultures and languages. This again has relevance to the plight of Māori in Aotearoa. The common argument, that there is no need for the Māori language as we move in the modern world, has meant Māori are forever justifying why we are so passionate about reclaiming the language. Just as our ancestors after the great migration created new words for snow, ice, geysers and boiling pools, new words are easily adapted that are relevant to today.

"So also in modern times te reo Māori is well capable of adopting or adapting new words to meet needs and concepts" (Waitangi Tribunal Report:1986:25)

Fishman then presents a graded scale of language disruption which forms the basis of his theory of Reversing Language Shift. This measurement goes from one to eight with eight being the stage where the language is most in danger.

At level eight, the language is restricted to a few who are predominately older people in the sixty plus age group. This has meant the language has not been intergenerational and so its chance of survival as these older people die puts the language at great risk. The Māori language speaker figures discussed earlier, that place the majority of native speakers in the 45 years and older category, then assume some real meaning.

At level seven, the younger generation take a greater interest in the survival of the language and are passionate regarding language survival. This includes setting up language courses and other language initiatives. In the initiatives

discussed earlier, we can see this development clearly within Māoridom. Here also older speakers in the community are encouraged so their language is heard amongst the younger generation language learners.

Level six aims at seeing the language develop and be maintained in the home. Fishman considers this is the most crucial area that must be well supported, and in relation to this thesis, is most relevant.

"It is precisely because stage 6 is such a crucial stage, the stage of daily, intergenerational, informal oral interaction, that it requires full appreciation and extra-careful attention. The core of this stage is the family (Although, given demographic concentration, a community of families can be envisaged). The family is an unexpendable bulwark of reversing language shift. The family has a natural boundary that serves as a bulwark against outside pressures, customs and influences" (Fishman:1991:34)

The importance of language development in the home is clearly spelt out. Fishman also discusses the 'clustering of families into communities' during stage 6 that provides more of an opportunity for reversing language shift. This is considered from the point of ones childhood and the home and community environment of the child.

"The home-family-neighborhood-community complex is the normal 'whole' of childhood life and of generational mother tongue transmission"(Fishamn:1991:35)

It is this point that is so important in relation to this thesis, as for many of the Kura Kaupapa Māori students throughout Aotearoa, their environment is not conducive to natural Māori language acquisition.

At level five the language must be developed further within these communities. This includes an emphasis on literacy and small scale media development. This requires the support of the whole community so the natural language development continues out of the home and within their networks of association.

Level four considers the educational institutions that cater for education in the indigenous language. While this is considered an important stage it is made clear that this stage should come after language acquisition and not before. That is the school should be reinforcing the language that is acquired in the home.

"Let us remember that schooling comes after (not before) mother tongue transmission has already transpired. Its role in reversing language shift is dependant on its ability to connect back with and reinforce the Xish (refers to the group trying to reclaim their language) family-home-neighborhood-community nexus in a supportive fashion, while children are still impressionable." (Fisherman:1991:43)

Level three considers the language within the work place where there is interaction between the dominant and minority cultures. Here the dominant culture language usually remains the dominant language. However Fishman suggests that reversal language shift can take place in the lower work sphere where a minority culture may dominate a particular work place.

Level two considers the reclaiming of the language in lower governmental services and the mass media. In the earlier section on broadcasting we can see the potential of the mass media in language retention. Finally level one is when the language is used within the governing parliament. It would seem reversing Māori language shift is well developed at levels one and two.

When the language has returned to this state then the language has progressed through the whole Language Reverse Shift that Fishman advocates.

When we line this model alongside the present state of the Māori language, we can consider the emphasis that is being placed at the higher levels of Fishmans' model, particularly levels one and four the Government departments and the educational institutions. While these areas are important, we are neglecting levels that should be of a higher priority (that is, level five and six in the communities and the home).

"What is the point of pouring money into minority language mass media and bilingual bureaucracy when home, family, neighborhood and face-

to-face community use of the minority language is lacking?"
(Fishman:1997:63)

Fishman provides a model that is generic for indigenous languages all over the world that have been ravaged by colonisation, to help in reclaiming their languages. The concern by Māori language enthusiasts, that too much of the funds being made available for language retention are being spent at the higher levels are well supported according to this model. It seems a waste of resources to be spending time and money in the high status areas when the language is not being spoken in the home.

Fishman gives us a model to gauge where we are as Māori, as we attempt to reclaim our language. He makes it clear that we do not need to move through each level systematically, but rather balance each of the areas so they are of equal priority.

"Throughout our presentation we have stressed a 'first things first' approach. This does not mean that each pro-RLS movement must start at stage 8 and laboriously pass through every intervening step until it gets as far as it can go at a particular juncture. Quite the contrary; it means that pro-RLS efforts should carefully gauge what stage they are at (in a particular location or neighborhood) and to undertake to repair lower, foundational stages before moving ahead."
(Fishman:1991:109)

And so we can identify the home and community as areas that we need to prioritise as a level that requires attention. Fishman and other academics have a role to play in the survival of our language but it is up to us as Māori to put these theories into action.

2.9 Overseas Minority Languages

Overseas the revival of minority languages have many similarities to what is happening in Aotearoa. From the native American Indians to the Hawaiian Islands, from the Spanish Basque to the Welsh, all of these minority languages like Māori have been savaged by colonisation. While they are all at different stages of Fishman's reversal language shift scale, they all recognise, that the home and community are critical for intergenerational

language transmission, and therefore the long term maintenance of the language.

There is some concern as I research each of the different overseas models that perhaps too much emphasis is being placed on the formal acquisition of these minority languages through formal education. Fishman makes it clear that education should be only used to supplement what is happening in the home.

The revival of Gaelic in Ireland is an example where for the last forty years Gaelic has had a high status in the school system, but this has not seen a development of the language in the home.

"...the institutions maintain that the Irish language is part of the national identity, but Irish is not the language of communication and it is not passed on from parents to children. Younger generations acquire it at school due to institutional language support." (Martinez-Arbelaiz:1996:367)

This has continued with the revival of the Hawaiian language. They have struggled to come to grips with their language and cultural identity loss over the last one hundred years, at the hands of the aggressive American culture. The Hawaiians have recently followed the immersion model of educating their children;

"Today very few of these aging native speakers are left, and the immersion programme is seen as one way to replenish the community of native speakers." (Slaughter:105)

Taehe Jefferies, as a Policy Analyst in Te Puni Kokiri in 1994, was sent to the Basque, Catalan and Welsh regions to study their language revitalisation programs, and returned highly critical of the emphasis placed on formal education as the place to reclaim languages.

"The majority of strategies currently under way to support the language are happening within the formal education system.... Unfortunately, these programs are operating in a 'language vacuum' with little support from the wider community. To expect a child to

develop a high degree of fluency when the only source of the language is the classroom (as is the case for the vast majority of students in immersion education) is not realistic. (Jefferies:1995:132)

He felt this was placing an unrealistic reliance on formal education to put right the state of the minority languages when a more co-ordinated approach, involving the home and community as well as the education sector, would achieve better outcomes.

An inspiring minority language model is the revival of a seemingly dead language, Hebrew by the Jewish after 2000 years. The 'Ulpan Course' model instigated in Israel developed a more intensive type course that provided a more natural setting for learning a language.

"Ulpan courses originated in Israel in the 1970s and are more intensive than evening classes. Such courses are often for three to five mornings or three to five evenings every week, lasting from several months to a year or more. Intensive and saturated, there is evidence from Israel and Wales of their success. This success is partly due to the warm and encouraging environment created in an Ulpan as well as the language teaching." (Baker:1996:83)

The Welsh model is a step further where they have developed strategies that place more language emphasis within the community, particularly the home, and not just the schools. An example of this is within the community hall, a common meeting place for town folk, where in some areas only Welsh is spoken and Welsh speaking festivals are held.

These initiatives from overseas could easily be adapted to our present situations within Aotearoa while some similar initiatives are already underway. The week-long immersion classes at Rangiātea and Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa are an example. They are similar to the Ulpan model that are as much about encouragement and support as they are about learning the language.

Indigenous people from throughout the world are realising the value of our indigenous languages and cultures in a modern context. The ability to appreciate each others uniqueness, and learn and support each others

aspirations make the collective indigenous cultures a powerful force in to the new millenium. It is important that we encourage the revitalisation of each others indigenous languages as we understand that to lose this, is too lose the depth of our cultures.

2.10 Taranaki a Local Perspective

"Taranaki waewae hako urutā"

"Taranaki our ancestor who was plagued by club foot"

(A Taranaki tribal saying that commemorates one of our earliest ancestors)

2.10.1 Pre Pākehā Taranaki

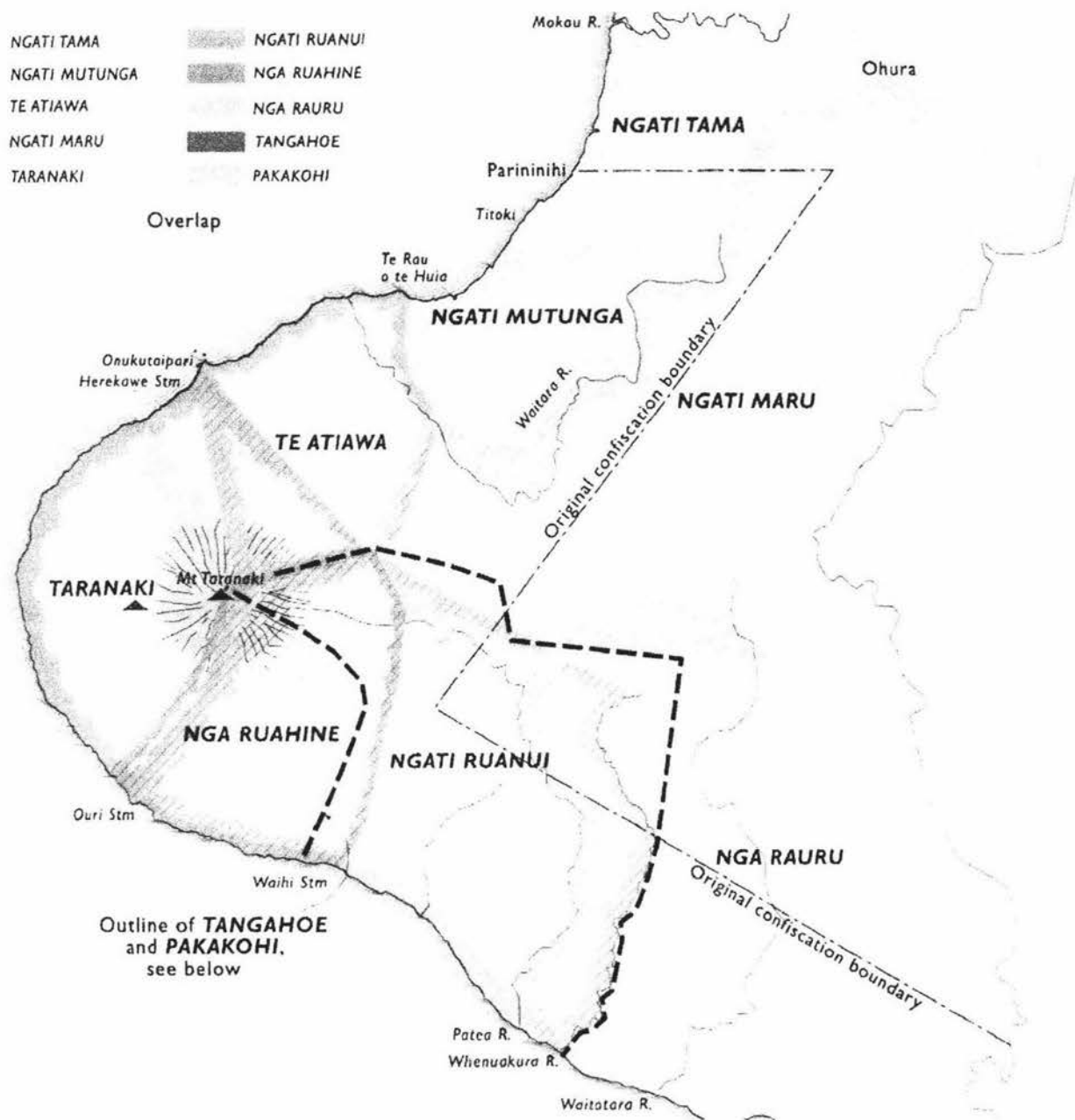
Taranaki province as it is known today is made up of eight recognised tribal groupings that descend from three main canoes: Aotea, Kurahaupo and Tokomaru. The eight tribes beginning from the North are Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Maru, and Te Atiawa who descend from the Tokomaru canoe. Taranaki Tūturu is the only Taranaki tribe that descends from the Kurahaupo canoe. Ngā Ruahine, Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Rauru are our main South Taranaki tribes and they descend from the Aotea canoe.

The Wanganui tribes further to the south also descend from Aotea so there is a very close relationship between Taranaki and Wanganui. It is significant too that Wanganui also maintain a similar dialect in the language to Taranaki tribes, particularly the soft 'h' sound.

The ancient boundaries that these Taranaki tribes reside in are based traditionally on geographical features, these are 'Parininihi ki Waitōtara Waitōtara ki Taipake'. (The White Cliffs in the North to the Waitōtara river and on to Kai Iwi river in the South).

However there is no more prominent geographical feature in Taranaki than the mountain itself. From the peak of Taranaki descend the many tribal rivers that flow in to the sea. It is these natural features that also help to link us together as descendants of this tribal region.

Map 1 : Taranaki Iwi



(Taranaki Report:1996:13)

Much oral reference is made to our sacred mountain Taranaki through song, proverbs and chant and these are constant reminders to us that we are descended from him and he is a constant guardian and inspiration for us.

*"Titiro titiro ki te maunga titohea
Look to the barren peaked mountain"
(A traditional Taranaki chant)*

Taranaki, in pre-European times, was typical of traditional Māori society. Sacred Māori lore ensured there were rules and regulations to abide by, that safe guarded the society. Taranaki Māori had a close relationship with their whole environment. The mountain, the many rivers, the sea and the bush provided a rich food resource that was the envy of many people and caused warfare amongst other tribes and indeed amongst the Taranaki tribes themselves.

As in Māori society throughout Aotearoa, the language was the main form of communication and it was treated as a treasure and with much respect.

2.10.2 Taranaki Dialect

When discussing Māori language in Taranaki, it is important to consider the unique dialect of Taranaki and Wanganui native speakers. We are instantly recognisable by the soft use of the 'h' which was not completely silent during speaking but has more of a soft sound. The dialect of any tribal region was maintained as this enhanced the mana of that particular area. Taranaki was no exception and our dialect has been maintained until this day.

Taranaki as all tribes do, also has specific words, proverbs and colloquial phrases that are peculiar to us. Native speakers are able to identify Taranaki speakers by the dialect and words and phrases they use. An example is the use of 'tauheke' for a male elder by the Northern Taranaki tribes. Other tribes may use 'koro' or 'koroua'. In South Taranaki the word often used is 'koroheke'.

2.10.3 The 1800s and Great Change in Taranaki

It is now appropriate to case study Taranaki history beginning from the early 1800s particularly in north Taranaki, where during this time there was a period of great change, to understand why Taranaki is in the state it is in concerning the loss of our land and language.

Prior to the 1800s, traditional Māori life was very much intact including here in Taranaki. Even in the early part of the century there was very little European contact, but a series of events from 1816 saw a period of rapid migration, as well as warfare and eventually diseases that led to Taranaki tribal population numbers decline rapidly. It was a period of uncertainty and change.

It was the infamous Ngāti Toa warrior Te Rauparaha who along with Ngā Puhi allies first introduced the gun to Taranaki during skirmishes in 1816 and 1817. In 1819, Te Rauparaha, with Ngā Puhi and other tribes including Ngāti Tama of Taranaki, made the first big expedition south. With the advantage of the muskets against the traditional weapons they settled many of their old scores with Taranaki and then carried on further, as far south as Wellington. Te Rauparaha was in search of new lands to settle as he was under immense pressure from his neighboring tribes of Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto.

"... Te Rauparaha was considering the possibility that the wars with Waikato might escalate to the point where his tribe might have to leave their ancestral lands. The expedition marked the beginning of his search for a new home." (Burns:1980:58)

In 1821, Te Rauparaha began the mass migration of his whole tribe. Hotly pursued by Waikato, under the leadership of the future first Māori King Potatau Te Wherowhero, Te Rauparaha led Ngāti Toa tribe on a dangerous trek south. His first destination, on their trip to the greater Wellington area, were the safe havens of the northern Taranaki tribes.

This support shown by Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga and Te Atiawa for Te Rauparaha was to prove costly for those tribes in the future. Te Rauparaha

set up camp in Ōkoki, within Ngāti Mutunga during the summer of 1821 and 1822, to grow crops and set themselves for the next part of the journey south. The Waikato chief Te Wherowhero soon arrived at Ōkoki to resume his battle with Te Rauparaha. Te Rauparaha however with the help of his Taranaki allies defeated the might of the Waikato army. Soon after in the autumn of 1822 the journey carried on. Though Te Rauparaha tried to persuade Ngāti Mutunga to join him many chose not to.

"Te Rauparaha tried to persuade his hosts of Ngāti Mutunga to join the heke, on the grounds that Waikato would return to avenge their defeat. He was to be proved right on the two future occasions that Te Wherowhero raided Taranaki..."(Burns:1980:94)

After Te Rauparaha had left Te Wherowhero returned on two occasions seeking revenge. These raids were devastating on Taranaki tribes. In 1826 he led a war party in to Ngāti Ruanui in the south. His most devastating raid however was on the Te Atiawa stronghold of Pukerangiora on the Waitara River in 1832 to avenge the humiliation of Ōkoki, where many of his close kin were killed. Many Taranaki people were killed at the hands of Te Wherowhero, or taken away as slaves during the Pukerangiora siege.

2.10.4 Early Pākehā Contact.

During this time, Pākehā contact was also being made with Taranaki Māori. The initial contact with the whalers and sealers was more than amicable. With the new technologies that the Pākehā brought into Taranaki so began the gradual change in the traditional Taranaki Māori lifestyle.

Real life characters such as Richard 'Dicky' Barrett and John Love, who involved themselves initially in the flax trade and then eventually as whalers, arrived accidentally in New Plymouth in early 1828. Te Wharepouri and Te Puni, local chiefs of one of the sub tribes of New Plymouth, Ngāti Te Whiti, treated them royally as they were able to provide Māori of North Taranaki with many of the new technologies that our people had not seen before. Wharepouri and Te Puni in May of 1828 escorted Barrett and Love on a trip to Sydney where no doubt the purchase of guns, were high on the agenda of the Māori chiefs.

"It was on their second voyage to New Zealand, laden with guns, ammunition and heavy cannon that they met Wharepouri and decided to make their home at Ngamotu, becoming the first permanent Pākehā traders on the coast." (Taranaki Museum Education Service Publication:2)

They acquired such status amongst the Te Atiawa tribe, that they married highly ranked chieftains with Barrett becoming affectionately known as 'Tiki Parete'. Barrett married Rawinia, a close relation of both Wharepouri and Te Puni and they had three daughters Caroline, Mary Anne and Sarah. The descendants of these three sisters still live here in New Plymouth.

"When the two traders came ashore both Barrett (Tiki Pareti) and Love (Hakirau) were presented with wives of high rank. Barrett's wife Rawinia Wakaiwa was the only grand-daughter through Kura Mai Te Ra, of the old Rangatira Tautara, supreme head of Te Atiawa confederation of tribes. Through this union Barrett became one of the most respected men in the land" (Taranaki Museum Education Service Publication:2)

Barrett in particular was well remembered, as it was his canon that led to victory over the Waikato during a Te Wherowhero raid in 1832. This battle took place at Ōtaka Pa New Plymouth following the bloody Pukerangiora massacre. Through this battle Barrett gained much mana amongst Taranaki Māori.

"One of most eventful times in Barrett's twenty year residence in New Zealand was the defense of Ōtaka in February 1832. In December of 1831 a great taua (war party) under Te Wherowhero and Rewi Maniapoto came down the Mokau River. The Waikato were seeking utu (revenge) for an earlier battle during which one of their chieftains had been killed by Taranaki tribes people. When the Taranaki people saw the evening fires of the invaders at the mouth of the Tongaporutu river they fled to the great fighting Pa Pukerangiora on the Waitara River. The pa was soon packed with thousands of defenders. Pukerangiora was captured through treachery and one of Taranaki's most horrific massacres took place. Some of the Waikato chiefs considered that utu was now sufficient but others wanted to

push on to Ngāmotu where the leaders of Te Atiawa and the remnants of the tribe had taken shelter with the English traders.

Ōtaka pa, where Barrett and the Europeans put up their defenses covered the land where the Taranaki Cool Stores now stand. The inhabitants of the surrounding small pa flocked to Ōtaka. The ten Pakeha men had the advantage of three small cannon." (Taranaki Museum Education Service:4)

Waikato after a series of attempts to take out this pa were unsuccessful and Barrett and his colleagues were credited with their canon being the reason that they won this battle, though no doubt, so too was the stout defense by the local tribe.

On completion of this particular battle Waikato returned to their homelands. Many of our people however were afraid that Waikato would return again so 'in the winter of 1832 some 1400 men women and children along with Barrett and his family joined the "Tama-te-uaua migration south' (Taranaki Museum Publication:6) to take up residence with their relations in the greater Wellington area. After the Pukerangiora losses this further depleted the local Māori population.

Barrett and his family initially settled in Port Nicholson, later on moving over to Te Awaiti, in the Tory Channel where Barrett became involved successfully in a whaling venture. In 1839, he was invited by E.J Wakefield of the infamous New Zealand Company, to return to New Plymouth as an interpreter for land dealings with local Taranaki Māori.

Barrett was the ideal person for this role as he was well accepted by Taranaki Māori particularly around New Plymouth, because of his exploits during the Ōtaka siege, and his wife Rawinia. His return coincided with the establishment of the New Plymouth settlement.

Many of the New Plymouth land marks are named after Barrett and he is recognised as one of the true founding members of the Pākehā New Plymouth settlement. Amongst his legacy of pubs and different land marks named after him is Barrett's reef in the Wellington harbor. Barrett died

relatively early as a 40 year old after a whaling accident and is buried in one of the sacred burial grounds of Ngāti Te Whiti, alongside Ngamotu beach.

2.10.5 The Rapid Influx of Pākehā in Taranaki

Following the raids of the 1820s and 1830s many Taranaki Māori were either killed, enslaved, or migrated south with Te Rauparaha. This left few Māori in the Northern Taranaki region. This situation was further heightened by the rapid influx of the Pākehā population into New Plymouth, during the early 1840s. The promised availability of large tracts of fertile lands was great incentive. The arrival of the first vessel of settlers on Ngamotu beach on March the 30th 1841 was the beginning of rapid cultural change for Taranaki Māori.

"On March 30, 1841, a fine, clear morning, the small party of surveyors and labourers preparing the site of New Plymouth sighted a vessel. This was at 10 a.m. And when the whaleboat came close enough they learned to their joy that the vessel was the barque William Bryon, of 312 tons, which had arrived safely with its precious cargo of 148 passengers, the pioneer settlers of Taranaki;" (Butler:1942:9)

This ship had been preceded by the Brougham on the 12 February 1841, that had sailed in from Wellington, with surveyors and staff preparing for the settlers from London, England. Barrett, his family and another 60 passengers were on this ship, along with equipment to set up a hotel and a whaling station. In quick succession the New Zealand Company of London sent another five ships.

"...the Amelia Thompson, 477 tons, with 187 passengers, which arrived on 3 September 1841; the Oriental, 506 tons, with 130 passengers which arrived on 7 November 1841; the Timandra, 382 tons, with 202 passengers, which arrived on 24 February 1842; the Blenheim, 374 tons, with 138 passengers, which arrived on 7 November 1842 and the Exxex, 392 tons, with 115 passengers, which arrived 23 January 1843." (Wood:1959:29)

In the space of two years the population of the New Plymouth area had changed from predominantly Māori to predominantly Pākehā.

There was estimated to be no more than 150 Atiawa occupying their land between Ngamotu and the northern boundary in the Mount Messenger area. (Rawson:1990:62)

Over the following thirty-year period from 1840 to 1871 the Māori population nationally devastated by war and disease went from being the majority to the minority.

Table 1: Rapid Population Change Nationally

	Māori Population	Pākehā Population
1840	150,000	2,000
1871	45,000	250,000

(Pool:1971)

The local Māori population, as one can imagine was suddenly sharing ancestral land with people of a new culture and language. While, since Barrett and Loves arrival in 1828, they had time to become accustomed to the ways of the Pākehā, this infusion of such a large population of Pākehā in a short space of time was surely a time of much confusion.

The Period 1840 to 1860 was a time for the settlers to establish themselves within the New Plymouth boundaries. They were immediately looking further afield to the prime pastures of the Waitara block and the southern Manaia plains where the fertile lands were attractive to them.

The Māori population during the late 1840s began to slowly increase again, as they became aware of the pressure for land from the settlers, and by 1848 Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitāke paramount chief of Te Atiawa returned from Waikanae with many of his followers. Waikato slaves were also being released from slavery as Waikato tribes took up the teachings of the missionaries.

This meant by the 1850s the pressure for land was becoming intense resulting in skirmishes between Māori and Pākehā as well as Māori themselves. This was usually between those who wanted to sell land and

those who didn't. Te Rangitāke in 1854 set up a hui to resist the pressure to sell land to the land hungry settlers.

"In 1854 Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitāke Atiawa chief of Waitara, had arranged a meeting at Manawapou in South Taranaki with Ngāti Ruanui and the Taranaki tribe. A large meeting house called Taiporohenui was erected. All the great chiefs from the area between Wellington and Waitara were assembled. They all agreed that no more land would be sold to the government without the consent of the Federation." (Rawson:1990:68)

2.10.6 The Land Wars

This was not what the land hungry settlers wanted to hear. By the end of the 1850s the smell of war was in the air. It was indeed over the fertile Waitara lands that the first shots of the land wars were fired, on the 17 of March 1860. A local Waitara chief consented to some land being sold although Te Rangitāke the paramount chief was not in support. The colonial government had forced Taranaki tribes into war and the consequences were severe.

Though Taranaki accounted for themselves well against the might of the colonial forces, often embarrassing them during their early skirmishes, the initial war ended evenly in 1861 within Taranaki. But, it was the subsequent confiscation laws passed by the colonial government that were to do the most damage. By 1863, The New Zealand Settlements Act claimed Māori were rebels, for fighting against the Crown to protect their ancestral lands. In essence the Act was a law and order act that was used to prosecute Māori rebels.

"The Act was the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, which on its face was not for the confiscation of Māori land but for the maintenance of law, order, and peace." (Waitangi Tribunal Report:1996:108)

In 1865 'this act resulted in 1,199,622 acres of Taranaki land being confiscated.' (Waitangi Tribunal Report:1996:107) The nature of how the land was lost has meant that Taranaki Māori since that time, have been in a

state of mourning. Until there is satisfactory justice and compensation this will be an ongoing grievance that Taranaki Māori will continue to bear.

Presently each of the eight Taranaki tribes are in discussions with the Crown over a full and final settlement deal pertaining to the confiscated lands. It is difficult not to be cynical about the whole settlement process, when it is the Crown who continues to dictate the terms including the fiscal aspects of compensation. Unless these grievances are justly finalised they will continue to be passed on through generation to generation.

2.10.7 The Parihaka Philosophy.

"E kore e piri te uku ki te rino"

'Clay doesn't stick to iron'

(Tohu used this proverb to refer to the intrusion of the Pākehā ways. Like the wet clay that sticks to the iron plough when the sun shines the dry clay falls away.)

For Taranaki Māori after the land wars of the 1860s, there was a deep suspicion of anything that was Pākehā. Parihaka was established as the result of local Māori, and those from other tribes who had become land less because of the confiscation laws. Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi the Parihaka prophets preached a philosophy of passive resistance based on a mixture of the old testament and traditional Māori beliefs. This new campaign after the fighting pa of the land wars was based on an open village.

"Instead of a bush fortress he proposed an open village where his people could defend themselves by powers strange and untried. In sight of the mountain and the sea, in a clearing ringed by soft round hullocks topped with rata, rimu and miro, a site was chosen beside a stream. The stream was the Waitotoroa (water of long blood) named after the ribbons of gore that had run down in time of war. The village of peace on its banks was Parihaka." (Scott:1975:28)

Their passive resistance stance saw them attempt to disrupt Pākehā expansion and development of farms and road links by sending out teams to plough up the new roads and erect fences across them. Survey pegs were pulled out on confiscated lands being prepared for settlement. Their

resistance was not one of taking up arms as in the land wars, but to attempt to disrupt the Pākehā encroachment on to the large tracts of confiscated lands.

Te Whiti and Tohu were set on being a 'thorn in the side' of the Settler Government, a constant reminder of the injustices of their confiscation laws. During this time Parihaka became a haven for Māori who had become exiled from their lands. They were prepared to face great hardships even death. Many who were involved in the ploughing and fencing were arrested and sent off to jails in the South Island without trial. Many of our ancestors died and are buried there.

The settlement of Parihaka reached a peak of 1500 inhabitants during the late 1870s. Its influence was great amongst Māori, from throughout Aotearoa with large numbers attending the regular meetings on the 18th and 19th of each month, where the population often doubled. At these meetings, prayer and the issues of the day were the main focus. People traveled from as far away as Dunedin to attend these meetings and large quantities of food were sent from supporters who were unable to attend. These sacred days are still observed today.

"The population of Parihaka grew rapidly. By the end of the 1870s, it was being described as the most populous and prosperous Māori settlement in New Zealand. The permanent population of about 1500 persons from local hapū, Te Atiawa, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Ruanui, Tangahoe, Pakakohi, Ngā Rauru and Whanganui. Māori throughout Taranaki and from as far away as North Auckland, Rotorua, Wairarapa, the King Country, and the Chatham Islands attended the well known monthly meetings" (Waitangi Tribunal Report:1996:213)

The Settler Government of the day was concerned at the influence of the two prophets and by November 1881, they opted to storm Parihaka with 2,500 armed troops.

"In all there were some, 2,500 under arms at the gates of Parihaka, four to every one Māori of fighting age, two to one counting the women of the village, or at worst an even match since the children had

already shown themselves followers of Te Whiti. It was safe to advance" (Scott:1975:105)

The troops were led by the Native Minister of the time John Bryce, who was known to local Māori, having been involved in the Handley's Woolshed incident twelve years earlier, where five Māori boys were murdered close to Waverly, during the renowned Titokowaru campaign. Bryce was a blatant racist openly referring to Māori as 'niggers.' He was determined to take Parihaka down by force.

During the advancement of the troops, the people of Parihaka remained on the marae unarmed as the troops arrived and arrested Te Whiti and Tohu. Over the following days they set about stealing, looting and burning down many of the houses. They also raped many of our women. It was a deliberate move to disestablish Parihaka as they attempted to send the Parihaka followers from other tribe's back to their homes.

Te Whiti and Tohu, remained imprisoned until March 1883. Upon their release they continued to have great influence upon Parihaka and by the mid 1880s the monthly 18th and 19th gatherings continued to have great support from within Taranaki and further afield.

The Parihaka influence late last century saw very few Māori attend the Pākehā schools of the Settler Government. Te Whiti and Tohu were acutely aware of the influence these schools could have. Consequently, Māori amongst our people at this time remained dominantly the first language, passed on naturally in homes and within the community as there was no great influence from Pākehā based education.

"Pākehā education authorities faced an uphill battle to establish Māori schools in Taranaki. Māori saw state schools, particularly 'Native' schools, as a threat to their autonomy and way of life. This might sound simplistic, but evidence strongly suggests that Māori well understood the colonial function that schools played. Indeed, Māori objections to Pākehā schools should be seen as a further act of passive resistance against the reserve regime and another manifestation of the policy of autonomy followed by Parihaka" (Hutton:1998:90)

2.10.8 The 20th Century.

As we entered the 20th Century, Taranaki Māori still passionately followed the Parihaka philosophy but, upon the death of the two prophets in 1907, new Taranaki leaders took their place. Sir Peter Buck and Sir Maui Pomare were both descendants of Ngāti Mutunga, being born around the township of Urenui, late last century.

They received formal education in the Pākehā system and provided new hope for Māoridom as we moved in to the 20th Century. At this time, our population numbers were stabilising after a rapid decline during the 19th Century. Pomare and Buck took on the challenge of guiding Taranaki Māori into the modern ways of a Pākehā lifestyle.

Pomare a medical Doctor, was especially critical of the communal lifestyle of our people, along with the influence of the Tohunga in Māori society. He felt these two factors were having a great effect on poor Māori health statistics.

"In a number of his reports Pomare commented bitterly about the mortality that some of the new breed of tohunga caused: for example, by attempting to heal the sick by bathing them in cold water and administering alcohol. He strongly supported Carroll's introduction of the Tohunga Suppression Act in 1907." (The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Volume 3:1996:405)

It would seem that both Buck and Pomare, as Te Whiti and Tohu in the past, had the best interests of their people at heart. Their philosophies, however, were from different extremes.

It was stated earlier that the Tohunga Act had devastating effects in terms of the oral transfer of knowledge within the Māori world particularly the knowledge of the ancient schools of learning. It was the Tohunga who were the suppositories of this knowledge.

However, Pomare and Buck also rightly observed, that the Tohunga were not able to combat the introduced diseases such as tuberculosis, influenza and hepatitis. Pomare moved amongst Māori communities of the time "often traveling miles on foot to inspect the water supply, rubbish disposal and sanitary arrangements and to help the sick" (The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Volume 3:1996:405)

Buck and Pomare were part of the new wave of Māori leadership that was more accepting of the Pākehā lifestyle. Unlike Te Whiti and Tohu they openly encouraged our people to become educated at the Pākehā schools. While the language at that time remained strong in the home, it was not encouraged at schools around the base of Mount Taranaki.

Parihaka, during this period maintained a low profile. The monthly 18th and 19th continued on as they do today. Many of our people remained suspicious of the Pākehā system and continued to oppose Pākehā laws.

Taranaki were not great supporters of either of the World Wars. During the World War I period, there were still some of our old people alive, who had memories of the land wars and the confiscation period. To then fight alongside those who had been enemies without having recieved justifiable repatriation was too much to expect.

The grievances of the land war and confiscation period were never far from the conscious minds of Taranaki Māori. Played out in the many traditional chants and poi still sung today and through oratory on Taranaki marae, they are a continual reminder of a period where we, as Taranaki Māori, had rights to our land and our way of life, stripped away from us.

After World War II, Taranaki, like many rural Māori communities, suffered as our people moved in great numbers into the cities in search of work. It was during this period that the language within Taranaki homes gradually ceased to be the main language.

By the 1970s and 1980s as the Māori renaissance became a reality in Taranaki, there was a conscious effort amongst Taranaki Māori to return to the marae and strengthen our culture within a contemporary 1990s Aotearoa

context. This included the language. Part of this revival of the language has included efforts to maintain the Taranaki dialect.

Parihaka has continued to be a focal point for Taranaki Māori. The 18th and 19th are well supported and present issues are continually discussed during these sacred days. The land claims continue to dominate discussions as Taranaki Māori struggle with the Crown over an appropriate process to settle 140 years of injustice.

By the late 1990s, much progress has been made and locally the Rangiātea campus set up in 1991 as an institution focusing on Taranaki language and culture is a good example. It is these initiatives that suggest there is commitment by some to reclaim our language.

2.10.9 Loss of Language, Loss of Land, Loss of Self Esteem.

The parallel of the loss of the land and the loss of the language within Taranaki has been highlighted in this chapter. The legislative laws from the time of the Settler Government have had a devastating effect on the well being of Taranaki Māori that we are only recently learning to put behind us.

It is now in our best interests to learn from the past and use this knowledge to propel us into the new millenium. The recent renaissance is an example of our capabilities as a people and, while we have many reasons to admit defeat and accept that the language cannot survive, the strength of our ancestors, ensure we will not give up the fight.

It is this spiritual relationship that we have as a people to those who have passed on which highlights the responsibility to ensure that we fulfill their hopes and aspirations. Thoughts of the old people have been my constant companion in undertaking and completing this thesis. Unless we have their support in a project such as this then I believe the project will not reach its destination.

It is this generation, which has the responsibility to correct the past, and to do what we can to ensure that our future generations have the opportunity to speak their mother tongue, from birth.

Chapter 3 : The Research Process

3.1 Introduction

The three research designs chosen as most appropriate to inform the methodology for this thesis are case study, action research and grounded theory. The main method is case study which gives us the opportunity to go into the home of participant whānau to gauge first hand the access to Māori language that is available. Methods of collecting data include interviews, questionnaires and a diary. These methods allow us to observe the opportunities the whānau has to access Māori in the home. Action research is built on a collaborative approach that includes the input of the participants. Grounded theory allows the participants to tell their story in their way. All of these theories are appropriate and consistent with Māori attitudes to research, as there is a close relationship between researcher and the researched. For Māori this means a collaborative approach can be adopted where the researched are treated with respect throughout the process and not taken advantage of, as has happened with much research involving Māori in the past.

3.2 Research with Kaupapa Māori

For Māori the research process in the past has been a classic example of ethnocentrism, where we have been observed and recorded through the eyes of our colonisers and their cultural point of view.

"If people are 'ethnocentric' they use standards from their own cultural backgrounds to judge and to make conclusions about people from other cultures" (Brislin:1990:18)

With this in mind it is hardly surprising that Māori have developed a cynical attitude toward research and research methods that have historically created a picture of Māori that is perceived as negative. Māori like many

indigenous peoples of the world have been subject to ethnocentrism by colonial imperialistic nations.

For research in New Zealand involving Māori it is important that Māori have control of the process so that the benefits are for Māori rather than those who are doing the research. 'Tino rangatiratanga' or self-determination for Māori has been a common phrase heard throughout Aotearoa in recent times. It is this same philosophy that must be applied to Māori research in the future.

Māori education has entered a new phase since the Kōhanga Reo movement in the early 1980s. This has coincided with a renaissance within Māoridom where we have realised the need to reclaim our identity as Māori. Many issues and questions have surfaced including poor achievement levels in the present education system and high rates of incarceration in institutions such as jails and mental hospitals. Research has tended to reinforce these negatives.

"Māori research has been saddled by what Bishop (1996, 14) labels 'social pathology' - an emphasis on the social indicators of official statistics and research data which reinforce negative stereotypes such as low socioeconomic status, high unemployment, low educational achievement and high prison occupancy. Explanations for these have usually pointed to a variety of deficits and inabilities on the part of Māori to cope with human problems or anything else they do." (Clark:1997:141)

Those who have little understanding of what Māori value, have in the majority been the researchers. There have been numerous accounts of tikanga Māori being misunderstood and misinterpreted. The research has often been of little benefit to Māori.

"Some of this research has been of questionable value to Māori. It may well have served the researchers ends admirably, yet those of Māori not at all." (Durie:1992:2)

The low value placed on knowledge transmitted orally by accepted research paradigms has further eroded the trust Māori have for what can be described as Pākehā transmitted knowledge. Traditionally, Māori knowledge has been retained and transmitted orally through prayer, rituals, genealogy, story telling, chants and song. This has required enormous retention skills that today are generally undervalued in the education system. Because academic research requires sources to be authenticated through written references the orally transmitted knowledge is often not recognized as being of value.

"The oral tradition of the Māori has been devalued by researchers who hold it to be unreliable because, it is claimed, memories are less reliable than the written document" (Clark:1997:140)

Developing a research process that is more appropriate for Māori contexts and the transmission of Māori knowledge as well as the university system requires the combination of elements from the two cultures within Aotearoa. This means that orally transmitted knowledge must be recognised, as well as that authenticated in written form or recorded on tape or film.

From the arrival of Pākehā particularly the missionaries Māori were quick to recognise the value of the written word and the many new technologies that were introduced. They saw the value Pākehā place on the written word and also the benefit of recording their own histories. This is no different today where much knowledge is being transmitted via the most up to date technologies available including video and internet.

Orally transmitted knowledge on the other hand ensures that knowledge is treated as sacred. It allows control over who the knowledge is transmitted to and when. Once it is written and published the knowledge is available to anyone at anytime. Knowledge has a genealogy that is inclusive of our ancestors and therefore must be treated with respect. Also built into the process are important Māori concepts of karakia, mana, and tikanga that will weave their way through all aspects of this process. These aspects ensure that the spiritual joining of the past and the present are acknowledged. Karakia for example helps participants prepare appropriately.

"Karakia is important in that it is an opportunity for you and those working with you to prepare yourselves for the job ahead by recalling the spirit world. Whenever you research history and genealogies, it is a good practice to pray for a clear mind, a peaceful spirit and a comfortable position for the body." (Royal:1992:12)

In the end a common sense approach to researching anything that falls into the category of Māori knowledge is required. In realising this, it is important that the control is maintained by the participants, whether it be iwi, hapū or whānau, in the case of this study the Kura whānau. This again ensures that the knowledge is treated as a treasure and according to Māori values.

"Māori people have always believed that knowledge is a taonga of the people, and that decisions concerning its control should be made by them." (Royal:1992:84)

Listed below are some steps that should be followed when entering into this arena. Each step would need to be conducted in a way that is consistent with Māori values and ways of interaction. It has been a guideline for this research.

Table 2: Māori Research Process

1.	Meet with whānau to discuss the research project.
2.	Establish ownership and access to information generated.
3.	Allow time to discuss and reply within an agreed time.
4.	Collaboratively set objectives and timeframes for monitoring and reporting back.
5.	Present information back to the whānau.

(Wano:1999)

It is important that the researcher has a rapport with those being researched. There are difficulties when time is not taken to establish connections and relationships. The pohiri or welcome process is all about bringing visitors and host together spiritually and physically. It may be that in the initial meetings the project is hardly mentioned but time is spent making links. This will obviously be easier if the researcher already has close links to the particular tribe or group involved in the research.

Māori must be given time to debate the issues involved in the research being undertaken therefore the time frame could be considerably longer than what may be usual. This needs to be taken into consideration in the planning. The initial contact and the necessary protocol will determine just how successful the end product will be.

The people involved in the research will over time give the information that is necessary and relevant as they gain the trust of those running the project. Much of the information that is of an oral nature will be given via parables and in the context of what is relevant information to the present. The recalling of memorised information orally, will be a journey in itself as each retold history revives memories of those passed on. Kaumatua and others that are sharing their knowledge must at all times be respected.

"They should also treat all members of the researched community with the utmost sensitivity and respect, regardless of age, gender, or assumed status; they should also remain conscious of the nature of their relationship..." (Awekotuku:1991:2)

The use of appropriate technological apparatus is not really an issue today. Māori are more than adept and familiar with tape recorders, still cameras, video cameras and computers. However it is courtesy to ensure that those being recorded or filmed have been asked and given time to prepare. It is also important that the information is stored safely and not subject to abuse. This includes issues of ownership and access to information. How and where this information will be stored and for how long all become important issues to ensure that this information will not be misused in the future.

Māori have also become more than familiar with information stored in libraries and archives and are becoming more adept at accessing this information for their own benefit and that of the tribe. In fact the present generation of young Māori have been educated in this way. Because there is so much information recorded since the first arrival of Pākehā it is important we become familiar with this information alongside that which is traditionally oral.

"Since the arrival of Pākehā people in this country, much Māori information and knowledge has been recorded. Using media such as books and, later films and sound tape." (Royal:1992:22)

This type of process combines available technologies with Māori value systems and so becomes more culturally appropriate for Māori. It is a process that could be used when researching across cultures as long as the culture being researched has the control. The general rule must be that the research is of benefit to the culture being researched. The paternalistic colonial ethnocentric attitudes of the past must be set aside so that indigenous cultures can truly reach their potential into the new millenium.

By using this model for Māori I have obvious vested interests. We have the opportunity to present Māori knowledge in a way that is beneficial to us and therefore beneficial to the peoples of Aotearoa. For many Māori during this renaissance period the reclaiming of Māori knowledge has been of great empowerment to them and consequently the wider whānau.

"If you are healed, if answers to some of your questions about life are found in the world of tribal history research, in short, if your health is raised, your self-esteem is raised, then that is good for your iwi, hapū and whānau." (Royal:1992:84)

Research has been a part of this reclamation period. By being more organised in our research endeavors and setting specific goals we will see more benefits for future researchers of Māori knowledge.

Research is about generating new knowledge that will be of benefit to the people. Māori knowledge during the colonial period of the last 200 years has been recorded inaccurately and from the cultural viewpoint of outsiders. It is now a challenge for Māori ourselves to ensure this knowledge is recorded accurately and in accordance with Māori tikanga.

"An outcome which is important for all concerned is the skilling of Māori in order to conduct their own research. This is vitally important because it would allow Māori to guide and control the process of research" (Teariki & Spoonly:1992:6)

Māori must assert tino rangatiratanga in the research process so that we are in control of Māori knowledge. I am enough of an optimist to feel that Māori are well on the way to taking control of this process. This research itself is testimony of that.

3.3 Qualitative Research

3.3.1 Qualitative Research and Kaupapa Māori

The qualitative research approach is the most appropriate methodology for this particular study. There are considered to be three main areas within the qualitative research approach (Strauss and Corbin:1990:20). The first identifies that data is mostly gained through interviews and observations though there are other ways to collect data. The second considers the analytical or interpretive procedures used to consider the findings. These procedures include the techniques for conceptualising data. These can include the writing of narratives and memos rather than the gathering of statistics. The third part involves the presenting of both written and verbal reports. This approach fits comfortably into research in a Māori environment where there is open "kānohi ki te kānohi" or face to face consultation. This is important when discussing Māori issues, as is the oral presentation of findings rather than just the written report.

3.3.2 Advantages of the Qualitative Approach

One of the advantages of the qualitative approach is that it allows the research to develop and change;

"...qualitative research allows more continuous reflection on the research in progress, more interaction with the participants in the research, and there is usually more room for ongoing alteration as the research proceeds."

(Bouma:1996:174)

This is an important aspect for this research project. The interviews, observations and initial findings will inform the subsequent development of the research. In Māori terms this can best be explained as "Me haere te kaupapa i runga i tōna wairua." "Let the spirit of this issue determine its own

path". While we recognise the importance of a research framework there must also be an acknowledgement of the need to adapt as the project progresses. Qualitative research allows for this intuitive approach,

"Qualitative research and data methodology can be a little bit more intuitive and tends to roll with what is happening at the time. It is therefore difficult to plan some parts of the research in a structured way - qualitative research, one is led to believe by this lack of information, must be intuitive, and perhaps qualitative methods are not part of good science."

(Maykut & Morehouse:1994:9)

The idea that qualitative research is about discovering patterns rather than proving truth is well explained by Maykut and Morehouse. In terms of the present research topic it is this method that seems more appropriate to research in the Kura situation, as Kura Kaupapa Māori is very much in a learning through experience situation. The research methods allow for this intuitive approach.

Interaction with the participants is very important when considering research in a Māori context.

"He aha te mea nui o tēneki ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata"
"What is the most important thing in this world? It is people, people people." (Oral Proverb)

Māori research begins and ends with the people that will benefit from its findings. Without the acknowledgement and support of the people that are at the heart of the research then there is little that can be achieved particularly in a Māori context. Open consultation and whānau involvement is in line with the ethics of researching in a Māori environment.

3.3.3 Limitations of the Qualitative Approach

One of the limitations of qualitative research is that its findings depend on what the informant says, how they say it, and how the researcher interprets this information. It can be argued that qualitative research does not allow for the bias of the researcher. From the outset my bias in terms of this

research question have been transparent, and so I could be guilty of interpreting the findings to suit my own bias.

Qualitative research doesn't seek to determine what truth is, but attempts to find out what is the reality from the perception of those being researched. It is an attempt to find out what the trends are and how we can improve on what we have. This can prove difficult if the informant presents what they perceive to be the right answers according to popular demand in order to be part of the 'in' group. This an extreme example, however in a small sample such as this research has allowed, this can be closely monitored, but if allowed to it could have an effect on the findings of the research in presenting a distorted picture.

3.4 Case Study

Using the case study method in this research allows us to ask the question;

"... 'What is going on?' In a case study, a single case (hence the name) is studied for a period of time and the results recorded. A case study may be of one person, one group, one classroom, one town, one nation. The aim of the case study is description." (Bouma:1996:89)

As has been outlined in Chapter One this research takes us into the homes of four children from Te Pihipihingā Kākano mai i Rangiātea Kura Kaupapa Māori, and attempts to describe the situations, and identify the difficulties faced with regard to accessing Māori language. The question is continuously being asked what is going on? The situations that the individual whānau face on an everyday basis are identified and recorded accordingly so that we can identify the key themes, commonalities and divergence.

Bouma provides a definition of case study that is easy to understand. It is a chance to get inside a functioning group and work out what makes it tick, why they do what they do? It is inclusive of their values and systems rather than the ethnocentric researcher that compares their own cultural values with that of those being researched. It is an attempt to observe a community based on their own reality. Case study involves moving into an environment and observing according to the natural setting of the community.

"Research that was based on more qualitative data would provide us with a broader understanding of children's progress in Māori immersion education. Ideally, a greater quantity of data from sources such as classroom observations, teacher and learner interviews and discourse analysis would provide this information." (Aspin:1994:136)

The fact that we are so short of quality data in the development of the Kura Kaupapa movement and Māori language is a reason that more projects such as this present study are required. It is this research method that will provide most of the data required, as this method gives us the opportunity to delve into the home of the four participant students.

3.5 Action Research

Action research has been described as;

"A form of self reflective inquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own practices, their understanding of these practices, and the situations in which these practices are carried out."
(Carr and Kemmis:1985:220-1)

This description implies that Action Research in the home involves the collaboration of parents, students, teachers and the researchers. This type of research is usually on a small scale and concentrates on a particular issue in a particular context. Most importantly its aim is to improve on what is presently happening in that situation by experimenting and offering suggestions for improvement.

Action research is consistent with the intentions of this research, which takes the researcher in to the context of the home of Kura Kaupapa Māori whānau. The intention is to observe how much Māori language is available to the Kura students in the home, how this impacts on their language development and then consider steps how to improve this access if necessary.

Hirst states that the starting point for action research is the context of present practice, and a desire to improve present practice.

"...we must start from a consideration of current practice, the rules and principles it actually embodies and the knowledge, beliefs, and principles that the practitioners employ in both characterising that practice and deciding what should be done."

(Hirst as quoted in Elliot:1987:151)

This is a relevant starting point as the intention from the beginning of this project has been to look at improving the present situation of accessing Māori language in the home, for Kura students and their parents.

The parents of the children, that are taking part in this project have seen this also as an opportunity to help improve the status and use of Māori in their home. They have been very supportive from day one since the intentions of this project were debated and discussed at whānau hui. The action research method will be used more in a support role to case study, to add further depth to the research.

3.6 Grounded Theory

It is argued by Strauss and Corbin (1990) that a grounded theory is one inductively derived from the study of a phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. The data collection, analysis, and the theory have a reciprocal relationship. The beginning point is not a theory that the research then attempts to prove but rather the research begins with a point of study and the relevant information is allowed to emerge.

It is not then according to Strauss (1987:5) a specific method or technique. It is more a style of doing qualitative analysis that includes numerous features, such as sampling and certain methodological guidelines, such as the making of constant comparisons and the use of a "coding paradigm to ensure conceptual development and density" (ibid). Similar data is then grouped and given appropriate labels. This requires interpreting the data and grouping

them according to their relationships in statement form. The data can be organised in themes.

This qualitative approach again fits comfortably into a Māori kaupapa research project. This allows participants through oral presentations that are taped and transcribed, to provide a narrative on their Māori language opportunities that they have, and the value they place on reclaiming the language and culture.

This information allows us to interpret the data according to the objectives of the study and group them accordingly. This approach will be used to record narratives from teachers and parents to identify the difficulties they have in speaking and accessing the language, and how this becomes a barrier for the child in a Kura Kaupapa Māori. As with action research this method will be used in a more supportive role to add further depth to the data collected via the case study method.

3.7 Outline of Research Project

3.7.1 Gaining Approval

The gaining of approval in accordance with tikanga Māori, has required firstly an approach to the whānau of the Kura (see Appendix 5:167). Within a whānau meeting, the whānau had the opportunity to discuss indepth the benefits of a project of this nature, firstly for the Kura and then the wider tribal community.

Initially there were concerns particularly as to ownership of the information and how it could be misused. Many of the whānau were more than aware of how research in the past has been of detriment to Māori. The individual whānau participants were also approached, firstly informally, and this was followed up with written correspondence (see Appendix 6:168).

The confidentiality of participant whānau, and who would have access to the information has been an important part of this process. The participant whānau will not be identified by name.

3.7.2 Selection of Whānau

The selection of the students was based on their different circumstances. Students A & B are both in the middle school, years three to five. One is male and one is female. Students C & D are both in the new entrant class, years one to two. Again one is male and one is female. It was also identified that one student in each of the pairs has greater access to the language in the home environment than the other.

The rationale for selection was to look at a variety of circumstances and identify the different opportunities to access Māori language. All these whānau are committed to the revitalisation of the language as evidenced by the enrolment of their children in Kura Kaupapa Māori, however they each have varying degrees of opportunity to access the language and varying abilities in the language.

3.7.3 Description of Whānau.

i) Whānau A

Whānau A consists of four tamariki aged 10, 4, 3, and 2, the parents and their grandfather. The father aged 29 is a Kura Kaupapa teacher while their mother works as an administrator in the local Kōhanga Reo. The grandfather who is presently employed as a counselor, also resides in the home.

It is the 10-year-old who is the subject of this case study. He is in the middle class at his Kura, which places him in years 3 to year 5. He has been in total immersion Māori education since starting at the Kōhanga at the age of 2. His interests range from sports, to traditional Māori weaponry, to music.

The Māori language opportunities for student A appear good as his parents are both employed in total immersion organisations and have had formal exposure to the language over a period of time, as well as having a grandfather in the home that is a speaker of Māori.

ii) Whānau B

Whānau B consists of a whānau of four children with girls aged 12, 10, and 2 and one 6-year-old son. The parents have recently taken up the challenge of learning Māori. The father is now a full time Māori language student and the mother works as a teacher in a Kōhanga Reo as she pursues formal early childhood teacher training.

The subject of this study is the 10-year-old girl who is again in the middle class. She is a confident young girl who has special interests in music and most sports. In comparison to student A, student B it seems has limited access to Māori in her home environment.

iii) Whānau C

Whānau C consists of three boys aged 5, 3 and 1. The parents are fluent speakers of Māori with the father an administrator and the mother involved in Māori mental health.

The 5-year-old, the subject of this particular study has been in a total immersion environment since birth and speaks Māori as a first language. He is in the new entrant class. His access to Māori at home has been consistent and his younger two brothers also totally immersed within the home provide him ample opportunities to speak Māori away from his parents. He is a young man with many interests.

iv) Whānau D

Whānau D consists of a family of three, a 13 year old girl, a 10 year old boy and a 5 year old girl. The parents like whānau B have recently committed themselves to full time Māori language study.

The 5-year-old is the subject of this study. She has been at the Kura for nearly a year and attended Kōhanga for approximately 2 years. She has inconsistent exposure to Māori at home, and her older brother and sister attend mainstream schools. She regularly visits her Māori speaking grandfather and also sees her other Māori speaking grandparents during family occasions. She is also visited regularly by a Māori speaking uncle and auntie. She is in the new entrant class and is a bright young girl.

3.7.4 Data Collection

i) Observation

In-house observations provide an opportunity to delve in to the environment of the children. We are able to gain an insight into the interactions within the whānau. This is most important to see who they speak Māori with, who instigates their use of Māori and whether there is consistency amongst the whānau. Within their environment we gain an accurate account of the nature of the Māori being used, how often and in what situations. The number of interactions in the language, the length and nature of those interactions and the quality of the language that they use and are exposed to will be recorded. Such data will allow us to consider the avenues to improve access to Māori in the home. An observation sheet will be used to record the types of interactions that the children engage in over a period of one hour. This observation sheet will identify who the child speaks Māori to, how often they speak Māori, and what type of language is spoken. The spoken English will also be recorded so we gain an insight into the use of the two languages. The length of utterances and the types of responses will help to add depth to the findings. The activities the participants take part in will also be recorded (see Appendix 4:165).

ii) Diary

The diary taken over the period of one week by parents of the participant pupils gives us the opportunity to see what access they have to the language outside of their home, or within the community or environment that they live. This is important, as it has been identified that apart from the home, the community is the next haven that a language must exist for it to survive. The diary will record Māori language opportunities the children have at sporting events, in town, while playing or during any other common activities that they may be involved in.

iii) Interviews

a. Parents

The parent interview is the chance to delve into the parents' language opportunities, to see what access they had to the language in their upbringing, and how this has affected their ability to pass the language on to their own children. Their present commitment to speaking or learning the

language and how much they use the language with their children will be identified as well as the limitations they experience in accessing the language in the community (see Appendix 1:157).

b. Children

The child's interview attempts to identify who they speak the language to, how regularly and when this normally occurs. Other mediums of access are identified including listening to the radio, watching television and reading books (see Appendix 2:161).

c. Teachers

In interviewing the teacher we are attempting to gauge how a child's access or lack of access to Māori language in the home affects their progress at school. Methods of dealing with students who have limited language are also identified as well as the barriers and possible solutions to overcome these problems.

The interview schedules were constructed to guide the participants toward talking about the topics that were included in the study. However in keeping with the grounded theory methodology, participants were also allowed to wander and discuss any relevant issues that came to mind (see Appendix 3:163).

iv) Transcripts.

Interviews with the parents and teachers were recorded allowing a more detailed inquiry into their philosophies and hopes for the future of the language, and how survival of the language particularly in the home can best be achieved. One of the biggest areas we have identified are the barriers to accessing Māori. By interviewing them in this way, they were able to speak from the heart, on their aspirations for the survival of the language. We are then able to understand the passion and the frustration of our people in trying to access a treasure that should never have been lost. This is an important aspect of this research as I wish to show the depth of feeling and commitment that must now be put into useful outcomes for the survival of the language.

v) Parent Questionnaire

For all parents of the Kura, this was primarily to gauge an overall picture of the Kura whānau, and their commitment to the language through use in the home and what avenues they are accessing to improve on the language they have. Data on household earnings was also gathered, as this has an affect on their language opportunities (see Appendix 7:170).

3.8 Aspects of Collaboration

3.8.1 Setting objectives

This whole project has been the result of much informal discussion amongst whānau members and wider friends and relations who share the same concerns about the state of our language. This discussion in turn has informed both the research questions and methodology. The discussion consistently returns to how we can improve the status of the language in our homes and the wider community.

In order to satisfy the requirements for this thesis, at the initial whānau hui which sought approval to use the Kura as a case study, more formal objectives were set. The whānau were keen to see some type of realistic support for language development in the home and community being developed, rather than just the reliance on formal structured classes for language acquisition.

The objectives were set with participant whānau and teachers prior to committing themselves to the project. In this way they had an opportunity to have a part in some real outcomes for the research and ultimately themselves.

The whānau input in both these stages has been important for the development of the project, as without the whānau involvement it would be difficult to proceed.

There was also the need to ensure that the objectives were achievable and appropriate for a thesis of this type. This has been of great help as the initial research question presented, was considered to be too difficult as I

hoped to relate language in the home to the academic achievement of the students. After a discussion with the supervisor we decided to just concentrate on language in the home.

3.8.2 Monitoring

There was a continuous process of both formal and informal monitoring. Whānau were interested with how the thesis had been going both in terms of the objectives as well as the amount of work involved. At whānau meetings I gave regular feedback, sometimes in depth other times just brief reports depending on what other issues the whānau were dealing with at the time.

Regular meetings with the thesis supervisor were also a good forum to monitor the progress of the research. In terms of the project itself this has been of great benefit and helped keep me on track.

3.8.3 Feedback

Feedback from participant whānau has been via the interviews and the narrative transcripts as well as the diaries. After recording information for the thesis I then gave them copies to make comments on and to check accuracy. There has also been regular informal feedback over a cup of tea or when at different Kura functions. These times I have found most productive and often I would return to the thesis with a new train of thought.

An example of feedback received in this informal situation was when discussing the difficulties and barriers faced by whānau members with a participant parent during a Saturday morning at netball. I wanted to have the opportunity to capture their desperation. It was at this point that I decided to transcribe interviews so as to help understand this desperation and emotion.

Chapter 4 : Results and Discussion

4.1 Te Pihipihingā Kākano mai i Rangiātea Kura Kaupapa (TPPKMR)

At the time the research took place in August 1999, TPPKMR had a roll of sixty-two students. There are three classes, the first of which is the 'nohinohi' or junior class that ranges from year one to year three. There are twenty-one students in this class. The 'waenga' or middle class range from year four to year six and there are twenty-six students in this class. In the 'tuakana' or senior class there are fifteen students and they range from year seven to year nine.

The Kura since its establishment in 1992 has had a number of issues arise related to the enrolment policy. This policy aims to ensure that those students who enter the Kura have a satisfactory fluency in Māori. It is important the students are able to move comfortably in to their age group level, without being hindered by a lack of Māori language competence. This safe guards the Māori language development in the Kura. It is important to understand that it is not the teachers' job to teach Māori but to teach in Māori. Often new parents arrive at the Kura expecting their child to be immediately enrolled, even though they have no Māori language. They expect the Kura to teach their child to speak Māori.

While the policy has not always been followed, recently a more stringent application of the policy and the Māori language assessment of each new enrolment have ensured that students have a competent level of fluency. This ensures that the quality of the language is not compromised.

This quality of language has a relationship to the cognitive or intellectual development of the child. That is if the child has limited ability to express itself in Māori or understand Māori then they will struggle to progress within the confines of the Kura.

The fluency levels amongst the students can be best assessed with the playground test, a good indication of the level of the language. Often in my work as an advisor, when I enter a new Kura Kaupapa I will move into the

playground with the students. If the students are speaking Māori amongst themselves, it is a good indication of the strength of the language in the Kura. At all times in the playground the students at TPPKMR are heard to be speaking Māori, though at times they may use some English words.

The quality of the language at TPPKMR has rightly been questioned by native speakers when they enter the Kura. While they comment that the language is certainly fluent, their concerns were generally about new words and that they used English sentence structures such as 'Kei hea tō tātou haere?' for 'Where are we going?' The more correct way is to say 'Kei te haere tātou ki hea?' which in English would translate as 'Going we where?'

This is an area of concern for all Kura Kaupapa as most of the children do not have access to prolonged exposure to native speakers of Māori. TPPKMR has very few opportunities to access quality Māori speakers and relies on the teaching staff and the stronger Māori speakers within the whānau. Strategies for the future include more intensive language classes, and organising the few native speakers we have available to come in to talk on related topics.

Te Kopae Tamariki Kia Ū Te Reo Kōhanga Reo remains the main feeder of the Kura though in recent times there has been consistent support from Waitara Kōhanga Reo and also a Māori speaking Early Childhood center based in New Plymouth. These centers are sending students with a good level of Māori language.

It is appropriate to mention that the Kura has a lengthy waiting list. The ceiling at the school is sixty-six which the Kura will reach by the end of the year. The Kura has recently received funding from Ministry of Education to be relocated within the confines of Rangiātea, so as to cater for the growing waiting list. Part of this expansion includes a Wharekura or secondary school, which will begin in the year 2000.

Because it is the only Kura Kaupapa in North Taranaki, students come from as far away as Waitara and Inglewood. However, the majority of Kura students come from New Plymouth.

There are presently thirty-four whānau, of which twelve are solo parent whānau. Three of those solo parents are in full time work. Of these whānau, there are fifty-two parents of which twenty-six are in full time work. Eight of those earn more than \$40,000 while another eight earn between \$30,000 and \$40,000. Six earn between \$20,000 and \$30,000 while the rest of the parents 29 in total earn less than \$20,000. These include those who are students and beneficiaries.

There are nine parents on a benefit, another seven who are full time students, while seven have some form of part time work. The Kura is considered by Ministry to be a decile two school placing it in the lower socio economic range, and therefore qualifies it for extra funding.

Table 3: Salaries of TPPKMR Parents.

Salary Range	Parents
More Than \$40,000	8
\$30,000 - \$39,000	8
\$20,000 - \$29,000	7
Less than \$20,000 (Includes beneficiaries)	29
Total	52

(Wano:1999)

With these figures in mind we gain an understanding of the difficulties faced by some parents in helping their children with their Māori language development. As one of the Kura parents commented informally to me during the year as we were discussing the thesis, "It is difficult to commit myself to learning our language when I'm more worried about paying the electricity bill or putting food on the table for my four children!" This is his reality and a reality for a large number of these Kura parents.

TPPKMR, like most Kura Kaupapa has a lot of whānau participation. Whānau hui and activities are well supported, and while we as a whānau have our ups and downs, there is generally a positive atmosphere. Over the last year there has been much activity and excitement with the two major developments, namely, the Wharekura and the new Kura buildings. In such activities as sports, or supporting the kapa haka group the whānau are always

there in big numbers. This is also the case during fundraisers and when we have visitors. In terms of this research it is my hope that this same support and enthusiasm will be put into the development of the language amongst the whānau, and that these activities where we meet as a whānau become more proactive in creating a Māori speaking environment.

Presently the Māori language spoken amongst the whānau, when we meet in these occasions both in and out of the Kura is minimal. Of the thirty-six whānau in the Kura, only six of them use the language to any great degree within their home. While a number of the whānau have at least one parent who is able to speak some degree of Māori, they do not use Māori consistently in the home because they tend to hear and speak English as the 'norm'.

The governance of the Kura has a two-fold approach. The main philosophy or kaupapa of the Kura, which centers around Taranaki language and tikanga retention, is guided by the whānau. The governance and Ministry of Education criteria on which the Kura is managed, is administered by the 'Kai Tiaki' or Board of Trustees. We govern ourselves as any school would throughout Aotearoa, with the Board meeting separately to the whānau. However it is the whānau hui that is considered the main Kura forum and here the Board is accountable to the whānau in terms of any direction the Kura may take.

4.2 Analysis of Data Collection

Through the observations and interviews the participant pupils have given a good indication of the difficulties to access their language. In comparison to their counterparts in mainstream schools who have daily access to English in everyday situations, the overall lack of access to Māori puts them at a disadvantage in terms of their language and so cognitive development is compromised.

One of the consistent messages coming from the parents from the wider whānau of the school is that the language will survive through our children. Unfortunately this has allowed some parents to slacken their commitment to personal language development.

This in turn affects the child's ability to access the language from the most influential resource they have available to them, their parents. While each of the participant whānau have a great commitment to the survival of the language, and in terms of their own abilities they are exceeding what is happening in the homes of the majority of other Kura pupils homes, there are still great difficulties in access for these four children. Therefore the barriers and problems exposed in the four participant homes will generally be greater in a majority of the other Kura homes.

The access the child has to the language is generally dependent on the abilities of their parents, and as all of the participant parents are second language learners this presents problems itself in terms of quality and consistency. As second language learners, the parents lack the depth in language to role model quality Māori language in all situations. As their child grows and their language demands become more complex and sophisticated many of our parents are unable to cope.

The parents of whānau A and C have more language ability than whānau B and D. While this places their children at more of an advantage, the similarities in terms of the limited access children have to the language from home to home are more marked than the differences. These similarities are identified in the analysis of the observations and interviews.

4.2.1 Methodology

As stated earlier the data collection was centered mainly on the case study aspect that took us in to the home to find out what was going on in terms of the language. This method gave us an insight in to the main objectives of this research namely how much Māori is being spoken, what type or quality that language was, who is being spoken to and who with, and what are some of the barriers to speaking Māori in the home. As will be identified in the analysis of this data collected we will discover that case study does indeed give us this opportunity. Particularly in the observations we see first hand the home environment of each of the participant students and their language opportunities.

The action research and grounded theory methods are applied to allow more supportive data to be collected particularly the barriers to accessing the language.

Action research allowed for the regular reporting and feedback to the whānau via the whānau hui. These became an important forum for this thesis during the year, as during discussions the question of how we could be more supportive of Māori language in the home developed. By the end of the year the whānau were voicing strongly that they would like to see a more conversational type course run on a regular basis. The result was the setting up of a two-hour weekly language course for term one next year that would concentrate on language development in the home. Logistics are still being worked out including tutors and funding. A whānau recommendation was made that the Board of trustees look at setting aside money for language development.

The movement of the whānau to support this home language type course can be directly related to our discussions during the year. Other changes included the teaching staff becoming less tolerant of English being spoken in the confines of the Kura. It is fair to say at the beginning of the year that we as a whānau had become quite 'slack' in our commitment to speaking Māori both at the Kura and when we met as a whānau.

Particularly in the Kura, staff have made a conscious effort to consistently remind parents when in the Kura to speak Māori only, except for designated English speaking areas. This is important especially in earshot of the students. Recently at an end of year barbecue at the Kura, I was reprimanded by one of our teachers who reminded me with pleasure that the reclaiming of this most basic of Kura policies was the result of 'your thesis'. I was both embarrassed and pleased that this change had taken place during the year.

In the home, language development has been a little more difficult to monitor. The four participant whānau, it can be reported have more of an awareness of the need to be proactive in speaking Māori in the home. So too have the wider whānau but how that has translated into an increase in speaking Māori in the home needs to be followed up. Meeting informally with

whānau members would suggest there is more frank discussion on how they can increase the use of Māori in the home, which is a positive change.

The emphasis on the enrolment policy again has been another outcome during this thesis process. Both whānau and staff have become more understanding of the need to maintain and follow this policy closely. This can best be explained in the fact that this policy has become less of a topic of debate in whānau hui as it was eighteen months previously. It has been the action research method that has allowed us to track these positive outcomes and it is hoped that the momentum of these changes can be maintained.

The grounded theory method gave participant parents and whānau the opportunity to become more aware of and verbalise the barriers faced by each of them in maintaining the language in both the home and the community. At the whānau level initially at the beginning of the thesis, I was concerned that some parents had become 'lazy' and almost disinterested in maintaining the language.

However as the thesis developed I became more aware of the difficulties each of the different participant whānau faced in accessing the language even though each of them were committed to the language. These barriers became a large part of this thesis and so during the year in accordance with grounded theory the thesis changed track. As I became more aware of their different circumstances and their frustrations it was decided to tape and transcribe the interviews and allow the interviews to take their own track. This gave the participants the opportunity to talk candidly about the restrictions they faced and also attempt to capture their frustrations.

This became a major focus and a large aspect of this study that was not so apparent to me at the beginning of the research. As each of their own narratives developed, these included their childhood memories of being Māori in mainstream schools, feeling ashamed of being Māori or not knowing the language or feeling uncomfortable in a Māori environment. These narratives continued on to the present where barriers included for many of them daily survival, such as paying bills, providing food, ensuring their children were well clothed or even making it possible for them to get to play sports. Another common comment was their embarrassment in speaking Māori of a poor quality. This we will discover in one of the observations.

These barriers meant they didn't have the time to commit to Māori language development. The time factor as we will find is an important aspect in language development particularly for second language learners.

Grounded theory gave me the opportunity to change the course of the original structure of this thesis and allow participant parents and teachers to talk candidly about their personal difficulties in committing time into Māori language development.

As we read through the analysis of the data you will recognise the emphasis on the case study method with ample support from action research and grounded theory.

4.3 Analysis of Interviews and Transcripts

The transcripts from interviews with the parents, teachers and students were a main source of information on the area of Māori language development in the home. Through these transcripts we get a feel for the depth of the problems that are faced by Māori parents and teachers and the students themselves, and all those around them involved in trying to revive our language. The transcribing highlighted the many pressures faced by whānau on a day to day basis. The Kura whānau is a mix of professional and lower socio economic families and both groups face their own daily albeit different pressures.

The language acquisition background is similar for all the participant parents, as all of them did not have regular exposure to Māori as children, so as adults they often lack the confidence to learn and speak the language. The historical process that has led to this present position has been well documented in chapter two.

4.3.1 Parents

One of the big barriers for language development for both parents and their children, centers around the lack of places where the language can be heard. The participant parents have been through or are involved in intensive language courses of some degree but upon leaving these courses have no

place where they can hear Māori being spoken consistently and naturally by native speakers. Even on the marae, the language is not heard consistently by any of the participants on the marae they attend regularly, apart from during the formalities. As a conversational language it is almost non-existent on the marae of these participants and this covers a large number of Taranaki marae.

Participant whānau C spends a lot of time on their marae and involved in other local iwi issues and comments clearly that the use of Māori in these forums is minimal. The father is concerned that at these Māori hui we are now in a comfort zone of beginning and ending meetings with a karakia and formal greetings and then immediately discussing the important issues in English. He makes the comment that the 'wairua o te kōrero' the spiritual depth of debating is lost when the majority of the language used is English.

Another scenario is becoming apparent to the father of participant whānau A. A comment made when he uses Māori to make a point during some of the Kura meetings, is that he uses the language as a weapon by those who do not have the language depth. They feel he is trying to hide some of the important issues he is raising. In a Kura that is attempting to promote the use of spoken Māori amongst our students, this is a frustrating comment often made by parents who have made no commitment to learning the language.

The Kura parents like Kura parents throughout Aotearoa are involved in a range of responsibilities and commitments to their iwi, hāpu and marae as well as their whānau. These range from attending hui, to catering for visitors, to learning waiata all of which ensure that the mana of their tribal area is maintained. These commitments at times come at the expense of time spent on ensuring the survival of our language. The extended whānau commitments are real issues for all of these parents. It is not unusual for them to be on the road two to three weekends out of four to attend to these commitments.

They comment clearly that the majority of the time they have minimal access to the language in networks involving their extended whānau.

The parents of participant D who usually both head to the kitchen when they return to their different marae comment on the use of Māori in this important part of the marae. Those who attempt to speak Māori around the kitchen area, where so much inter-action takes place have difficulties. Many of the workers who are important in the running of the marae have very little Māori language ability. Often when they do attempt to speak Māori they are seen as being a show off.

All of these kitchen workers play a very important role in the maintaining of the mana of their marae that is best captured in the proverb 'Ka tika ki muri ka tika ki mua.' If the work at the back referring to the hospitality is in place the formalities at the front will in turn be appropriate. It then refers to the unity required for the marae to function well.

This is well understood by all of the participant whānau, and each of them in some way spend a lot of time at their marae or within the whānau of the Kura and the wider campus, in ensuring the mana of the iwi remains intact. Unfortunately the majority of the time they are unable to do this speaking Māori.

The marae life and the commitment of whānau to their marae and wider iwi can best be described through whānau A. The father of this whānau is the chairperson of his marae. He spends a lot of time in all sorts of activities at the marae, from helping out the back, to looking for funds, to chairing meetings not to mention the tangi and other hui. The present land confiscation meetings are also taking up a large part of his time. Consequently, it is not uncommon for him to be tied up for two or more hui per week. Māori is not used consistently in these meetings.

The father of whānau D is of a marae from another tribal area and he comments that here too the language is seldom heard. He and his whānau spend a lot of time travelling the six-hour return trip to take part in marae activities. This is a typical scenario for many of the whānau of the Kura that travel great miles to attend to their whānaungatanga or extended family ties. These again at times impinge on time that could be spent learning the language. The interviews show clearly that while they spend a lot of time at what can be considered Māori hui the language is seldom heard outside of the formalities associated with hui.

In considering the marae as a domain for speaking Māori a number of general comments have been made by each of the participant whānau during the course of the research period that consider why they are reticent to speak Māori on the marae and in other Māori situations. It is appropriate that these now be considered.

Table 4 : Māori Language Barriers

1.	Fear of being seen as a show off
2.	Fear of damaging the self-esteem of those who can't speak Māori
3.	Fear of breaking what has become the 'norm' of speaking English
4.	Fear of speaking 'incorrect Māori'
5.	Self-conscious about speaking Māori
6.	Fear of being criticised

(Wano:1999)

These are all issues that the participant parents have to deal with and have also been identified in chapter two as barriers. In many situations they would prefer to be speaking Māori especially if there are people they can speak Māori to, however they are also conscious of a very Māori concept of not being whakahīhi or seen as a show off. It is also important to not 'takahi' on the mana of anyone, that is not to trample on their mana. These are important Māori values that at times serve as a barrier for our participants to speak Māori in a Māori context.

Of the out of home activities that these whānau are involved in from sports to cultural events, work, shopping or at clubs or pubs again it is recorded that the language is not widely spoken. This is supported by figures from the Māori Language Survey. Work and sport have been identified by each of the participant parents as areas they spend much of their time involved in, and in neither forum are they able to access much Māori language to any extent.

The activity of shopping, whether down the street or in the grocery store where again a lot of time is spent, the use of Māori is virtually non-existent apart from amongst whānau themselves. Whānau A notes that when their 10 year old son was pre-school that he enjoyed shopping as a whānau and speaking Māori, as often people in the aisles would comment on hearing Māori being spoken. However as his son grew older he became self conscious of

speaking Māori in certain situations including the supermarket aisles and this is starting to happen with his younger children.

This situation has a snow ball effect, as the younger siblings tend to speak the language of the older brother or sister. These continue to be identifiable barriers to Māori language development.

In my observations it seems a common occurrence for our Māori speaking children around the age of four to eight, to become self conscious about speaking Māori in certain situations. All of my three children, as they began to experiment with and develop their English speaking skills realised in some situations it is not appropriate to speak Māori. They felt embarrassed to do so, as they did not wish to stand out from the crowd. One particular incident recently amused both my wife and I, but is typical of how our children feel about speaking Māori in some situations. We had just entered the local shopping mall with our five-year-old daughter and had been speaking Māori in the car since leaving home. As soon as we walked into the mall and I continued to speak Māori to her, she immediately turned to me and whispered in Māori to speak English as they will know we are Māori.

The influence of main stream broadcasting and media has been clearly identified as a major barrier. There has been significant development over the last ten years within Māori broadcasting, and all of the participant whānau consistently listen to the local iwi radio station, and watch what is available on the television. However, it is a very small amount compared to what is available in English.

Other major influences, which our children show interest in such as the video games and comic strips are not available to them in Māori in great numbers, though there is a recent development in catering for our children in this medium. Moko Toa is an example of a Māori speaking cartoon character that is beginning to cater for those of our children that want a Māori speaking hero.

Each of the participant whānau comment on the activities that their children are interested in such as videos and video games, the pictures and the swimming pools as all being places that they are unable to access the language unless they go as a Kura. They often do this and enjoy being able to

play amongst themselves and speak Māori. However if they are on their own or when someone who has no Māori language enters their circle they quickly begin to English.

The parents clearly state that the lack of places that they can speak Māori consistently is having a huge impact on their language development in the home. While they are all committed to the survival of the language whether in a Māori or mainstream situation, access continues to be a problem.

One final comment that has come consistently from both the participant whānau and the wider Kura whānau is the quality of the language being spoken by parents to their children. The observations have identified that the parents of the four participant children have enough Māori to speak basic Māori to their children but once the language demands become more complex and sophisticated particularly for whānau B and D the quality of the Māori spoken is poor.

The wider whānau parents also realise that and prefer to speak English when the language required is out of their depth. This quality of language is a common theme that all parents must look to overcome. One positive that has come out of this research is that these parents are realising the need to improve their standard of Māori so their children are getting quality Māori. Some of the Kura parents are now openly discussing options for their children and putting in place avenues to cater for these quality situations including inviting native speakers into the home on a regular basis.

The fact that parents are looking at opportunities to improve on the Māori language experiences that they and their whānau have is a positive outcome of this thesis. This is a good example of action research as some members of the whānau have identified a weakness and looked at ways of overcoming this problem.

4.3.2 Teachers

The interviewing of the teachers at the Kura was the opportunity to show how aware they are of the difficulties faced by their students and families in accessing the language.

These interviews identified the difficulties faced by students who have limited access to the language, and were also a good opportunity to delve in to the difficulties faced by these teachers in terms of their own language development.

The three teachers at the participant Kura have all learnt Māori as a second language. Two of them are also parents of students at the Kura so they are intimately aware of the difficulties faced by families in providing a consistent and rich Māori language environment for their children at home.

All the teachers had a limited exposure to the language while growing up. For all three their awareness and desire to become immersed in the language coincided with the renaissance and re-awakening period Māoridom went through during the early 1980s. They have all spent over a decade developing their language skills.

Most of this language development has been through formal language classes initially, and then attempting to speak Māori to any Māori speakers they had access to. They all comment on their frustration in not having consistent access to such people and also their own laziness at times in speaking Māori to people who also speak the language, because they are so used to speaking and expressing themselves in English.

After spending time in immersion situations including the school setting they find that they more easily settle into a Māori speaking mode but once leaving the confines of the Kura and re-entering the world outside they quickly lose the ability to think and respond quickly in Māori. Their abilities to access the language within their own homes is dependant on their own situations as two of them have partners who support the language but are very limited in their own Māori language abilities. These partners are both full time workers and have not been able to learn the language.

The second main feature that the teachers identified were the advantages that accrue to students who have greater access to the language at home. Their ability to comprehend what is being said and what is going on within the confines of the Kura is easily identified as opposed to those who have limited access at home.

This results in teachers simplifying the language they use in order to ensure comprehension by those who have limited Māori language or in the worst instances using English to get a point across. Teachers also comment on using their body language or different universal hand signs to help students understand single words or phrases.

The effect on their cognitive or intellectual development then becomes of great concern. As a general statement it seems that if the language is limited the cognitive development of the students will surely be affected.

In the worst scenario at the senior level the teacher has realised the need to sometimes explain in English, some of the more technical aspects of the teaching and learning that is happening in his classroom. In this situation he follows this process. He realises that as he is explaining a task in Māori a lack of response to his questions indicates that the majority of the class are unsure of his instructions. He will then explain the task in English before returning back to speaking Māori. He finds this useful as the students can then get on with the task at hand.

In terms of the total immersion nature of the Kura, this is not an ideal situation. The linguistic and cognitive development of the students are being compromised to cater for their lack of depth in the language. Quite simply the vocab that is required to explain a task is not familiar to the students and so they are constantly learning new vocabulary to complete a task.

At the junior and middle levels both teachers comment that they know the few students that are struggling and will work one on one with them or utilise their full time Kaiawhina or teacher aides to work with them. The Kaiawhina plays a big role in this area.

The Kaiawhina position has proved to be important for each of the teachers. This is the first year there has been a full time Kaiawhina position in the three classes. The main focus of these positions are to help in one on one situations with any of those students who are having problems with their work and also behavioral problems. This position has also been used to help those students who are struggling because of their lack of access to Māori outside of the Kura. An example of this is reading one on one with some of the students who have limited Māori.

Those students who have limited exposure to Māori and therefore come to school with a lower level of fluency in the language become another burden for teachers who already have a very full workload. They must look at simplifying their programmes and almost having two separate strands based on language ability. This has many consequences including a particular personal concern that I have, and one that is often discussed by teachers. That is, that students who have more language ability are being disadvantaged because of the whānau nature of the Kura.

This was best explained by the teaching principal who talked about a student who was allowed to come into the Kura who had very little Māori language or access to the language at home. He spent a lot of time catering for her needs both in terms of the language, and because she was unable to cope with the work some behavioral problems. This he recognised limited his time he could spend with the whole class.

The Kura like most Māori immersion schools works on a 'tuakana teina' system. This can best be described as a type of 'buddy system' where those with more ability help those with less in a particular context or discipline. These roles can and often are reversed depending on the context. This system has more advantages than disadvantages, but at times the learning progress of the tuakana who are often those with more language ability can be slowed up by the teina.

It is appropriate to comment again at this time on the enrolment procedure that each student undertakes before entering the Kura. The Kura is now into its eighth year and the enrolment process has over this time created a lot of discussion. In the introduction I cite a major incident involving enrolment as a reason that has led to this study.

The principal of the Kura as a participant of this research commented on the importance of the enrolment process and that it be followed and maintained in the best interests of the development of Māori language within the Kura. The easing of this process to allow students with limited language ability he commented puts the total immersion nature of the Kura at risk and also the cognitive, emotional and linguistic development of that particular child.

Over the last year the Kura has adopted a very stringent observation of the enrolment policy in an attempt to discourage the lack of student progress because of the large numbers of those with limited Māori. While this has meant turning down a number of potential students which has in turn created other issues, it has meant that the teachers are able to get on with what they are there to do, teach in Māori. The Kura has been accused of being elitist and having no 'aroha' (love), by not catering for those potential students who have had no access to Māori language in their upbringing.

The enrolment policy requires that the potential pupils go through a Māori language assessment. These are formal assessments, that allow teachers the flexibility to test the oral, reading and written abilities of the pupils at their appropriate age level. The 5 years old enrolments are mainly tested on their oral abilities. It is this assessment that determines whether the student is able to meet the language demands of the Kura.

There is a second part, which asks that parents show commitment to the Kura by attending language classes if they have limited ability in the language. While all parents sign to this there is difficulty in enforcing this part of the policy. The difficulties according to the teachers interviewed are that many of the parents do not have the time to commit to learning the language.

One of the teachers commented that she has to discourage these parents from speaking English openly at the Kura and around the Kura grounds. She knows that the majority of her parents speak very little Māori at home as she visits homes of her students regularly. They also show no consistent commitment to attempting to learn the language often starting full of enthusiasm soon after their child starts at the Kura but for various reasons such as those discussed earlier, this enthusiasm wanes.

The policy identifies the need to have Māori as the main language in the home and it seems that while parents agree with this in theory the reality is that in the majority of these Kura homes the main language remains English. These are some of the difficulties and barriers that the teachers have to deal with.

4.3.3 Students

The student interviews were limiting in the information they were able to provide as all four of the students particularly the five-year-olds were not able to develop their answers adequately. However the directed type questions such as whether they speak Māori during mealtimes did provide important information.

The period spent in observation of each of the four students gave some indication of the language opportunities that they have in their own individual homes and the wider community activities that they are involved in. As discussed earlier under the parent comments, the children's main language resource on a consistent basis is their parents. While whānau A & C have parents with more ability in the language all four students still suffer from a consistent quality Māori language resource outside of their immediate parents and whānau.

During the interviews it became apparent that there were inconsistencies between the amount of language students felt they had access to and the actual amount of language spoken that I observed during the observation period. It would indicate that there may be a false sense of security in the amount of language that they use. That is they think they are speaking a lot of Māori.

This false sense of security is an easy trap to fall into, as when Māori is not being heard consistently in the community it may seem the little language being used in the home, is a lot. Their perception of what is a lot of spoken Māori, is based on the little they use, as they have nothing else to compare it to.

The barriers for the students were the types of activities that they are interested in and the lack of opportunity to access them in Māori. Each of the students identified activities within the home such as play station, television, radio, and board games. There was only limited opportunity to access the language in these activities and there is not the consistency that is required in order to ensure a quality language environment for a sufficient time.

This continues into community activities that they are involved in. The older of the four students are fully involved in sports and cultural teams. They comment that during these activities the language is rarely used even during the kapa haka group practices that they are involved in.

Sport dominates a lot of their time particularly rugby, rugby league, touch and basketball for student A and netball, basketball and touch for student B. This seems to be typical for most of the Kura students who are attracted to the team sports and show confidence when in numbers. They comment that the only time they use Māori is if they happen to be with their other Kura students. They also like to attend major sporting events such as big league, rugby and netball games. Again the language is seldom heard at these events.

It is interesting to note that little Māori language is used by the tutors at the kapa haka practices, that they attend on a regular basis. Both students are keen and committed to kapa haka and enjoying learning and performing waiata. They comment that the use of language is sporadic where practices begin in Māori with karakia and greetings but once instruction begins the majority of the language spoken is English.

It is unfortunate that the kapa haka tutors choose not to speak Māori during their practices. All the children in the group are from the Kura and so speak Māori, and the tutors have the ability to tutor in Māori. It is out of habit that they choose to speak mainly English.

All the four students regularly frequent popular places amongst people of their age within New Plymouth including the pictures, McDonalds, space invader parlors, the indoor pools and the center city shopping mall. Here they make it clear that they rarely use Māori at these times unless they are with other Kura students.

While it is heartening to report that the Kura children often use the language amongst themselves, when involved in community based activities it is unfortunate, that as soon as someone comes amongst them that does not speak Māori they immediately switch to English. This is supported by some of the observations.

4.4 Evaluation of Observations

The observations of the four students was a good opportunity to see each of them in their natural environment. They warmed easily to my presence and at times it was difficult to not become too involved. Often they asked questions of me and I made comment when appropriate. One particular example of this was with student C who from the time I arrived at his home was continuously asking me if he could come to my place to play with my daughter who is also his age or why I hadn't brought her with me. I am pleased to comment that he asked me these questions in Māori.

4.4.1 Student A

During the observation period Student A spoke predominantly Māori with his father while they were engaged in an activity that they were both keen on. The level of language was of a high standard where student A was given instructions that he followed easily. He also asked regular questions and they talked about school and other general things happening within their lives. It was a very natural interaction with responses being both verbal and body language such as a nod of the head or a shrug of the shoulders.

Student A also has the advantage of having another fluent speaker within his whānau in the form of his grandparent. During the observation period student A moved regularly between his father and grandparent speaking mainly Māori. Interaction included such things as to whether his grandparent wanted a cup of tea to talking about general household chores. The quality of the language was of a high standard.

Interaction between his siblings and his mother was again mainly in Māori though these were brief during the observation period. They were mainly instructions where student A was asked to go and get extra blankets for his younger siblings.

English was spoken at different times such as when student A answered the phone on four occasions during the observation period or when he was in a hurry and wanted to make a point. This seemed to indicate that English was an easier language for him to communicate in.

While Māori was spoken for the majority of the time during the observation period it would seem that there is an even amount of Māori and English being used within the home. This became a common occurrence throughout the observations of student A and student C. Because of the influence of television and because they were regularly around people who spoke only English they were also in a habit of speaking English even though their whole household was capable of speaking Māori. Both these students and all the Kura students move easily between English and Māori.

During this period the Māori radio station was on in the dining room kitchen and it seems it is played most of the time. While nobody was actively listening to the station it was none the less being played and therefore represented another source of Māori language within the home.

During the observation period the mother of student A had her three other children in the living room and they were actively engaged in an English speaking television programme throughout this whole time.

4.4.2 Student B

During the observation period student B spent time evenly spread between watching the television and baking some biscuits with her older sister. The majority of her interactions with her parents and sisters and brother were in English. The television programmes she was most interested in were typical of the time period during the mid evening and again were all in English.

At times the whānau spoke some Māori but were unable to maintain a consistent conversation. While each of the four children were capable of holding a conversation in Māori both their parents were unable to even though they were involved in formal Māori language classes at the time. Even though they have some ability in Māori and some attempts were made to use Māori, difficulty was experienced in maintaining it as a medium of conversation. The quality of language compared to student A was more limited.

At one stage of the observation period the father asked another of his daughters to sit still and be quiet in Māori. He quickly changed to English

however as he got more frustrated when at first she did not respond. His daughter seemed to be amused at her fathers' use of Māori to discipline her.

An important point that is often overlooked in the discussion about Māori Language revitalisation is the difficulty that second language learners find in breaking the habit of speaking English. It is very difficult to transfer ones second 'learnt' language to a language that is used, and remain disciplined in speaking Māori the majority of the time, particularly when Māori is not used or heard consistently in their networks of association or frequented domains.

Both parents of student B spoke of their frustration as they are quite isolated from speakers of Māori to support both themselves and their children. Their children too find it frustrating to try to maintain the language and have also got in to the habit of speaking more English than they feel they should. This is not helped by the fact that in most of the activities they enjoy such as the sports and game parlors there is almost no Māori spoken.

In whānau B it is the youngest of the family a lively demanding two-year-old who is interestingly the major instigator of spoken Māori within the whānau. During the whole observation period all the family spoke Māori to her. Her parents seemed less self-conscious in speaking Māori to her than they were in speaking Māori to her older sisters and brother. The language used when speaking to her was easier for her parents, as it was a very basic infant language suited to the Kōhanga Reo age. Māori was the first language of the two-year-old.

This seems to be a regular occurrence particularly amongst those at our total immersion Kōhanga Reo Te Kopae Tamariki Kia Ū Te Reo. Because the students from the ages two to four are immersed in Māori at the Kōhanga this becomes their most confident language. It is as they start to move out amongst the community and become more aware of television that they begin to speak more English from about the age four.

Many of the students from the Kōhanga Reo like our two-year-old of whānau B become the focus of much of the Māori language spoken in homes. This has happened with each of my three children. As they have become more aware

of English and confident from about four years of age they have been quick to learn and speak English. This is helped by the amount of English they have access to in the normal everyday course of their lives.

As the observation period moved on the more English was spoken amongst the whole whānau, except for the 2-year-old who was addressed very rarely. For student B, apart from her 2-year-old sister this was no exception. They were used to speaking to each other in English and this they did ninety five percent of the time.

Near the end of the observation period they sat around the table for a supper of the biscuits they had baked and a hot drink. After a karakia in Māori they returned to speaking mainly English, though some basic commands in Māori were asked, to pass the knife or the butter.

There were no other opportunities observed where they spoke or had access to Māori though it needs to be commented that on the walls of their main living room were the words of five different waiata that they were learning as a whānau.

4.4.3 Student C

Student C spoke Māori most of the time during the observation period. If there was any English it was individual words that he seemed to use out of habit even though when corrected immediately by both parents he always knew the correct Māori word. This was shown when he asked his mother to take him and his younger brothers to the shop to buy lollies. He asked the question in Māori but used the English word for 'shop.' His mother immediately asked him for the correct word to which he replied.

As a five-year-old, student C was continuously on the move during the observation period. From playing in the play-room with his two younger brothers, to running around outside and riding on their bikes, or sitting for short periods in front of the TV, Māori was the language spoken constantly.

Interaction amongst the three boys was always in Māori, even when they were not around their parents or other adults to keep them speaking Māori. They conversed fluently when playing, arguing, giving each other cheek or helping each other. The youngest of the three a two-year-old followed his

older brothers around even though he had difficulty at times keeping up with them. He is just beginning to speak with confidence and his language is all in Māori. He has no English at all.

They have access to a number of Māori books and student C at one stage sat with a book that he read in Māori with some difficulty. He is just learning to read and makes a very good effort.

At one stage while running through the living room the television is on and the three boys stop in their tracks to listen to 'Te Karere.' They make no comments but seem pleased to listen to Māori being spoken on the television. This holds their attention for two to three minutes before they carry on their way.

Soon after their father returned from work and they immediately demand his attention telling him about their day at Kura and Kōhanga in Māori. Student C then moves on to help his mother who has asked him to set the table. They are soon sitting up at the table for their evening meal and continue through the mayhem of mealtime to speak Māori.

Karakia is said as a family with the five-year-old leading karakia after some debate with his younger three-year-old brother about who led karakia at the previous meal. The conversations during meal time vary from the parents talking about work, to the children competing to talk to their parents, or asking for more food or something to be passed over. This is mainly in Māori. It appears that student C has exposure to good quality Māori a majority of the time.

It is during the parents' interaction that English is heard in the house. Though both parents are fluent speakers of Māori they are second language learners so their first tendency is to speak in English. The father has more language ability while the mother has in the last ten years gone from having no language to a very good level of Māori. However it seems out of habit that they regularly speak English to each other. It also seems to depend on the complexity of the conversation as to whether they speak English or Māori.

The parents of student C though they are committed to the language and have a good level of fluency find it hard to consistently speak Māori between

each other even in front of the boys. They have much to catch up on and organise and they seem to communicate well with each other. This is important as they are both full-time workers with three young boys. The oldest had just begun Kura and so it was important that they use this time to catch up.

It is a lot easier for them to do this in English rather than concentrating on explaining their arrangements in Māori and getting confused. The boys seem used to hearing them speak English and they carry on speaking Māori, and the parents too speak Māori when addressing their sons. There seems to be no fuss.

While the boys are all obviously fluent in Māori they are becoming more confident to use English, particularly the two older boys. They are used to hearing English and pick up on words and phrases they hear a lot, 'shop' is a good example. The parents comment that they have become more accepting of them using English as they seem to be experimenting with the language they hear. Because they hear so much English this is quite natural.

The parents have both regularly talked about the boys exposure to English. They make one interesting comment about the English that the boys speak that I too observed. The difficulty they find in pronouncing the 's' sound or not completing a full sentence. Some examples are 'I not talk you,' or 'Who your name?' These at times are cause for amusement for the parents.

During the interview the father expressed concerns about the amount of English they were beginning to speak, though I did not hear a lot during the observation until the final period. He conceded that it is the exposure they get to English and the lack of exposure they get to Māori outside of their immediate whānau environment.

He makes the comment that once leaving the house the boys are constantly exposed to English and this he has great concerns about. Subconsciously they realise that in most situations Māori is not the accepted language. This means that there are relatively few safe havens they have to speak Māori.

In the last ten minutes of the observation period the family had a surprise visit by grandparents, the parents of the father. The grandmother has a

good level of fluency and speaks confidently in Māori to her grandchildren. She is of that generation, discussed in chapter two, whose parents were native speakers of Māori who chose not to pass the language on to their children. More recently however she has maintained a fair amount of the language and is more than willing to speak Māori though she admits herself that her language does not have the depth that she wishes it should have.

The grandfather who is also Māori had no exposure to the language as a child though his father was a native speaker of Māori. He was brought up in Wellington by his parents and his own father had moved there in the early 1930s. His father literally left his Eastern Bay home as a young man, and left his Māori language there. Consequently the grandfather feels out of his depth amongst his grandchildren who are all speaking Māori, but he has learned to adapt as became apparent.

He is now able to hold a basic conversation in Māori with his grandchildren having made the effort in his retirement to attend some of the formal language courses at the local polytechnic. It is very interesting to see the boys including student C interact for that short period with their grandparents as they all have a close relationship. The language barriers seem to be overcome with even the boys seemingly attempting to simplify their Māori for the sake of their grandfather. At times they do speak English.

It becomes apparent during this period that student C and his three-year-old brother have a strong ability also in understanding and speaking English.

4.4.4 Student D

Student D is a demanding 5-year-old girl that seems to have a fair amount of say in her own home. She is the youngest of three and the only one of the whānau that has had exposure to Māori through attending a strong Māori speaking Kōhanga Reo.

During the observation period student D switches regularly between Māori and English depending on who she is interacting with. She moves from entertaining herself in her own room with her dolls and other toys, to watching television, to creating havoc with her older brother and sister. Her

time with her parents is spent reading one of her homework books with her mother and helping prepare tea with her father.

During her playtime with her toys it is interesting to observe her speaking Māori the whole time as she puts her dolls in to bed, or in a pram, or dresses them up. Though initially self conscious of me she soon slips in to her own play world and maintains speaking Māori the whole time apart from single words in English.

Once she moves into the living area and begins to interact with her older brother and sister she speaks both Māori and English. Interestingly enough her older brother and sister attempt to speak in Māori and initially make good progress and she responds naturally in Māori. However she seems used to speaking to them in English, and though they have obviously developed a lot of Māori that they use through her, she seems to find it the norm to communicate her message in English.

They spend this period locked into the television, which is predominately children's programs and all in English. She soon bores of this and attempts to change through the channels that creates a disturbance between her and her brother and sister. They argue in Māori and English and eventually student C moves off to the dining area by her mother.

Her parents have both committed themselves to language classes over the last two years and their level of fluency has improved dramatically. I was personally impressed with the amount of Māori that they use during the observation period and this was obviously not staged for my benefit.

In the dining room kitchen area and removed from the older brother and sister student D and her parents maintain a constant conversation in Māori. Initially student D sits reading her school reader at the dining room table with her mother. She is a confident reader and genuinely enjoys reading. Her mother asks her questions about the text checking for comprehension. The questions are of a basic nature such as, what is the color of the house or where is the house and student D quickly bores of the questions to the point of almost ignoring them, choosing to just read on.

This is again a good indication of the disparity of the language development of this particular child and the rest of her household. My personal observations suggest that she is a very capable young girl for her age and her teacher confirms this. While all her household have improved in their Māori language ability and they are making great efforts particularly her parents, the disparity becomes a barrier for the child's development in her first language. Her exposure to quality Māori is limited.

The reading with her mother begins well with good intentions but deteriorates to the point that student D just drops the book on the table and moves off to see what her father is doing. Neither mother nor daughter are bothered that the reading of the book has not been completed and they continue to have a conversation as she moves off to help her father.

Her interaction with her father is one of many questions about what he is doing and why he is doing it. Questions about the vegetables he is cleaning and the peeling of potatoes begin simply enough but she soon begins to ask questions about why potatoes grow where they do, who makes them grow, and why we kill animals to eat. Her father attempts to answer as well as he can using a lot of English words and phrases while still attempting to speak Māori.

Again there is a sense of frustration for her that sees her soon wander back to her bed room via the television room and a light banter with her brother and sister which is predominantly in Māori.

Student D gave us a good insight into the barriers she has to improving on her own Māori language development within her home through the Māori language disparity between parents and daughter. I would say this is a typical scenario throughout the Kura though the parents of student D are doing more than some other parents to overcome this disparity. This disparity becomes more critical as the students get older and their Māori language needs become more demanding.

However acknowledgement must also be given for the efforts of student D's parents. They are an example of two parents who have made huge strides in recent years in terms of their own Māori language development. They have

also made many sacrifices including giving up full-time work to concentrate on their language studies.

4.5 Diary

The diary of each of the participants were recorded over a period of a week concentrating on the language opportunities that they had within the home and the community activities that they frequented. The diary differs in comparison to the interviews and observations in that the brief is to comment on Māori language opportunities that they have during any out of school and home activities that they are involved in. They give an insight in to a typical week of each of the students, the activities they are involved in, and the inter-actions they have.

Comment has not been made about their time in and around the Kura which is very much a central part of their lives and the source of most, if not all of their Māori language opportunities. All of the comments have identified the evening part of each day and the weekends when the students have time to move out of the home.

While the findings do not differ to any great extent, from the information discovered during the interviews and observations it is still important supportive data that further confirms the students difficulties in accessing Māori language in their own world. These have been recorded sequentially tracking each day and the comments made are as brief as the diary entries.

4.5.1 Student A

Student A had a number of language opportunities within the home particularly with his father and grandfather and also his mother and siblings.

On day one of the recordings which was a Monday the only recorded entry by his mother was that he spoke on the phone with another of his Kura friends in the evening for one hour. Most of that time he spoke Māori.

On day two he attended a rugby practise for his under 11 team. There is no Māori spoken here nor at the space invader parlor that he called in to for an hour prior to practice.

On day three he attended a kapa haka practice where instruction is mainly in English but there is Māori spoken between him and his friends and all the waiata learnt and sung are in Māori. Later on that evening he and his grandfather work through an assignment that looks at and discusses his marae and tribal connections. They speak mainly Māori.

On day four he is back at rugby practice and his mother picks him up with his brothers and sisters and they go shopping at Pak n Sav. They speak Māori a lot during this weekly shopping excursion.

On day five after school he is picked up by his mother who takes him and his siblings to purchase videos and play station games as it is a very wet evening. This is what he does for the rest of the evening. None of these videos or games encourage the use of Māori.

The weekend and day six finds student A playing rugby in the morning. His mother comments that though there are two of his Kura friends in the team the majority of the team are from other backgrounds so it gives him the opportunity to mix with other people. The unfortunate aspect in terms of the language is that no Māori is spoken. In the afternoon the day has cleared and he and his friends are on their bikes and off to the beach to go surfing.

Day seven finds the family all heading up to their Kōhanga Reo to help out with a working bee. The majority of the whānau are there and it is commented that those who are able to speak Māori generally do while those who are still learning and have little language make attempts but as the work takes over more English is spoken.

Student A's mother who has been filling in the diary comments that student A generally moves comfortably between speaking both Māori and English during the course of the day.

4.5.2 Student B

On day one of the diary entry student B spent the evening at home with her family. They live rurally in the old whānau homestead with a family of close relations alongside them. Within these two families there are no adult Māori language speakers that they can access consistently. Student B spends the

evening watching television and doing homework. The only language entry is a five minute conversation on the phone with a Kura friend.

On day two the family have tea at McDonalds on their way home. At home a diary entry is made that Student B spends the evening listening to the local iwi station and rings in to take part in one of their competitions. Her sister and her listen to the station for two hours. The whole radio programme is in Māori.

On day three student B as with student A is at kapa haka practice where Māori is used only during the formalities. She spends the rest of the evening working on some of her homework with her mother. They attempt to converse mainly in Māori but her mother comments that this is hindered by her own lack of Māori.

On day four student B spends the afternoon after school at a friend's place. Her mother comments that they are good friends and while they are able to speak Māori amongst themselves as her friend is from the Kura, the parents of her friend have even less Māori than her and her husband. During this time they also go to town.

On day five her friend comes out to her place to stay over, as they are both involved in netball the following day. They spend the evening watching television, listening to the iwi station and also doing some of their kapa haka routines. They speak a mixture of Māori and English.

On day six they spend the morning playing netball. The team is a Kura team and again there is a mixture of English and Māori that is spoken. The mother comments that they are capable of speaking Māori when they play, and in some situations they do, but they seem to prefer English, only speaking Māori if addressed by some of the whānau on the side lines. In the afternoon they are allowed to go to the pictures to watch "Wild Wild West," an English speaking popular film at the time.

On day seven the bulk of the morning is spent at their Mormon church. The mother, who is a committed Mormon, comments that there is no Māori language used here apart from karakia and speeches of welcome at different times and now and then a song. The rest of the afternoon is spent at home

playing outside and watching television. There are no more recorded language opportunities.

4.5.3 Student C

Student C has good access to Māori within the home via his parents. This diary gives us the opportunity to see what access that he has out of the home.

On day one after the completion of Kura, student A spends time at his fathers' work place, which is on the same campus as the Kura. There are a number of Māori speakers that his father comments he has access to and he does use them. He also confidently switches to English when he needs to.

He stays on for kapa haka practice for the senior campus group of which his father is a member. He is there for the first hour where the bulk of the tuition is in Māori and his father comments that he knows most of the waiata, even better than himself. His mother picks him up during the practice and brings him home.

Day two is a similar routine though soon after school he heads home with his mother and brothers. He is home for the night watching television or playing outside and inside with his brothers.

Day three the family take in a meal at McDonalds, which is a time out period for the parents and the kids. Again there is no access to the language.

On day four the routine is the same after Kura. They have their grandparents in for tea and to baby sit while the parents attend a Kōhanga whānau meeting. The grandmother though she has some limitations in Māori, speaks Māori the whole time while the grandfather speaks mainly English.

On day five the whānau again spend close to home at the end of a long working week and parents and kids watch television including the sport which the father particularly enjoys.

Day six sees the family head out to the beach and then to the indoor swimming pools where the water is warmer. There is no comment on access to Māori language during this particular day apart from amongst themselves.

On day seven the father and the two older boys including student C head out to their marae for a marae trustees meeting where the father is the chairperson. He comments that little Māori is spoken apart from the introductory karakia and speeches of welcome, the majority of the meeting is in English. Most of the day is spent out at the marae as they share a meal with student C's granduncle who is a native speaker, and enjoys playing and talking with the two boys.

The father makes an important comment in the diary. The time on their marae at Parihaka is greatly encouraged by both parents and the boys are very comfortable here. The father comments that while the language opportunities are not as great as he would hope the cultural obligations that the boys are learning in terms of their own marae are just as important. It is here they learn the tikanga, that is as important as the language and that the language and tikanga go hand in hand.

4.5.4 Student D

On days one, two and three of the diary entries Student D spent each of the evenings at home with her older sister and brother and parents. They do not move out of the house apart from routine visits to shops and traveling to and from the Kura.

A diary entry is made by the mother of student D, that regular visits are made by her brother and his partner, an uncle and auntie of student D. They visit the house at all times of the day as they live close by, and their daughter an older cousin of student D also attends the Kura. They speak Māori most of the time to student D when visiting.

On day four they have a visit from a grandfather who is a native speaker. He spends a lot of time talking Māori with student D. The comment in the diary is that she has a special relationship with this particular grandfather who visits especially to spend time with her because she is one of his few grandchildren who speaks Māori. He spends the rest of the diary period with the whānau.

Student Ds mother comments that each of students Ds grandparents are native speakers. However she sees more of the grandfather mentioned

above as he lives close while the other grandparents are out of the area. When she is around any of them, they all speak Māori to student D.

On day five student D heads in to town with her mother and grandfather to do the necessary shopping. They speak Māori continuously amongst themselves but there is no other Māori language opportunity commented on.

During the weekend the family spend day six following the sporting endeavors of the two older children at both netball and rugby. There are no other Māori language entries.

On day seven they all attend a kapa haka practice of one of the local New Plymouth groups that the father is a member of. Tuition again is not in Māori but there is karakia and waiata which student D appreciates. A diary entry mentions her love of waiata and that she is regularly singing waiata while traveling or at home, so often that she is at times asked to be quiet.

It is interesting to note that student D infact has a number of access opportunities to Māori within her extended whānau that have surfaced through the diary. These access opportunities would not be the norm within the majority of the Kura whānau.

Table 4: Summary of Children's Opportunities to Access Māori Language

Domain for Māori Language Use.	Opportunities to use Māori.	Barriers and difficulties in accessing Māori	Type of language used
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Marae and other Māori Controlled Domains ➤ Hui ➤ Kapa Haka 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Minimal apart from formalities. ➤ Conversational language almost non-existent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Being around so many who do not speak Māori. ➤ Whakahihi ➤ English the norm 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Language of formality of a high quality. ➤ Conversational language limited to basics.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Within immediate whānau 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Remaining consistent, parents particularly in a habit of speaking English ➤ Vocab for higher level interactions ➤ Ability levels of Parents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ A satisfactory quality amongst students ➤ Varies amongst parents depending on the opportunities they have had to learn the language
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Other ➤ ie shopping Sports events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Very few opportunities only spoken if amongst Kura community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Mono-lingual society where English main language heard. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ In mainstream situations the language is not heard at all.

(Wano:1999)

4.7 Analysis of Results

As we identify the barriers it is appropriate to consider options to overcome these. Several language theorists (see Fishman:1996, Holmes:1987, Baker:1995) have researched and identified the reasons minority languages either survive or decline in a society such as ours. These provide us with options as we progress the revival of Māori as a living language.

While we have considered the lack of opportunity to access Māori in Aotearoa, there are still a number of minority languages that have survived in a mono-cultural, mono-lingual society such as ours.

"All New Zealanders can speak one language. Some are lucky enough to speak two. Although more than half the population of the world is bilingual, bilinguals make up only a small percentage of New Zealanders. There are about 150,000 people who speak a mother tongue other than English - languages such as Māori, Cantonese, Greek, Polish, Samoan..." (Holmes:1987)

While Aotearoa is considered a mono-lingual society, it is still possible to learn a second language. Holmes identifies the two main avenues to learn the language within Aotearoa, both of which have been the focus of this research. That is through the home and within the formal education system.

Learning two languages in the household in a natural environment is as Fishman states intergenerational language revitalisation. Quite simply children need to be exposed to a sufficient quality and quantity of the languages, in a variety of natural contexts. The parents and extended families have made a conscious effort to speak the two languages. Some have chosen the 'one person-one language' principle recommended by many researchers;

"The 'one person - one language' principle will be conceptualised as successful because it invokes principles of language maintenance relevant for bilingual societies on the level of individual families. This

is seen as important where societal support is minimal or non-existent." (Döpke:1998:41)

The one person - one language concept is appropriate for Māori language retention, as it means only one parent needs to be strong in the language, which is the present situation for many Māori families including those associated with this Kura. Döpke makes the point that this approach is appropriate when there is limited support in wider society as is the case presently in Aotearoa.

Others use different languages for different topics or at different times of the day. These too are practicable, workable approaches that have been adopted in Māori homes and are proving successful. Which ever strategy they adopt, they attempt to saturate their children in these languages.

The second identified area refers to those who have one language at home and another language at school. Chinese, Samoan, and Tongan are obvious examples of cultures within New Zealand who have a strong commitment to their ethnic language within the home. At school they attempt to learn English as a second language. For the majority of Māori homes the first language continues to be English and it is in the total immersion schools that they receive their second language, Māori.

Holmes makes it clear that learning another language in a formal education system takes time and commitment, but that it is possible. It is dependent on the ability of the student as to how long this may take.

"The amount of time it takes such children to achieve a mastery of English equivalent to that of their monolingual school friends will vary. Some appear to catch up very quickly while others take some years to achieve full bilingualism." (Holmes:1997)

While it is difficult to learn a second language in this formal way, compared to the child who learns two or more languages within the home from birth, it is still a viable language acquisition option whether it be mainstream English, or total immersion Māori.

This needs to be considered when we discuss the learning of a second language within education especially if it is this second language that is used to assess the progress of the child, as it is at the Kura. It is clear that it takes time and effort to learn a second language to a high level in a school situation.

"In the United States, Lily Wong Fillmore (1983), studying children from Cantonese-speaking homes, came to the conclusion that it takes many children 'from four to six years to acquire a high enough level of proficiency to be able to deal with its use in the classroom.'" (Wong Fillmore:1983:169)

Language acquisition takes years not months, and with some of the students from the Kura, though they may appear to have a strong grasp of conversational Māori, they often do not know as much as we think they know. Parents too who have limited language, may perceive that their children have more ability in the language than they really have. It is the consistent time and quality of exposure they receive in the language, that determines how quickly and effectively they learn Māori as a second language.

Holmes dispels the myth that learning another language hinders the development in their main language. Research shows that another language offers advantages to monolingual students.

"Bilingualism offers many social, cultural, attitudinal and intellectual advantages, as well as the obvious linguistic ones." (Holmes:1983)

For monolingual mono-cultural New Zealanders who ignorantly comment on the reasons we shouldn't learn a primitive language such as Māori, this is an important statement. It has long been considered in the European countries that to know a language is to know a culture. They are more accepting of other languages and cultures and it is not unusual for a child to be brought up learning two or three languages. At a Māori language conference at Massey University in 1995 Professor Timoti Karetu made a similar comment;

"To know one's language is to know one's universe." (Karetu:1995)

It is important for the survival of the Māori language, that mainstream New Zealanders do support this initiative in a realistic non-patronising way. Though it is not a priority of many non-Māori, it is time for them to move on from stumbling through speeches in Māori and bastardising the haka. Pākehā New Zealand must accept that learning Māori or any other language gives an insight into that culture. I would suggest also, that learning Māori and understanding the Māori universe would go a long way into helping improve race relations.

Holmes suggests three factors important for language learning. The first of these is time, which we have discussed earlier. It is commonly concluded that preschoolers naturally learn a second language easier than older children and adults. The truth is that preschoolers have more time.

"The reason young children are widely thought to be better language learners is that we forget how much time they have to devote to language learning than older ones do. Given the amount of time, older learners are, in fact, more efficient than younger learners."
(Holmes:1987)

Time then becomes a factor for those of us learning a second language. Acquiring a second language requires saturation in that language and this occurs consistently over a period of time. As adults, the problem becomes finding the time on top of our other daily pressures.

"The speed with which adults become bilingual through learning a second language will vary according to: the amount of time for lessons and practice, attitude and motivation, aptitude and ability for language learning," (Baker:1995:40)

Language input looks at the fact that the more often a learner is exposed to, and required to use the language the quicker they will learn. While it is appropriate to learn and discuss language structures and grammatical aspects, at the end of the day it is actual language use that will accelerate development in the language.

"You learn a language when you use it, not by studying it. Most kids study French, Spanish or German in high school as a subject, not

something they would use... Even adults can learn a foreign language, but they would be better off, for example, learning macrame from a French-speaking teacher than 'studying' French as a foreign language." (Wingard: 1982)

There is a move towards more 'language use,' programmes such as the Ataarangi method, based on Gatengo's 'Silent Way' that encourages Māori language use. These methods are proving more popular and successful than the book and grammar orientated courses of the past.

The last factor that Holmes identifies is the need to be motivated. This motivation will transform itself in to actually doing something about accessing as much language learning opportunities as are available because the learners want to. Learning a language requires a lot of work. This will not happen if there is no motivation shown by the learner and indeed the support community.

"Parents, friends and others in the child's immediate community can also provide the kind of encouragement and support which will contribute to successful learning." (Holmes:1982)

Ensuring that our children are motivated requires continuous encouragement so that they learn to enjoy using the language. Often as parents we may, in insisting that they use the language, infact do the opposite. A quiet comment of encouragement when they use the language such as when they are sharing a meal can do wonders for a child. If they find learning Māori fun they are more likely to stay self motivated.

Colin Baker is another renowned theorist who has written extensively on bilingual education particularly with reference to the Welsh language. His wife is Welsh and she speaks to their children in Welsh while Colin maintains the English. He offers some common sense helpful hints for bilingual families who are attempting to speak two languages in the home.

One of the early points that Baker also makes, is that language experiences should be enjoyable;

"The most important factor in the development of a bilingual child is nothing to do with language. It is about making the language as enjoyable, fun and a thoroughly happy experience for children."
(Baker:1995:35)

If we do not enjoy the experience of learning language then we are less likely to be self-motivated and this applies equally to both children and adults.

Māori language survival is a major source of motivation for many of our people. The reason the language is in the state it is now in has been identified in chapter two. For Māori adults this seems to be a major motivational reason, as they realise that by reclaiming their language they are helping in the revival of a Māori treasure, that is good for Māoridom, and it is also helping them on a personal level, in terms of identity and self-esteem. I have found the reclaiming of the language on a personal level to be empowering.

Self-motivation is important here. The old adage 'that you can lead a horse to water but you can't make it drink' applies, as we can demand that our parents or children do learn the language, but unless they want to, we are wasting our time. Like children adults too like to be encouraged, and this helps with their motivation.

It is appropriate to return to some of the theories of Joshua Fishman who looks at the survival and reclaiming of languages in a holistic sense. Fishman in the course of this thesis has proven to be an inspirational figure in the revival of indigenous languages throughout the world and he considers that losing a language is a painful experience. However he describes this as 'a toothache rather than a cancer' that can be remedied. While Māori well know the pain and anger, we must get over this and look to the remedy.

For this to happen we must overcome some of our internal conflicts. There was a false sense of security clearly identified that the language is in a healthy state. This is shown when some of our parents openly state that because their children are learning the language there is no need for them to learn Māori. It is this misperception that the language is developing well and is at a satisfactory level that is a continual barrier.

Many parents have also fallen into the trap of being victims, of blaming everyone else for the loss of our language. While we do have well founded grievances as has been discussed in chapter two, the language will not be returned to us, by those who have done their best to take it from us. We should in fact rejoice that they have been unsuccessful.

We can gain some support from our indigenous relations of North America, who like other indigenous peoples throughout the world, whose culture and language has been destroyed by their colonial conquerors, the time has arrived for us to get over and past the self - victimisation stage.

"We must get beyond the self - victimisation stage and quit pointing the fingers at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the mission schools, the media, and the public schools as the causes of the loss of our languages. Even though we are right when we blame the loss of our languages on these organisations, the stark fact remains that they are not going to help us to restore, revive, or preserve our languages. They have no stake in these language preservation efforts. In fact, they nearly succeeded in accomplishing where they had a stake: killing our languages" (Littlebear:1996:xv)

The destiny of our language is in our own hands and to expect the crown or government agencies to ensure that our language survives into the new millenium is as unlikely to happen as the returning of the large tracts of confiscated lands from throughout Aotearoa. We know and understand the status our language has within Aotearoa amongst mainstream New Zealanders, therefore the reclaiming of the language is in our hands.

As we become more global in our thinking and the way we trade, Fishman makes the point that we still need to have 'local cultural and linguistic roots.' This has become obvious within Māoridom as so many of our people who have become removed from their culture and language, have not been able to reach their full potential. While encouraging Māori to become part of this global society we must also maintain a commitment to who we are and where we are from. I would go on to suggest that in a global world it is our Māori cultural roots that set us aside from the rest of the world. We must have a strong base as individuals, and collectively, in our own culture and language.

Fishman is also a strong advocate and believer that when a language is lost so too is a culture. We as Māori have always associated our language with our culture that they go hand in hand and we can not really know the depth of our culture without knowing our language. Fishman develops this further along the same way that we view the relationship of our culture and language.

"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." (Fishman:1996:81)

There are many Māori who we understand have a Māori heart. That is they understand our culture well and live according to our cultural values particularly when it comes to hospitality. However this is sometimes used as a reason to excuse them from learning our language. The comment that they may not have the language but they have a Māori heart is heard often.

Fishman makes it clear that when we lose the language we lose the depth of our culture. That is the situation Māoridom finds itself in now. There is so much of our stories, incantations, genealogies, proverbs, metaphors and idioms that are not heard naturally or regularly and so this language loss has in turn had an effect on our tikanga.

Our tikanga or cultural values have become watered down as we continue to compromise for the dominant Pākehā language and culture. The pōhiri or welcoming ceremony is a classic example of where we have continuously compromised our cultural values. It is now not uncommon to hear English being spoken in this very sacred ceremony. By speaking and welcoming our guests in our chiefly language we treat our honored guests as chiefs and

maintain the sacredness of this ceremony. It is this depth that has been lost.

The third point Fishman makes is similar to 'tino rangatiratanga' in action. Fishman considers this most important as without self-determination a minority language or culture will not flourish and move forward in this ever developing global world.

"Fishman argues for 'greater sociocultural self-sufficiency, self-help, self-regulation and initiative amongst linguistic communities' (Baker:1997:63)

Māori have long spoken about becoming self sufficient as a people and not relying on the state to cater for our needs. It is time for us as Māori to dispense with the rhetoric and move on to a meaningful commitment to our language. With this commitment to the language will come the development of us as a culture and a people. I believe that this cultural and linguistic self-sufficiency will lead to prosperity as a people as Fishman proposes.

Baker offers suggestions on how Māori can overcome some of the barriers that have been identified during this research. He too supports the idea that children, who have little access to the language should spend as much time as possible playing with their friends and that they are encouraged to use the minority language.

"Playing with friends over successive years in the evening, during holidays and at weekends, provides the opportunity to acquire a second language painlessly and effortlessly." (Baker:1995:24)

It is important that parents give their children the opportunity to spend as much time with their peers. This gives them the opportunity to carry their playground language into the home and where ever they may visit via their friends from the Kura. I have observed particularly amongst the younger students that they speak Māori consistently in these situations. The older students however in their teenage years tend to prefer to speak English as they too are influenced by their peers, who are more likely to be into mainstream trends and fashions.

"In the teenage years, particularly among minority languages, there is often movement toward the majority language" (Baker:1995:80)

Baker clearly states also the need for parents to be encouraging of their children especially if the parents are weak in that language. If the child realises that the parent too values the language, though they may not be fluent speakers it is more likely the child will speak Māori. This is a particular issue identified by this research amongst a large majority of the whānau. While many of our Kura parents are supportive of their children learning the language they often fail to show that support by encouraging them to speak or through constant attempts to use the language themselves.

"If the parent thinks that second language development is important, the child will soon regard it as important as well. If the parent thinks that second language learning is of high status, the child will grow in status by identifying with the parents' wishes." (Baker:1995:24)

It is understood that a child is influenced greatly by their parents and this becomes the case with language use. If the parents do not show some commitment to the minority or second language the child too will realise this and act accordingly.

While this research has identified the lack of access to the language in the community, Baker again states the obvious. When the language is not being heard widely in the community it is in the home that 'parents need to consider how to establish a richness of language for their children in their particular language.' (Baker:1995:25). It is here that the family must attempt to create a variety of language situations. Baker makes it clear for this language use to develop and grow it must develop past just 'food, bed and family time chores, it is important to arrange language experiences in a variety of contexts.' (ibid).

For many of the Kura parents it is this stage that we need to strive to. While there is a certain degree of basic language occurring in many of the homes as was shown in the analysis of the observations, language extension beyond this basic level is now needed. This involves 'Appropriate use of language in different situations, holding a sustained conversation, pronunciation, an awareness of language and a love of language, accuracy of

grammatical structure are all enhanced when language frontiers are continuously pushed back.' (ibid)

It quite simply means that we must be speaking Māori in all situations for our language to grow. It will only be through constant use that we will learn and develop our language in different contexts. And so parents need to help create these situations.

"To ensure a rich minority language context for the children it is easiest to advise parents with respect to their overall language choice decision. In addition, it is possible to suggest activities which have been shown to facilitate language development under monocultural conditions, like listening to the child and following her lead, playing with the child and reading books with him." (Döpke:1998:52)

Baker also suggests taping and video taping family stories and listening to myths and legends and songs, as ways of creating quality language experiences so that the depth of language acquired here, can be used appropriately in the right contexts. Parents then need to develop from here by questioning, probing, prompting and playing with children in the language.

Döpke suggests four steps towards creating rich and varied language environments for minority language learners. The first is one repeated by all theorists, that is to speak the language consistently. The second involves the unconditional use of the language so the child has 'the chance to experience a full range of parent-child interactions' (Döpke:1998:51) therefore this will require that 'the minority language will expose the child to the widest range of vocabulary and grammatical structures under the circumstances' (ibid).

Thirdly as the child's language development grows from simple to complex so to the parent must adjust appropriately. Of course for Māori parents who are second language learners this is the stage that is often difficult. Fishman makes the comment that at this stage the minority language is often given up. The final stage that Döpke suggests is a monitoring type role where gaps in the use of the minority language are detected and corrected. It is recognised that to be able to do this the parent must be a competent speaker.

The 'quality of interactions' is an important issue to be taken from Döpke and Baker where the exposure to a range of contexts and speakers becomes so important in minority language development. This includes who they talk to and the nature and depth of those interactions. As identified by the observations the language interaction opportunities and the quality of the interactions for those participant students, was limited. Again for Māori parents as second language learners it is difficult and of course this has consequences for our children.

During the thesis we have considered briefly how this lack of quality Māori language opportunities, affects the cognitive development of the child. If quality language contexts are not played out in the course of the child's day then their intellectual development and progress at school may be hindered.

"Sensori-motor intelligence proceeds in a one-step-at-a-time fashion, while representational thought and language permit the child to simultaneously handle many elements in an organised manner. Thus, because language is a form of representation of objects and events, thought involving language is liberated from the limitations of the direct action of sensori-motor thought. Cognitive activity can proceed rapidly and with a range and speed not previously available."
(Wadsworth:1975:68)

The opportunities that children have to achieve high level proficiency in their language becomes important so that they get a picture in their mind and can verbalise that picture. Their cognitive development can then also proceed naturally. This includes the ability of the child to talk silently to themselves in their first language, to help solve daily problems big or small. This allows them to create and develop other opportunities as the growth of the language gives them more scope in their mind to explore other avenues. Of course the language must be at a good level.

"Language develops an intimate relationship with thought and with social interaction. The ability to talk silently to oneself, increases contributing to problem solving and self regulation and opening more avenues of behavior from which to choose. Language development and concept formation contribute to one another. Concepts, and the words

attached to them, emerge gradually, as the words become differential from the context in which they appear". (Smart:1967:412)

During the observations it was interesting to note that student C when on her own and playing with her dolls continued to speak Māori, it seemed an almost natural process. My general observations however would suggest that the intimate language amongst the four students is a mixture of Māori and English. That is when they are unable to verbalise thought into Māori, they use English. Across the whole whānau I would suggest most of this intimate language is in English. This is an area that I would like to see more research developed in.

The difficulties that our students face when attending Kura because their language development in Māori is limited, has been clearly identified. This becomes a major barrier to their learning and highlights the need to create more Māori speaking opportunities for our Kura Kaupapa students within their natural environments, primarily their home and community.

As we move into the concluding chapter we gain an understanding of the enormity of the challenge ahead of us particularly the many barriers that continually hinder the development of the Māori language. However by understanding these difficulties and becoming more aware of them we are able to realise the need to set and follow a clear plan to improve the status of the language in our society in Aotearoa.

Chapter 5 : Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Limitations of Research

An obvious limitation of the research was the small number of participants. It would have been desirable to involve more whānau, possibly from a variety of Kura to gain a more widespread picture of the problems faced by students throughout Aotearoa in accessing their indigenous language. However the small scale of the research did allow a more indepth focus on a local Taranaki Kura with localised issues that may, or may not be important in other areas. The relatively small numbers of native speakers is an obvious difference that may not have been an issue in other areas such as the Bay of Plenty. While the small sample may be seen as a limitation, in another sense it is also a strength in that a more indepth and intimate study is possible and therefore able to reveal the intricacies of the local scene.

On reflection, an in school observation of the four students involved would also have been a worthwhile exercise. While this study is specifically about the language opportunities they have away from the Kura, in school observations would have provided further information about some of the issues and barriers that were raised in the teacher interviews. One main issue seemed to be the cognitive development of the students in relationship to their language development. This is an important area for further study as the lack of access to Māori outside of the Kura must surely have repercussions for the students' progress in the classroom.

In hindsight a more indepth questionnaire for all parents would also have been a worthwhile exercise, that could have added further depth to this thesis. The one off questionnaire for all parents, gathered general information including the make up of the whānau and the socio-economic background that effects their lifestyle choices, and therefore becomes relevant to their ability to access the language. It would have been productive to develop this area further, to provide more supportive information to that already collated.

The student questionnaire did not gather the information that I hoped they would. The two five year olds particularly were unable to focus on the

questions and so I gained more information from the observations, diaries and through interviewing the parents. I would also make changes in all of the questionnaires in order to ensure that the questions were more directed at the information we were looking for.

The research has been a worthwhile exercise and has provided some understanding of the many challenges facing Māori and more importantly how we can overcome these challenges so that our language flourishes into the future. However as with most qualitative studies it has also left some issues unresolved and highlighted new issues that require further study.

5.2 Where to from Here?

5.2.1 Māori Language in the Home.

The use of Māori in the home has been well documented and is the base of this whole research. The observations, interviews and diary identified that while there is a certain amount of Māori being used amongst the four whānau, and possibly more than the norm within whānau A and C, generally they still have limited access to quality interactions in the language on a regular basis. As committed as they are to using the language in the home, they still have limited opportunities to access Māori.

The strengthening of the language in the home is the major focus of this thesis. How this can be achieved becomes the next part of the process.

This thesis was a project about providing information at the 'flax roots' level of community Māori language revitalisation, that more accurately highlights the barriers and difficulties, and therefore the intervention initiatives that are necessary.

Te Pihipihingā Kākano mai i Rangiātea parents are typical of an urban Kura Kaupapa Māori. The parent questionnaire shows that while most whānau have a parent who has some level of fluency the majority are in the lower fluency level. The degrees of fluency vary from basic greetings and commands, to 2-3 sentence Māori language conversations. The percentage of Māori actually spoken in these homes in the course of one day was minimal as shown by the observations carried out during this research.

Researchers such as Holmes and Baker state that to learn a second language a time commitment must be made. Māori parents and others wishing to learn our beautiful language must commit time. While the comment amongst all whānau members spoken to, is that they want to learn the language and they have the motivation, results suggest that this is not happening to the degree that it should.

This thesis has clearly recognised through the transcripts the difficulties whānau have in committing time to learning the language. These barriers are all a part of the every day realities of the Kura whānau and in understanding these we must look at strategies that are achievable under their present situations. For many of the whānau who have begun language courses with a flurry and have not been able to maintain the momentum because their everyday realities such as providing for the whānau take over, strategies must be created that allow them to maintain the language in the home.

This will still require commitment in time and motivation. The motivation comes from the pride and self- esteem in knowing ones language, and also more importantly at this time, in the preservation of this treasure. As individuals we can begin by asking ourselves these questions.

Table 5: Personal Māori Language Questions

1.	How much time have I given to speaking Māori at home?
2.	How much time have I given to speaking Māori with my children?
3.	Am I actively engaged in learning Māori, waiata,
4.	Do we have Māori only speaking times at home?
5.	Do we have regular waiata and karakia times at home?
6.	Does one parent speak Māori the majority of the time to our children?
7.	Do we send our children to places where they will hear only Māori being spoken?

(Wano:1999)

From observations it would seem that there has been a 'comfort zone' mentality when we state that the language is progressing well. Fishman has recorded comments from other minority cultures that sound very familiar to comments made by ourselves.

"There is a kind of resistance to the very idea that something is happening to their language. "Oh, it'll pick up. Oh, it happened before. Oh, the younger generation will come around. When they get older, they'll start talking." (Fishman:1996:85)

The use of Māori in the home rests with us. We must create the Māori speaking environment within the home that nurtures the use of the language, and put in the time and effort. As parents of Kura Kaupapa children we have committed our children to this education system and we have a responsibility to nurture their development, particularly in the language.

In considering achievable steps to improve Māori language development in the home we return to some basic steps. They are not costly exercises and they are not new to many of the whānau but they require that households work on them consistently.

The first common theme is that we should ensure language experiences in the home are primarily enjoyable. Children should not see the speaking of Māori as a chore that we have to do. This requires a considerable amount of encouragement and a great degree of listening. In our busy lifestyles we must find time to sit and speak with our children and listen to what they have to say.

The setting aside of Māori speaking times or 'one parent - one language' have been well explained in the course of this thesis. They are both productive and effective in language revitalisation. My whānau use both these methods to good effect within our household where meal times are generally Māori speaking times and I maintain the Māori speaking consistently as a parent. While we do not maintain these two disciplines one hundred percent of the time they are maintained most of the time and therefore we as a whānau are able to converse fluently and naturally in Māori.

Inviting Māori speakers in to the home or allowing children to visit Māori speakers including their own Kura friends are also effective language avenues. My children have consistently been sent to their grandmother or she visits us regularly and speaks only Māori. Apart from giving my wife and I time out, she is a huge language resource within our whānau. The inviting of Kura friends over is very standard amongst all the whānau. However it is

expected now that when they do get together as Kura whānau that Māori is maintained.

Learning karakia and waiata as a whānau is generally an untapped area. Rather than leaving our children to carry these important aspects of tikanga Māori parents too can learn the waiata our children know within the home. These can be once a week where again the language is maintained. These karakia and waiata contain our histories and are also a huge language resource.

The creating of a Māori language area in the home is also a positive approach. One whānau home that I visited has a room that is full of posters, books both for tamariki and adults, video and audio tapes, displays of their weapons and clothing, green stone and bone pendants, and other assorted Māori images. Here the children can read or watch tapes, (kapa haka tapes seem to be regularly watched) but they know this area is the Māori speaking area.

Reading Māori books is another area that we as parents can take an active part in. Reading books aloud on a regular basis to our children helps with our own language development. The only suggestion here is that we read with our children as often as possible anything they are interested in.

Naming common household goods or keeping dictionary and phrase books close at hand where you know where they are, help to maintain a quality of language within the home if we have limited access to native speakers. This helps in the learning of words and phrases and the correct times to use these phrases.

Playing games or making up plays are other forms of helping maintain the language within the home. Games such as 'Mana Māori' are fun and our children enjoy them. For parents to find time to sit down and play these games with our children is a great encouragement for them. Often our children like to make up plays and again parent involvement sends out positive messages to our children.

These steps are achievable and require no extra cost. All that is required is a commitment by the household to move through the above steps at a

consistent pace and maintain the momentum and development so that it becomes the norm to speak Māori. It is important that the whole whānau commit so it may require that we sit as household whānau to explain why we are going to maintain a Māori speaking whānau. This is an opportunity to give our children some input into the new direction and so some ownership of the process.

5.2.2 Māori Language in the Community.

If we consider the home to be the place to make a commitment to the language on a personal individual level then it must be at the community level we make a collective commitment. We have the advantage that our cultural values ensure that we work well communally. This means as iwi, hapū, Kura or any other community group, we should encourage the use of Māori when we meet for whatever the reason. We must make this collective commitment.

The collective concept is not new to us as Māori. We have always had strong networks of association. For some that will be iwi based, for others it may be church based or kapa haka based or in other social or sporting activities. Rangiātea campus has proven to be an example in Taranaki of a collective association. We must now use those collective strengths to develop and nurture the language.

Within these collective associations elders play an important role. Apart from their leadership and guardian roles they are also important as a Māori language resource. When we travel or meet in a collective or as whānau, our elders are always there to lead and support. Therefore these collective associations become important and have the potential if the language is encouraged, to be used to reclaim the language. The leadership and guidance of elders is important in leading this initiative.

It is now common to be at a Māori event and immediately be told that this is a smoke free event. We collectively support that concept, even smokers who go else where to smoke. We must also do this with the language by declaring our collective activities Māori speaking. As a Kura whānau this should be the norm.

One of the most inspiring examples I found of communities maintaining the vitality of their language was during my overseas experience in the early 1990s. I spent eight months in Los Angeles working all over the wider Los Angeles and Orange County districts which has a total population of approximately eight million people.

Though the main language of communication was English I found myself working in Mexican, Vietnamese, Japanese and Chinese communities where they spoke only their language and refused to speak anything else. They were successful in maintaining their languages in their own communities within mainstream America. Their pride and self assurance of who they were and where they were from was obvious as they carried on about their everyday tasks.

They were also successful in their business and other ventures that proved to me that we do not have to be 'monoglot' speakers of English in order to succeed in wider society, as seems to be the common myth amongst mainstream New Zealand. The pride within these communities meant that the individuals and communities were successful because they were sure of themselves.

Fishman makes the point that most indigenous languages are languages of 'kinship' where the language is treated as special as a treasure. Māori is no different. The kinship is intergenerational where the language is passed from generation to generation through the extended family ties of grandparents, uncles, aunties and parents. When the language is passed on in this way, there is a special relationship built up between these kinship ties and their language. Children are socialised in the values, customs and behaviors of Māori society.

"Another dimension of what people tell you about when they tell you about language and culture is why they like their language, why they say it is important to them. They tell you about kinship. They tell you that their mother spoke the language to them, their father spoke the language, their brothers, the sisters, the uncles, the aunts, the whole community. All the ones who loved them spoke the language to them when they were children." (Fishman: 1996:83)

It is this type of relationship that we must try to recreate within our Māori communities of language in an Aotearoa context as we move into the new millenium. The relationship may not be based on close ancestral ties of the past but more now on networks of association such as the extended whānau of the Kura or a kapa haka group. But it is this close whānau relationship of the past that must be used to nurture our language so the students have access to a number of Māori language role models.

As happens with the Welsh language in some places, areas within the community must be set aside where only Māori is to be spoken. While it has been discussed earlier that the marae is an obvious place to start, it must also be understood that there are difficulties associated with this. The marae is a place where hospitality is important so it would not be right to exclude non-Māori speakers. It is also a place for all descendants of that marae and unfortunately in many cases a majority of them do not speak Māori. They too should not be excluded because of their lack of Māori language.

In returning to the Welsh model, strategies have been implemented to encourage greater use of Welsh in the community.

"A number of strategies observed in Wales were designed to encourage greater community use of the Welsh language, including community language plans, Welsh language festivals (Eisteddfod), language retreats, incentives for using Welsh in the workplace and many others. ... One village I visited had made the local town hall a Welsh language zone only and that was the cornerstone of the plan."
(Jefferies:1995:133)

These types of initiatives are already underway to a certain degree in Aotearoa. We have regular large gatherings where the language is encouraged as well as language type retreats such as week-long immersion classes. The equivalent of the Welsh community hall can be seen in present examples such as Waipareira in West Auckland and Rangiātea campus here in New Plymouth. These can be considered examples of urban type situations that are catering for our people who have been removed from their marae or have not had the opportunity to be bought up in their tribal regions. While these initiatives are underway, they need to move on from the initial

introductory stage of using Māori sporadically or only in ceremony, to a stage where the language is spoken consistently.

More of these types of complexes need to be set up nationally where the main language spoken is Māori. The ties while not necessarily based on kinship, tribal or whānau relationships would be based on a commitment to the revival of the language.

The development of the language in the wider community, centers around developing Māori speaking initiatives within our networks of association. These associations in becoming proactive with the language, create language environments that cater for the those of us who are learning the language, as well as native speakers, in an attempt to create an environment where speaking Māori is the norm. As with Māori development in the home these initiatives in the wider community will take time and commitment.

I am optimistic enough to think that we are making progress particularly over the last ten years. Progress must now be maximised by developing language strategies amongst our associations of networks.

5.2.3 Government Agencies

One point highlighted in this thesis is the prioritisation of financial resources available for Māori language, a large proportion of which at present are being spent at the high status levels including government departments and tertiary institutions. While these all have a part to play in Māori language revival it makes sense that the language is alive and well in the home before resources are spent in translating government policies that few people can read, or prioritising language development only at the formal tertiary level.

It is time for Government agencies including Te Taura Whiri to make more resources available at the flax roots level. As has been identified, article 2 of the Treaty guarantees the 'rangatiratanga' of the language to Māori. The courts have interpreted this as requiring the Crown to actively protect the language. However we have examples of Government agencies declaring that they will spend money on bi-lingual road signs. These I consider high status low impact examples of Māori language development.

A more appropriate development that this thesis strongly recommends is the creation of language development positions that are attached to Māori Immersion initiatives. These positions would act as a link between whānau and Kura or Kōhanga Reo. It would be set up on either a regional or iwi basis, but that position would act as a mentor and advisor for language development in the home.

These positions could then also monitor the development of the language in the home and community on a regional and national level, on a consistent basis instead of relying on one off large scale surveys which don't necessarily provide useful information at a local community level. This is important at this stage of our language development as there is still so much to do and regular monitoring will also provide information on what is working and what isn't in Māori language acquisition. It would be hoped that those positions would become redundant over the years as the language regains its strength.

One of the overseas models that I support and encourage has been the 'Elder Mentor' programme used by the Yupik Eskimo Indians in Alaska where students go and live with an elder or the elder moves in with a whānau to teach the language and culture. Funded by their native associations, resources are spent on paying Elders a wage for their time with the focus on providing contextual language, where for example students can learn the traditional methods for fishing and the associated contextual language.

Many of our elders who are fluent speakers are being under utilised, are often in retirement and reliant on benefits to survive. While many of them are involved in the formalities that come with their status as elders including acting as spokespeople for their marae, hapū, iwi, whānau and other community groups it would be beneficial to have them more closely involved in intergenerational transmission of the language in homes and communities.

It is time their status was recognised in a 1990s context and reciprocated in a financial sense, giving elders an opportunity to be actively involved in ensuring our language survives. While many of them do this anyway, the advantage could be that the students would have the opportunity to learn in

a traditional way that is adapted to a present day context, and it would not be at a financial burden for the elders.

It would be expected that these positions would work as a team. While it is expected that government agencies would need to show some support for these initiatives it is also expected that iwi must too look at providing support for Māori language development.

This research also suggests that language acquisition has become too dependent on schooling including Kura Kaupapa Māori rather than natural language acquisition contexts within the community. We are too reliant on textbooks and institutions to maintain the language. While these are valid contexts for language acquisition it is really as a support to the language that they should be receiving in the home. The role of the Kura is to educate our children rather than be their only Māori language source.

"... So, they frequently settle for acquiring the language not as a mother tongue, but during the school experience. By then it is not the mother tongue, because they already have another mother tongue. And schools are not intergenerational language transmission agencies. Schools just last a certain number of hours and a certain number of years and then, after that, they are over. How is the language learned going to be transmitted to the next generation? So because of this confusion, having devoted a number of hours per week, per year, at school for a certain number of years, people frequently conclude, because the children are bright and pick up language, that they have done their bit." (Fishman:1996:86)

It is this intergenerational passing on of a language that we must recreate so that the language is taught naturally. While this research has questioned the priority placed on formal education, it also recognises that this is where most of the present Kura parents who this research is aimed at will need to go to acquire the language. Tertiary education will continue to have large numbers of people wanting to learn the language as a second language. There will need to be as many avenues as possible for them to do this including secondary school, Ataarangi, polytechnics and universities as well as iwi based language initiatives.

Learning Māori in a formal situation has a part to play for those of us that were not exposed to the language from childhood. However it is the natural transfer of the language that must be nurtured amongst our own children. The formal learning of Māori as a second language then provides an opportunity for parents to learn, and then apply that language in the home.

Unfortunately, the tertiary level university language courses, are often too formal, concentrating more on grammatical structures and reading and writing than the conversational type language required for the home. Therefore a further recommendation as tertiary institutions are such an important access opportunity for second language Māori speakers is that tertiary courses become more focused on providing conversation type language to encourage language use in the home, in a learning style appropriate to the client group.

It is hoped that in the future we are in a position to move away from Māori being a 'learnt' language, to an intergenerationally transmitted language.

5.2.4 Iwi Support

Ngāti Raukawa of the Otaki, Levin area and Ngai Tahu of the South Island area are examples where as iwi they have set up Māori language strategies. Ngāti Raukawa set their Māori language strategic plan in 1975 that was aimed at the year 2000. From my observations they have achieved remarkable success where Te Wānanga o Raukawa has set the standard in the courses they offer and more importantly in the amount of quality Māori language speakers they have produced. They have also set a platform for other iwi to follow.

Ngai Tahu have recently followed their lead with a strategy more suited to their different needs in an attempt to reclaim their particular dialect. The money they have put into the language development has come directly from their recent historic signing with the Crown over the confiscation lands of last century.

These are good examples for other iwi to follow and it is hoped that locally Taranaki takes a lead off both examples as we enter into our own negotiations with the Crown. This then becomes a strong recommendation

that each tribal region must develop their own Māori language development strategy that is based on their own particular needs. These developments should be supported by both iwi, and the appropriate government agencies.

Taranaki presently has the Rangiātea complex that has been prominent during the course of this study. Like many of the urban initiatives they are often working in isolation to iwi developments. It is hoped that Rangiātea and Taranaki iwi can have a closer working relationship particularly concerning language development into the future.

Iwi support of language initiatives is vital. Personal observations would suggest that there are many Māori language iwi initiatives that are set up in isolation. It is hoped that as iwi we can pool our collective iwi resources to ensure these initiatives are more effective in reclaiming our language. Iwi must then ensure that language revitalisation is a priority and necessary strategic plans are made and resources are made available.

5.2.5 Kura Initiatives

While most Kura have prioritised Māori language development, strategies may need to be revised to be of more assistance to parents who have not got the ability to access Māori language opportunities.

TPPKMR during a recent strategic plan day prioritised Māori language development and the Board of Trustees, are presently looking at how they can provide assistance for whānau and staff. Staff for the year 2000, have planned this as a priority for their own development. These are important initiatives that have again developed in line with action research, as the result of this research.

Kura also need to look at encouraging the use of the language whenever they meet as a whānau, and at whānau hui.

5.3 Summary of Recommendations

5.3.1 Māori in the Home

- Ensure speaking Māori in the home is an enjoyable experience rather than a chore. Encourage and listen.
- Set aside Māori language periods during the day that remain consistent and constant. These could include meal times or mid evenings while students are doing school-work.
- One person - one language where one of the parents (adults) speaks only Māori all the time.
- Ask native speakers over regularly and insist that they speak only Māori. Also invite Kura friends and insist that they speak Māori.
- Learn karakia and waiata as a whānau as they contain our oral histories and our spirituality.
- Create a Māori learning environment that has lots of books, posters on the walls, tapes and videos that encourages language use.
- Read, read, and read some more with children.
- Name different things around the house or keep a list of key words in an easy to find part of the house, such as on the fridge.
- In each of the rooms put a list of key phrases, for the bedroom or the kitchen or the bathroom.
- Learn and use new words and phrases.
- Play games with the children or tell stories and perform plays.
- Listen to the radio station and watch whatever Māori speaking program is on television, and tape them.

5.3.2 Māori in the Community.

- Create Māori language community centers where speaking of Māori is encouraged.
- Initiate Māori speaking hui ie sporting events, cultural events.
- Join Māori speaking groups ie kapa haka, iwi groups.
- Initiate Māori speaking environments in the Kura, workplace.

5.3.3 Government Agencies

- That, budgets reflect the need to develop the language in the home and the community rather than at the government department level.
- That a community language position be created that is associated with Māori immersion programs such as Kura and Kōhanga Reo to assist parents and be a link between the Kura and homes.
- That a Māori elder mentor program be set up, that places native Māori speakers into homes of families committed to learning Māori.
- That the Quality of Language be monitored and strategies put in place to ensure language is of a high standard and maintained at this level.
- That Tertiary institutes make language courses more accessible.
- That the content of language courses be more conversational based appropriate to language development in the home.

5.3.4 Iwi Support

- That iwi set aside funds aimed at Māori language development.
- That iwi develop a Māori language strategic plan.

- That iwi support the development of the elder and language positions.

5.3.5 Kura Initiatives

- That Kura develop a Māori language strategic plan.
- That funds be made available, for whānau and staff Māori language development.
- That Kura aim to make all Kura hui and events, Māori language speaking only.

5.4 Conclusion

The Māori language renaissance of the 1980s must now move on from the hard work that was begun by the likes of Hana Te Hemara Jackson. We need to make a commitment as individuals, Kura whānau, community groups of association, hapū, and iwi to ensure Māori returns to being used as an everyday language.

As individuals, as parents of Kura Kaupapa Māori students we must ask ourselves the hard questions, what are we doing about the language? Are we offering our children as many opportunities to access their language as we could be?

I have been listening to a recent health message on our Iwi Māori station Te Korimako. This message reminds us of the importance of wearing seat belts. An older sibling says to her younger brother that he should be wearing his seat belt. The younger brother replies 'Why should I? Dad never wears his!'

It is a classic example of the importance of role modeling, which also applies to our language. We can not expect our children to speak our language if we do not role model and give the language the mana it deserves. Our children are a reflection of us. Fishman talks about our language being a language of kinship. The language will lose this important aspect if we as parents do not take up the challenge and actively take part in the intergenerational growth of our language.

Nō reira e hoa mā ko taku harikoa kua oti i au tēnei tuhinga roa. Ko te oranga tonutanga o tō tātou reo rangatira tōnā tino kaupapa. Mā wai tērā? Māu, māku, mā tātou katoa, kia maia, kia ū, ki te hoe!

Wharehoka Wano
December 1999

Appendix

Appendix 1 : Parent Questionnaire

1. Was Māori spoken in your home as a child? Y ____ N ____

1a. What access to Māori did you have in your upbringing?

2. Did any adults in your home speak Māori? Y ____ N ____

3. Did you often go into Māori speaking environments? Y ____ N ____

4. Did you have access to native speakers, elders? Y ____ N ____

4a. Did they regularly speak to you in Māori? Y ____ N ____

4b. Did you reply in Māori? Y ____ N ____

5. Did you have the opportunity to learn Māori at school? Y ____ N ____

Primary school

3rd & 4th Form

School "C" or above

5a. How productive were these language classes?

6. Have you had the opportunities to learn Māori as an adult? Y ____ N ____

6a. Were they:

Wānanga Marae based

Te Ataarangi

Other

Whānau

Tertiary

6b. As an adult what do you consider is the best way to improve your Māori?

7. What aims have you for your own children in terms of speaking Māori?

8. How often is Māori spoken or heard in your home?

Often _____ Sometimes _____ Rarely _____ Not at all _____

8a. For what purposes:

Commands		Karakia		Names	
Pakiwaitara		Reo irirangi		TV	
Pānui pukapuka		Helping with homework		Other	

9. Do you regularly move into Māori speaking environments? Y _____ N _____

9a. What are those environments?

Marae		Kohanga Reo		Kura	
Wānanga		Other			

9. Do your children have access to native Māori speakers?

Y _____ N _____

10a. Do they speak to them in Māori?

11. What are some of the limitations you have seen with Māori development in the home?

12. Are you satisfied with your abilities to communicate to your children in Māori?

13. What do you understand of the historical limitations that have been place upon access to Māori language?

Appendix 2 : Student Questionnaire

1. Is it important for you to speak Māori? Y ____ N ____
Why/Why Not?

2. Do you speak Māori often at home? Y ____ N ____

3. Who do you speak Māori with?

Parents		Sisters and brothers		Friends	
Cousins		Other			

4. Do you get the opportunity to be around native speakers of Māori?
Y ____ N ____

- 4a. Do you speak Māori to them? Y ____ N ____

5. When do you use Māori the most? During:

Meals		Playing		Karakia	
Waiata		Other			

6. Who else do you speak Māori to?

7. In a typical day how often would you speak Māori?

Often		Sometimes		Seldom	
Never		% (percentage)			

8. In what situations?

9. Do you regularly listen to Māori radio? Y ____ N ____
Why / Why not?

10. Do you regularly watch Māori speaking television? Y ____ N ____
What?

11. Do you regularly read books in Māori? Y ____ N ____

Appendix 3 : Teacher Questionnaire

1. From your observations what access do your students have to Māori out of the Kura environment?

2. From your classroom observations are the students that have more access to Māori out of the Kura environment progressing more confidently?

3. How do children with limited Māori cope in the Kura?

Do they withdraw		Rely on friends	
Become frustrated		Other	

4. How do you compensate as a teacher?

Simplify lessons		Simplify language		Use English	
Use gesture - body language		Other			

5. Why is it important to you that Māori is maintained in the home?

6. What needs to be done to support the language in the home?

7. Who should be providing the support?

8. What opportunities do whānau have in up skilling in Māori?

9. What are the barriers to taking those opportunities?

12. Other comments

Appendix 4 : Observation Schedule

(Record every utterance of child for 1 hour)

Key for Language used: M - Māori P - Pākehā

1. Spoke to whom?

2. In what language?

3. What type of language function? (conversation, commands, greeting)

4. What was the purpose of the utterance?

5. Were responses active (verbal) or passive (body language)?

6. What was the length of the utterance? (2-3 words, long conversation, body language).

7. Activities - listened to radio, watched TV, read, school work, played, waiata, karakia, other - for how long?)

8. Other

8. General Comments:

Appendix 5 : Initial Letter to Whānau

2 December 1998

Tēnā koutou katoa e te whanau.

Re: Thesis 1999 - Wharehoka Wano

"Mā te kōrero ka ora te reo"

"It is by speaking that the language will live"

It is this that forms the basis of my thesis study for 1999. I have been studying for a Masters of Education Administration Degree for three years and to complete this I must do a thesis next year.

I intend to study and observe four Kura students in their homes to determine what Māori speaking opportunities they have and what are some of the difficulties in accessing language opportunities. This will also involve comments on the Kura as the thesis attempts to look at avenues for us as parents of Kura Kaupapa students, to use Māori more in our daily lives.

As well as in house observations I will be interviewing the students, their parents and the teachers and a questionnaire will also be sent to all parents.

As part of tikanga it is correct that I present this kaupapa at a whānau hui for you to discuss and hopefully gain your approval. I will do this at next weeks whānau hui of Thursday 10 December.

Nāku noa

Whare.

Appendix 6: Letter to Participant Whānau

9 April 1999

Tēnā koutou katoa

Re: Thesis: "Mā te kōrero ka ora te reo"

"It is by speaking that that the language will live"

It is with this statement in mind that I enter into the academic world of writing a Masters thesis. The Māori world has been compromised by Western academic researchers in the past who have viewed us as Māori through their own ethnocentric eyes.

This thesis gives us the opportunity to provide a pathway for the survival of Māori language based on our own values and believes. It is a research project for Māori by Māori and in this case particularly Taranaki Māori and whānau of Te Pihipihingā Kākano mai i Rangiātea Kura Kaupapa. It is for these reasons that I take on this project.

Those of us who have been involved in the Kura Kaupapa movement have always shared the concern that the depth of language out of the Kura is very limited. We do not have the luxury of hearing the language at home, on the radio or television or from our elders, consistently. With this in mind this project is an attempt to case study individual whānau to see how much Māori they are able to use based on their different environments. From this the hope is that we can consider some steps to improve on what we have.

The intention of this project is not to proportion blame to any particular person or group, but rather to look at what is our reality and how we can improve on it.

Therefore I approach you all as whānau committed to this kaupapa to be involved in this project. The case study will be based around the children and study them closely in terms of their home environments and how often they are able to use Māori.

This will involve the following;

- 1) A diary (This will be kept by a designated adult within each whanau who will record daily what Māori language opportunities happened on a particular day ie went to the a marae. Entries should be brief.)
- 2) An interview (A formal interview that will delve into their Māori language opportunities. This interview will be taped and transcribed.)
- 3) Observation within the home.

This diary period will happen over a week beginning August 9 and ending August 15 1999. The observation hour I will make contact to arrange with each individual whānau and intend to have these completed by the end of August.

According to the ethics of a project of this nature I will ensure that;

- 1) This research will be done according to our own tikanga, which we will determine.
- 2) Names of whanau and individuals will not be included in the report.
- 3) All observations and other information will be confidential.
- 4) The findings of this research will be made available to participants.

I appreciate your support of this project and hope that the benefits are for our language and our children.

Naku iti nei

Wharehoka Wano

Appendix 7 : Parent Questionnaire

7 October 1999

Tēnā koutou e te whānau
Ngā mihi mahana o te wā ki a koutou.

"Mā te kōrero ka ora te reo."

As you know I have been working on this thesis now for most of the year and have appreciated whānau members comments and queries on how the project is going. I am at a stage that I would like to record the barriers you as parents of Kura Kaupapa students find in accessing and maintaining spoken Māori in your home.

This questionnaire is not compulsory and all information will be confidential. The main concern may be queries on household salary ranges. This information gives us a big picture of the economic state of the whānau. If we are in the lower socio economic sector the opportunities to access the language becomes more difficult as we have other priorities in our lives.

The bulk of the questions however look at the state of the language;

1. How much Māori is spoken in your home?

0-25%____ 26-50%____ 51-75%____ 76-100%____

2. Who speaks Māori to your children consistently?

3. Do your children have other language opportunities out of the home?
What are they?

4. What are the difficulties you face in maintaining a Māori speaking household?

5. Have you attended language classes recently? Have they been worthwhile?

6. Are you working ____ (full-time or part time) ____
a student ____ on a benefit ____ other ____

7. Are you solo ____ living with a partner / married? ____

8. What is your household salary range

Less than \$20,000 ____ \$20,000-\$29,000 ____
\$30,000-\$39,000 ____ \$40,000-\$60,000 ____
More than \$60,000 ____

9. Other comments

Again I appreciate your support
Nāku iti nei

Whare

Glossary of Māori Terms

The following glossary gives simple definitions and meanings of Māori words used in the text. In some cases the meanings have been given in the text to help the reader especially if these are phrases.

Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand
aroha	love, compassion
hapū	sub tribe
haere	go, travel
iwi	tribe
Kaiawhina	teacher aide
kānohi ki te kānohi	face to face
kaupapa	philosophy
karakia	incantation, prayer
kohanga reo	early child language nest
kura	school
mana	pride, status
Māori	indigenous peoples of Aotearoa
matauranga	knowledge
nohinohi	infant, new entrant student
Pākehā	European New Zealander
pohiri	welcome ceremony
takahi	trample
tangi	cry, mourn
taonga	treasure
tapu	sacred, sacred laws
teina	younger sibling
tino rangatiratanga	self determination
tikanga	Māori cultural values beliefs
tohunga	expert
tuakana	older sibling, senior class
waenga	middle, middle class
waiata	song, chant
wairua	spirit
whānau	family unit
whānaungatanga	extended family
Wharekura	Māori immersion secondary school
Whare Wānanga	Māori university, tertiary institute

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